

Hell-Bomb Stirs Big Clamor for "New Approach"

Behind the big debate over the Hell-Bomb that has broken out in Washington is a wave of mass revulsion and fear against the weapon that menaces the very existence of life on earth. But this genuine anti-war sentiment is being exploited, rather than effectively expressed, by both sides in the Washington debate.

The division has cut across party lines in the U. S. Senate. Secretary of State Acheson's reaffirmation of the administration's reliance on overwhelming military force and a continued "firm" line toward the Soviet Union has received the support of Republican Senator Lodge. On the other hand leading Democrats, such as Tydings, Connally and McMahon, are calling for a "new approach" stressing the need for disarmament, or another "peace" conference with the Kremlin, or "another try" at "international control" through the UN.

The administration's "hard" line is a direct continuation of the methods American imperialism has employed since the beginning of its campaign to "contain communism" and to reach out for undisputed mastery of the world. But that campaign has suffered a series of reverses: First, a crisis in the Marshall Plan for bolstering up bankrupt capitalist regimes; 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

As the N. Y. Times admitted on Feb. 19, "the hard fact is that the Kremlin is making large 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 West." In short, he is trying to restore the prestige and political dominance of American imperialism by a resort to still more force, the only basis on which that prestige and dominance rested to begin with.

But Truman's decision contains tremendous implications. The H-Bomb is so destructive that the outcome of any war in which it is used may well be determined by which side uses it first. We can take it for granted that Truman and his top counselors did not make the decision to produce the H-Bomb without agreeing in advance that they must beat the Kremlin "to the draw," that is, that they will drop the H-Bomb first, before they can be attacked by any "potential" opponent with similar or superior weapons.

The question which this raises in the minds of many leading capitalist politicians is: What will

be the reaction of the people in the U. S. and in the rest of the world if they are suddenly confronted with the announcement that Washington has perpetrated its own "Pearl Harbor" attack on the Soviet Union and launched an H-Bomb war? Is it not necessary to pave the way for such a war by proving that it is absolutely unavoidable, completely justified and the only way to save the U.S. itself from H-Bomb attack?

THE "NEW APPROACH"

This, indeed, is the argument of those, in Congress and out, who propose the "new approach" and "one last attempt" to achieve "international control" of atomic weapons and disarmament. If all their "reasonable" proposals are rejected by Stalin, if their readiness to make "concessions" and to be "flexible" brings no response, won't this show that the Kremlin has "aggressive" designs, that it alone is responsible for war and that the U. S. has "no choice" but to drop the H-Bomb on the USSR before the USSR drops it on the U. S.?

Truman does not rule out the

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LEGLESS VET GETS NEW 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 finished the first week of his 12-day tour of this area. The results show that he is receiving the same kind of warm support from the labor and liberal movements here as he did nationally during his recently concluded coast-to-coast tour.

Since coming here, he, or a representative of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, has spoken to two locals of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers; the Textile Workers Joint Board; Brewery Workers; three divisions of the Transport Workers Union; several officials of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters, who invited representatives of the committee to address their next meeting.

The case of the legless veteran has also received keen attention and sympathy from the local Negro community. The story of his fight has been publicized in the Negro press. Kutcher was able to get the floor at the meeting of

COCHRAN TO TOUR U.S. ON OUTLOOK FOR LABOR

Bert Cochrane, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, will make a coast-to-coast lecture tour under SWP auspices, beginning Mar. 9 in New Haven.

His lectures will deal with "The Outlook for American Labor in 1950." Under this general title he will discuss John L. Lewis and the mine strike, the split in the CIO, the new Murray-Reuther bureaucracy, the decline of Stalinism, the return of the "Mohawk Valley Formula," modern strike strategy, and the prospects for left-wing unionism and a Labor Party.

Cochrane brings many years of experience in the union movement to his discussion of these problems. He was a CIO official in the Thirties and a leading participant in the 1937 sit-down strikes in the Ohio area. Beside being SWP Trade Union Committee chairman, he is familiar to militant readers for articles in this paper and the Fourth International.

His tour will be the third in the 1949-50 series planned by the SWP. Like Morris Stein and V. R. Dunne who preceded him, he will be available for meetings

Next Week:
The Progressive Party Convention
The British General Election
A New Book on Trotsky in Italy

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Back Us Up and We Can Win, Miners Tell Labor Movement

FEPCC Guttled in House By 240-177

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 FEPCC 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.

