

TO THE MEMORY OF OSCAR COOVER

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIV - No. 20

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 15, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Truman's Supreme Court Upholds Taft-Hartley Oath

By R. Bell

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

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

DISSENTING OPINION

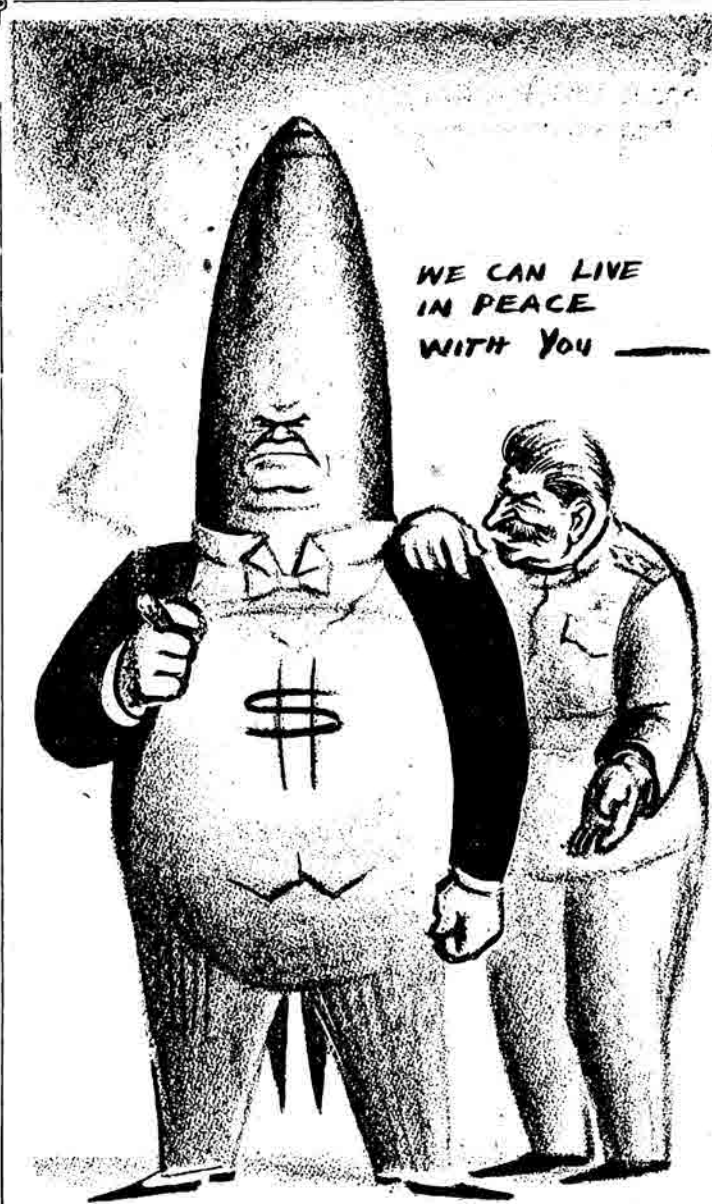
In his dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo L. Black wrote: "The court assures us that today's encroachment on liberty is just a small one. But not the least of the virtues of the First Amendment is its protection of each member of the smallest and most unorthodox minority. Centuries of experience testify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

This process has already been manifested in every field of public life. Truman's "loyalty" decrees, a variation of the Taft-Hartley oath, has subjected millions of government employees to prying investigation of their personal lives, thoughts and associations. Former Attorney General J. Lee Smith's "subversive" lists condemn organizations without a hearing. The Loyalty Board and Loyalty Oath have invaded our school system to stifle all semblance of academic freedom. Teachers are intimidated, scientists harassed and students hounded. A horde of finger men, stoopigoes, paid informers and provocateurs has been let loose upon the land. Labor spies are again in vogue. Thought-control, which Washington used to condemn as the hallmark of totalitarianism, now has the sanction of our most august tribunal, the Supreme Court of these United States.

EVIL EFFECTS

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

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College President Blacklists N. Y. Student Strikers

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

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

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

Law Guild Repudiates Expulsion of Yugoslavs

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

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

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

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

[Rogge had just returned from a European tour, where he visited both Moscow and Belgrade. At a press conference, he reiterated his support of Yugoslav independence and revealed that he had been retained since last January as counsel for O. John Rogge, who is an attorney for the Tito government.]

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

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

The Lawyers Guild officials are reportedly seeking to minimize the seriousness of the rift. According to the May 8 Daily Worker, "Guild officers said no lack of unity was to be inferred from the vote. They pointed out that both O. John Rogge, who introduced the resolution, and Robert J. Silberman, who voted for the expulsion in Rome, were re-elected by acclamation as a vice president and executive secretary respectively." This is an unduly optimistic estimate.

It is an integral part of Stalin's

Profits Are Higher Than Last Year

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

Beck-Lundeberg Goons In CIO Warehouse Raid

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

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

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

Beck is claiming AFL jurisdiction

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

Harry Lundeberg, head of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific, is aiding Beck's raid by supplying paid thugs armed with bats at \$1.50 an hour.

In last week's pitched battle, fought before the United Grocers Warehouse in San Francisco, 100 AFL thugs forcibly removed by CIO squads. One hospital case, John Fox, turned out to be a well known Lundeberg stooge, an ex-official of the SUP from Seattle. He claimed he was a "teamster."

RELIES ON THUGS

In the United Grocers battle, hundreds of rank and file teamsters stood nearby, but none entered the fray. The ranks of Local 85, the San Francisco Teamsters Union, have had good relations with the CIO for years and resent Beck's tactics. That is why Beck cannot organize the mass picket lines he would like to and is practically limited to reliance on paid thugs.

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

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

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

Senate Stages Sham Battle On FEPC Bill

Dobbs Speaks on Civil Rights at Wayne University

DETROIT, May 8 — Defying a Wayne University ban, between 300 and 400 students assembled today on a blocked-off city street in the center of the campus to hear Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on civil rights.

