the Washington debate.

can Senator Lodge. On the other itself from H-Bomb attack? hand leading Democrats, such as THE "NEW APPROACH" Tydings, Connally and McMahon, are calling for a "new approach" stressing the need for disarma- those, in Congress and out, who ence with the Kremlin, or "antrol" through the UN.

line is a direct continuation of rejected by Stalin, if their readithe methods American imperial- ness to make "concessions" and ism has employed since the begin- to be "flexible" brings no rening of its campaign to "contain sponse, won't this show that the communism" and to reach out for Kremlin has "aggressive" designs, undisputed mastery of the world. that it alone is responsible for But that campaign has suffered war and that the U. S. has "no a series of reverses: First, a crisis choice" but to drop the H-Bomb in the Marshall Plan for bolster- on the USSR before the USSR ing up bankrupt capitalist reg- drops it on the U. S.? imes; then, the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's forces in China; and finally, the loss of atomic monopoly when the Soviet Union acquired the atomic bomb.

STILL MORE FORCE

gains. Over the past six months the world balance has been tilted against the West. . . " By ordering his go-ahead on the H-Bomb, Truman "sought to shift the power balance back in favor of the finished the first week of his 12-3-West." In short, he is trying to day tour of this area. The results the Philadelphia NAACP, al-

But Truman's decision contains Since coming here, he, or a reptremendous implications. The H-resentative of the Kutcher Civil \$14.06 was taken by the audience. Bomb is so destructive that the outcome of any war in which it is used may well be determined by ated Clothing Workers; the Texible was taken by the addressed and increased may well be determined by ated Clothing Workers; the Texible was taken by the addressed and increased at the Mutchmore Memory.

The details of the case were also presented to interested audiences at the Mutchmore Memory. H-Bomb without agreeing in ad- ing Car Porters, who invited rep- plained why Negroes are so convance that they must beat the resentatives of the committee to cerned about the "loyalty" purge, Kremlin "to the draw," that is, address their next meeting.

in New Haven.

ON OUTLOOK FOR LABOR

Outlook for American Labor in fairs and work.

1950." Under this general title he

Cochran brings many years

of experience in the union move-

ment to his discussion of these

strikes in the Ohio area. Beside

being SWP Trade Union Commit-

tee chairman, he is familiar to

The Progressive

Party

Convention

The British

General Election

A New Book on

Trotsky in Italy

Next Week:

Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Commit-

genuine anti-war sentiment is being exploited, rather than effectively expressed, by both sides in the U.S. and in the rest of the world if they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the they are suddenly control of the people in the U.S. and in the rest of the U.S. and I.S. and I fronted with the announcement The division has cut across par- that Washington has perpetrated ty lines in the U. S. Senate. Sec- its own "Pearl Harbor" attack on received the support of Republi- and the only way to save the U.S.

This, indeed, is the argument of ment, or another "peace" confer- propose the "new approach" and "one last attempt" to achieve "inother try" at "international con- ternational control" of atomic weapons and disarmament. If all The administration's "hard" their "reasonable" proposals are

Truman does not rule out the (Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite!

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Back Us Up and We Can Win, ty lines in the U. S. Senate. Sected and Section of State Acheson's reaffirmation of the administration's reliance on overwhelming military force and a continued "firm" by proving that it is absolutely inavoidable, completely justified and the only way to save the U.S. The section of the support of Republication of t

Crocodile Tears

OH - THE HORROR OF IT ALL!

FEPC Gutted in House By 240-177

Vol. XIV - No. 9

As we go to press, the House of Representatives has just voted to disembowel the Fair Employment Practices bill by adopting an amendment that would deprive the FEPC of power to compel anyone to stop discriminating. The amended "voluntary" bill, which was finally passed by 240-177, was denounced by the NAACP as thoroughly unsatisfactory.

LEGLESS VET GETS NEW As the N. Y. Times admitted on Feb. 19, "the hard fact is that the Kremlin is making large HELP IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 21 - James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his government job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, today

restore the prestige and political show that he is receiving the same though it was a Stalinist-controldominance of American imperial- kind of warm support from the led meeting. A Stalinist made an ism by a resort to still more force, labor and liberal movements here attempt to adjourn the meeting the only basis on which that pres- as he did nationally during his re- immediately after Kutcher had tige and dominance rested to be- cently concluded coast-to-coast finished speaking, but in spite of

which side uses it first. We can tile Workers Joint Board; Brew- ial Baptist Church and the St.

this obvious attempt to prevent

in the minds of many leading Negro press. Kutcher was able to really get scared. If they can do first organized action of the ad-maintain the "status quo." capitalist politicians is: What will get the floor at the meeting of this to you, imagine what they ministration since the Supreme COCHRAN TO TOUR U.S. civil rights.'

MINISTERS' GROUP

Kutcher also spoke to the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers Conference, which endorsed his fight for reinstatement to his job.

The veteran's activities here tee of the Socialist Workers Party, will make a coast-to- are sponsored by the Kutcher that of a blind man groping for coast lecture tour under SWP auspices, beginning Mar. 9 CIO Industrial Union Council. The his way on a dark street. highlight of the local campaign with SWP members and sympa- will be a public meeting Friday hopes and wishful thinking. There

Hotel. The tentative tour schedule will discuss John L. Lewis and calls for Cochran to spend most himself, will include William down with the government and CIO, the new Murray-Reuther starting in New Haven on Mar. novel, "Last of the Conquerors"; Union attorney were to go through Valley Formula," modern strike 13. A full schedule of the cities Rev. Luther E. Cunningham, pas- refused to review the anti-hiring strategy, and the prospects for to be covered will be printed in tor of St. Paul's Baptist Church; hall decision of the lower court. left-wing unionism and a Labor The Militant as soon as the dates and George Novack, national sec- A lobbying delegation was to be 1938, he caved in under the pressure ago had broken with the

which side uses it first. We can tile Workers Joint Board; Brewtake it for granted that Truman ery Workers; three divisions of and his top counsellors did not the Transport Workers Union; the Transport Workers Union; make the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the several officials of the AFL Sleepmake the decision to produce the The raid on a meeting of anti- | Congress to exempt the maritime | mission to set up government describing how many Negro pos- Curran seamen by an administra- industry from the Taft-Hartley run hiring halls.

can do to us. Therefore I am go- Court upheld the outlawing of the ing to support your fight for union hiring hall. Faced with the most deadly attack on maritime ternal union opponents.

It consisted largely of pious to cutlaw rotary shipping. His lectures will deal with "The thizers to discuss local party af- night, Feb. 24, at the Broad Wood was not a spark of inspiration to the beautiful thizers to discuss local party afnor a single concrete plan to

that they will drop the H-Bomb The case of the legless veteran tal workers had been victimized tion-led mob on Feb. 19 highlights ban on the closed shop — and Together with the Stalinists, first, before they can be attacked by any "potential" opponent with by any "potential" opponent with and sympathy from the local Ne- lovalty order means to us," he time Union and the bankruptcy nature of Taft himself. Mean-

NO PROGRAM

In contrast, the course he out- will never be held. Curran swears postcards and letters-to-yourlined in his report on the hiring he will never compromise on the congressman. hall at the last New York NMU hiring hall. But in the very next are sponsored by the Kutcher membership meeting resembled breath, he attacks those who want leled only by the bankruptcy of instigator of the shipowners' move and File Conference" whose

The speakers, beside Kutcher prepare the seamen for the show- owners' government and with from the policies and forces it repthe mine strike, the split in the of his first week in New England, Gardner Smith, author of the shipowners that is bound to come. retreat. In 1936, he capitulated to rotten gang that dominates the the attempt of the "seamen's NMU. bureaucracy, the decline of Stal-bureaucracy, the decline of Stal-9, Boston on Mar. 10, Lynn on Henry F. Shipherd, president of the motions of a new appeal to friend," Roosevelt, to undermine The "Conference" effected a inism, the return of the "Mohawk Valley Formula," modern strike Valley Formula," Mar. 12 and Worcester on Mar. 10, Lynn on Henry F. Shipherd, president of the motions of a new appear to the Supreme Court which had the hiring hall by forcing the public reconciliation between the refused to review the anti-hiring

gro community. The story of his said. "When I see what they have of the Curran leadership. This while a common prayer is to be guns on the "super-militants" of The question which this raises fight has been publicized in the done to a man like you, then I shameful assault constitutes the sent up for the shipowners to the West Coast, the very forces their wrath. which smashed both government attacks by direct action. Today Curran has become the mortal Any hope for effective action foe of the Stalinists. But he has was deferred to a proposed "joint no other "program" than the one unionism in its history, Curran's conference" of maritime unions they gave him in the days of fire is trained exclusively on in- for which no date has been set- Roosevelt: trust the government and judging by past experience and fill the letter - boxes with

> Curran's bankruptcy is paral-"to fight Uncle Sam" - the chief the "Emergency National Rank

> meeting he attempted to break every major struggle of seamen done the "opposition" a better - utterly dependent on the ship- service than to detract attention plans only for compromise and resents and to focus eyes on the

> seamen to carry "fink books." In dissident elements who only three

Even more urgently we must Realizing they can get nowhere ers should never be permitted to refute the charge that there that no one will ever again be show that traditional American whittled away by the capitalist The way to do this is by show- witch-hunters, headed by Truman

The Socialist Workers Party, in deciding to run its own candidates in as many places as possible, has undertaken to give Times, Feb. 23.) with that answer has the duty of do. by the way, although for dif- pened to liberty under the capi- extending the maximum aid to a close collaborator of Mao and and their backers in Washington

Government, Operators Plot New Steps to Break Strike

By Art Preis

FEB. 23 — With magnificent endurance and courage. the 370,000 soft coal miners are holding out against two Taft-Hartley injunctions invoked by the Truman admin-

istration. They have defied the back-to-work injunction issued by agents, as they are doing, can Federal Judge Keech. At this swarm in to snoop, question and writing, the United Mine Work- harass. Professional strikebreakers stands cited for civil and ers can sneak into the pits in criminal "contempt," facing the the dark of night or surrounded threat of ruinous fines and even by armed deputies. But all of imprisonment of its leaders.

But the miners have chosen to Only the miners can do that. match their power to withstand greed and cupidity of the mine harsher measures. Shall he send of the year. The operators are backs won't dig coal. And the anxiously watching the winter political cost of sending troops their best chances for profits.

