

Puppets of U.S. Wage War On Filipino People

By Li Fu-jen

American imperialism is waging war in the Philippines — a war directed against the Filipino people in an effort to stamp out the greatest popular uprising seen in the Islands since the Spanish conquest 400 years ago.

Weapons which only a few years back were employed to destroy the Japanese invaders — weapons made in U.S.A. — are now being directed against the native inhabitants and fresh military equipment is being poured in as fast as ships can carry it to Manila.

Fighter-bomber planes are bombing and strafing jungle villages. Artillery fire reverberates through the mountains. Warships stand offshore and pour destructive fire into areas where "rebel" forces are operating.

In the Philippines as in Greece

the U. S. imperialists perform their nefarious role under cover of a reactionary native government which is their own tool and creation. As in Greece, they act in cynical disregard of their own pretended concern for the principle of self-determination.

RECORD OF THE HUKS

Leading the insurrectionary struggle of the people is the Hukbalahap, a peasant guerrilla organization formed in 1942 at the beginning of the Japanese occupation. "Hukbalahap" is a contraction of the Tagalog phrase, "Hukbo ng Bayan sa Hapon," meaning "The People's Army Against Japan."

The Huks fought against the Japanese in collaboration with the Americans who smuggled arms to them. These peasant warriors linked the struggle against the invader to hopes for a better life after the war. The U. S. imperialists encouraged these hopes. Above all, the peasants, who form the overwhelming majority of the population, wanted an end to the hateful and oppressive landlord-plantation system which kept them in poverty and insecurity.

Wherever the Huks succeeded in wresting territory from the Japanese, they divided the landlords' estates and set up their own village governments. The landlords, for the most part, collaborated with the Japanese invaders as previously they made common cause with the American and Spanish conquerors.

U. S. IMPERIALIST ROLE

If the peasants had any illusions as to the post-war intentions of the U. S. imperialists with their fine phrases about liberty and democracy, these were rudely shattered by the "liberation" of the Islands in 1944-45. One of MacArthur's first acts after landing on the main island of Luzon was to order the arrest of the Huk leaders and the restoration of the confiscated estates to the landlords.

In 1946, the U. S. relinquished formal sovereignty over the Islands and the Philippine Republic was born. But the treaties and agreements accompanying this move, giving the U. S. 99-year leases of military bases and assuring "equality" to American capitalists in the exploitation of the Islands' resources, underlined the fact that state independence

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GM LOCALS URGED TO PREPARE FOR STRIKE

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich., April 19 — In answer to the warlike preparations of the General Motors Corporation for a possible strike, UAW Chevrolet Local 659 has called on all GM locals to gear themselves for strike action by immediately electing strike committees, revitalizing the flying squads and laying the groundwork whereby relief can be obtained.

This action was taken at the largest Chevrolet meeting in many months. The resolution adopted by the membership also calls on the UAW international officers to convene "a national emergency conference of per capita elected delegates to discuss strike policy before any strike is called in General Motors."

Sharp criticism was leveled against the international's one-at-a-time policy at the meeting. It is apparent that the Ford settlement has become a tremendous obstacle to any major gains either in pensions, wages or contract.

The keynote speech at the Chevrolet meeting was made by Jack Palmer, former president of the local, who showed that GM workers are in a bad situation with negotiations coming after the Ford and Chrysler settlements.

"The present bargaining reminds me of the soup lines during the depression," Palmer said. "The longer the lines, the more water they poured into the soup. The GM worker is at the end of the line."

GM PREPARATIONS

The action of the Chevrolet local is the first taken to gird the union for a possible strike at GM. The corporation, on the other hand, has evoked surprise and consternation by its extensive preparations.

All reports indicate the corporation is stockpiling cars and trucks. Dealers are ordering parts in huge quantities. The major Chevrolet parts warehouse in Flint, which only a few months

ago laid off several hundred workers in a return to prewar working levels, has recalled all seniority employees and hired anew. All GM plants are working overtime and have reached wartime levels of productivity.

In the light of these developments it is incomprehensible to many members that the international has made no effort to prepare the members for strike.

Resolute action by the international and the locals can reverse the present trend. The action of the Chevrolet local points the way for other GM locals.

By C. Thomas

The two-part CIO proposal for united action as a prelude to organic unity, addressed to AFL, Independent and Railroad Brotherhood unions, has been left hanging fire pending the AFL Executive Council meeting on May 8 which will be called upon to act on the following proposition:

1. To establish a joint committee "empowered to coordinate our efforts in the economic, legislative and political spheres," and
2. To "seek to achieve the organic unity of all of American labor."

AFL TO ACT MAY 8

The United Mine Workers and International Association of Machinists, largest of the independents, have responded favorably; the Railroad Brotherhood unions have been non-committal but the decisive word remains to be spoken by the AFL.

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THE MILITANT

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Workers of the World, Unite!

The Hunter Hounded



WHAT WAS NAVY PLANE DOING IN THE BALTICS?

Just what was the lost U. S. Navy plane actually doing in the Baltic area? Was it on a routine flight to Copenhagen, as is officially claimed? Or was it on some "secret

staging reconnaissance flights over each other's military positions, with both sides keeping "judiciously silent" about it "for the most part."

Harsch also concludes that there is "presumptive evidence" that the vanished Navy plane had been "engaged in reconnaissance work of some sort," and points out that this has neither been denied nor affirmed officially by Washington.

Apparently the only thing really "unusual" about the whole incident is the publicity originally given it by Moscow. Says Harsch, "This is a sharp departure from the ordinary practices involved in this kind of military intelligence, and counterintelligence. Normally, such operations are conducted behind a veil of secrecy which is never lifted for anyone."

And apparently what most

Denied Jobless Aid For His Politics

Nebraska witch-hunters have gone one step beyond the rest of the snarling pack in this country. In Nebraska the victims of witch-hunters are denied not only their civil rights and an opportunity to earn a livelihood but also the right to collect state unemployment compensation. This ruling was made in the case of John E. Hester who "admitted participating in Communist activities." Judge James M. Patton ruled in Omaha that Hester was "ineligible" for jobless aid because he "made himself unavailable for work by declaring himself a Communist. No one in this part of the country will hire a Communist."

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SWP Is Notified It Qualifies for Michigan Ballot

DETROIT, April 24 — The Socialist Workers Party announced today that it has received official confirmation from the Secretary of State in Lansing that the SWP has qualified for a place on the Michigan ballot in the 1950 general elections.

The SWP filed 13,811 petitions at the state capital last week. When the Secretary of State's office tabulated them, 12,449 were designated as acceptable signatures.

These were the first independent petitions filed in the current election campaign in this state, and automatically put the SWP in fifth position on the 1950 ballot.

OTHER PARTIES

The first four positions will be occupied by the Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Prohibition Parties, who received enough votes in the 1948 election not to be required to submit any year.

Other parties may qualify before the May 6 deadline, but the Socialist Party has already indicated that it is not going to run its own candidates in this state this year.

STATE CONVENTION NEXT

The SWP branches in Michigan are now making plans to hold a state convention which will have the job of adopting an election platform, nominating candidates and outlining a vigorous campaign to get the widest possible hearing for the socialist message of the party.