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

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

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

ANSWERS SLANDER

The dean had also charged that Dobbs was convicted for fomenting insurrection in the armed forces. In his street talk Dobbs denounced this as a slander and showed he had been convicted for his ideas alone. "Freedom of thought will be in chains if the policy of prohibiting freedom of thought is continued in our educational system," he said.

"Whether or not you agree with socialist ideas or are interested in their policies and practices, it is your duty to defend democratic rights and freedom of expression for all layers of the population regardless of their political beliefs," Dobbs declared.

The SWP speaker called attention to the Stalinist policy of opposing civil rights for their political opponents, and said that this policy "has given men like Dean Spathoff a pretext for imposing their own restrictions on civil liberties."

While there was some interruption and jeering, most of the crowd applauded his defense of civil rights for all and listened with interest to his remarks on socialism and the SWP. The Detroit News printed a big picture of the meeting and the college paper ran headline front-page stories on it three days in a row.

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

By William E. Bohannon

The sham battle over FEPC has begun again in the Senate. Having knifed effective FEPC legislation in the House, both capitalist parties will now spar and maneuver for a while before doing the same

thing in the upper chamber of Congress. Neither party has any serious intention of passing a bill to outlaw discrimination in employment; each will be occupied with trying to convince the voters that the other party is the one responsible for the failure of both parties to fulfill their campaign promises on this issue.

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

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

THIRD ACT

But the odds are overwhelming against the passage of the first closure motion, and when it is

defeated Act III will begin. The Democrats will blame the Republicans for having voted for the "impossible closure" rule last year, and the Republicans will blame the Democrats for not having rounded up enough votes in favor of closure this year. Thus the 1950 production of the FEPC "drama" will end.

The Democrats and Republicans will be happy because they will have "a campaign issue." The Southern Democrats and Dixiecrats will be happy because they prevented the passage of FEPC once again. In fact, everybody will have something to be happy about except the workers and the Negro people, who paid so dearly to watch this performance, and who will be left sitting in their seats with a feeling of angry frustration.

HOW TO END FILIBUSTER

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

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

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

POLITICAL PRESSURE

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



SENATOR LUCAS

(Continued on page 3)

U.S. Helps to Enslave Indo-China

By John G. Wright

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

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

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

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

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

Indo-China has been split up by the French into three "states." Two of them, Laos and Cambodia are protectorates over which they exercise their sway openly; in the third, the "State of Annam" they have installed their puppet, ex-Emperor Bao Dai.

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

Truman extends aid to the French and their puppets at a time when they are barely able to hold on in Indo-China. C. L. Sulzberger, Times foreign correspondent, wired from Saigon on May 9 that "high French civil officials frankly concede the situation [in Indo-China] is deteriorating," despite the reported "military successes." He then adds: "An increasing number of Frenchmen are saying that if the political — as distinct from the military situation — does not improve Paris eventually will have to abandon even any shadow claims to this part of the world."

Is it precisely because the French are on the verge of losing even their "shadow claims" that Washington hastens to the rescue?

FIGHTING FOR LIBERTY

From all indications the Indo-Chinese masses are resolved to fight to the death to liberate themselves. Unless the Truman administration is prepared to wage a full-scale war against them, it is not likely that the rule of the French in Indo-China can be made more durable than was Chiang Kai-shek's regime in China.

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

Oscar Coover, Incorruptible Socialist Fighter

His Life's Aim Was to Advance Cause of Labor

V. R. Dunne's Tribute to His Comrade At Memorial Meeting in Minneapolis

The tribute that Robert Ingersoll paid to his younger brother may equally well be directed to Oscar Coover:

"This brave and tender man in every storm of life was oak and rock; but in the sunshine he was vine and flower. He was the friend of all heroic souls. He climbed the heights, and left all superstitions far below, while on his forehead fell the golden dawning of the grander day."

"He loved the beautiful and was with color, form, and music touched to tears. He sided with the weak, the poor, and wronged... With loyal heart and with purest hands he faithfully discharged all trusts."

Every picture, every pamphlet, every book, every piece of furniture in this and all other party headquarters throughout the length and breadth of the country speak of Oscar Coover. Coover—the great-hearted party organizer—Coover—the strong-powered, diligent, tireless, selfless, gentle and lovable socialist militant. Those of us who knew him are better men and women by reason of that association.

Oscar Coover was not only a man among men—he was, in the Marxist sense, a man among millions. He was an internationalist in every fiber of his being.

A LIFE OF STRUGGLE

The dominant purpose of his life was to do those things which contributed to the well-being of the working class. He did not believe the old lies which said that the poor people were poor because they were mean and lazy! That the rich were rich because they were good and just and right!

At an early age, he came into contact with socialist ideas—his active, incisive mind was enriched with the teachings of the great masters, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

His anger against the open-shop employers—his scorn for

those who supported them was an inspiring thing to see and to know. A union man of the type that only the revolutionary movement produces was our Oscar. He braved the anger and threats of the shop-crafts union bureaucrats in 1919 and again in the shop-crafts strike of 1922.

He was blacklisted and victimized when the shop-crafts strike was broken. A skilled electrician—a mechanic of high ability—he was unemployed and shunted from pillar to post. The pressure was terrific for years. During those years—from 1922 to 1933—the American workers' movement was buffeted by reaction.

HE STOOD FIRM

The Palmer red raids and the open-shop campaign were the order of the day. Many trade union militants lost heart; the trade union leaders were in full retreat! Not Oscar Coover! He stood against the stampede of the retreat. He counseled patience and faith in the working class. That's why he became a figure in the victories of the Minneapolis workers in the 1934 strikes. He, as much as any other individual, was responsible for making Minneapolis a union town!