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NMU Faces Hiring Hall Crisis Without Program

The raid on a meeting of anti-Curran seamen by an administration-led mob on Feb. 19 highlights the crisis in the National Maritime Union and the bankruptcy of the Curran leadership. This shameful assault constitutes the first organized action of the administration since the Supreme Court upheld the outlawing of the union hiring hall. Faced with the most deadly attack on maritime unionism in its history, Curran's fire is trained exclusively on internal union opponents.

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 are sponsored by the Kutcher Committee and the Philadelphia CIO Industrial Union Council. The highlight of the local campaign will be a public meeting Friday night, Feb. 24, at the Broad Wood Hotel.

The speakers, beside Kutcher himself, will include William Gardner Smith, author of the novel, "Last of the Conquerors"; Henry F. Shipper, president of the Philadelphia CIO Council; Rev. Luther E. Cunningham, pastor of St. Paul's Baptist Church; and George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Committee.

Congress to exempt the maritime industry from the Taft-Hartley ban on the closed shop — and even to try to play on the better nature of Taft himself. Meanwhile a common prayer is to be sent up for the shipowners to maintain the "status quo."

NO PROGRAM

Any hope for effective action was deferred to a proposed "joint conference" of maritime unions for which no date has been set — and judging by past experience will never be held. Curran swears he will never compromise on the hiring hall. But in the very next breath, he attacks those who want "to fight Uncle Sam" — the chief instigator of the shipowners' move to outlaw rotary shipping.

This is how Curran has entered every major struggle of seamen — utterly dependent on the shipowners' government and with plans only for compromise and retreat. In 1936, he capitulated to the attempt of the "seamen's friend," Roosevelt, to undermine the hiring hall by forcing the seamen to carry "fink books." In 1938, he caved in under the pressure of Roosevelt's Maritime Com-

mission to set up government run hiring halls. Together with the Stalinists, with whom he was firmly allied at the time, Curran turned his guns on the "super-militants" of the West Coast, the very forces which smashed both government attacks by direct action. Today Curran has become the mortal foe of the Stalinists. But he has no other "program" than the one they gave him in the days of Roosevelt: trust the government and fill the letter-boxes with postcards and letters-to-your-congressman.

Curran's bankruptcy is paralleled only by the bankruptcy of the "Emergency National Rank and File Conference" whose meeting he attempted to break up. The goons could not have done the "opposition" a better service than to detract attention from the policies and forces it represents and to focus eyes on the rotten gang that dominates the NMU.

The "Conference" effected a public reconciliation between the discredited Stalinists and those dissident elements who only three years ago had broken with the (Continued on Page 4)

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 administration. They have defied the back-to-work injunction issued by Federal Judge Keech. At this writing, the United Mine Workers stands cited for civil and criminal "contempt," facing the threat of ruinous fines and even imprisonment of its leaders.

But the miners have chosen to match their power to withstand privation and hunger against the greed and cupidity of the mine owners. The workers are keeping the pits closed in the coldest part of the year. The operators are anxiously watching the winter days trickle past, and with them their best chances for profits. Can the miners' stomachs hold out longer than the profits-hunger of the operators? We have firsthand reports from the mining fields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and from CIO and AFL unions where miners' delegations have been visiting to seek moral support and material aid. "Give us relief — money and food — and we can hold out indefinitely," they say.

OUR BOUNDEN DUTY

And that is the big, immediate task, the bounden duty, of the whole labor movement. Pour the funds and the food into the mine fields! As this great struggle moves to its climax, the miners have demonstrated once more that you can't dig coal with injunctions. Each move of Truman and the courts to overawe and intimidate them back to work has only hardened the miners, increased their wrath.

The government has the power to rob the UMW treasury and jail its leaders. The operators' gunmen can roam the mine districts to terrorize the miners. FBI agents, as they are doing, can swarm in to snoop, question and harass. Professional strikebreakers can sneak into the pits in the dark of night or surrounded by armed deputies. But all of them together cannot mine coal. Only the miners can do that.

And so Truman is being forced to consider more drastic and harsher measures. Shall he send troops? Bayonets can't dig coal, miners with bayonets at their backs won't dig coal. And the political cost of sending troops against American workers comes high.

"SEIZURE" NEXT?