The members and sympathizers of the SWP, encouraged by the response they got while canvassing for petitions, are confident that the coming campaign will be the most effective in the history of the Michigan party.

"Loyalty" Purge Boomerangs on Democratic Party

Open Letter to Truman From James Kutcher

April 25, 1950

Mr. President:

Listening to your speech before the Federal Bar Association last night, I realized that you and your party are extremely upset about the "subversive" charges made against your administration by Senator McCarthy.

I think you have now gotten a small taste of how I and the Socialist Workers Party felt when you put the SWP on your "subversive" blacklist and then fired me out of my clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of my membership in this working class party.

From the tone you used, it was clear that you don't like the taste of the smear medicine which your administration has dispensed rather freely to people like myself who advocate socialism as the alternative to capitalism and Stalinism.

I use the word "taste" because what is being done to you and other targets of McCarthy is by no means as bad as what you did to me and my party.

Whether or not the charges against Owen Lattimore have any substance, at least he was told what they were, and what the alleged evidence was for those charges. At least he was given the right to attend an open hearing where he could defend himself against those charges.

As for the Socialist Workers Party, it was put on your Attorney General's "subversive" list without being told what the evidence was for the charges against it. No hearing was offered before this was done. After the list was published, both the SWP and I asked you and the Attorney General for an open hearing. Our requests were ignored or denied. We were put in the position of being "convicted" without having had a "trial," fair or otherwise. This fact alone proves that your statements last night about operating "within the framework of the democratic liberties we cherish" is no more accurate than some of McCarthy's claims.

Has it occurred to you, Mr. President, that the arbitrary methods you used against me and my party encouraged and emboldened McCarthy to imitate you and use similar methods against your administration? He probably figures that if you can smear your opponents without being required to submit proof, why can't he do the same?

Last night you also said: "We're going to keep the Bill of Rights on the books." It would also be very helpful if in addition to keeping it on the books, your administration would begin to observe it in practice. As a first step toward again making the Bill of Rights a reality for all, the unconstitutional "loyalty" purge order should be revoked, the "subversive" blacklist should be rescinded, and the FBI should be directed to respect the laws it is paid to uphold.

I am unalterably opposed to the policies of your party, but I am just as unalterably opposed to subjecting the members of any party to witch-hunts. Until you adopt a similar attitude to civil rights, it will be hard for you to show any principled difference between yourself and McCarthy.

Yours truly,
JAMES KUTCHER

But Truman Vows No Halt To Witch-Hunt

By George Breitman

The Democrats are really frightened now. For despite all their carefully-cultivated "Welfare State" demagogy and lip-service to labor and civil rights, they feel that they stand a good chance to be beaten in the crucial 1950 congressional elections as a result of the Washington witch-hunt proceedings inaugurated by Republican Senator McCarthy's charges about "communists" in the State Department.

If the Democrats are unable to turn the tide and are defeated next November, it will be an example of irony difficult to equal.

For it was the Democrats themselves who set loose the witch-hunt a few years ago.

It was the Truman administration that treated the political atmosphere of the cold war against "communism" in which McCarthy's accusations thrive.

And it was Truman's Department of Justice that first made a public "hero" and "credible" witness out of Louis Budenz, the ex-Stalinist professional finger-man who is now pointing his finger in a direction that gives the Democratic high command the jitters.

THEIR OWN FIRE

If the Democrats get burned now, it will be from the "guilt-by-association" fire for which Truman's "loyalty" purge executive order provided the fuel and the first match.

McCarthy didn't have to invent the method for stigmatizing and discrediting the Democratic Party through vague and unproven accusations; all he had to do was borrow and adapt it from the Trumanite "subversive" list which proscribes minority working class parties, both Stalinist and anti-Stalinist, on the basis of similarly vague and unproven accusations.

And as is pointed out elsewhere on this page by James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his VA job because he belongs to the Socialist Workers Party, Owen Lattimore at least got an open hearing at which he could defend himself — which is more than Truman's Loyalty Board was willing to afford to Kutcher or the SWP.

The only progressive way to fight the McCarthy offensive is by repudiating the entire heresy-hunt and appealing to the American people to mobilize for action in defense of their civil rights, which are being subverted by the proponents of an American police state.

TRUMAN'S DEFENSE

But since that would also mean repudiating their own past and present witch-hunt practices, it is the last thing the Trumanites have in mind. Instead, their defense consists of showing that they are really the best, most efficient and most reliable witch-hunters available.

Truman himself made this clear in his speech before the Federal Bar Association on April 24. His anti-"subversive" activities had been unceasing, he said — which was true; and he hadn't violated any democratic rights in the process, he boasted — which was untrue. But the essence of his line was: We, Democrats are the best witch-hunters and purgers in the business; why try somebody else without our experience and finesse, when you can depend on us to continue this witch-hunt even while we are dodging the effects of its Republican counterpart?

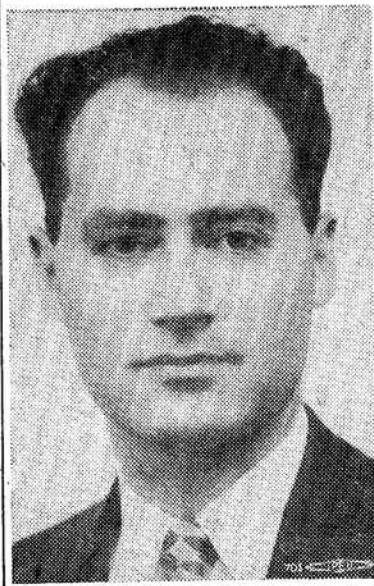
Labor and liberal leaders, who have been hoping against hope that the administration would discontinue the witch-hunt sooner or later, are here offered evidence that Truman proposes to maintain

TURNER-LEWIN PAPERS FILED IN PENNSYLVANIA

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 26 — Nomination papers, bearing 12,146 signatures, were filed at the Bureau of Elections here today by the Militant Workers Party (the ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party in this state).

The candidates named for the 1950 general election are Mrs. Clyde Turner for U. S. Senator and Herbert Lewin for Governor. Both live in Philadelphia.

Comrade Turner is now employed as a garment operator and is a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL. She also belongs to the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP. She was born in Norfolk, Va., and raised in Cleveland, O. She attended Heidelberg College, Tiffin, O.



HERBERT LEWIN

Political Aspects of Labor Unity Proposal

This latest of a whole series of similar proposals is the most serious bid for labor unity since the original split between AFL and CIO. The CIO unity proposal reflects the fear that continued control of government by big business will result in wrecking the organized labor movement — a fear that is amply justified by the experience of the past few years. This anxiety permeates the utterances of the labor leaders as they view the "Fair Deal" debacle in Washington and the mounting anti-labor offensive by the organized employers.

In his "unity" letter CIO President Philip Murray sounded the alarm: "Our economy suffers from the unrestrained greed of the trusts and monopolists. Their program of too high prices, too high profits, and too low wages has already created widespread unemployment. Millions of Americans,

willing and able to work, cannot find jobs. The number of unemployed has ominously increased approximately by one million during each of the post-war years.

ANXIOUS CONCERN "It is the inescapable responsibility of organized labor," Murray concludes, "acting unitedly, to seek and obtain effective governmental action with this alarming problem."