Can the miners' stomachs hold out longer than the profits-hunger of the operators? We have firstus relief - money and food -

OUR BOUNDEN DUTY

whole labor movement. Pour the the government and not the funds and the food into the mine operators shall take the profits.

to its climax, the miners have know what that means. The govdemonstrated once more that you ernment tacks a sign, "U. S. can't dig coal with injunctions. Property," on the mine tipples; Each move of Truman and the overnight the mine owners and courts to overawe and intimidate them back to work has only colonels. Nothing is changed, the hardened the miners, increased owners rake in the profits as be-

The government has the power the mantle of government. to rob the UMW treasury and jail | The "bright boys" in Congress its leaders. The operators' gun- are already cooking up a formula men can roam the mine districts that would appear to meet the to terrorize the miners. FBI

them together cannot mine coal.

And so Truman is being forced privation and hunger against the to consider more drastic and owners. The workers are keeping troops? Bayonets can't dig coal. the pits closed in the coldest part miners with bayonets at their days trickle past, and with them against American workers comes

"SEIZURE" NEXT?

His only other course, if hunger hand reports from the mining and injunctions fail to beat the fields of West Virginia and Penn- miners down, is to seize the mines, sylvania and from CIO and AFL as was done three times in 1943 unions where miners' delegations and again in 1946. It worked four have been visiting to seek moral times before, maybe it will work support and material aid. "Give again. The miners have indicated that they are ready to work for and we can hold out indefinitely." the government, but not for the private owners, including the subsidiaries of the steel, railroad and light and power corporations. And that is the big, immediate They will work for the governlask, the bounden duty, of the ment, that is, with one proviso -

The miners want nothing like As this great struggle moves those previous "seizures." They fore, except they are cloaked with

(Continued on page 2)

HO VEERS FROM STALIN LINE, GETS TITO TIES

The Yugoslav government announced through For-This is how Curran has entered up. The goons could not have eign Minister Kardelj, on Feb. 21, that it had decided to recognize the Republic of Viet-Nam, headed by Ho Chi

Minh, as against the puppet gov- 9 ernment of Bao Dai, set up by inists, the likelihood is that "he French imperialism and officially did not approach the Yugoslav London.

Important as the Belgrade decision is by itself, having been taken against the combined ferocious pressure of the U.S. State Department and other Western powers, it is in part overshadowed by the fact that this step was taken on the initiative of Ho Chi Minh himself, who formally addressed a request to been working might and main to Belgrade for the establishment avert in the Far East. of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

tion discloses the significant detail that Ho Chi Minh made this gesture of amity toward Yugoslavia on Jan. 14, and that his followed by the Kremlin in request was forwarded by his resolving the "dispute" with authorized representative from Thailand on Feb. 3, that is, AFTER the recognition of Viet-Nam first by Mao Tse-tung and then by the Kremlin. It was received in Belgrade on Feb. 15.

Dispatches from Belgrade renort considerable elation among the Yugoslav ruling circles. They are quoted as pointing out that this move by Ho Chi Minh came in the very midst of the Chinese-Soviet negotiations in Moscow and "at a time when the Moscow radio | Stalinism finds its expression in warned the Communists of south- the Far East as it has, in the east Asia to seal off their coun- case of Yugoslavia, on the contries from 'Titoism'." (N. Y.

speculation to the effect that death of the Vietnamese people since Ho Chi Minh has long been against the French imperialists

recognized by Washington and Communists in opposition to the wishes of the Chinese leader." AN INDEPENDENT ACT

The full implications of Ho Chi Minh's move cannot possibly be assessed at this stage. But it is unquestionably a move of independence, if not defiance, of the Kremlin. It is precisely the sort of development that Stalin has

This effort to prevent "Titoist" outbreaks in Asia was indicated Kardeli's telegram of recogni- by the course and outcome of negotiations with Mao Tse-tung in Moscow. It was clearly evidenced in the moderate course Sanzo Nosaka, chief of the Japanese Communist Party.

> There have been many rumors n the past of friction between Ho Chi Minh and Moscow, of an 'independent policy" followed by Ho, and the like. The clearest confirmation of this, thus far, is the establishment of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

It is only a question of time before the international crisis of tinent of Europe. Should it erupt into the open, as it well may, There is also considerable amid the unfolding war to the upon the help of the Chinese Stal- suffer another irreparable blow.

retary of the Kutcher Committee. sent to Washington to persuade sure of Roosevelt's Maritime Comproblems. He was a CIO official in the Thirties and a leading participant in the 1937 stidown strikes in the Ohio area. Beside

By Albert Parker

Militant readers for articles in this paper and the Fourth Interfare state," the Republican Party election campaign. For it means socialism in his program. His tour will be the third in the R. Dunne who preceded him, he ism."

will be available for meetings showing how absurd it is to put Democratic Party stands for the "socialist" label on him, his socialism. . . It can't be done." administration or his party.

Taking the budget as an example, he said: "More than 70% future.)

third of the budget, and less in proportion to the national income production monopolies. than they were ten years ago."

for past wars and to work for ever socialist about a government tyranny, and naturally he is on with socialist emancipation. peace in the future." (By peace that allocates tens of billions for in the future he means war in the war and peanuts for social needs. reservations. The only thing that has to be "Our other expenditures," he added is that there is not much contentions about socialism, the pose the fantastic falsification that revolutionary answer to continued, "are less than one- welfare about it either - unless Trumanites try to equate it with that capitalism means liberty by reaction. Everybody who agrees you mean welfare for the war-

NOT MUCH WELFARE

That's really an eye opening part of the revolutionary socialist tasks in the 1950 campaign is to man's new buddy, Franco.

statement, and one that the work- job in 1950 is to help Truman explode these lies so thoroughly with denunciations of the "wel- forget for the rest of the 1950 is anything faintly resembling able to peddle them - either liberties are constantly being

In support of their fraudulent Stalinism (just as the Stalinists reminding the workers what hap-

the side of capitalism without any

Trumanites or Stalinists.

part of his speech at the \$100-a- rect in saying: "The difficult major objective is the preserva- Stalin — they were simply borplate Jefferson - Jackson Day thing [for the Republicans] is to tion of the capitalist system that rowed from the centuries - old them with the demagogic slogan, dinner in Washington on Feb. 17 make the country believe that the produces such evils in abundance. arsenal of capitalist reaction and Liberty versus Socialism. The One reason why Truman doesn't adapted to the purposes of the Democrats will say the same thing like the new GOP slogan is that bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin. in the idea, Liberty and "Welfare it steals some of his own thunder. We must make the truth known State" Capitalism. The answer Like the Republicans, he main- that Stalinism has a thousand that must be counterposed to He is 100% correct on this point tains that capitalism means times more in common with them both is: Socialism and of our federal budget goes to pay because there is nothing what- liberty while socialism means capitalist barbarism that it has

CAPITALISM vs LIBERTY

At the same time we must ex-

1950. The Republicans will meet Liberty versus Capitalism.

In a certain sense, therefore, ferent reasons). One of our main talist regimes of Hitler and Tru- the SWP in the highly important since he now depends greatly and London, the Kremlin will 1950 campaign.

Of course we'll go about it difleaders have thrown that slogan that in terms of the national in-1949-50 series planned by the overboard and come up with a come the U. S. is less of a "wel- ferently than he will. We'll do it ing that Stalinism is not only the himself, and that unless we stop by showing that the Trumanite opposite of socialism and the them in time, they will impose on SWP. Like Morris Stein and V. new one: "Liberty versus Social- fare state" than it was in 1940! It is not often that we agree program leads inevitably to Hell- murderer of socialists, but that us a military-police regime not Truman doesn't mind the "wel- with anything Truman says, but Bomb war, dictatorship, depression the totalitarian methods of re- too different from the kind headed fare state" label; but "socialism" on the basis of his budget alone and permanent insecurity, if not pression which it employs against by Hitler and Stalin. -- that's out! He spent the major we think he was absolutely cor- total annihilation, because its the masses were not invented by These are the big issues in

European Notebook —

Rousset-Sartre Debate

Nazi concentration camps, the responsible for the concentration unity in the Stalinist front. which lived by exploiting his former china, or with their attorneys. captivity. All his published novels have dwelled on this theme. All SARTRE'S ANSWER his political moves have had the politics.

Rousset was chiefly responsible venture. Using the reactionary injustice." weekly Le Figaro Litteraire as his rostrum, Rousset issued an ap- a "united front" with imperialism tional action against the con- quite properly: centration camps in the USSR.

SHEER HYPOCRISY

Rousset's pretense that he has just discovered the existence of these camps can be stigmatized it will rally an audience that only as sheer hypocrisy. For he has actually known about them for 15 years, that is, ever since he first entered the Trotskyist movement. Nor, it might be added, was he unaware of the existence his conviction that "in spite of ance with the imperialist bandits so many "proofs" pounced upon everything" only the Stalinist and their attorneys. Even in their by the Kremlin's lackeys to bureaucracy was capable at this struggle against Stalinist gang- "prove" that Soviet concentratime of playing a progressive sterism, the Trotskyists have allient camps cannot be condemned protect the operators' profits just nected with this struggle has been

petty bourgeois intellectuals in Western Europe. Yesterday, it was swayed by the pressure of the Kremlin's "victories" and Rousset was one of its mouth- IN THE MUD pieces inside the revolutionary movement. Today, it sways under of Lenin's death, the American The only objective result of his before a more select public.

Jean-Paul Sartre says in sub- own profit. inist concentration camps cheek the cold war of the State Depart-

Ever since his release from the by jowl with those who are ment. It also helps reestablish French writer David Rousset has camps in Greece, Spain or Indo- has been gravely torn by crises

Sartre quotes the following no other serious argument with same pretext. Few things are tell-tale passage from Rousset's which to answer the ever mountmore revolting than such bomb- appeal: "... to fight in any effec- ing criticism in their own ranks astic exploitation of one's past tive way against the exploitation except: "It is impossible to depart misfortunes. On top of what is of man by man, it is necessary from the policy of the USSR on personally odious, there has been to concentrate (sic!) the blows added the odiousness of his on the system which renders such the camp of imperialism." exploitation most pitiless, carries it to the greatest extremes and for the pro-American orientation shuts out most rigorously the of the RDR. When this same RDR whole future of liberation. We fell apart several months ago, do not speak of injustice in gen-Rousset, badly in need of publi- eral, but of this specific injustice slavia's very existence is a strikcity, plunged into a new ad- whose name is concentration-camp

To this thinly veiled appeal for peal on Nov. 12, 1949 for interna- against Stalinism, Sartre replies

> "How is this struggle rendered with the Kremlin without bemore 'effective' by severing from coming an agency of imperialit those injustices which are not ism. those of the Soviet system? Because, beyond a shadow of doubt, HELPS STALINISM would slink away at the very his Barnum-like propaganda tours mention of the Spanish or Greek in a number of countries, his ap-

All of Rousset's activities

Stalin - the French bourgeoisie

needs no lessons from Rousset on

campaign will be to drive some

afraid of going over to the side

obedience and co(mi)nformism.