Many of us remember that the local and international leaders did not believe that the Northern States Power Co. could be unionized. Oscar stood out against them—he threw his whole being into the campaign. His gigantic efforts were rewarded in the establishment of a militant new local union in the electrical industry. In a way, that confounded the faint hearts.

Oscar Coover saw far beyond the good but limited role of the trade unions. Early in his life he joined the revolutionary socialist movement. He was a foundation member of the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution.

EXPULSION FROM CP

He was a disciple of Lenin and Trotsky. He was first a member of the Trotskyist movement and was expelled from the Communist Party because he stood for the democracy of Lenin and Trotsky.

He, together with his close comrades, was among the first of the militant workers to denounce and fight against Stalin and his bureaucracy. Here again he suffered reprisals, both spiritual and physical. The Stalinists laid their blackjacks upon him, and Oscar—our Oscar—gave them blow for blow.

He never faltered—and let us remember that in those days, and for years, all the Big Bosses and open-shoppers were singing the praises of Stalin.

When Daniel Tobin and Roosevelt joined hands with Stalin to launch the second World War, Oscar was among the first to denounce it as an imperialist war and not a war against hated fascism. The Roosevelts and Wallaces and Tobins sent him to federal prison for telling the truth about the war. Who today doubts who was just and right?

They tried to break his spirit! All the indignities offered by prison life could not make an impression on that fine mind, on that great heart.

ALWAYS EXEMPLARY

Oscar Coover was respected and loved by the hundreds of prisoners in Sandstone. His life was always exemplary. He came out of prison the same great man. He again turned his talents into building our party.

Oscar understood how to deal with people. He was a man with a heart bigger than his two great hands could ever encompass. For decades he was honored as a man of great ideas, kindness, honesty, integrity—as a sure and trustworthy leader. He was a member of the party's National Committee. He was elevated to posts that could only be held by comrades trusted, honored, respected, loved by every member of the party.

Our Oscar—One who never turned his back but marched breast forward—Never doubting clouds would break—Never believed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph—Held we fall to rise—are buffeted to fight better—Sleep to wake.



'No One Had A Better Heritage' -- Oscar's Son

By Oscar Coover Jr.

MAY 8—The Socialist Workers Party has sustained a severe loss in the passing of the "Cat." His energy, devotion, spirit, patience, experience and skills will be sorely missed by his comrades, one and all. It is indeed a sad thing that he could not have lived but a few more years to see the full fruits of his many years of labor.

The care and consideration given him by his comrades these past four months was a magnificent tribute. At the same time it was a real tribute to the party itself for it demonstrated, in action, its capacity for warmth and understanding of human problems.

Due to that consideration of the Party, I was able to be with him during the seven weeks prior to his death. He knew that his comrades saw to it that he had the best medical care available. It

is tragic that medical science is still so inadequate.

His illness prevented him from reading the hundreds of letters and messages he received but as I read them to him it was apparent how much they meant and strengthened him. All of the way, he knew his party was at his side in his battle for life.

This was demonstrated again and again when he received visits from comrades. Unable to rise, unable to speak clearly, his whole face would light up as some comrade approached. While he was unable to participate freely in discussions or conversations about the party's activities, he followed each with full attention and interest. Although confined in bed he was a participant in the party's activities on the very day of his death.

The memorial meeting held yesterday in New York was a fine tribute to Dad. The record and activities of those selected to pay him tribute were a tribute in themselves. The hall arrangements, the singing of the Red Flag and the International, the caliber of those attending, the speeches themselves—each was as he would have chosen it to be.

Along with the time and energy he expended in building the Socialist Workers Party, the many trade union struggles in which he engaged, he always found the opportunity and time to give me his guidance and care. I cannot describe in detail all of those experiences, but no one ever enjoyed the heritage that is mine.

GLORIOUS EXAMPLE Dad spent his whole adult life in the struggle to free his class. His was a rich experience! He made every effort to pass on to me the knowledge that he had acquired from those experiences. I and the other workers of my generation will benefit from his participation in the struggle to keep Marxism and Leninism on a true course.

He and the other Trotskyist pioneers have hewed out the nucleus of the American Revolution and founded the Socialist Workers Party. Only a child myself, I saw what a grueling task that was.

It was he who introduced me to

His Life Taught Us Hope and Confidence

Oscar Coover is dead! The lion-hearted revolutionist—the tender-hearted comrade is gone. We are tragically poorer today because of Oscar's death. But Oscar would never have us mourn as those who have no hope. His whole life taught us hope and confidence. And so we say goodbye to our Oscar with the firm assurance that his years of sacrifice and devotion will some day bear triumphant fruit in the victory of international socialism over war, poverty and oppression.

C. R. Hedlund

my first picket line when I was nine. It was he who gave me the opportunity of knowing the great leaders of the Teamsters strikes in Minneapolis and seeing firsthand those great struggles. His guiding hand led me to understand the meaning of the class struggle.

His whole life has been an example that I hope to emulate, at least in part. How proud I have been to bear the affectionate nickname of the "Kitten," for I know of no finer man, comrade or father than the "Cat!"

What He Would Want Us to Do

Oscar Coover was not only my comrade for almost a score of years but he was also my close friend and teacher. To say a last "goodbye" to the Cat is one of the hardest things that I have ever faced in my life. The debts that I owe to Oscar can never be repaid—except by doing what he would want me to do and that is to carry on in the way that he taught all of us. I will do my best to live up to the example of his life and teachings.

Harry DeBoer

A Wound That Is Deep and Painful

Oscar Coover was a noble workman. In his unwavering devotion to the ideas of revolutionary socialism, in his unflinching courage in the day-to-day struggle to defend those ideas, in his selfless toil to build the party which will make those ideas a reality in the not distant future, Oscar was one of the outstanding builders of our party.