From beginning to end the Murray letter is anxiously concerned with current domestic political problems: Domination over industry and government by a small clique of greedy monopolists whose course leads inevitably to a major depression; growing unemployment at a time when high prices and higher profits have swollen corporate income to record levels; the scuttling of social welfare legislation; the increasing arrogance of corporate

interests bolstered by the Taft-Hartley Act, in "rejecting labor's just demands"; the more frequent blood-letting that labor is forced to undergo by the "economic overlords," to gain a few piddling concessions, etc.

These are symptoms of an impending social crisis which raise political problems of the first magnitude. While the CIO letter raises these problems, it carefully refrains from posing a fundamental solution. On the contrary, the remedy prescribed is a larger dose of the same quick medicine that has brought labor to its present predicament.

For the CIO proposal, in essence, is designed to unify labor support behind the Truman Democrats on a national scale. It seeks to effect this "unity" in time to make its weight felt in the 1950 congressional elections. This is the "common program" of which they speak, the cornerstone of

DISASTROUS RESULTS

At its very inception, the CIO discarded the sterile Gompers policy of "pure and simple" trade unionism which kept the American working class politically atomized and completely subordinate to the bosses of the Democratic and Republican parties. With the establishment of Labor's Non-Partisan League the unions emerged from their swaddling clothes and took the first step toward independent political action.

The virtue of LNPL and its successor, the CIO Political Action Committee, was in the attempt to organize the working class as a political entity. Implicit the logic of this development was

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European Notebook

The 25th Hour

By Ernest Germain

The merit of literature consists among other things in its power to reveal truth by conveying the feeling of reality to those who are still incapable of understanding it scientifically.

The 25th Hour is the story of a simple Rumanian peasant, Johann Moritz, his wife Suzanne and several other petty-bourgeois types: the priest Koruga; his son a poet and novelist, Traian; and his wife, the journalist Nora West.

Johann Moritz seeks above all to escape the crushing poverty of his village. He wants to emigrate to the United States, but the father of Suzanne bullies her and compels her to remain where he can protect her.

MISFORTUNE WITHOUT END Comes the war and the persecution of the Jews. A policeman who covets Suzanne denounces Johann Moritz as a Jew and has him arrested.

One day an SS monomaniac notices Johann Moritz and discovers in him "a racial Nordic type of exceptional purity."

HE SEES NO WAY OUT But Gheorghiu presents this misery as an inevitable product of "our technological civilization."

For several years the reunited family continues to taste the joys of the American camps — "We cannot consider individual cases," an American officer tells them.

It is immediately evident that the different characters in this book are nothing but symbols of specific social forces. The father of Suzanne, a brutalized bourgeois; the policeman who "converts" Johann Moritz into a Jew; the SS man who reconverts him into an "Aryan of exceptional purity" — these are so many personifications of the blind forces at whose mercy the individuals are today, raising them up one moment only to hurl them down all the more brutally the next.

The 25th Hour is therefore a novel about the dehumanization of man. American readers might find this description of human existence today too dismal or extravagant. Actually, the misfortunes of the personages in the novel fall considerably short

California Jobless Increase Reported

LOS ANGELES — Mid-February reports on unemployment in California disclose a total of 493,000 jobless out of a total labor force of 3,935,000. The February figure represents an increase of 19,000 over January and is the highest recorded since March 1949, when 531,000 were unemployed.

The average monthly unemployment figure for 1949 is given as 417,000. The figure for one year ago, February 1949, was 486,000. This would indicate that rather than a temporary unemployment problem, we are witnessing the creation of a permanent army of unemployed. This is confirmed by the number of those unemployed who are no longer eligible for unemployment compensation.

PUSHED AROUND

For the most part, they preserved that most precious boon — their lives which 60,000,000 beings lost during the five years of the second imperialist war. They were only pushed around. They were constantly pushed around, pushed around by the state, pushed around by the rich, pushed around by the army, pushed around by the police, pushed around by the bureaucrats who snuff out the last spark of their humanity under mountains of red tape.

But impressive as this novel is in its description which so strongly conveys man's misery today, it is misleading in the conclusions which flow from this description. To be sure, the author guards against putting the responsibility for this misery on "totalitarianism" or some other cliché of the same type. He rejects the alternative of American imperialism as a "lesser evil."

But Gheorghiu presents this misery as an inevitable product of "our technological civilization." That is, he is incapable of pointing any way out whatever for martyred mankind. His characters are all docile, obedient to the law and resigned to a fate that tortures them. The will to resist is expressed only on the plane of individual escape; all organization is considered tyrannical.

Nevertheless, inherent in the human misery described by Gheorghiu is the urge to overcome it. By organizing collectively, human slaves succeed above all in consciously triumphing over their misery by understanding its causes and its mechanics. As soon as this misery has lost the mysterious, frightful and fatal character which it always preserves for Gheorghiu, it will appear as only one of the obstacles in the age-long road of humanity's journey toward emancipation and freedom.

The struggle of the human slaves to throw off their social shackles is at the same time a struggle to definitively subject the "slave techniques" to the control of human reason. It will thus transform all the explosive forces of destruction and barbarism into creative forces for peace, plenty and prosperity. That is why the 25th hour will never strike so long as the struggle for socialism continues.

Letters from Readers

Why Starvation in The Richest Valley?

I have just read an article in Newsweek magazine purporting to give a report on how conditions in the San Joaquin Valley of California are exaggerated.

According to the writer, the death by starvation (polite name: malnutrition) of 28 children last fall was due to ignorance and pride on how to feed children. He quotes an "authority" who said, "Back home these people did a little sharecropping and kept a pig or two. They did a little moonshining in winter. The pig and the moonshining were social security."

Then the writer, who has become an authority on agriculture by listening to the other "authority," accuses these farmers of "drinking up their

LOS ANGELES, April 17 — A large audience was on hand here last night to hear Bert Cochran, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party Trade Union Committee, discuss the outlook for labor in 1950.

In his presentation, Cochran traced the history of the labor movement in recent years, with special emphasis on the State Department's intervention into the movement through the misleadership of the labor bureaucracy.

He debunked the false realism of the ex-radicals who, "hypnotized by the artificial stimulation of the post-war boom, have come to believe that the workers won't go for socialism and have therefore jumped on the bandwagon of the bureaucrats."

Considerable literature was purchased by the audience and many interest cards were filled out by those wanting to find out more about the SWP program.

If They Don't Admit It, Maybe No One Will Know

Truman said last year that unemployment could be considered "critical" when it reached 5,000,000. Now that that number has been reached, the administration is playing down the "critical" angle.

Sidewalk Supper



Mr. and Mrs. Garrett Barry and their five children eat supper on a Chicago sidewalk after being evicted from their apartment. Cause of the eviction was Barry's inability to pay the high rent demanded by the landlord. There will be many more scenes like this all over the country if rent controls are ended.

Letters from Readers

Why Starvation in The Richest Valley?

earnings at gin mills while the kids stay home and starve." The State Department of Employment recorded 544,000 working in agriculture one month and 419,000 two months later. This means an increase of unemployment in agriculture alone of 129,000 in two months, not accounting for those who remained unemployed at peak employment or those who worked part time and are counted as fully employed in these figures.