That is why the reply of Jean-

Sartre is a thousand times right apologists of colonialism - all ways been careful to appeal only by anyone without his also be- the same. Representative Bailey put to the class test. All of them to those personalities in labor coming an attorney for Franco's of West Virginia is reported to - Truman, Congress, the courts, clude, reflects the evolution of and liberal circles who had a concentration camps. against all forms of oppression to which humanity has been sub-

On the eve of the anniversary how to defend its class interests. the pressure of the imperialist radio in Berlin, an advanced post counter - offensive, and Rousset in the cold war over the air- hundreds of Communist intellecseeks to express its aspirations waves, broadcast, with extensive tuals and workers, who are on and laudatory commentaries, the Jean-Paul Sartre, well-known Testament of Lenin. But this Stalinist apparatus but mortally French writer, comes quite close exhortation was preceded by a to expressing the same opinion. talk in favor of including Franco This former associate of Rousset Spain in the Atlantic Pact! There in the RDR has published in the is not much point to reproaching January 1950 issue of his maga- the imperialists for utilizing in PROGRESSIVE ACT zine, Les Temps Modernes, a their own interests all kinds of crushing reply to Rousset's ap- arguments, including those that Paul Sartre, who reaches this peal. Sartre quite correctly con- they find in the revolutionary very same milieu, is a highly imdemns the Stalinist concentration camp. But it is all the more portant and progressive act. By selves? obligatory to denounce in the drawing a rigid line of demarcacamps and points out that it is sharpest terms such a crime as tion from all anti-Soviet imperialthe duty of all revolutionary that of a Rousset who drags the ist moves, by explaining that he socialists to fight against them. cause of socialism in the mud by addresses himself exclusively to But he categorically repudiates using his revolutionary past and the working people in the strug-Rousset's attempt to line up with his "Marxist" phraseology to gle against Stalinism, Sartre Rousset's attempt to line up with his "Marxist" phraseology to creates the premises for carrying the authentic representatives of authentic representatives of cover up the very same deliberate on that dialogue with the work- at the expense of the operators. The cover up the very same deliberate on that dialogue with the work- at the expense of the operators. The cover up the very same deliberate on that dialogue with the work- at the expense of the operators. the imperialist bourgeoisie in muddle of ideas and sentiments

"We'll never forget the way that

little paper defended us during the war

when everyone else was against us."

Like the miners on the economic front,

Plot Anti-UMW Injunction



President Truman meets with his "fact-finding" board after deciding to order government attorneys to get a Taft-Hartley injunction against the nation's miners. But so far injunctions have produced no coal.

ministrations of Britain or line colonial adpearances at press conferences alongside of representatives of extreme reaction and of avowed of these camps in 1945, when he quit the French section of the Fourth International because of causes can be ruined by an alligrange of causes can be ruined by

(Continued from page 1)

Figaro reader of the need to fight return" on their investment.

KICK THEM OUT! the point of breaking with the of their own exploiters, back to Why not nationalize the mines, Hartley. kick the parasitic operators out altogether, and operate the in- POLITICAL LESSON dustry under the control of the

ers and intellectuals breaking The operators themselves are Truman's strikebreaking. this struggle. It is impossible, which imperialism concocts for its away from the Soviet bureau-fearful of government seizure of

> The frenegade Rousset gives coal industry? Won't that show are deserting to the camp of the run the mines, then what is the class enemy. Jean-Paul Sartre, on function of absentee owners? the other hand, symbolizes the The coal miners' battle to preserve their union security and progressive evolution of bourgeois better their conditions of life has intellectuals who are sincerely bared the real class relations in

Every individual, agency and miners' position on "seizures" but institution of government conbe preparing a bill to permit Tru- the major political parties — have Rousset's campaign will not man to take over the mines with- been forced to take their stand. free a single prisoner of the out profit to the operators - ex- All have answered, "Present!" GPU. Nor will it convince a single cept for a guarantee of a "net when the capitalist class called ed how Charles Spencer, CP

Truman thought he could pretend to stand above the struggle, con-The miners say they want the ceal his real class ties. But the government to operate the mines class forces have proven mightier without any profits to the owners. than he is. Twist and squirm and And that is a step toward a more maneuver as he might to keep up fundamental and permanent solu- his pretense of "friend of labor," tion of their problems. If the gov- he has been forced to drop his ernment can operate the mines mask. In the end, it was not the temporarily without profit to the hand of friendship he offered the owners, why not permanently? miners, but the club of Taft-

No doubt, he hopes that the men who do all the work and face Trumanite union leaders, the organize a back-to-work moveall the dangers, the miners them- Murrays, Greens and Reuthers, will be able to cover up for him Truman is hesitating. He says once more. They will plead all head. he needs a law to seize the mines. kinds of extenuating circum-He can find all the law he needs stances for him, or at least keep to try to force 370,000 miners to silent about his real role. Some ing Lewis for having split the After handing out a few sample work against their will and has of them, like Murray, have been operators and getting a section of copies, some of the members ineven claimed "inherent powers" forced by the pressure of their them to agree to \$1.50 wage sisted on paying for them. The to do so. But he can't find "in- own ranks to make gestures of raises. "Under no circumstances," last few weeks we have sold be-

Long after this struggle ends, stance, to fight against the StalRousset's game serves not only 1 task of the revolutionary movestance, to fight against the StalRousset's game serves not only 1 task of the revolutionary movesting Furgore

Won't that expose how little they political thinking of the miners statement: "The miners must rethere. are needed in the operation of the and the rest of the American turn to work immediately. . ." It "Last week we took 100 extra book is a study of economics from voice to the demoralization of them up for the useless parasites port Truman after what he has Roosevelt's strikebreaking and tinues Marianne. "With the help cording to the owner of the shop the ex-Marxist intellectuals who they are? If the government can again done to them? Can the "uphold the Commander-in-Chief of some new recruits who are very that was offering it for sale until "labor's allies" and make it the troops! trying to break with their class American capitalist society. Layer ance from workers who will be when it suited Stalin's foreign and to go over into the camp of after layer of the myths and lies thinking and saying, "You can't policy of collaboration with Wall the proletariat. Let us hope that that conceal the mechanism of capitalist class rule have been they will not halt mid-way on melting away in the heat of this or party! What we need is a party his policy in the future, they'll be rector Lillian Russell, 8 copies of our own!"

Stalinists Hope Miners Won't Remember 1943

The Stalinists are displaying "bleeding heart" for the miners. The Daily Worker appeals for aid. The Communist Party runs a campaign to collect food. Stalinist - led unions vote funds, end relief.

This food and money is collected from workers who give it gladly, of course, and the miners will rightly accept all they can get of it. But it is not likely they will accept the Stalinist tag that goes with it. The miners have long memories. They haven't forgotten 1943.

They will remember that if the Stalinists had had their way during the war, the miners wouldn't dustry today, the welfare and pension fund, or even a union.

When the miners were fighting one of the greatest battle of their lives, in May 1943, the Daily Worker didn't sing the tune i loes now, when the Stalinists, discredited and friendless, seek to curry favor with the miners.

On May 2, 1943, the CP held a eries of "May Day" celebrations. The theme was: Break the miners' strike! In Philadelphia, William Z. Foster, then as now National Chairman of the Communist notorious War Labor Board.

The May 3 Daily Worker, reporting on the CP meeting in Yankee Stadium, New York City, boasted: "The boos at the mention of Lewis' name were as loud as any expression of displeasure that ever came from a Yankee Stadium audience." It also reportsecretary in the Wilkes - Barre. Pa., mining area, spoke over a local radio station and appealed to the miners "not to follow Lewis into a treasonable strike."

The May 4 Worker gloated over the fact that the miners were forced to accept a truce and demanded that the "Lewis line" be "utterly defeated."

In June 1943, when the miners went out once more, the Stalinists came forth as the mostzealous strikebreakers. Their into the mine fields and tried to per at union meetings. Literature \$10 toward printing The Militant. Worker screamed for Lewis

ed a front-page editorial denouncconspiracy!"

cracy which is today the Number the mines under any conditions. its effects will be felt on the Communist Party issued a formal eraging 10 to 20 copies a week United States of Latin America. workers. Can the miners still sup- called on the people to back copies of the Miners' issue," con- the Trotskyist point of view, acunion leaders again represent in WHATEVER STEPS MAY BE enthusiastic Militant sales people, the remaining copies were re-Truman and the Democrats as NECESSARY." Even to using we sold 70 copies without any moved."

stick? They will try, but they That's the real record of Stal- the newsstands and we sent 15 will have a tougher time. They inism. They tried to smash the will meet more and more resist- miners strikes during the war trust ANY capitalist politician Street imperialism. And if it suits sults selling The Militant. Last

THE MILITANT ARMY

Brooklyn Leads in For 'Militant' Subs



ers Party for sub-

months sub. Brooklyn Branch continues to have the highest wages in in- of 80. These comrades are not of answering facts printed in The their goal they can go.

> 13 points. In the midst of sub-getting,

they lightened their bundle by 16 hall and throw it into the barrel." copies.

Party, publicly called on the Army have seen easier times for ing a bundle of Militants inside miners to repudiate their leader, sub-getting - when workers had the hall to make sure they got John L. Lewis, and bow to the more money or were scoring great into the hands of every one insuccesses in their struggles. Right terested in knowing why both now we have neither the flush Stalin's local representatives and days of the war nor a mighty po- such reactionary trade union bulitical upthrust. We're in between. reaucrats as Harry Lundeberg at-But that makes sub-getting all tack Trotskyism. the more important from a qualitative point of view.

Here's an example from Literlast November. Couldn't see his ment. way clear to subscribing. Not D.P. of Gary, Indiana, sent an long after, however, he came extra dollar to help get out The around to say he'd take the paper Militant when he renewed his subafter all. Later, when the issue scription and also \$5 "for the vicdevoted to the struggle of the coal miners appeared, he was all enthusiasm. "We've got to do something about helping the miners in our local union!" he said.

As Winnie observes, "Just a tiny example of the big role The graphy of John L. Lewis. The edi-Militant plays! Seattle had something of a sim-

agents and functionaries went lar experience in selling the pa-Agent Marianne Stanley writes ment. The super-patriotic Daily that after discontinuing sales at certain locals because "we didn't have very good results," another us on the firing line. attempt was made. "When we On June 11, the Worker blazon- started coming around again regularly, interest was stimulated

The National Committee of the another good place for sales, av- Ramos, and calls for a Socialist

trouble. Another 10 were sold on copies to District 10 of the Mine Workers Union."