His only other course, if hunger and injunctions fail to beat the miners down, is to seize the mines, as was done three times in 1943 and again in 1946. It worked four times before, maybe it will work again. The miners have indicated that they are ready to work for the government, but not for the private owners, including the subsidiaries of the steel, railroad and light and power corporations. They will work for the government, that is, with one proviso — the government and not the operators shall take the profits. The miners want nothing like those previous "seizures." They know what that means. The government tacks a sign, "U. S. Property," on the mine tipples; overnight the mine owners and managers are converted to Army colonels. Nothing is changed, the owners rake in the profits as before, except they are cloaked with the mantle of government.

The "bright boys" in Congress are already cooking up a formula that would appear to meet the (Continued on page 2)

HO VEERS FROM STALIN LINE, GETS TITO TIES

The Yugoslav government announced through Foreign 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 government of Bao Dai, set up by French imperialism and officially recognized by Washington and 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 Belgrade for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Kardelj's telegram of recognition discloses the significant detail that Ho Chi Minh made this gesture of amity toward Yugoslavia on Jan. 14, and that his request was forwarded by his 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 report 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 warned the Communists of south-east Asia to seal off their countries from 'Titoism.'" (N. Y. Times, Feb. 23.)

There is also considerable speculation to the effect that since Ho Chi Minh has long been a close collaborator of Mao and since he now depends greatly upon the help of the Chinese Stal-

Me Too, Says Truman of GOP's Slogan

By Albert Parker
 Realizing they can get nowhere with denunciations of the "welfare state," the Republican Party leaders have thrown that slogan overboard and come up with a new one: "Liberty versus Socialism."

Truman doesn't mind the "welfare state" label; but "socialism" — that's out! He spent the major part of his speech at the \$100-a-plate Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Washington on Feb. 17 showing how absurd it is to put the "socialist" label on him, his administration or his party.

Taking the budget as an example, he said: "More than 70% of our federal budget goes to pay for past wars and to work for peace in the future." (By peace in the future he means war in the future.) "Our other expenditures," he continued, "are less than one-third of the budget, and less in proportion to the national income than they were ten years ago."

statement, and one that the workers should never be permitted to forget for the rest of the 1950 election campaign. For it means that in terms of the national income the U. S. is less of a "welfare state" than it was in 1940!

It is not often that we agree with anything Truman says, but on the basis of his budget alone we think he was absolutely correct in saying: "The difficult thing [for the Republicans] is to make the country believe that the Democratic Party stands for socialism... It can't be done."

NOT MUCH WELFARE

He is 100% correct on this point because there is nothing whatever socialist about a government that allocates tens of billions for war and peanuts for social needs. The only thing that has to be added is that there is not much welfare about it either — unless you mean welfare for the war-production monopolies.

In support of their fraudulent contentions about socialism, the Trumanites try to equate it with Stalinism (just as the Stalinists do, by the way, although for different reasons). One of our main tasks in the 1950 campaign is to

explode these lies so thoroughly that no one will ever again be able to peddle them — either Trumanites or Stalinists. The way to do this is by showing that Stalinism is not only the opposite of socialism and the murderer of socialists, but that the totalitarian methods of repression which it employs against the masses were not invented by Stalin — they were simply borrowed from the centuries-old arsenal of capitalist reaction and adapted to the purposes of the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin. We must make the truth known that Stalinism has a thousand times more in common with capitalist barbarism than it has with socialist emancipation.

CAPITALISM vs LIBERTY

At the same time we must expose the fantastic falsification that capitalism means liberty by reminding the workers what happened to liberty under the capitalist regimes of Hitler and Truman's new buddy, Franco.

Even more urgently we must show that traditional American liberties are constantly being whittled away by the capitalist witch-hunters, headed by Truman himself, and that unless we stop them in time, they will impose on us a military-police regime not too different from the kind headed by Hitler and Stalin.

These are the big issues in 1950. The Republicans will meet them with the demagogic slogan, Liberty versus Socialism. The Democrats will say the same thing in the idea, Liberty and "Welfare State" Capitalism. The answer that must be counterposed to them both is: Socialism and Liberty versus Capitalism.

The Socialist Workers Party, in deciding to run its own candidates in as many places as possible, has undertaken to give that revolutionary answer to reaction. Everybody who agrees with that answer has the duty of extending the maximum aid to the SWP in the highly important 1950 campaign.