How can we tell of our loss? Some of the life blood of our party has been drained away. It will be replenished, it's true. But the wound is deep and painful. Words are not enough to express either our sorrow or our gratitude for the lifetime of loyalty that Oscar gave to his party and ours.

Barbara Bruce

He Left a Pattern That All Should Copy

No one had more faith and confidence in the working class than Oscar. Oscar may be gone, but he has left the pattern for all devout revolutionists to copy. Farewell to a true friend and a glorious fighter!

Jake Cooper

More Next Week

It was impossible for us to print all of the numerous articles, telegrams and letters about Oscar Coover received from all parts of the country. We can't promise to print all of them but we will surely print more next week, along with articles on other subjects received this week but held over for lack of space. — ED.

N.Y. Meeting Honors Pioneer SWP Leader

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, May 7—Friends and comrades of Oscar Coover gathered today at Beethoven Hall to pay tribute to the veteran Trotskyist who died on May 3. They came not only from New York, but from Newark, Baltimore and Philadelphia, to mourn their loss and honor Oscar's lifetime of service to the socialist cause.

"Oscar was great in whatever he did," said the chief speaker, Carl Skoglund, his life-long friend and co-worker in the Minnesota labor movement.

"Whatever he undertook he did with greatest conscientiousness, honesty and courage. Oscar never flinched. Oscar was always in the spot where he was asked to be, always in the spot where he was required, always in the interests of the working class and his party."

As Skoglund recalled Oscar's many contributions to his class, everyone vividly remembered the years they had known this fine and tireless Trotskyist. Before most of the audience was born, Oscar was already a class-conscious militant. His proud trade union record dated back to 1906, when he joined the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

"NOT HARD TO CONVINCE"

"I first met Oscar," Carl Skoglund said, "when I began to work for a railroad company. He was the chief electrician. He was a highly skilled man and there were two electricians working under him. He had already been a member of the Socialist Party and was a great admirer of Debs and of the great fighters against the First World War, but he didn't know, hadn't been part of the new rising movement that came as a heritage from the 1917 revolution."

"I delivered its ideas to Oscar to the best of my ability. It wasn't hard to convince Oscar... It came as natural as living itself, to him. I didn't have to propagandize much; he wanted to join the movement right away. Oscar remained faithful through all the trials and tribulations that a member of a minority party had to suffer."

Oscar's physical and moral courage were unsurpassed. In the period of the Palmer Raids, when vigilante gangs were tarring and feathering radicals, the Minneapolis headquarters of the IWW was raided one night.

COURAGEOUS ACTS

"The IWW bought new furniture and set up guards to defend it," Carl recalled. "And one of those guards, sitting at night with guns waiting for the gangs to come, was Oscar. One night they came, and those gangs had to run for their lives."

Skoglund recalled that when Oscar was sent to prison along with other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party for opposition to the Second World War, his irreproachable fairness won him the special task of collecting from the 18 prisoners the meager funds they had for tobacco and fruit. It was Oscar's job to apportion these small luxuries, to repay other inmates for the tobacco given them when they entered, and to help out unfortunate newcomers with the "surplus."

"To you young people especial-

A Stalwart and Selfless Pioneer

We know Oscar Coover as one of the pioneers of the revolutionary movement—stalwart, uncompromising, imbued with revolutionary optimism and selfless devotion—as pioneers must be who blaze the trails for those to follow. Through the long years he gave strength and encouragement to the younger comrades who followed his lead. The interests of the party moved his whole life. Of such another comrade as Oscar, Lenin said, "He was before and above all an organizer. Such a man we could never replace, if by replacement we mean the possibility of finding one comrade combining such qualities. The work which he did alone can now be accomplished only by a whole group of men who, following in his footsteps, will carry on his service."

Henry and Dorothy Schultz

ly," said Carl, summing up the unselfish service that marked Oscar Coover's life, "I would like to say that you will best remember Oscar when you are in difficulties. If all of us take Oscar's spirit to heart and do our duty and to the best of our ability, we have paid our greatest tribute to Oscar; if he were alive that is what he would want you to do."

Speaking for the National Committee of the Socialist Workers

Party, William F. Warde paid special tribute to Oscar Coover's unswerving devotion to his principles.

The chairman, C. Thomas, read many of the telegrams and letters received from Oscar's friends and comrades throughout the country.

The meeting began with the singing of The Red Flag and ended with the singing of The International.

His Loyalty to Labor Was Model for All, Says Warde

NEW YORK, May 7—Oscar Coover incarnated the revolutionary workers who carry the socialist movement forward on their shoulders in defeat and in victory, said William F. Warde, speaking for the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party at the memorial meeting here today.

"There is a lot of to-do about loyalty today," said Warde. "Oscar, from the time he consciously identified himself with the working class and the socialist cause, never had any shred of loyalty toward the lies, the terror and the plunder of the bosses of this world. He showed that in all of his struggles."

"He showed that in the shopmen's strike, where for the first time he knew what it was to be put on a 'subversive' blacklist. He demonstrated it even more forcefully at the time of the Second World War, when he stood up in the courtroom and proclaimed his fidelity to the truth of the socialist cause, and to the stand that his party was making in defense of it."

"He passed every single loyalty test to the working class that anyone could possibly devise. Today he can stand as the model of loyalty in our party. Of anyone who measures up fully to the standards of working class fidelity, we can say, 'He's like Oscar Coover.'"

MANKIND ITSELF

Oscar's devotion to socialism was rooted in his faith in the working class, as the sole force

21 Years Ago



The above picture was first printed in The Militant of March 1, 1929. It shows Oscar Coover as he looked in January of that year after he had been severely beaten by a gang of Stalinists seeking to prevent the holding of the first Trotskyist meeting in Minneapolis.