A full blown agricultural crisis can exist and yet some "authorities" will look the other way lest they see the things to come. They are afraid of a return to the days of the "Grapes of Wrath" and those days are very close, only it will be on a larger scale. Agriculture is the sickest industry in this country and most prone to crisis. Here in California employment fluctuates wildly almost every month in this industry with a continually downward trend in wages. This is also true of nearby Arizona which also had an "epidemic" of starvation deaths among the agricultural workers a very short time ago.

Simon Klein Was Too Old Editor: Capitalist society has no mercy on its helpless victims. The ruthless coldblooded nature of the capitalist beast is reflected even inside the sacred portals of its religious institutions. Take the case of Simon Klein, for example.

End of Rent Control Would Cut Living Standards 5% Appearing before a Senate committee holding hearings on rent control, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, declared that removal of controls would be the equivalent of a 5% reduction in wages.

Green cited Department of Labor statistics to show that rents had increased at least 25% in those areas in which rent controls had been lifted. Widespread rent increases, Green predicted, "will inevitably be reflected in the demands of organized workers for higher wages."

2. "The Maturing Crisis" by George Clarke. The current squabbles in Washington reflect a growing political crisis of profound depth.

3. "Dilemma of U. S. Foreign Policy" by John Saunders. What went wrong with World War III? The master plan drawn up by George F. Kennan, one of the brains on the State Department payroll, ran into unexpected difficulties.

4. "The Capitalist Witch-

U. S. Puppets Wage War Against Filipino People

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was merely a deceitful cover for continued colonial domination.

The task of liquidating the popular revolt and restoring the social status quo wherever the Huks had succeeded in upsetting it, was now entrusted to the Philippine government, first under President Sergio Osmena, then under President Manuel Roxas, today under President Elpidio Quirino.

DISMAL FAILURE Despite this assistance, the efforts of the puppet government to wipe out armed opposition have met with dismal failure.

Repressive actions by the military and the Philippine Constabulary are swelling the forces of discontent and rebellion. The Huk ranks have grown by leaps and bounds. Possessing, as yet, only light weapons, they are compelled to avoid frontal fighting.

The Huks are everywhere and nowhere. While Quirino makes a public pledge to wipe them out within a year or resign they have pressed to the very outskirts of Manila. On several occasions recently the capital has been alerted for an expected Huk attack.

Quirino's defense secretary, Ruperto Kangleon, has estimated that there are upwards of 16,000 Huk units under arms, but the number is probably far greater. The government in Manila is under no illusion that it can cope with the Huks unaided and confidently expects rescue by the American imperialists.

Washington's response to this desperate plea was the two-year renewal of the military assistance pact. And so American arms and munitions are continuing to flow into the Philippines to perpetuate a state of affairs which the great mass of the people — twenty million of them — are determined no longer to tolerate.

relationship between artistic production and its material roots. "Art and Politics in Our Epoch" by Leon Trotsky. In two letters, written in 1938, two years before he was assassinated by an agent of the Kremlin, Trotsky returns to the central theme of his famous work, Literature and Revolution. Trotsky's views on the mutual responsibilities existing between the fields of art and politics have lost none of their timeliness.

"The Last Hours of the Condemned" by Sal Santen. A tribute to Henry Sneevliet, revolutionary leader of the Dutch working class, and a moving account of his courage before the Nazi firing squad.

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Send me a copy of Fourth International, featuring "Problems of American Politics." Enclosed is 25 cents.

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ability of the Quirino government to suppress the popular uprising and make the Philippines safe for the parasitic landlords and their American partners.

Thus Life magazine, on April 17, prints an editorial entitled "Let's Do It." Noting a declaration by Secretary of State Acheson to the effect that the Philippines are essential to U. S. security and that the U. S. would "go to war if necessary" to save them, this Life publication says there is no reason to think the Philippine government can liquidate the Huks unaided.

The label "Red" has of course been pinned on the Hukbalahaps by the U. S. imperialists and their colonial agents in Manila. Life magazine declares that the Huk movement is tantamount to a Soviet invasion of the Philippines and that this alone would justify the sending of American troops to stamp it out.

Although it is still too early for any reports from members of the Militant Army, the orders for the special May Day edition of The Militant published last week indicate that it is due for a favorable response from class-conscious workers celebrating labor's traditional holiday. The bundle orders of this issue received up to now amount to more than double the usual orders.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Literature Agent Bert Deck writes that "Shirley M. has been added to the regular Militant sales army. She has been selling up to nine copies a week at one of our campuses. We expect good results from this work."

Literature Agent Dixon Woods of San Francisco reports "a very good sale of The Militant and Fourth International at a Stalinist public meeting on trade with China where Mrs. Paul Robeson spoke. Many people were particularly interested in the C. L. Liu article on China in the January-February issue of Fourth International. Back copies of The Militant containing the Li Fu-jen articles on the class forces in the Chinese revolution also attracted attention. Several students from the Progressive Youth took down our local address from F. B., who did most of the selling, to get in touch with us for further discussion. A number of personal conversations started by F. B. ended in sales like that."

Besides covering this Stalinist meeting with literature presenting the Trotskyist view on events of great world interest, the San Francisco comrades "hit the nail

under Stalinist influence or direction.

To the imperialists, Stalinist influence means one thing: the spread of Soviet "imperialism." To revolutionary socialists it means something quite different — an ominous possibility of betrayal of the popular struggle. The perfidious deeds of Stalinism in China permit no illusions as to what will happen in the Philippines if the agents of the Kremlin establish their control.

Regardless, however, of the character of the Huk's political leadership, the movement is a genuine one enjoying the support of the great mass of the people and to a large extent their active participation. In this there is no essential difference between it and the peasant movement led by the Stalinists in China. What is necessary at this time is to identify the main enemy of the Filipino people. That enemy is American imperialism.

Because of the high strategic value which Washington places on the Philippines, there seems to be more likelihood of all-out U. S. military intervention there than there was in the case of China, where, considering all the circumstances, it was too vast and too risky an undertaking. The alarm must be sounded now and the American working class alerted to the counter-revolutionary designs of the Washington administration and its Wall Street backers.

SAN FRANCISCO

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Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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TROTSKY

"The liberation of the workers can come only through the workers themselves. There is, therefore, no greater crime than deceiving the masses, palming off defeats as victories, friends as enemies, bribing workers' leaders, fabricating legends, staging false trials, in a word, doing what the Stalinists do.

— Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours, 1938.



LENIN

Five Years of the UN

The UN is now celebrating the fifth anniversary of its foundation in San Francisco. Five years ago Moscow vied with Washington, London and Paris in painting up this organization.

The only dissident voice was that of world Trotskyism. In this country, as in all others throughout the world, the Trotskyists were the only ones who warned that the United Nations was nothing but a replica of the defunct League of Nations which Lenin had branded as a "thieves' kitchen."

The League of Nations, Lenin said, is "a piece of fakery from beginning to end; it is a deception from beginning to end; it is a lie from beginning to end." It is not a genuine unification at all but unity "on paper only; in reality it is a group of beasts of prey, who only fight one another and do not at all trust one another."

Five years have passed. Who has been proved right?

The five years of the United Nations have proved to be five years of the incessant "cold war," that is, a condition of highly unstable armed truce in preparation for still another world holocaust.