The Oakland comrades are continuing to get encouraging reready to betray the miners again. were sold on the campus of the

University of California and 9 copies at a meeting "called by New York Campaign civic groups to discuss the question of the recall of three Councilmen. The recall was instigated by The campaign of the Real Estate interests because New York Local of the three Councilmen had voted

the Socialist Work- for 2,000 low-cost housing units." From Los Angeles, Literature scriptions to The Mi- Agent Bert Deck reports that litant crossed the "approaching individuals on a 90% mark last week. busy street corner continues to be With another seven our best method of selling the days to go, it ap- paper. Vivian sold 20 Militants in pears that the goal an hour. Helen spent two hours of 300 points should on a busy neighborhood corner be achieved despite and sold 50 copies. Selma has considerable difficul- been selling up to 15 a week." ties in sub-getting. Two points In addition, "Helen sold 8 copies are chalked up for every six- yesterday to the men on the Chrysler picket line."

In San Francisco the comrades lead with six points over a goal ran into a typical Stalinist way resting on their laurels, however. Militant. Literature Agent Dixon They plan to see how far above Woods writes that the Stalinistdominated leadership of the Ma-Among the sub-getters, top rine Cooks and Stewards, now honors this week go to Jane K. of facing an election struggle, don't Brooklyn. Her score is 21 points. like to see The Militant with its Lucille of the Downtown Manhat- exposures of Stalinism in the tan Branch is not far behind with hands of the membership. "They put a barrel out front for all 'Trotskyite & Shipowners' Propa-Zog, Pete and Cynthia sampled ganda, with a stooge standing by a likely-looking street corner in to take The Militant out of the Harlem for sales. In short order members' hands as they enter the

This succeeded the first time. Many members of the Militant Then union members began tak-L. B. Courts of Sharonville, O.,

writes, "I am convinced that there is no small paper in the United ature Agent Winnie Nelson of St. States better than The Militant." Paul: A worker in a shop there We appreciate that bouquet from turned down a Militant sub-getter an old timer in the socialist move-

tims of Stalin, Truman and Philip Murray in Greece." Thanks a lot. D.P. We'll see that the \$5 goes where you intend it to. D.P. also wants to know when this paper will review Saul Alinsky's biotors say it's coming up but no definite date yet.

A friend came in to contribute He didn't leave his name, just the \$10 which we gratefully accepted. It's such contributions that keep

Report Trotskyist Book Seized in Argentina

A dispatch from Buenos Aires printed in the Feb. 15 N. Y. Times reports that the government has confiscated a book called Latin America — One Country, which Seattle is finding the campus was written by Jorge Abelardo The Times dispatch says "the

Local Addresses **Of Socialist Workers Party**

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tremendous class struggle. Letters from Our Readers

The Bureaucratic Regime in the SIU

ment in Europe.

Editor:

this road!

of jitters. He is aware of the fact on SiU American ships also; on a few. that the totalitarian and finky namely, the elimination of galley sell-out practices evident in the boys and bedroom stewards on Curran and Lundeburg machines some ships. This is a far cry from system Hall used to keep Puerto are also unquestionably evident the old union slogan, an injury to Ricans off the new Bull Line Mark Twain's in his own machine. Knowing this, one is an injury to all, but of passenger ship, the S.S. Puerto and knowing that rank and file revolt sometimes spread beyond the confines of one union, he has launched an all-out campaign to purge all sincere and militant elements within the SIU.

ee what he is really up to.

after his raiding and subjugation power.

hot cargo in the Hawaiian long- fore a Hall screening committee. shoremen strike is one of the Out of the entire crew it seems Let us examine his actions and most infamous acts in labor his- that only one or two Puerto tory. While we probably have less Ricans were passed by this com-Paul Hall moved into the Sec- use for Harry Bridges than Hall mittee. Rotary shipping? retary - treasurer's office after does, we realized that the issue John Hawk had suddenly taken in that strike was wages and used to intimidate dissident voters. "ill" and retreated to the West not political adventure. Those Often when an issue comes to a Coast in early 1947. His ability Hawaiian strikers were making vote at membership meetings, the to take over completely was due about forty cents per hour less chairman, who is usually an oflargely to his posing as a great than the lowest paid union long-ficial of the port, gives the memmilitant. This show of militancy shoreman in the States, while the bers a hint on how to vote by a did not stem from consideration cost of living was as high, if not long-winded discussion. If a few its institutions or its officeholders. for the membership, but was higher there than in the States. members insist on voting con- The country is the real thing, the simply the means to an end - an One of Hall's excuses for sailing trary to the official wish, they substantial thing, the eternal absolute dictatorship over the hot ships was, the MEBA finked are usually asked to come for thing; it is the thing to watch SIU and any other union that so we can too. Hogwash! There ward and "go on record" as being over, and care for, and be loyal could be brought under his con- were men on the S.S. Marine against. They go on record all to; institutions are extraneous,

Hall's consideration for the pulsion if they did not. We un- | As for the democratic nominarank and file is demonstrated by derstand though, that some of the tions and election of officials, the the fact that less than one year men did refuse and were expelled. fraud is quite evident. The credenof the Canadian Seamens Union, Hall's crimes against organiza- from the same old clique of loyal It seems because of the recent Hal Banks, his chief lackey in tions, but his crimes against inrank and file revolts against the Canada, announced that the man- dividuals can't be dismissed. It that the nominations were honest, graft-soaked bureaucrats in the ning scale on SIU Canadian ships would take volumes to list all the how can the membership be assur-

> Most members in the Port of key to the hall? New York have heard of the course this means nothing to one Rico. Any member could throw for Kind of Loyalty whose only objective is personal the jobs as they came on the shipping board, but after taking Hall's role in the handling of the jobs the men had to go be-

Everyone knows of the method her, but were threatened with ex- minutes.

So far we have only mentioned tials committee is hand-picked bureaucrat number one of the six men per ship. There have been trial committees and discriminathe ballots are kept in the union SIU, has developed an acute case reductions in the manning scale tory policies so we will only touch hall night after night with only

An SIU Member

The quotation on "loyalty" from Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee is applicable to our own period. His reference to rags could read "J. Parnell Thomas," couldn't it?

H. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

The quotation from Mark Twain enclosed with the above letter reads as follows:

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to trol through raiding and back Flyer who did not want to sail right, but not the record of the they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become

ragged, cease to be comfortable cease to protect the body from winter, disease, death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags - that is a loyalty to unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut. whose Constitution declares "that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free govern-SUP and NMU, that Paul Hall, would be reduced by as many as victims of his goon squads, picked ed of an honest referendum when ments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all the incumbent officials holding the times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient." Under that gospel, the citizen

who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit. is disloyal: he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he dces.

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Fourth International

That's what one of the district officials of the United Mine Workers said recently about The Militant. Behind these simple, affectionate words there's a big story. The miners took the lead during the war in labor's struggle for decent wages and conditions. They were hounded and persecuted by the big corporations and their government agents. The entire reactionary press from The Wall Street Journal to the Stalinist Daily Worker screamed at the striking miners. Only The Militant

"THAT LITTLE PAPER"

backed them up 100% in their progress. ive actions. the Trotskyist movement took the lead on labor's political front during the war. The Militant, as the weekly paper of the American Trotskyists, opposed the imperialist war and called for a socialist world of enduring peace, boundless plenty and the brotherhood of man.

The evil forces that attacked the miners also raised their clubs against the Trotskyists. Eighteen of our leaders were railroaded to federal prison during the war as the first victims of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. The second-class mailing rights of The Militant were threatened. Harsh blows fell on us from all sides. But the cause of socialism is the kind that builds courage and stout hearts. Like the miners we did not give in. Today The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly.

the most respected and authoritative voice in the radical political wing of the labor movement. It has earned its solid reputation for telling the truth no matter what the consequences.

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each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contriburesent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in f editorials.

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Monday, February 27, 1950



"Will not the revolution be betrayed this time too, inasmuch as there are two Internationals in the service of imperialism while the genuine revolutionary elements constitute a tiny minority? In other words: shall we succeed in preparing in time a party capable of leading the proletarian revolution? In order to answer this question correctly it is necessary to pose it correctly. Naturally, this or that uprising may end and surely will end in defeat owing to the immaturity of the revolutionary leadership. But it is not a question of a single uprising. It is a question of an entire revolutionary epoch." - Leon Trotsky, Manifesto on the War, 1940.



Hands Off Yugoslavia!

Is the State Department busy behind the scenes trying to wring political concessions from Yugoslavia, exerting every kind of pressure, especially economic? The answer to this is emphatically -

This was made amply clear last week when Tito delivered a speech the meaning of which was that Washington is attaching political strings to its promised loans. Tito hinted that the pending 25 million dollar loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was deliberately being held back to force political concessions in foreign poli-

Tito mistakenly did not say just what was involved, but apparently one of the issues was Belgrade's decision to recognize Ho Chi Minh's regime in Indo-China as against the French imperialist puppet Bao Dai, who has the backing of Washington and London.

Tito served notice that his regime would sacrifice part of its Five-Year Plan and "go barefoot if necessary" rather than "bow to the West."

"We are not in anybody's bloc or camp." said Tito. "Even when we were pressed by the USSR we did not renounce the principles of Marxism and Leninism and we did not bow to the Soviets; and how could we, then, bow to the West?"

American diplomats, headed by Ambassador Allen to Belgrade, hastened cynically to deny any attempt to "intervene in Yugoslavia's internal affairs." It was all really a "misunderstanding." It was -all due to some "innocent" and "inadver-

tent" remarks by unmentioned "Western

diplomats," and so on. Only fools or rascals would accept these denials at their face value. The American imperialists are beginning to drop their mask of "non-intervention" and are seeking in every way to exploit Yugoslavia's economic difficulties. They want the Tito regime to capitulate to them, which has been precisely the aim of the Kremlin's entire policy toward Yugoslavia since the Cominform break. This imperialist pressure will increase and not decrease. Washington may retreat this time, but only to mount the attack with redoubled force at the very next opportunity.

Tito in his speech lamentably failed to appeal to the workers in this country, asin other countries, to rally behind Yugoslavia and vigorously protest this imperialist squeeze-play. But it is clearly the obligation of American labor to tell the imperialists in Washington in unmistakable terms: HANDS OFF YUGOSLA-

out. Among 15 of Curran's mob arrested

for felonious assault and disorderly con-

duct were John T. Hunt, acting New York

port agent put in by Curran when he il-

Encouragement to Union-Busters

The CIO National Maritime Union faces a threat to its very life in the Supreme Court's outlawing of the union hiring hall. But NMU President Joseph Curran has a "more important" matter to attend to, namely, trying to smash an opposition caucus. The climax of his terroristic campaign was an organized assault on Feb. 19 by an armed gang of about 35 Curran goons on a caucus meeting being held in New York City by opponents of the Curran administration. The meeting was in a public hall miles away from the NMU headquarters.