V. R. Dunne, in the Feb. 1, 1929 Militant, gave this description of the affair: "At Wednesday's meeting held at A.O.U.W. Hall a gang of thirty or more hoodlums organized by the (Communist) Party leadership rushed the hall early in the evening before the crowd arrived. Comrades Skoglund and Coover who were alone, handling tickets at the door, were attacked by the entire gang and badly beaten by blackjacks and brass knuckles. The slugging of these two prominent militants was accomplished by a division of labor between the members of the Lovestone and Foster factions. The latter held the arms of Coover and Skoglund from behind while the former wielded the blackjacks over their heads."

The Stalinists did not succeed in terrorizing the Trotskyist opponents, however. A nother meeting at which James P. Cannon spoke was quickly organized and successfully held under the protection of a workers defense guard. The March 1, 1929 Militant printed a letter by Oscar Coover reporting that Trotskyist activity was making headway in Minneapolis despite "the exclusion, slander and finally the fascist methods" to which the CP had degenerated.

LABOR'S POTENTIAL

Oscar, with his understanding of Marxism and his own experiences in the working class, knew that "The sons and daughters of labor would free mankind along with themselves from the monopolists who block the road to progress. In his lifetime he had many chances to find out what he and others like him could do, if they were only given the opportunity. He had many times witnessed the ingenuity and capabilities of his fellow workers, in the shops, in the neighborhoods, in strikes and in organizing drives."

"No man who went through the shopmen's strikes which were defeated, or who went through the great Minneapolis drivers' strikes which were victorious, could doubt it. Whether there were setbacks or advances, Oscar there as a participant, as a keen-minded observer, drew the conclusions that one could never doubt the performance or the promise of organized labor."

"Finally, he had the party as a proof of the success ahead. A good worker understands the value of fine tools. Oscar learned from experience and from Lenin and Trotsky that the great tasks of combatting the evils of capitalism and reconstructing society require the proper instrument. And that instrument of political organization and social changes was the revolutionary party of socialist workers."

"Oscar was, as you have been told, above all a party man, a party builder. For thirty years he applied his energies to the creation of the party of socialist liberation in the United States. He incarnated, as well as any and better than most, the worker-militants who carry our movement on their shoulders and bear it forward no matter how tough the going."

"Multiply the Oscar Coovers, extend their activities, organize their strength—and the world of the monied monsters that seems to overshadow us so frighteningly, will not look so imposing and impenetrable. That is why his wonderful life is so inspiring and creative. In spite of the skeptics and snivellers, he showed how the worker can stand up against all the foes of the future, take their persecutions and their sneers, and with head held high (as we remember him in the photo of the 18 as they marched off to Sandstone prison on Jan. 1, 1944), reaffirm by every word and act his faith in the invincible power of the socialist movement of the oppressed."

"That faith of his is our faith. That he has left with us and it burns bright. In our Oscar was anticipated the future of American labor. We believe with him that that future is going to constitute the vindication of his pioneer work."

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; \$1 for 6 months; \$2 for 3 months; \$3.50 per yr. for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 50¢ each in U.S.A., 40¢ each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. Those are expressed in its editorials.

European Notebook

Algerian Workers Fight for Freedom

By Ernest Germain

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

But the summons of the Sunday L'Humanite remained without response. The May 1 line of march testified above all to the increasing coldness among French workers to Stalinist "directives." While the great majority of the Parisian workers stayed away from their jobs, hardly more than 30,000 persons marched behind the Stalinist leaders. The rather thin ranks embraced on the whole only the CP cadres and the affiliated organizations. The May 1 demonstration appeared to be a flop.

UNFORGETTABLE SCENE

At the very moment when everyone was awaiting the last of the marchers, there appeared the group of the Movement for the Victory of Democratic Liberties (the MTLD), the organization which embraces the great majority of the Algerian workers. It was a scene that will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Proudly marching behind their national banner, in ranks of 12, thousands upon thousands of Algerian workers strode across the streets of Paris, singing their combat songs, chanting their immediate demands. There were 30,000 of them and they dominated for the moment the celebrated suburb of Saint-Antoine, the heart of proletarian Paris.

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

The principal slogan of the Stalinists was the insipid one for

"peace." And thousands of Algerian voices replied magnificently: "The Struggle of the Colonial Peoples is the Struggle for Peace!" What a rebuff to the Stalinists! No one will ever know who was more shaken with rage on that memorable May 1 evening, whether it was the bourgeois prefect of police or the "son of the people," Maurice Thorez.

THEIR CONDITIONS

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

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

A POLITICAL ACT

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

venal press concerning an alleged "plot" discovered in Algeria. Officials of the MTLD have been interrogated, molested, arrested.

In the port of Bone, the authorities have not hesitated to seize hostages. In the suburbs of Algiers, a veritable rape of Algerians was organized, with half a hundred people abducted from their homes, tortured and then let go. While the "socialist" Naegelen praises the valor of his cops, this police, almost a carbon copy of the Gestapo, institute everywhere a reign of terror. Every victim arrested by them "is interrogated naked, panting amid chains, whips of electricity" and the like. [L'Algerie Libre (Free Algeria), Apr. 4.]

PROVOKING AN OUTBURST

In this way the administration is deliberately preparing and provoking an outburst of revolt upon which hideous and blood repressions would then descend. We know already of a previous provocation of this sort, the one staged on May 8, 1945: the toll of victims was 60,000. The laurel of his predecessor have apparently aroused the envy and emulation of the "socialist" Naegelen. The 30,000 Algerian demonstrators distributed thousands of circulars and paper, denouncing these provocations thus breaking the conspiracy of silence in the official press over Algeria.

The May 1 demonstration of the Algerians was no less important as a splendid demonstration of the independence of the ATLD movement from the Stalinists. Because the Stalinist chiefs are fully responsible for the bloody suppression of 1945; because they have for years denounced the nationalist Algerian leaders as "fascists," they have recently been exerting themselves to regain the sympathy of the MTLD, whose combat potential is considerable, in France as well as in Algeria. But these maneuvers have been doomed to failure. The Algerian masses will never forget the Stalinist conduct of 1945. Between them and the Stalinists there is a line of blood.