The world has never before witnessed such five years of extensive "peacetime" preparations for warfare nor the piling up of so many instruments of destruction from the customary armaments to atomic explosives, biologic poisons and rocket missiles.

Five years after the San Francisco "universal peace" frolic, the whole world totters on the edge of Hell-Bomb annihilation. And it was the architects of the United Nations, not the least among them Stalin and his whole regime, who have brought matters to such a pass.

Peace can still be assured to tortured humanity. To bring it about it is necessary to abolish monopoly capitalism and establish a Workers and Farmers Government in this country. There is no other way. If the masses of the people in this country were to take this road, the days of Stalin's rule would be numbered. His bestial regime would then fall under the revolutionary uprising of the Soviet masses and of the oppressed peoples in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe.

Relief for the Unemployed

In a letter to administration leaders and Congress last week, CIO President Philip Murray, called for emergency legislation to relieve unemployment distress in "critical" areas. The communication appeals for action on three specific measures: (1) Extension of unemployment compensation benefits beyond the 26 week period in areas where unemployment exceeds nine per cent of the labor force;

These proposals are all right as far as they go. But such appeals addressed to a Congress primarily concerned with granting handouts to the rich will remain unheeded unless supported by effective action. The union-hating bosses look upon the unemployed as a convenient reservoir from which to recruit strikebreakers in their war against the unions.

Big Business has long perfected its "Plan for Action" which envisages the use of a double-barreled weapon to blast the labor movement: the Taft-Hartley Act plus a "surplus labor pool." The crucial question is who will win the allegi-

ance of the unemployed worker? It is good that Philip Murray recognizes the responsibility of organized labor to speak up for the unemployed. But more is necessary!

The problem of unemployment is no longer a matter of temporary relief for the so-called "distressed areas." It has become general throughout the country and is steadily increasing. The CIO estimates that unemployment has increased at the rate of one-million per year since 1945. There are now over five million totally unemployed and eight million working part time. And this at a time when corporate profits for the first quarter of 1950 are higher than the boom take of 1949.

Either organized labor will champion the cause of the unemployed or the monopolists will use them as a battering ram against the unions. To give force to the appeal for immediate relief from Congress the unions must themselves organize and direct the struggle of the unemployed along militant lines.

An important part of this fight must be the resumption of a serious campaign to win the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

An Issue That Can't Be Straddled

"Sooner or later it will be impossible for individuals who wish to be considered progressive, who wish to fight against the war plans of Wall Street, to straddle this issue (of Yugoslavia)," thus spoke Gilbert Green at the recent plenum of the CP National Committee.

This thinly veiled ultimatum combines the customary huge dose of the Stalinist lie with a great deal of truth. It is a lie that anyone who sides with Yugoslavia against the Kremlin thereby automatically enlists in the camp of American imperialism. What it really means is that Stalin's American hirelings are under strict orders to attack and defame as an agent of Wall Street anyone who shows the slightest sympathy for the struggle of the Yugoslavs, or even has doubts about the Kremlin's ruthless policy against Yugoslavia. But it is nevertheless true that it is impossible to straddle the issue of Yugoslavia.

Events have demonstrated that the Kremlin, which keeps on reaffirming its willingness and eagerness to cohabit peacefully with any and all capitalist countries, rules out this possibility in the case of Yugoslavia. Between himself and the Tito regime, Stalin has drawn a line of blood.

Those who will have to choose sides immediately are the "progressives" in the

Wallaceite movement. O. John Rogge, Wallace and others have now been told to line up — or else! The same thing applies, of course, to the rank and file of the Wallaceites, and of the Stalinist periphery generally.

It goes much deeper than that. Every rank and file inside the Communist Party now has a gun pointed at his head. No more hesitations, no more doubts, not even unspoken ones! A purge is clearly in preparation.

Actually the Wallaceites and the Stalinists are not the only ones who are confronted with making a definitive choice. Today the same issue faces — and will face even more sharply on the morrow — the ranks of the entire American labor movement. The pressure on Yugoslavia comes not only from Moscow; there is also pressure from the side of Washington which will increasingly assert itself.

The resistance of the Yugoslavs to the Kremlin is highly progressive; equally so is the determination of the Yugoslavs to remain independent of both the Kremlin and the American imperialists. To aid their struggle is to permit the Yugoslav revolution to unfold and allow the masses there to settle their own fate. We Trotskyists have understood this from the very beginning, and that is why we support the cause of the Yugoslavs.

Pyade Tells How Stalin Betrayed the Partisans

The full story of the Kremlin's sabotage, duplicity and treachery toward the wartime partisan movement in Yugoslavia is now a matter of public record.

For three long years, between 1941 and 1944, a national and civil war was being fought out on the plains, forests and mountains of this Balkan country. On the one side were the worker and peasant guerrillas. They were led by Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party, blindly loyal to Stalin and the ruling caste in the Soviet Union.

On the other side were the German and Italian invaders, their quisling regimes in Serbia and Croatia, the reactionary anti-communist government of King Peter in exile in London and finally the Serbian General Mikhailovitch. The forces under his command in Yugoslavia concentrated their main fire against the partisans in secret collaboration with the quislings and Nazis.

BEHIND THE SCENES

Up to 1944, when the Soviet Army crossed the Yugoslav border in pursuit of the Wehrmacht, Stalin deliberately withheld all aid from the sorely pressed guerrilla armies under Tito's leadership. Meanwhile, behind-the-scenes negotiations were being conducted between the Moscow despot and King Peter's government-in-exile which, in turn, was secretly collaborating with the Nazi occupation forces in Yugoslavia.

Instead of giving them arms and medical supplies, Stalin exhorted the partisans to tone down their radical social aims, to give up their independence and to make peace with Mikhailovitch. Had his advice been followed Yugoslavia would be another Greece today.

All these facts are documented in detail in an expose written by Moshe Pyade, a member of the Political Bureau of the YCP in the March 22 issue of the Balgrade paper, Borba. The article is entitled "Facts on Soviet Aid to the Insurrectional Uprising."

PROMISE OF AID

In February 1942, Moscow communicated to the general staff of the Partisan Army, then located in Fochta, a small town on the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "We have the possibility of sending men in the near future. . . Furnish us with details as to where our plane can land."

Tito replied: "Urgent need for medical supplies, especially typhus serum. 160 fighters suf-

fered frozen feet during the offensive. . . Send us munitions, automatic weapons, equipment and material to clothe the fighters."

On Feb. 22, when it had become clear that the Soviet planes were to be expected the following day, Tito added in another dispatch: "Send us sufficient war material and we will mobilize another 100,000 men. The arrival of several parachutists will have an immense moral and political influence here."

Pyade was then commissioned by Tito to make all preparations for the safe reception of the planes. A Montenegrin partisan detachment was placed at his disposal. Together with the partisans in the bitter winter of 1942, he waited for the Soviet planes for 37 days in the snow-covered fields of Montenegro at the foot of Mount Durmitor. The planes never arrived.

MORE TELEGRAMS

While Pyade and his partisans were waiting, Tito received another telegram from Moscow. It contained a proposal that the partisan general staff issue a proclamation in the name of the Yugoslav people to all the people of Europe, calling upon them to fight the invaders. Tito agreed.