This was an attack not only on the democratic right of union members to organize a caucus and to freely advance their views on union matters. It was an assault on constitutional rights of free speech and freedom of assembly - an assault, that is, on the liberties of all work-

Surely, the strikebreaking, union-busting, fascist elements will welcome the example set by Curran. It is the kind of encouragement they are looking for. They are organizing to smash up labor meetings and organizations — all labor organizations. And if a union leader like Curran goes in for force and violence against workers' meetings he doesn't like, why can't the fascists do the same? And, like Curran, they'll claim too, that they're just "busting up the Commies."

Curran has tried to alibi himself by saying he was in Washington when his goons made the attack. This proves not that he wasn't responsible, but that he saw to it his own neck wasn't sticking

One of the Biggest Lies in History

The San Diego City Council has decided that two of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" slogans are "inappropriate" for inscription on a local war memorial. They took this stand after Admiral Standley, Roosevelt's Ambassador to the USSR in 1942, told them that "freedom from want is a Russian communistic slogan" and "freedom from fear is a political slogan."

Standley's objections were voiced, of course, from the standpoint of an archreactionary who looks on the very idea of opposing hunger, exploitation, insecurity and war as "communistic." Nevertheless, these slogans are truly "inappropriate." even if not for the reasons Standley gives. It is, in fact, the worst kind of outrage to inscribe them on a memorial to American boys who died in the last imperialist slaughter. For if they could come back to see the world today, they would be first to blast the lie that their sacrifice brought the world closer to "freedom from want" and, especially, "freedom from fear."

When have the people known such fear

legally expelled the elected agent, and John Moriarity, whom Curran placed in charge of The Pilot, NMU paper. A lawyer for the NMU administration represented the arrested goons and solemnly assured the court that "from now on" his clients would refrain from violence against Curran's union opponents. Curran can least evade the fact that

this mob assault was not an isolated incident, but the continuation and culmination of his violent terrorist campaign against the majority of the New York membership. This time, however, his goons couldn't say they were "defending" the NMU headquarters and meetings, which is their usual claim when they treat oppositionists to a taste of the brass knuckles. Even the cops, who have been helping Curran, couldn't cover up for his goons this time.

This is no mere union factional issue. It should be a matter of gravest concern to every union man and woman that a union leader like Curran has dared to use fascist-like methods and to strike a dastardly blow at labor's dearly-won right to meet and to speak freely. Curran learned his methods in the Stalinist school, which borrowed them from capitalist reaction, including fascism. Such methods must be branded by every section of the labor movement and denounced by every decent unionist.

as now, before the threat of the new Hell-Bomb? So widely and deeply has this fear penetrated the masses that the capitalist war-makers must now reckon with. it as a major factor in all their political

We have striking evidence of this in the last-minute pre-election bid for votes by Winston Churchill in England. That vicious old war-monger, whose Fulton, Missouri, speech four years ago fired the opening propaganda gun in the "cold war" has recognized fear as the strongest mass emotion today. He — the loudest warmonger of all - decided his only chance for election victory was to ride the tide of mass fear. That is why he issued his call last week for another "peace" conference.

We need give his move no credit for sincere intention. But the fact that such a blood-drenched imperialist pays such an acknowledgement to fear today, is unassailable testimony that the World War II slogan, "freedom from fear," is one of the most monstrous lies in history.

Class Forces in the Chinese Revolution

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD by Jack Belden, Harper & Brothers, 1949, 524 pp., \$5...

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917 there has hardly been an event which compares in historical significance and immediate political importance with the gigantic upheaval in China which brought landlords. Thus it favored a new about the collapse of the Kuomintang regime. Marxists record this concentration of land in the hands of the rich peasants. But even event as the opening stage of the Third Chinese Revolution. A this very limited reform, after it

book describing the various had served the purpose of destroy-

ing the regime, was abandoned

in August 1948 - less than a

vear after its formal inaugura-

tion - as regards the vast land-

lord-ridden area of South China.

How the policy of class col-

laboration in the village was

carried out during the war is

described by Belden in his chapter

"The Peasant Speaks." He states

that "despite all the importunities

of the poor, the Communists re-

solutely kept the land from the

peasants." Again: "Throughout

the whole war they resolutely

guarded the land from peasant

seizure." All the Stalinists did in

the field of agrarian reform dur-

ing this entire lengthy period was

to enforce, where they could, a

25% reduction of land-rents as

called for by the Kuomintang

It was only under the urgent

pressure of the impatient peasant

masses that they finally went over

to a program of land expropria-

ion with the cry of "land to the

landless." As Belden puts it, "with

the Japanese surrender . . . poorer

peasants could no longer be put

off with talk." They wanted the

and. Had the Stalinists not

agreed to give it to them, they

would have taken it themselves,

Moscow's Chinese henchmen are

ere revealed very clearly, not as

revolutionary leaders of the

masses, but as opponents of revo-

utionary action. The restraints

mposed upon the peasants by

'he need for "national unity"

against the imperialist invader.

Belden accepts this excuse, as

e does most of the Stalinist

"In fighting the Japanese," he

This argument is not merely

specious, but false to the core, and

Belden a little later on un-

wittingly proves its falsity. Who

whom it was imperative for the

Stalinists to have bases? In the

villages of North China, as else-

where throughout the rural coun-

tryside, the population could be

the overwhelming majority, com-

posed of peasants and rural work-

ers: and the tiny minority of

landlords and rich peasants and

poor peasants and rural workers

as Belden himself showed, were

straining to march on the land-

lerd's manor. In what way could

among the people if they had

But instead of leading the

guardians of their property. As

landlords had gone over to the

Japanese and the demands of the

to nurse their land-hunger. As a

social and political force the land-

The kernel of the matter lies

The government's drive to

deport all militant and radical

in this, that the Stalinists refrain-

ticularly insistent."

given them the green light?

apologetics.

n fact were already doing so.

PEASANT PRESSURE

back in 1926.

race is eminently deserving of study Jack Belden has done a wonderful job as a reporter, and partly as an interpreter, of the tremendous post-war happenings in China. His qualifications were good to begin with. He spent nine years in China between 1933 and 942 and traveled extensively over the country during the latter five years as a newspaperman covering the Sino-Japanese war. During these years, unlike most foreign reporters, he became quite

proficient in the Chinese language

facets and phases of this uprising

of nearly a quarter of the human

DRAMATIC REPORT

Also, unlike some of his contemporaries, his attitude had none of that hateful condescension toward a "backward people." He moved among soldiers, peasants and workers as a friend and sympathizer. He made the cause f the common people his own The exploitation and oppression which held the masses down aroused his fighting instincts. He bated the Kuomintang regime and got into difficulties with it more than once by revealing its rotter and reactionary character in his press dispatches

At the end of 1946, after ar absence of more than four years part of which was spent as a way correspondent in Europe, Belder was drawn back to China by the strong magnetic pull of events His book is the product of long careful, conscientious and ofter dangerous observation both in "Red" China and Kuomintano China, including Manchuria and

Here is no dull reportorial

work, but a highly dramatic ac count of seething events which conveys to the reader the animat ing spirit of a nation in revolagainst ancient and modern op pressions grown intolerable against a political regime which symbolized all their woes. Pathos to fight in the rear of enemy and passion enliven the pages of territory, surrounded on all sides this book, especially where the by hostile forces, the only way author elects to reveal some the Communists could even reaspect of the great social drama main alive was to find bases through the story of an obscure among the people. To have started actor in it. These simple but burn- a class war would have endaning stories convey more than any gered these bases." literary paraphrase could do. FALSE ARUGUMENT Especially outstanding is "Gold Flower's Story," epitomizing the wrathful revolt of Chinese women against medieval-type male domination, which unfolded as one of the most striking aspects of the exactly were "the people" among great uprising of China's mil-

FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND In view of all this, it is regrettable that this reviewer should be divided roughly into two classes: compelled to record Belden's lamentable failure to comprehend the over-all political significance of the developments which he so admirably describes and inter- their political hangers - on. The prets. Especially is this so where he discusses the program and the role of the Chinese Stalinists. Conscientious as a reporter, he is careless in dealing with the past, the Stalinists have lost their base falls into repeated error, accepts Stalin'st political double-talk as objective truth, and ends up in a sticky mess of confusion. But of this more will be said later.

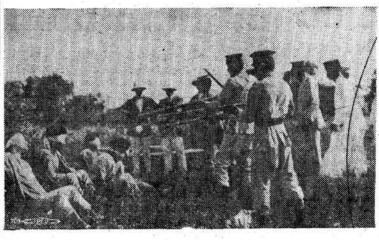
At the core of the beginnings of the Third Chinese Revolution was the revolt of the numerically predominant mass of the peasantry: the revolt against landlordism and landhunger, the revolt against usury, the revolt against the ever-tightening squeeze of the tax-gatherer, the revolt against nulitary requisitioning and the cuartering of troops, the revolt against the conscription of the village youth into Chiang Kaishek's armies. It was on the crest of this revolt that the Stalinists rode to power.

STALINIST POLICY

The banner of agrarian revolution was not unfolded until more lords were no serious factor to than two years after the defeat be reckoned with by the Stalinists. of Japan. During the war, the Stalinists pursued a policy of class THE KREMLIN'S LINE collaboration in the alleged interests of the struggle against the foreign invader. With the war over, they strove might and main to forge a "coalition" with Chiang Government Deportation Kai-shek. Only when this effort Drive Hits a Snag failed because of the obstinate refusal of Chaing and his landlord - capitalist backers to make any concessions, did the Stalinists 21 when a U. S. Supreme Court declare open war on agrarian "feudalism" and call for the destruction of the Kuomintang as trial judges in deportation and banned in Japan since the

sell land confiscated from the beginning.

When Chiang Was Stalin's Ally



In Feb. 1927, under direct orders from Moscow the Chinese Stalinists prevailed upon the workers of Shanghai to turn the city, then in their hands, over to the "great liberator" Chiang Kai-shek. There followed scenes such as the one above where militant workers and intellectuals face a firing squad on the city's outskirts. A magistrate (in white-gown at right) and white officials of the Shanghai International Settlement (in helmets, in the background) are interested observers.

nysterious fashion, advanced the

Belden describes with burning

realism the urgency of the

beasant's situation which he ob-

served "time and again, in village

after village." The picture is

striking: among the masses ex-

eperation and impatience; in the

reacherous opportunism. When

cause of the revolution!