THE COMMON CAUSE

Thus when several weeks ago the former Stalinist minister Croizat insulted in the grossest manner La Verite, official paper of the French Trotskyists, because it had the courage to denounce the legislation of this same Croizat on family allotments which has brought great hardships to the Algerians, Free Algeria, official paper of the MTLD, promptly came to the defense of La Verite. It publicly praised the Trotskyist paper, the first one in France to denounce the injustice of which the Algerian workers have been the victims.

The future of the liberationist movement of the Algerian masses holds great promise for the French proletariat, for the proletariat of all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. North Africa is today a powder keg that can explode any time. Imperialism, mortally wounded in Asia, is seeking to trench itself in Africa, but it will be dealt new blows on the Black Continent. And the fraternal collaboration between the revolutionary vanguard of the French workers and the combat organization of the Algerian workers which can be and must be established will be the surest guarantee for the common struggle against a common enemy and for the victory of the common cause of socialism.

A LABOR DIPLOMAT ON THE YUGOSLAV QUESTION

By C. Thomas

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

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

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

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

Profound Effect All Over Europe

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

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

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

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

Workers Should Send Elected Representatives

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

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

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

FLINT SWP IS SETTING PACE IN FUND CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

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

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

in a fund campaign doesn't interfere at all with other branch activities."

Newark Branch made sure of holding second place in the campaign with an \$11 payment this week.

Pittsburgh's initial payment of \$45 is still good for third place. A payment of \$223 moved New York Local into fourth place.

Oakland Branch took a giant stride from the zero column to \$25 with their initial payment.

Both Akron and Allentown shouldered aside the zero category and tied with 13% of their quotas. Comrade Dennis says for the Boston Branch: "Although we are not making a very auspicious start on our fund quota, when the final tally is in it will show Boston paid IN FULL AND ON TIME."

An old friend and reader of The Militant contributed \$20 toward the General quota of \$695. These contributions from Militant readers are more than gratifying. Any contribution no matter how large, how small — from a friend and reader of our paper is concrete evidence that he understands the importance of carrying the message of Socialism to the American workers by keeping The Militant on the firing line.

LEON TROTSKY

FASCISM — What it is — How to Fight It. 48 pages, price 15c.

A compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky on fascism, including:

1. The Tragedy of the German Proletariat
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3. The Perspective Ahead in the United States.

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More Maneuvers on Labor Unity

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Militarists Entrench Themselves

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senate Stages A Sham Battle on FEPC Bill

(Cont. from page 1)

tire governmental machinery, and to make their sentiments known.

It could arouse even the Southern people by showing that the filibuster was preventing action on such measures as social security, farm price support appropriations, federal aid to education, the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control authorization program and other bills and appropriations due to be taken up after the FEPC issue is settled. In other words, by a skillful combination of physical and political pressure the administration could force even the Southern Democrats and Dixiecrats into a position where they could no longer prevent the majority of the Senate from voting on a pending measure. If, it must be repeated, if the administration wanted to.

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

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

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

TRUMAN'S INTENTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

LABOR PARTY NEEDED

Workers and Negroes who want an effective FEPC bill passed and enforced had better make up their minds now that they are not going to get what they want through reliance on the capitalist parties. The sooner they understand this, the sooner they repudiate the pro-capitalist politics of their official leaders, the sooner they start their own party and run their own candidates for office—the sooner they will be able to abolish Jim Crow in employment. That is one of the great and indisputable truths that the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are going to spread to the best of their ability in this year's election campaign. And everything that happens on the FEPC issue in the current Senate debate is going to confirm it.

Truman's Supreme Court Upholds Taft-Hartley Oath

(Continued from page 1)

employers were demanding that all employees take the oath. Others insisted that shop stewards and committeemen be included with elected union officials.

The Supreme Court decision will be interpreted by the union-busting fraternity as a go-ahead signal to bring all who labor without the repressive scope of the Taft-Hartley loyalty oath. The language is so vague it can be applied to any militant unionist.

ALL LABOR MENACED

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

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

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

"BELIEF" AND "WILL"

To make certain that no intended victim will escape the Taft-Hartley net, the Vinson opinion also proscribes "beliefs"

which "strongly indicate a will" to engage in "other forms of direct action." This sweeping injunction seeks to outlaw the most effective forms of working class struggle as "disloyal" and "subversive." Under this ban the unions would be completely disarmed, crippled and impotent. Taft-Hartleyism would be enthroned master over the working slave.

With the Supreme Court placing its seal of approval on the Taft-Hartley oath the Trumanite promise of repeal becomes more remote than ever. Taft-Hartleyism is now buttressed by decision of the highest court. Organized labor will become the target of intensified reaction. Only the firm "belief" in the methods of militant independent working class methods and the "will" to engage in struggle to the end can avoid catastrophe.

Corrections

An aggravating typographical error was committed in a sentence toward the end of Art Preis' article on Oscar Coover in last week's issue. He had actually written: "Oscar Coover was a gentle man, warm-hearted, friendly." Instead the two words, gentle man, were run together and printed as one word, changing the whole meaning.

An error was made in the translation of Ernest Germain's article, The 25th Hour, in our May 1 issue. In the final paragraph and in the fifth from last paragraph, the expression "slave techniques" was erroneously used. The proper translation in both places is "technical slaves," that is, machines.