Then in March Moscow demanded by telegram that certain changes be made in the text of the proclamation, notably the deletion of the passage saying that the Communist Party had organized the liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, as well as the following slogans at the end of the manifesto: "Long live the heroic Red Army; Long live the Soviet Union; Long live Comrade Stalin!" Tito complied.

The manifesto never saw the light of day. In a letter dated March 26, Tito indicated the reason to Pyade who was still awaiting the planes. He wrote that Moscow had lost interest in the project. "But there is another reason why the planes do not come," he said, "and this is it: Yesterday I received a wire from Moscow informing us that it was necessary to hold up the publication of the manifesto to the people of Europe pending clarification of relations between the Soviet government and the Yugoslav government in London. It is clear that the London government and not our policy is the principal obstacle in the way of our receiving aid."

QUESTIONS TO "CLARIFY"

The Moscow wire, dated March 2, 1942 read: "Personal. . . for Tito. During a consultation in re the publication of the manifesto of the (Partisan) General Staff we have decided, in the interest of the cause, that it is necessary to delay its issuance until certain

questions are clarified in the relations between the Soviet government and the Yugoslav government."

These "questions" had been mentioned by Moscow in a previous communication to Tito. They said that the supporters of the British government and of the Yugoslavs in London suspected that the partisan movement in Yugoslavia was assuming a communist character and they objected to the partisan general staff having formed a special Proletarian Brigade.

Tito replied that Moscow had drawn erroneous conclusions. He said that there was a broad popular liberation front in Yugoslavia which in its immense majority consisted of real patriots and not Fifth Columnists. The agents of the London government were working with the occupation and fighting the partisans. Tito concluded that the creation of the proletarian brigades, whose heroism served as an example for the people, had been necessary because the partisan movement was mortally threatened by the Fifth Columnists.

He was referring here to Mikhailovitch's Chetniks. They were being amply supplied by Mussolini. Crates were marked in Italian: "Handle with Care — Munitions." At that time the partisans in Montenegro had only one cartridge for every three fighters.

"PEOPLE ASK WHY"

Moscow excused its failure to send supplies in March and April 1942 with alibis about technical difficulties. But at the same time they advised Tito to appeal to the Yugoslav government in London to support the national liberation army (partisans). Pyade notes that Moscow gave this advice despite the fact that "we wired them daily the texts of documents taken from the Chetniks proving collaboration between Mikhailovitch and the Occupation. While we received no aid from the Soviet Union, the British were parachuting arms to the Chetniks close by our lines."

Then Tito once again addressed an appeal to the Kremlin: "I have been on the Montenegro sector of the front since May 20. The situation is very critical here. The entire population curses the Yugoslav Government in London which is supporting the Occupation through the intermediary of Mikhailovitch. From all corners, the fighters and the people are asking me why the Soviet Union is not sending aid."

How Stalin answered will be shown in next week's concluding installment of this expose based on Pyade's article. It will also contain factual proof of Stalin's treachery to the Yugoslav partisans during World War II as revealed in a document discovered in the archives of King Peter's Government-in-Exile.

CP SHARPENS LINE AGAINST 'TITO FORCES'

By John F. Petrone

The Stalinist leaders in this country are deeply concerned over "penetrating" even into the CP. This fear was expressed at the March 23-25 plenary session of the CP National Committee by Gilbert Green, reporting on "The Need for Strengthening Communist Vigilance." (The main reports of the plenum are printed in the May issue of Political Affairs.)

The "Tito forces," according to Green's warning, "are well organized and financed, and are concentrated especially among the middle-class intellectuals and among the nationality groups." He singled out the writer Louis Adamic as "their chief American spokesman as of this moment" and darkly condemned him as "no more confused and misled intellectual."

"We dare not underestimate the inroads which the Titoites have made among certain middle-class intellectuals, who, seeking to 'prove' that they are not Communists, are becoming supporters of Tito," Green continued. "They believe that this will enable them to continue to parade as progressive and pro-peace forces, while permitting them to join in attacks upon the Soviet Union. We must make perfectly clear that, sooner or later, the period of confusion over the Tito question will have to end. Sooner or later it will be impossible for individuals who wish to be considered progressive, who wish to fight against the war plans of Wall Street, to straddle this issue. . ."

Aimed at Two Targets

This blunt threat of all-out slander, "sooner or later," is clearly aimed at such figures as O. John Rogge, Progressive Party leader who has been prominent in the activities of Stalinist front organizations in the past but who is now embarrassing them by his trip to Yugoslavia and his remarks favoring the independence of that country.

But Green's whole speech makes it evident that his remarks are also aimed at members of the CP itself. It is well known that Joseph Starobin was kicked out of his job as Daily Worker foreign affairs editor because of his "confusion over the Tito issue" — that is, because he tried to polemicize with the Yugoslavs instead of following the orthodox Stalinist line, which is not to argue the merits of the question but to engage in unrestrained political character assassination of the Yugoslavs.

Starobin's "confusion," as the Stalinist bureaucrats well know, is only a faint reflection of the CP rank and file's continuing bewilderment over the overnight change in their leadership's attitude toward Tito after the Kremlin-Belgrade split, and of their reluctance to accept the Cominform's anti-Yugoslav slanders at face value.

"Strictest Check-Up and Control"

Green proposed, and the National Committee decided to carry through, a campaign "for the mass circulation of Derek Kartun's booklet Tito's Plot Against Europe," a hack job which plays up all of the lurid lies against the Yugoslav regime that were broadcast at the Rajk frame-up trial in Hungary last year.

But of course the Stalinist bureaucrats are not going to rely on propaganda alone (especially such discredited propaganda). In addition, they decided to "tighten up our whole party organization" by instituting "the strictest check-up and control over the execution of all decisions" (and over all members). This check-up and control, Green explained, "will find the deficiencies that exist in our work" and "uncover wrong ideological tendencies."

In short, speedy expulsion and defamation as "a counter-revolutionary agent of Wall Street" awaits any member of the CP who fails to go along 100% with the Kremlin's propaganda warfare against Yugoslavia today or an armed attack on its independence in the future.

Truman Appoints Advocate of Blood Segregation To a Position in the Top Loyalty Review Board

The appointment of Harry Blair to Truman's Loyalty Review Board was protested last week by Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the NAACP. Blair's record, he said, "indicates bias against Negro citizens and a tendency to classify their legitimate and justifiable protests against racial discrimination and segregation as disloyalty. The record in the Dorothy Bailey case clearly indicates that he regards a protest against the obnoxious Red Cross

policy of segregating Negro blood as a point tending to support a disloyalty charge." Wilkins also told Truman that the Blair appointment, "coupled with the delay in taking up the FEPC bill in the Senate, has not only aroused resentment, but also a strong suspicion that administration leaders are abandoning the fight for civil rights at this session, especially in the field of employment opportunities."

A Social Portrait of Our Middle Class

By Paul Schapiro

DEATH OF A SALESMAN, by Arthur Miller, Viking Press, 1949, 144 pp., \$2.50.

It is easy to see why this play, now to be made into a movie, has been so tremendously popular on the stage. In its relentless psychological probing of Willy Loman, the salesman, it has laid bare the innermost psychic disturbances of the American middle class, and many spectators must have felt a sense of reality such as they had seldom experienced in the theater.