A RAGING FLOOD

ed from assaulting property be- | 'he peasants from the revoluause they were under orders from the Kremlin not to do anything which might rupture the "united front" with Chiang Kai - shek Stalin wanted to keep Chiang Kai-shek busy fighting Japan, so that Japan could not attack the Soviet Union. Faith that a revolutionary China could have vanquished the Japanese invaders (which Chiang dismally failed to do) was something utterly alien to the Kremlin boss. Belden should have been able to grasp the patent fact that the Chinese Stalinists took their programmatic cues not from the needs of the masses but from Moscow.

Their guardianship of the land was not, as Belden seems to believe, a brief tactical detour from the road of the revolution. It was to those able to read the signs. clear manifestation of the fact their supposed leaders were ex- that, far from being genuine used on the familiar ground of revolutionists bent on overturning the old order of things, the Stalinists were and are just vulgar reformists and opportun-

CP BETRAYALS

Belden might well ask himself ays, "there was no question [for why, in 1948, while he was prehe Stalin'stsl of making a revoparing his book, the supposedly lution, there was only a question revolutionary Stalinists once more of existing. Doomed as they were eneged on their land program as they moved into South China, thereby allying themselves with he landlords against the peasants. and provoking widespread revolt against their newly - founded regime. He might ponder a little nore deeply their program for a 'new capitalism."

Finally, he should reflect upon the Stalinists did in the great industrial city of Shanghai. where they imposed a ban on strikes, instituted compulsory arbitration, slashed wages, and lengthened the working day. What we see throughout is not some episodic deviation or accidental political aberration, but a consistent pattern of policy and conduct which suggests, not a party of genuine revolutionists, but coterie of political adventurers.

In his book Belden sees none of this. Abandonment of the land program during the war, he tells us, "did not have such unrevoluionary results as might have been expected from first glance." In place of class war the Stalinists fought a "national war" which was revolutionary and often produced more ferment more quickly than the land reform m'ght have done." Clearly he got masses, they elected to woo the this line of double-talk from the landlords by proclaiming them-Stalinists themselves. Despite his selves guardians of their property. clear-sightedness as a reporter, The landlords, alas, considered he had no difficulty in swallowthe Japanese invaders much better ing it.

Belden himself reports, "many THE OLD DOUBLE-CROSS Ali the same, he found that

the Communist program did neople in these villages were par- alienate some of the poor peasants, the tenants and long-term work-Even considered as a tactical ers. . . Only if you gave him land expedient, the lame, tail-endist did the poor peasant think you meant business. When the Comline of the Stalinists was a disma fa'lure, because the propertied munists abandoned land confiseaelements in the village went over tion and told the tenantry and the rural workers that they must to the Japanese anyway. The peoforget about the landlords and ple, the real people, the great fight the Japanese, these dismass of the peasants, were left possessed men saw behind such fine promises [of what the Stalinists would do after the warl nothing but the ancient double

> The illiterate peasant, as w see, has more of an eye for reality and is more sensitive to political fakery than the accomdished foreign reporter, who somehow brought himself to believe that a supposedly revolutionary party which held back

foreign-born struck a snag on Feb. Anti-War Novel Banned decision held that it was illegal As "Indecent" in Japan

for immigration inspectors to sit The first foreign book seized cases. This means most of the end of the war is Norman Mailer's The land reform, however, did pending deportation cases will The Naked and the Dead. Police not abolish the right to buy and start all over again from the said the anti-war novel was "in-

any question of restraining the aroused people.

Landlordism was ground into the dust over great areas. Ancient habits, traditions and social customs, relics of a dead and musty past, clinging to society like barnacles to the rusty bottom of a worn-out ship, were flung aside. The revolution had begun. In the cities, the nervous capitalists hugged their moneybags, wondering how far the flood would reach. Chiang Kai - shek's armies went down to defeat, carrying the Kuomintang regime to its doom,

A union of the working class with the giant peasant mass, a fusion of their equally urgent social demands in a common revolutionary program which would have brought an irresistible army of the oppressed to its feet, could have dissolved the old order completely and projected China along the path of Socialism. But the Stalinists, with their program of "new capitalism" and a vast army at their backs, were able to enchain the city proletariat, apply the brakes to the revolution - and then, crowning act of 'ionary struggle and blocked their treachery and perfidy, doublejust demand, somehow, in some cross the peasants.

> [A second article concluding this review will be printed next

New York NMU Votes To Support Jim Kutcher

NEW YORK, Feb. 16 - The New York Branch of the CIO National Maritime Union tonight Stalinist leadership a snide and voted to support James Kutcher's for reinstatement to the VA job finally peasant anger and frustra- from which he had been purged. tion burst through the Stalinist Other NMU branches along the dikes of class collaboration it East and Gulf coasts have done swept over the land like a raging the same.

KREMLIN-CHINA TREATY IS WINDOW-DRESSING

By John G. Wright

After nine weeks of secret negotiations the Kremlin, amid great fanfare, made public the text of an alliance of "amity and mutual assistance" with the People's Republic of China for a term of thirty years. One would look in vain for even a hint of revolutionary socialism in the Feb. 14 treaty which conforms in spirit and letter to the capitalist school of power politics.

Both the Kremlin and the Mao regime found it fitting to bring to the fore that their agreement is fully "in accordance with the objects and principles of the United Nations," one of the main instruments of promoting the cold war, and one of the main arenas for imperialist maneuvers against the people of China, the rest of the Far East, and throughout the world.

The document also goes out of its way to emphasize that the negotiations were conducted throughout "in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding." This was doubtless needed to allay the constant rumors about serious rifts and disagreements.

The experience with Yugoslavia has made it obligatory for the Kremlin to put its best foot forward in public so far as the treaty with China is concerned. What the secret clauses contain - and Stalin-Vishinsky undoubtedly dictated these - is something else

Territorially, Stalin made no concessions whatever to Mao Tsetung. He made no additional grabs as Washington falsely alleged he would in the case, for example, of Manchuria. But he did insist on the formal detachment of the "Mongolian People's Republic," whose "independence" is now recognized by both sides. In actuality this vast territory is left as one of the Kremlin's private preserves in Asia. Contrast this with the action of the Soviet state under Lenin and Trotsky who in 1921 in a treaty with Kemalist Turkey ceded the provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin, previously grabbed by the Czars.

The Kremlin agreed to "invalidate" the 1945 treaty with Chiang Kai-shek, but no mention whatever was made to subsequent agreements reached with Chiang's regime relating to concessions in Sinkiang and, what is more important, there was no public repudiation of the concessions in Manchuria granted to Stalin in his wartime deals with Roosevelt and Churchill.

No Compensation for Pillaged Industries

The sole concession without any strings attached was the transfer to China of Japanese-owned properties in Manchuria. On the other hand, there is to be no compensation whatever for the plants and equipment the Kremlin ruthlessly pillaged there.

The South Manchurian Railway is to be returned "upon a signature of a Japanese peace treaty," or "not later than 1952." The rest of the Manchurian railway network, especially the Chinese Eastern Railway, apparently remains, as before, securely in the Kremlin's hands.

Port Arthur is to be returned with a similar string attached and an even more sweeping restriction is placed on the subsequent disposal of Port Dalny (Dairen), which is to be decided only "after the conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan." All this means, among other things, that the Kremlin can keep troops for an indefinite period of time on Chinese soil to "protect" its railway system in Manchuria and its "rights" in Port Dairen. The Chinese masses will hardly view this with favor.

Finally, the Kremlin pact provides for long-term credits of \$300,000,000, to be advanced over a period of five years, and to be repaid in ten annual installments "on privileged terms of 1 percent per year" with this interest to be paid semi-annually.

These "privileged terms" were likewise undoubtedly granted by the Kremlin to counteract the revelations of the Yugoslavs about the ruthless exploitation practiced by the bureaucracy in carrying out its trade-agreements with the satellite countries. The actual outcome of this economic "collaboration" only the future will determine, but meanwhile, on paper, the Kremlin is able to pose a most magnanimous "creditor."

On the diplomatic plane the Stalin-Mao agreement is a signal success for the Kremlin. This is grudgingly conceded by imperialist circles in this country. Thus, the weekly U. S. News, Feb. 20, comments that "Russia gains a lot of things under the deal with China. and at little cost. . . . But Moscow finds itself in a position to make

strong propaganda points in Asia.' The Kremlin propaganda machine is making the most of it right now not only abroad, but especially inside the Soviet Union and in

the satellite countries. The over-riding fact, however, remains that the pact with Stalin solves none of the basic problems confronting the Mao regime and arising from the economic crisis and famine now convulsing China, from the unresolved agrarian question rendered still more acute by the betrayal of the peasantry in Central and South China by Mao's regime, from its open collaboration with the native Chinese bourgeoisie, landlords and warlords and its brutal suppression of the

One of Krock's questions dealt with the administration's spending deficits and the criticism that the Fair Deal program "proposes permanently to burden the more able, diligent and successful with the cost of insuring all others against the results of their own improvidence, ill-luck or defective behavior." Truman denied he had any such aims ("There isn't a drop of Marxist or Socialist blood in me"), although of course he wants to expand the economy, care for the needy, find jobs for the growing labor force, etc. But in the course of answering this question he said something that was a lot more revealing than all these catch-phrases:

"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five millions, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Just what Truman means by the word "supportable" in the first sentence quoted is not entirely clear. Maybe he means that the economic system won't collapse with three to five million unemployed; maybe he means that a dole can be provided for that number of jobless; maybe both. But there can be no question whatever about what he means by the second sentence, which sounds like a direct quote from a resolution passed by the National Association of Manufacturers, whose members know that there's nothing like having a large-sized reserve army of unemployed around when it comes to beating down the wage standards and union conditions of employed workers. It means just what it says - that Truman agrees that a certain ("supportable") amount of unemployment ("job-seeking") is a good thing.

We hope that when Truman goes campaigning for the Fair Deal next fall, he will frankly present and expound his view on this question to the five or six million workers already engaged in 'job-seeking," and to their families. We hope

that he will tell them "this is healthy for the economic body" - and that he will then try to explain to them what kind of economic system it is whose "body" derives health from conditions that destroy the bodies of hungry children.

Another time Truman put his foot into his mouth was when Krock asked him about FEPC legislation. Here is how Krock presents Truman's

"The President would not support or continue to support any legislation which deprived a citizen of the right to run his own business, for which that citizen was responsible, as he thought best. The President does not agree that the Administration's FEPC legislation would have any such result. If he thought so, he would not be for it, and under him it will not be so administered." Then follow some more catch-phrases deploring discrimination in employment and affirming the need for a "national policy" against discrimination as "a club in the closet."