MILITANT FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 175	\$ 116	66
Newark	350	120	34
Pittsburgh	150	45	30
New York	2,500	675	27
Oakland	100	25	25
St. Paul-Minneapolis	750	152	20
Toledo	50	10	20
Chicago	350	60	17
Worcester	30	5	17
Akron	75	10	13
Allentown	40	5	13
Boston	175	20	11
Buffalo	400	31	8
Los Angeles	1,300	100	8
Philadelphia	300	1	0
Cleveland	250	0	0
Connecticut	35	0	0
Detroit	800	0	0
Lynn	50	0	0
Milwaukee	150	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
San Francisco	700	0	0
Seattle	150	0	0
West Virginia	25	0	0
Youngstown	350	0	0
General	695	64	9
Total through May 9	\$10,000	\$1,439	14

Students and the Press

By Albert Parker

The capitalist press definitely did not like the New York high school student strikes and demonstrations for teachers' wage raises and the resumption of extra-curricular school activities. The reactionary papers wanted the students disciplined. "For rioting students and their ring-leaders, large old-fashioned doses of 'strap-oil' administered by parents would make fitting punishment," wrote the editors of the Scripps-Howard World Telegram and Sun.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hoover on the UN

By Paul G. Stevens

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1950

NUMBER 20

Toledo Hoodlums Prevent Holding Of May Day Rally

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

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

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

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

BAD PRECEDENT

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

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

Mexican Students Hear Discussion Of Kutcher Case

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

The speaker was George Weissman of the New York City Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. He answered many questions about the issues in the case afterward.

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

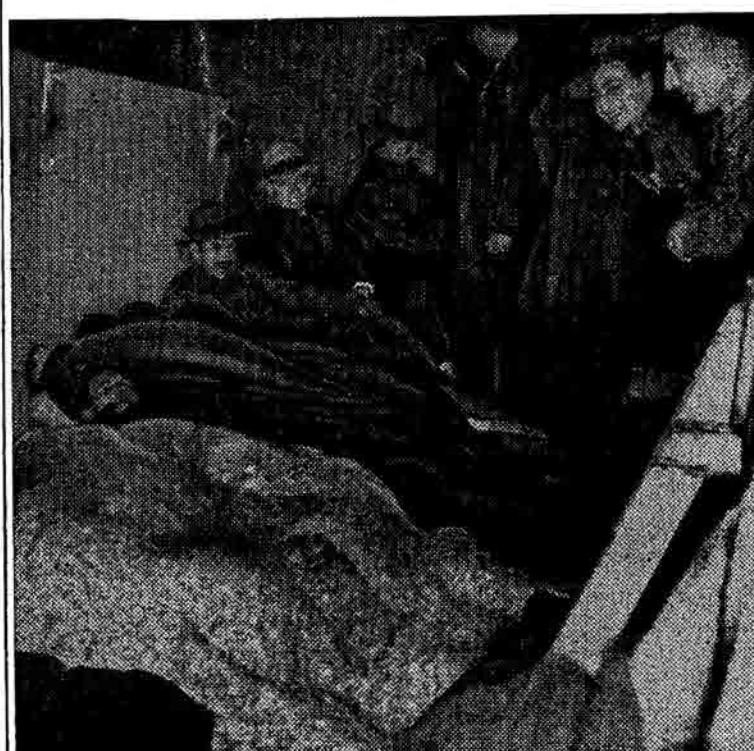
The meeting was discussed favorably in several of the social science classes the next day. It succeeded in spreading word about the Kutcher case to many who had not heard about it before. Most of the student body at Mexico City College come from the U. S.

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THE MILITANT

Shades of the Depression



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

Hosiery Workers Laid Off After Getting Wage Rate Cut

PHILADELPHIA — The conditions of the hosiery workers here are steadily deteriorating. First the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hos-

tery Workers agreed to go along with the employers in recent rate cuts that averaged 35%. Now, at the Gotham Hosiery knitting mill, one of the largest in the area, approximately 20% of the knitters are being laid off, supposedly for just one month, and another 20% are working only part time.

The way in which the company has been allowed to conduct the layoffs has further widened the breach between the rank-and-file membership and the union leadership. When the recent agreement was signed, the union officials agreed not only to the provisions that permitted the wage slash but also to the waiving of seniority as long as three shifts were operating.

Utilizing this provision, the Gotham company has been able to victimize some of the most militant sections of the union membership, men with high seniority, who participated in the recent protest — stoppage against the rate cuts. All three shifts employed on the 60-gauge machines have been laid off. Many working on the 45-gauge are only working 20 hours a week. Though many of these men have high seniority, they are not allowed to replace newer employees on other gauge machines because a nominal third shift making 51 and 48-gauge hose was retained.

DANGEROUS RESULT

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

DETROIT SWP PROTESTS BAN ON DISTRIBUTION OF MILITANT

DETROIT — The Socialist Workers Party here has sent a sharply worded protest to officials of UAW Dodge Local 3, remonstrating against the interference with dis-

tributors of The Militant practiced by the Local's "Flying Squadron." Pointing out that The Militant "has been a consistent supporter of the working class in all its struggles," the SWP warned that the attempt to prevent the distribution of The Militant to members of Local 3 could boomerang against the organized labor movement.

DON'T SET EXAMPLE

Emphasizing the determination to exercise its right to distribute The Militant, the SWP asserted: "In defending our rights we are defending your own. Unions cannot exist and live without a free press. Tomorrow, the employers may do as they did at the Ford overpass in 1940 where Walter Reuther and Dick Frankenstein were brutally assaulted as they attempted to distribute union literature. We urge you not to set examples which the corporations can use to justify similar actions in 1950." Attributing the interference to

Unless the rank and file at Gotham work out a militant program, win the support of the other hosiery workers in the area and regain control of the union for the membership, the hosiery manufacturers will succeed in their plans to return the industry to the sweatshop days. A program for rebuilding the strength of the union should include the following points:

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

POLITICAL ACTION

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

Textile Workers Override Rieve, Re-elect Baldanzi

The attempt to purge George Baldanzi, executive vice president of the CIO Textile Workers Union, backfired at the union's convention when the delegates re-elected him over the opposition of TWU president Emil Rieve and 17 of the 20 vice presidents.