Breaking down in his old age, as his illusion of his own importance and his dream of his son's success in the business world are shattered, Willy Loman's mind keeps getting out of control and veering off, like an automobile whose steering wheel is out of kilter, to memories of the past. His willful self-deception, in which he desperately tries to continue, is presented with irony, pity and something of sardonic humor.

In the person of this traveling salesman, constantly aware of the grinding competition, always beset by worries that he will be unable to meet his installment payments, his insurance, his bills and his mortgage, and immersed in his dream of coming out as number-one man, is epitomized the middle-class mentality.

"SELLS" PERSONALITY

The salesman, like the small businessman, as Erich Fromm pointed out in his Escape From Freedom, is alienated from himself. Willy Loman has to "sell" his personality, himself, to the buyers of the big concerns. His self-esteem is dependent on his success in "selling" himself; he is unable to regard his own individuality as of intrinsic value, for "personality" when put on the market as a commodity, is,

like every other commodity, regarded by the seller as only an exchange-value.

"Be liked," Willy taught his young sons, "and you will never want. You take me, for instance. I never have to wait in line for a buyer. 'Willy Loman is here!' That's all they have to know, and I go right through." Although Willy delights in thinking of himself as well liked, he is tormented by the doubt that people don't really take to him. He cannot simply be himself; he cannot, that is, be a harmoniously integrated individual. He has to ask himself constantly, "Am I using the right approach?"; he has to work on his "personality" so that he can sell it to people who count.

LITTLE ON THE MARKET

Appointments with clients, interviews with employers — these are the big moments at which one can display his "personality." The self-contradictory commands he fires at his 34-year-old son, about to talk to a big man about a position which Willy dreams will open up a great future for him, reveal Willy's own inner uncertainties: "Walk in very serious. You are not applying for a boy's job." "Walk in with a big laugh. Don't look worried."

When Willy comes to talk to his own employer — young Howard, who has succeeded his father — he forgets all his injunctions to his son. "Talk big," he had told Biff — and he begs and grovels before the young man who addresses him with condescending familiarity as "kid." "Personality always wins the day," he had counseled him — but now for a moment he realizes that "personality" is worth very little on the market, after all: "Today, it's all cut and dried, and there's no chance for bringing friendship to bear — or personality."

It is only for a moment, however, that the illusion in which Willy Loman has lived his life is lifted. But while Willy all his life has refused to concede that he is at the mercy of blind, impersonal economic forces, the insecurity of his position has made him subject to feelings of insignificance and powerlessness. At home, when the children were young, he had got some happiness from their love, the companionship of his wife and his dreams of the future, but on the road, hunting for sales, engaging in the impersonal relationships of the business world, he would become frightfully lonely. His relationship with the woman with whom he took up on the road was as lacking in human intimacy as the other relationships of the business world. His jokes brightened her up; he had an audience; she didn't keep him waiting at her desk but sent him through to the buyers; he gave her stockings.

RULES OF SOCIETY

Young Biff's discovery of his father's affair — one might better perhaps say "deal" — with this woman, the memory of which Willy has been trying to repress, plays itself through his mind at the climax of the play, when he has it forced on him that Biff, who had given up his life when he made the discovery, will never make good. The antagonism between father and son, the nagging disappointment and feeling of guilt of Willy, the bitterness and disillusionment of Biff had been presented, as Willy thought back upon the past, in contrast with young Biff's hero-worship of his father and the great hopes that Willy had for Biff as a boy.

But the high-school football star idolized by his classmates who was to have fulfilled his father's dream by his triumphant

success in business had turned out to be a drifter. There had been indications of some decisive event which had changed his life. Now, as everything crashes down upon Willy, it is revealed in a single blinding flash. The discovery is not merely a theatrical trick to create a sensational effect. Willy's desperate lies to his son to explain away the half-dressed woman in his hotel room is an exposure of himself. They cause the boy to see that the father whom he had worshipped and who had pumped him full of dreams is a liar and a fake.

PULLS ON MIDDLE CLASS

Willy's "cheating" on his wife is part of the cheating he accepts. He believes in the rules of his society but is ready to evade them if he can get away with it, as he has seen the big people do. "Why is he stealing," he muses (tormented by his disappointment son. "What did I tell him? I never in my life told him anything but decent things." But he had condoned his young football hero son cheating at exams and swiping a football from the locker room. "Coach'll probably congratulate you on your initiative," he had told him. "I got a couple of fearless characters there," he had boasted to his brother-in-law of his sons' thefts of lumber from under the eyes of a watchman.

In Willy's reliving of this incident in his memory, his brother-in-law answers, "Willy, the jails are full of fearless characters," but the ghost of his brother Ben, who had made good and entered into Willy's dream as the symbol of success, retorts: "And the stock exchange, friend!" In the contradictions within Willy Loman can be seen the conflicting pulls in the middle class soul of fear of authority, acceptance of the sacredness of private property and the desire to emulate the

ruthlessness of the robber barons. The irony of the drama is that Willy Loman does not perceive his own contradictions and feeds on his own boasts, exaggerations and lies that are his unconscious efforts to bolster his ego. He continues to try to piece together the broken pieces of his illusion. And his death is as ironic as his life. When Biff, crying, implores his father to stop expecting him to bring home prizes, Willy realizes that his son's failure is not just a way of spitting him and that Biff, in spite of his resentment, has continued to love him. The certainty of Biff's love, however, only causes the flickering dream of Biff as a triumphant success to flare forth as a splendid vision. He had been thinking of suicide but hadn't gone through with it because he had been afraid that Biff would despise him for it. Now he takes his life joyously, thinking of what Biff will be able to do with the \$20,000 insurance money.

FREE AT LAST

But Biff has come to a realization of himself and will not travel the road of his father. However, Willy Loman's dream, the dream that destroyed him, will be carried on, if not by Biff, then by Happy, the second son, who has been wavering between dropping out of the meaningless, unsatisfying race for business success and continuing in it. He promises this over the grave of his father, to whose funeral had failed to come the general Willy had imagined would be there as a sign of his being well liked and a success. The last words over the grave are those of Willy's wife: "I made the last payment on the house today. Today, dear. And there'll be nobody home. . . We're free and clear. . . We're free. . . We're free. . ." At last Willy Loman is free of his debts — and his dreams.

Toward Unity in Ceylon

The Ceylonese Trotskyists are going ahead with steps to effect the projected unification of the two existing organizations, the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party (BSP) and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP). Eight joint meetings have already been held in various parts of the island. Joint councils have been set up in the Central Committees and the various locals, in the editorial boards and for the parliamentary group. The constitution of the unified party is being drafted by a joint committee. Satisfactory progress by all joint councils is reported.

Copies of Samasamajist, the LSSP paper, has just reached this country, with a report of the mammoth rally held by the Trotskyists in Ceylon on Feb. 4. Extracts follow:

"The mass rally summoned by the LSSP and BSP in accordance with the joint councils' proposal now being conducted with a view to unify the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon, demonstrated beyond all manner of doubt the validity and historical necessity of such a unification. Since the defeat of the last General Strike, no working class rally could muster such a vast gathering. A very modest estimate of those assembled would be 25,000.