This statement confirms and underscores every one of The Militant's charges that Truman is perpetrating a gigantic hoax on the Negro, labor and liberal advocates of civil rights legislation. If Truman's FEPC program will not deprive a citizen (meaning a Negro-hating employer) of the right to run his business as he thinks best (meaning the right to discriminate in hiring), then what in the world good is it? The only reason Negroes have supported Truman's civil rights program is precisely because they have been led to believe that it is going to deprive Jim Crow employers of the right to do as they please. We hope that in one of his 1950 campaign speeches Truman will make an effort to explain what good a "national policy" is going to do for the victims of job discrimination if it is not intended and will not be so administered as to deprive employers of their Jim Crow "rights"?

There is not much likelihood that Truman will ever undertake to explain these things in a campaign speech. But wouldn't it be appropriate, when the leaders of labor, Negro and liberal organizations get up on the floor to advocate the election of Trumanites in 1950 to confront them with these questions and compel them to answer them to the satisfaction of their members?

Potatoes

By Ruth Johnson

You often hear people say "socialism sounds good but it just isn't practical." Look at how practical and sensible private enterprise is, how it keeps everything moving - maybe not smoothly, but moving. Next time you meet such an objector to socialism, mention potatoes. Especially the lumpy mashed kind, which is what the spud situation looks like today.

All the "great brains" of the government, the newspapers, the Wall Street powers, and the blushing liberals are now busy trying to explain away the whole scandalous mess. But none of them can find a really inconspicuous spot to dump these same potatoes. Meanwhile, those 50 million bushels of "surplus" smell to the skies.

They were bought with your tax money and mine. Eight cents out of every tax dollar goes to pay for "surplus" commodities that are stored away, never to be used for human welfare. Not even the government dares use them!

When a false rumor spread that Washington might finally give some potatoes to relief agencies, an anguished howl went up from the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Association at its convention in New York's swank Commodore Hotel. "Unfair!" "Competition!" "How can we sell ours at a profit if the government gives 'em away?"

· There was a suggestion that some potatoes could be sent to hungry millions abroad. Can't be done! Why? Because "there's a dollar shortage abroad." No cash on the barrel-head, no potatoes.

So the government is now "selling" the potatoes back to the farmers it bought them from. The farmers get \$2 for every hundred pounds of po-

It has been a long time since anybody seriously

contested the fact that the values, tensions and

conflicts of the society we live in are reflected

to one degree or another in literature and art,

which hold a mirror up to life as well as fulfill-

ing esthetic and other functions. This is true also

of the "popular," that is, commercialized, substi-

tutes for literature and art which have become

a major product of capitalist culture in its period

These thoughts, by no means original, occurred

to me one day last week when, riding in a bus,

I found that my eyes hurt, put down my news-

paper and began to study the billboards, posters

and other advertising media that the bus passed.

For the first time I personally was struck by the

fact that American advertising serves as a mirror

for capitalist civilization even more clearly and

graphically than literature and art, from which it

has borrowed some techniques only to apply them

The first ad I noticed near a bus stop was a

poster showing a U. S. Marine in combat uniform,

his face contorted with the lust to kill, bayonet

fixed in his rifle as he lunges forward to destroy

whatever human life may get in his way. The

IN THE HIGHEST TRADITION

This portrayal of capitalism's highest tradition

evidently plays a double function — for what the

ad-men would probably call a tie-in sale. On the

one hand, it calls attention to a movie about Iwo

Jima playing at one of the local theatres, and

on the other it invites young men to enlist in the

Next came a large billboard sign in blue and

white, apparently designed for the more thought-

ful passers-by because it doesn't have a single

Find Yourself through Faith

- Come to Church this Week

The religious business is experiencing a certain

boom nowadays, as it generally does in times of

mass disillusionment, confusion, fear and political

groping. It is not accidental that ex-radical in-

tellectuals are now engaged in a symposium on

the revival of religion in the current issue of

Partisan Review; those who are thrown into despair by lack of confidence in the ability of men

and women to solve the crises of H-Bomb democ-

racy will inevitably be drawn toward a faith

founded on mysticism. From the bus I could not

make out the name of this ad's sponsor but I had

to admit that it was a shrewd and well-timed piece

in the crudest possible fashion.

title over the picture is:

picture. All it says is:

of decadence.

tatoes they DON'T sell; in return, they hand the government one single penny for that same hundred pounds. The only change is a blue dye-job to make them unfit for human consumption. They that long themselves. will be ploughed under for fertilizer or fed to hogs instead. The pigs will get fat - all of them, the four-legged ones and the two-legged ones who swell up the profits all the way from farm to market.

All this will keep prices high, which means we can't afford to buy as many potatoes to eat. So there will be more surpluses, more subsidies, more dumping. Practical? Sensible?

Potatoes are only one small part of the vast pile of wasting commodities. The government has a great big cave out in Kansas, and in other states too, stacked full of other stuff - thousands of barrels of dried eggs; 100 million bushels of barley and oats; 13 million bushels of flaxseed; 76 million bushels of corn; 750 million bushels of dried beans. And to supplement these mountains of "surpluses," the government also owns a hope- ENCOURAGING EXAMPLE chest of 3.7 million bales of cotton. Or maybe we should call it a hopeless chest, because it is stored away NOT to become sheets, towels, clothing, or anything else young brides and other peo-

This is the "sensible, practical" capitalist system. The socialist answer, "give the food to the lowing message: hungry, make clothes for people who need it," that is "unpractical," according to maniacal capitalist standards.

of huckstering. All we need look forward to now

. . but look at that

encourage everywhere - the attitude that ac-

now on strike. Naturally it was an attack against

shows a factory whose gates are shut and covered

with a sign, "Closed By Strike." The caption is:

Here certainly is a new slant, the implication be-

striking for a decent standard of living, or belong-

ney General's "subversive" list). This ad is a

genuine product of its time, inconceivable except

during a nation-wide witch-hunt, and epitomizing

It may be LEGAL, but is it LOYAL?

"sure honey

beings under capitalism.

the Bill of Rights.

'5 0 FORD"

What do you think?

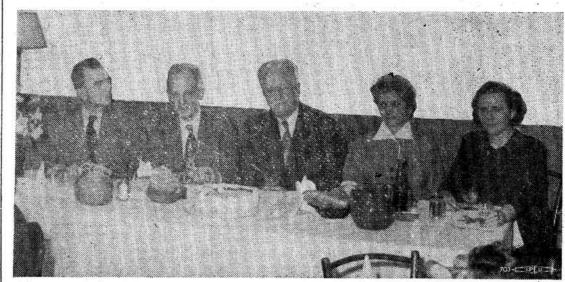
Advertising, 1950

By George Breitman

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIV MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1950

Cannon Birthday Dinner in New York



Seated together at a table during the celebration of SWP National Secretary James P. Cannon's 60th birthday are (left to right): Vincent R. Dunne; Arne Swabeck; Cannon; Rose Karsner; and

Cannon Greeted Warmly At 60th Birthday Dinner

d," was the most common com- can be sure, will wish from the birthday is news that the party is ome of the participants have been attending affairs and meetings in

The things that stood out at the by Comrade Cannon and others, and confidence exhibited by everyby the committee in charge from all parts of the United States and world working class." abroad.

Lack of space prevents recording here the full texts of these many messages from SWP branches and personal friends of bring you great train loads of Comrade Cannon. But the following are typical:

tional Secretariat of the Fourth have given your entire life." International, from which the The Minneapolis Branch, ex-SWP was forced to disaffiliate pressing just fiable pride in the because of the reactionary Voorhis part it has played in the party's Act ten years ago, sent the fol- history, wired: "To Jim Cannon,

"In the name of the IS and tants in the dark days, we pay myself personally, I send you our thankful tribute on the occasion sincerest wishes for your 60th of his 60th birthday anniversary birthday. We wish that your life, celebration. Grateful for his wise

NEW YORK - Few of those whose example has given us all counsel, his Marxist understandwho attended will ever forget the great encouragement, will be ing, his Bolshevik spirit, and concelebration of James P. Cannon's prolonged for many more years, fident of the ultimate victory of on economic issues now, and then 60th birthday, held here on Feb. for the good of your American the working class, we salute the 11 under the auspices of the New party and of the entire world outstanding Trotskyist in the York Local of the Socialist Work- Trotskyist movement. On Feb. 11 United States.' we will drink a toast to your The Seattle Branch wrote: "The "The best affair I ever attend- health and each one of us, you glad tidings we send on your 60th

ment heard from participants at bottom of our hearts prosperity growing in face of reaction. the celebration honoring Comrade and long life to the valiant Amer- Young people are entering the Cannon for 40 years of service to ican youth and to the youngest ranks. Members of CP are tollowrevolutionary socialism - and among them, our Old Jim. We ing trails you blazed 21 years press your hand very warmly." ago." The Los Angeles Local of the The Boston Branch said: "We the labor movement for almost SWP, which was meeting in con- are proud to be among the ranks vention that day, wired that a of the party which has produced

celebration were the talks given recent speech on perspectives at tional revolutionary movement. the mid-century had "opened our Youth and energy of spirit coupled the warm spirit of comradeship convention and inspired its deli- with solidity and richness of exberations with the perspectives of perience characterizes Comrade one and, last but not least, the revolutionary internationalist op- Cannon. On h.s 60th birthday he nature of the messages received timism. We salute you as a lead-stands as a symbol of what our ing fighter in the ranks of the party must be."

TEACHER AND COMRADE

OUR HEARTS AND HANDS" Connecticut Trotskyists said: The Chicago Branch said: "On "History need not wait to record this, your birthday, we do not appreciation for your unerring Boishevik steadfastness against gifts, nor do we shower you with our epoch's terrible reaction. Well adulation. We give, instead, our have you served our movement hands and our hearts in promise as leader, teacher and comrade. that we shall go forward to vic-Our aim is to become ever more The secretary of the Interna- tory in the cause for which you worthy to travel the road to victory that you have so painstakingly pioneered."

A group of farm-workers in Minnesota wrote: "Your extraordinary contributions to revoluwho upheld the Minnesota militionary thought and practice, especially here in Minnesota, have produced seeds which we are now sowing on the prairies. We charge the Minnesota comrades present to drink our toasts to your good health and a Socialist world in your time."

The San Francisco and Oakland Branches wired: "We salute you trial. on your 60th birthday and share your abiding confidence in our tested program and faith in the unconquerable mind of man."