The Baldanzi group had been at logger-heads with the Rieve faction over which group of bureaucrats would inherit the TWU apparatus when Rieve retired. The Rieve faction accused Baldanzi of neglecting TWU affairs by devoting too much time to national CIO problems.

Baldanzi was head of the CIO southern organizing drive, a post he relinquished upon his reelection.

New Chrysler Contract Shows Meager Results

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

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

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

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

WHEN WORKERS LEAVE

The workers lose all pension and insurance rights if they quit or are fired. The union estimates the entire cost to the company of these benefits will be equal to 10c. per hour, although realistic estimates indicate this is a padded figure, as the Ford figure turned out to be months after it was signed.

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

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

CONTRACT STILL ROTTEN

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

The few contract improvements are along the following lines: Some of the seniority provisions are improved a mite; discharged employees have the right to see a steward before leaving the plant. This section includes a number of protective loopholes for the company.

The Reuther leadership lost its demand for a union shop, settling for a voluntary check-off. The new contract provides for a middle step in vacation payments. Chrysler workers with three years seniority but less than five years will receive an increase of \$31.10 in vacation benefits. All other workers will receive the old rate.

Some wage inequities were eliminated. An area differential between the Detroit Chrysler plants and the Indiana plants has been reduced from 9c. to 6c., but a differential still remains. This is very important to the union because the corporation is constantly shifting operations to plants where cheaper rates prevail.

These gains are picaresque in contrast to the rotten contract provisions which were kept and even added to. In general, the union took a further long step backward by strengthening the powers of the umpire. And this is palmed off as a victory! In effect, the Chrysler agreement contains more of the GM-type umpire "grievance graveyard" provisions.

Umpire systems are notorious for the services they give the corporations. The best example is the GM set-up. Serious bargaining is impossible when they exist because they provide the employers with a perfect alibi for stalling on grievances — in the confident assurance the umpire will rule in their favor on all the important cases, while throwing an unim-

portant crumb to the union now and then to cover up.

GRIEVANCE RESTRICTIONS

The final provisions on the bargaining procedure decidedly favor the corporation. All the old restrictions on the stewards are kept and reinforced by the following clause: "The privilege of Chief Stewards to leave their work during working hours without loss of pay is subject to the understanding that the time will be devoted to the prompt handling of legitimate grievances and will not be abused and that the Chief Stewards will do the work to which they are assigned at all times except when necessary to leave their work to handle grievances as provided herein."

The company did not succeed in putting into the contract a time limit on the handling of grievances by the stewards, but it got something almost as effective. For every step a steward takes must be cleared with supervision.

Another gift the Reuther administration gave the corporation was in yielding on the promise to win protection for the probationary employees. In a nutshell, Chrysler's lawyers did a much better job of representing Chrysler than Reuther and Matthews did of representing their members.

To top it all off, the corporation won a three-year agreement — the first in the auto industry. The union can open negotiations only twice within that period on wages and insurance.

BROKEN PROMISES

The allowable dates of termination, subsequent to July 1, 1951, and on one occasion subsequent to July 1, 1952, represent another broken promise by the union leaders — which was to fight for common termination dates of the Big Three contracts. In the special Ford edition of the United Auto Workers last October, under the caption UNION SEEKS UNIFORM TERMINATION DATES FOR BIG THREE CONTRACT, the International stated: "Contract negotiations will be conducted with both GM and Chrysler in the coming spring and summer months; and new contracts negotiated in those corporations will be lined up to terminate close to the new April, 1952, date provided in the Ford Contract."

How does Reuther's performance stack up with his promises? There is a tremendous gap between them. The program adopted at the 12th UAW convention for the 1949 Economic Demands called for a 38c. package including:

1. A \$100 per month pension for each worker who reaches the age of 60 with 25 years of service.
2. A contribution by management of 5% of its payroll into a fund from which will be paid the costs of complete medical care; a hospitalization, income maintenance and life insurance program for workers and their families.
3. A wage adjustment that will bring purchasing power back to where it was in June, 1946, the month before the OPA was destroyed.

That was for 1949! When we compare that with the present pathetic 10c. package, we must state that the mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. No wonder that in spite of the length of the strike, six delegates to the National Chrysler Council voted against accepting the agreement.

RANKS STOOD FIRM

Certainly the rank and file Chrysler workers did a heroic job. In the face of all obstacles, they stood firm as a rock — confounding the corporation with their willingness to stick it out, despite their lack of enthusiasm for the International's inadequate pension program. They recognized the struggle as basically a fight for their right to have an effective union — and in spite of a completely outmaneuvered and outfought leadership, they stood firm for more than three months. They licked the corporation, but their officials didn't measure up to the ranks.

Why the Chrysler workers won so little. In next week's issue

OHIO LABOR TO BACK DEMOCRATIC NONENTITY AGAINST TAFT IN FALL

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

Democratic opponent is State Auditor Joseph Ferguson.

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

LABOR'S POLICY

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

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

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

maximum labor strength at the polls. The unions could not only defeat Taft but elect one of their own to replace him.

As matters stand now, however, the workers will be urged to support a candidate who, if elected, will become just another cog in the Democratic machine in Washington. This machine has demonstrated in two sessions of Congress that it is unwilling or unable to pass the legislation supported by the CIO and AFL, inadequate as this is.

At a recent state-wide conference of the CIO-PAC, plans were made to get every possible worker registered to vote in November. The AFL and Mine Workers are also making every effort to get their people to vote. With the kind of election apparatus the unions are building it is possible to elect independent labor candidates.

NO VICTORY FOR LABOR

But the horse-and-buggy Gompers policy of rewarding "friends," a policy that has been proved thoroughly bankrupt, keeps the union leaders tied to the two party system and support of Democratic Party candidates. All this activity might lead to certain circumstances lead to Taft's defeat but it won't lead to a victory for labor.

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



SENATOR TAFT

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

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