The Buffalo Branch expressed the wish: "May the time not be sign of weakness." Lodge repeats ping the A-Bomb stockpile and far distant when your years of glorious effort shall see an equally The slogan of "disarmament" glorious response from the work-

Two comrades in Youngstown them to arm in the first place, forward to 40 more." The Newark will not bring peace to the world. Branch hoped "to celebrate with which play into the hands of cap- work in the next decade." The italist politicians who espouse Philadelphia Branch said it looks "disarmament" in order to cover forward "to celebrating the vic-And the SWP New York Youth Youth, said:

"It is the deepest wish of each method to prepare public opinion of us that when we have reached for the war that both sides in the the age of 60, each of us will be Of course it is necessary to debate accept as inevitable. Nei- able to say to himself, 'I have distinguish between the genuine ther side gets at the root cause done as much in the first 60 years of the coming war, the contradic- of my life as Jim Cannon did in

timents by capitalist politicians. capitalism and brought to the Besides the many personal Nor can we doubt the sincerity of breaking point by the drive of salutations and messages from ing that it is more important to be "loyal" (like leading atomic scientists, church American imperialism for world abroad, there were also warm of the rank and file? How can the and labor leaders who are issuing domination. And neither side greetings from the Akron, Allen-J. Parnell Thomas, for example) than to engage in practices that are admittedly legal (such as frantic pleas for another attempt wants the people themselves to town - Bethlehem, Flint, Lynn, Curran in the election when the to secure agreement between Tru- have the opportunity to decide the Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, St. Paul, Toledo, Worcester and position" slate will consist in good

Strikers Favor More Militancy At Chrysler's

DETROIT, Feb. 19 - Despite the over-all no-picketing policy in the Chrysler strike, local leaders have responded to sentiment in the ranks by calling mass demonstrations for the second time in the strike. One thousand cars, pany claims the contract is not un

cade around Chrysler - Jefferson plant last week.

The demonstration occurred cials are helping the corporation to amidst blaring of horns and demoralize the unionists. Only a waving of placards at a time when couple dozen have so far been put negotiations with the company on the relief rolls out of literally were in progress. So powerful was tens of thousands who applied. the effect that the Detroit press | Those put on are required to work editorialized against this "bumper for their "handout," thus inter--to-bumper" picketing which ef- fering with their strike duties. A

ing team is presenting 43 con- back what they get at a later tract revision and 33 wage in- date. Similarly, only a handful equity demands on the company. of the 20,000 veterans in the Strike action has nullified the strike are getting any help from previous contract. UAW militants a state fund designed to help feel corporation policy is to needy vets. Local unions aid weaken the union through a strike destitute members denied relief. be in position to dictate their in favor of tightening up the own terms in August when the strike. Why are maintenance and contract normally expires.

advantage of a clause permitting lets them go to work? These it to reopen the agreement in questions were heard many times case of strike. The company was during last week's demonstration. perfectly willing to talk contract They indicate the strikers are earlier when they offered a five- beginning to favor more militant year extension of the present and decisive action than in the rotten agreement. But now that past to bring the corporation to changes are proposed, the com- terms.

with more than 3,000 workers, for discussion. So far, therefore, participated in a two-hour motor- the negotiations are stalemated.

While this goes on, relief offi-

NUMBER 9

RELIEF POLICY

fectively blocks plant entrances. new relief policy requires re-Meanwhile, the UAW negotiat- c.pients to sign a contract to pay

There is a growing sentiment office help continuing to work? However, the union has taken What kind of strike is this that

recording of Comrade Cannon's a leader of stature in the interna-MURDER OF FENNER IN AKRON

AKRON, Feb. 19 - A Grand Jury probe of the slaying of Negro veteran Ernest Fenner was ordered this week as a result of the NAACP's speedy intervention in

the case. Fenner, under treatment for mental illness, was injure the morale of the police unarmed when two city policemen, force," he said. Wilcox and Pohl, shot him in cold blood.

the murder jammed Wesley cops from cruiser duty to desk Temple here tonight. Some 1,000 jobs at the police station. were in attendance and an this week:

The CIO Council passed a resolution condemning "any and all the desk sergeant: "Oh, you police violence against citizens of n-rs fighting again out there." this community" and demanding court action against the policemen who shot Fenner.

The NAACP Legal Redress for pressure on Slusser to suspend Committee met with Mayor the two officers. Charles Slusser and asked that the two cops be suspended from by W. O. Walker, editor of the the force pending arrest and Cleveland Call Post, who warned:

In an attempt to quiet protests against Slusser's inaction, Police A mass protest meeting against | Chief Lynett transferred the two

At the Wesley Temple meetestimated 500 were turned away ing, Attorney W. Howard Fort at the door. It was the largest described how a neighbor of the NAACP meeting ever held here. Fenners had phoned the police Other developments in the case | that there was a fight out in East Akron (between Fenner and his wife) and got the answer from

> "This incident shows the depths of race hate in the police department," said Fort. He also called

A similar view was presented "Slusser will protect the police Slusser turned down the request. department until he is convinced "To suspend the two men would we mean business."

NMU IN HIRING HALL CRISIS

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party to drive the corrupt and treacherous Stalinist gang out of the leadership of the NMU. Curran could not have wished for more. He can now armed to disarm, without alter- wired: "Your 40 years of work pretend that the only alternative ing the causes which impelled have meant much to us. We look to him are the despised Kremlin "hacks." He can cover up his own crimes with a recitation of the no less foul and numerous crimes of the Stalinists. He can use as his text the bitter but correct tirades of the "dissidents" against the CP gang as recently as six months ago. His game is facilitated by the "opposition" which had not a solitary word to say Section, Internationalist Socialist about the former "hack" administration, neither in the conference call nor in the Membership Pilot, a paper published by this opposition group.

How can the membership be inspired to fight for democracy against Curran when the leadership of the "opposition" is shared by that very group which was driven out of office for its transchoice offered them on the "oppart merely of inferior editions of the Palazzis, Stacks and

Mackenzies? What better way is

problems facing the seamen. It except perhaps reliance on - | men!

Wallace. And essentially that adds up to the seamen placing their faith on the criminal misleaders in the Kremlin instead of their enemies on Wall Street and

in the State Department. Curran's solution for the crisis of the maritime industry is the Marshall Plan; the "opposition's" is trade with the Soviet Union, the "People's Democracies" and China. Curran wants a link with the Washington - dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; the "opposition" with the Moscow-dominated WFTU. Neither follows an independent policy.

INDEPENDENT PROGRAM

The dual threat to the members of the National Maritime Union, from within and without, cannot be beaten off without an independent force and an independent

The attack on the hiring hall cannot be defeated without an independent program of uncompromising working class action, directed against the Truman administration and against the shipowners.

The NMU must break with its subservience to the capitalist parties and politicians who whether Republican or Democratic, have always been the worst enemies of the hiring hall. there to assure a Curran victory? It must take the lead in a policy The draft program published of independent working class President Truman was asked by this group in the Membership political action, in the building of

Independent action - against the Kremlin and the State Dejust as hideous as these other offsprings of capi- ticism of it. Even those, like UAW and farmers in a planned, cooper- was not considering it, although has nothing to counterpose to partment: on that road alone is

H-BOMB STIRS CLAMOR FOR "NEW APPROACH"

is widespread distribution of comic-book versions (Cont. from page 1) Later the bus passed a big Ford Motor Co. ad.

It shows a pretty young woman, her arms around tic at a later time. But, he stressa kiss. But the young man is looking elsewhere This is obviously meant to be a joke, but it is not very funny. Isn't it a fact that behind this piece of Fordian humor, the young man's attitude is actually the one that Ford and all other capitalists and the capitalist system seek to instill and quisition of private property assumes primacy

intended as a semi-joke, but it also happens inadvertently to contain a great deal of tragic truth about social values that prevent, distort or destroy normal and happy relations among human This is a question which they want fective fight against war. to settle within their tiny ruling Before leaving the bus, I turned to my newscircles, with the people barred. If DISPUTE THE METHOD paper again and there found a costly full-page ad anyone objects, that's what they issued by the Detroit Board of Commerce and reare building up the FBI for. printed by local dealers of the Plymouth-Dodge-DeSoto-Chrysler corporation whose workers are

MUST DISTINGUISH

grasping desperately at all kinds But war will come, despite the Youngstown Branches. of "disarmament" panaceas.

possibility of employing this tac- alents" for the H-Bomb, are reluctant to have Washington set the neck of a young man, her face uplifted for es, "in nothing must we show any the "moral example" by scraphalting work on the H-Bomb.

At the same time we must note people, unless they take upon the kind of capitalist thinking that is subverting how little faith the scientists, re- themselves the power to decide Fire Denham? Truman ligious and labor leaders actually the question of war and peace. It Not Even Considering It American advertising, 1950 style, may not be have in the efficacy of their own will come unless capitalism, the as great an evil as the ones it reflects and helps proposals. With the praisewor- breeder of war, is eliminated and perpetuate - militarism, mass murder, reaction- thy exception of individuals like world-wide socialism established. at his press conference on Feb. Pilot is hardly superior in funda- a Labor Party based on and conary traditions, superstition, dehumanization, shy- Albert Einstein, they suport Tru- End the cause of war, and there 16 if he was considering firing mentals to the one presented by trolled by the unions. ster-like concepts of right and wrong that pre- man's order to build the H-Bomb will be no reason for armaments. NLRB Czar Denham, as request- Curran for coping with the grave pare the way for a police state. But its face is or have refrained from public cri- The universal rule of the workers ed by the CIO. Truman said he talism in its death agony, and its odor just as President Walter Reuther, who ative socialist economy, will have he admitted that he has the power Curran's dependence on Truman there hope for America's sea-

undoubtedly has great allure. For ing class of the whole world." this reason it can be all the more dangerous and decentive. To place reliance on appeals to the spondingly severe disappoint- All it can achieve is illusions you the success of your lifelong view is that a debate on the ques-up and justify their own war tory of the proletarian revolution, in any form, opens the way plans. All it can lead to is side- tion, at some not too distant to mass intervention in the issue. tracking the people from an ef- birthday, with Comrade J. P. C."

The real dispute in the Washington debate is over the best and the exploitation of these sen- tions and conflicts inherent in the first 60 years of his'."

immense horror it holds for the commend us to "applied Christian- no need for weapons of war. to do so.

lity" and to finding "moral equiv-

this view by saying any overtures to the Kremlin now, that is, before the H-Bomb is constructed. would be taken as a "sign of weakness." Moreover, he adds, "To make an offer we are sure will be rejected is, in the first place, to mislead our own people as to the chances for acceptance and to subject them to a corre-

over all human relations? The Ford ad may be One of the fears behind this

strikes, but one with a novel slant. A picture anti-war sentiments of the masses J. Parnell Thomas, for example) than to engage man and Stalin and who are issue. ing to an anti-capitalist party put on the Attor-