"Comrade N. M. Perera who presided explained that the rally served a dual purpose. Firstly, they were assembled here on the very day that the bourgeoisie and their party, the UNP (the ruling party in Ceylon), were commemorating the second anniversary of the achievement of independence, to protest against two years of misgoverning by the UNP. Secondly, the LSSP and the BSP were placing the proposals that are being taken to unify the two organizations. Drawing attention to the fact that within the city itself the official figures of the unemployed have risen to 80,000; the manner in which the resolutions calling for the implementation of the 8-hour day and for the reinstatement of those dismissed at the General Strike had been treated; and the conspiracy hatched against the workers by the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Conference, Comrade Perera

made a lashing attack on the UNP. . . He said that the realization of a unified Trotskyist movement would sweep away the UNP and pave the way for a Workers and Peasants Government." Comrade Leslie Gunawardene said: "Ninety percent of the problem of the 'Left' would be solved by the unification of the LSSP and the BSP. (The leftover 10% is the CP.) You have had experience with the Stalinist CP. During the war they attempted to subdue the masses and asked them to make as great sacrifices as possible to win the war. By a process of verbal jugglery they transformed the imperialist war into a people's war. You are aware that the CP was in the Ceylon National Congress which gave birth to the UNP. The CP bows that they want to make a revolution today but by their actions they have proved to be supporters of the UNP."

Colvin R. De Silva stated that after the misfortunes and divisions it was the greatest joy to appear on the same platform with comrades of old. Recalling the early days of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon, he reminded the workers of the leadership it had provided in the Wellawatte Mills and other workshops, in the plantations and in the struggles of the workers of Ramboda against police brutality. "These struggles and more were carried out by the Trotskyists within a single party," he said. At certain junctures in history, on certain occasions we went on different roads which give rise to disunity. However, today the circumstances are such and the masses have compelled us to get together so that even those who wish to break away will be unable to survive."

Comrade Perera said in conclusion that there was nothing he could add to the speeches already made. "However I will say this, since a speaker has already referred to this meeting as the announcement of the engagement of the LSSP and the BSP, of the fusion that will take place in three months time; that if I represent the bridegroom I will not allow the other Party to run away at the end of the period even if she desired to do so."

Land of Opportunity

By Robert Phillips

Less than a century has passed since Horace Greeley issued his famous advice to the opportunity-frustrated Easterner of his day: "Go west, young man." And when the frontier lands receded forever into the dim past and into the hands of the railroad barons, the cry still was: "America is the land of opportunity." And millions of immigrants swarmed to these shores in pursuit of "opportunity."

But today, the harried job-seeker has no Golden West to beckon him, no promised land with unlimited horizons. Just the dull, grim and almost hopeless task of looking for work.

Of course, we've come a long way since Greeley's time because today we have job seminars, job "clinics" (aptly named for the disease of unemployment) and pep meetings for graduating college students, the men and women with "education."

And what is the advice now to the graduating hopefuls? Just this, that the only way an aspiring professional can hope to get a job is to "capture" it from some incumbent by showing the employer that "he gets \$1.50 worth of work out of you where the other fellow gives only a dollar's worth." These pearls of "competitive" wage-cutting were uttered by Elmo Roper's bright boy statistician, Solomon Dutka, at a meeting held on April 17 at New York University School of Commerce for budding statisticians. (That such advice is close to reality was confirmed by a recent experience of a friend of ours. He was turned down by the incumbent statistician for a job as the latter's assistant in a market research

organization on the ground that he might become a threat to his potential supervisor's job!)

Another pearl of wisdom at the above-mentioned meeting was the advice that the newborn professional go out and acquire some more degrees, M. A. and Ph. D. (how to pay for them wasn't mentioned), then some experience (where to get it wasn't indicated) and then he'd be equipped to do a real Trojan Horse job.

So rough has the search for professional white-collar jobs become that today more ads appear in the financial section of the Sunday N. Y. Times advertising job counselors, who will dress up your resume (job application form), than there are bona-fide help wanted ads in the same section. And in addition there are the various job "clinics" run by the professional organizations, the American Marketing Association, the Advertising Club, etc. You tell them your qualifications and — presto! — a beautiful resume emerges. You're "adjusted" but you've still got to find that one elusive job in competition with thousands of other applicants with "dressed-up" forms.

If you calculate your chances, you find out that, with all the high-powered aid, you haven't very many in the already glutted white-collar job market — a market in which, the U. S. Department of Labor estimated, there might be 3,500 beginners jobs to apportion among some 600,000 graduating students this coming June. And then you start to realize that you, and the millions of college graduates to follow you, have very little opportunity indeed, in the "Land of Opportunity."

From the Yugoslav Press

There is growing interest among the French youth in learning for themselves the truth about Yugoslavia and in forming voluntary labor brigades to aid in the work of construction now going on in that country. To coordinate these activities a conference was held in Paris on April 8. Youth representatives from all parts of France participated, including many who had taken part in previous voluntary brigades of 1947, 1948 and 1949.

The youth of the Renault plant, the largest in France, are among those who responded most enthusiastically to the idea of sending a Renault volunteer brigade to Yugoslavia, and scores have already signed up. The French Stalinists naturally view this entire development among the youth and especially in the Renault plant with great alarm.

They have redoubled their campaign of slander and vilification, issuing special propaganda to besmirch the Yugoslavs and the French youth who are determined to find out the truth for themselves.

In reply to this new flood of Stalinist lies and slanders, the Renault committee for a volunteer youth brigade to Yugoslavia has widely circulated a statement which particularly recalls the treacherous role of the Stalinist leadership in the course of the Renault strike in April 1947.

"This strike led by the workers themselves," the statement points out, "was made the target of a flood of calumnies by Stalinist leaders of the French Confederation of Labor (CGT). At that time the Communists sat in the government

side by side with Ramadier and Co. and together with them defended the wage freeze, pretended that the strike was a 'weapon of the trusts,' and so on. Those comrades who were at the time at the head of the [Renault] strike were denounced in the vilest manner as 'fascists,' 'agents of the trusts,' 'hiredlings of the government' and so on.

"Three days after the strike was called, the members of the French CP and the leaders of the CGT made a complete about face, simultaneously with their being kicked out of the capitalist government. The strike became, as if by magic, the best means of struggle for the workers. How can anyone place confidence in people who yesterday berated the workers as fascists and today flatter them to the skies? Or on the other hand, who yesterday pictured Tito and the Yugoslav regime as a model of the new people's democracies and today denounce them as fascists?"

"It is precisely because we have no confidence, precisely because we'll accept no one's word for it, that we intend to learn for ourselves just what is going on in Yugoslavia! . . . We want the truth! No one will keep us from learning it!" It is expected that the youth brigades from France this summer will be the largest that have yet gone to Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade daily Borba on March 20 analyzed the report on the agricultural situation in Czechoslovakia delivered toward the end of February by Slansky, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak CP. From Slansky's report it is clear that the peasant cooperatives in Czechoslovakia, which are just being organized, are completely dominated by the rich peasants.

Slansky himself admitted the infiltration of the cooperatives by the rich peasants and cited instances where they had "wormed their way" into party organizations and committees and were instrumental in making the decisions. "Many of the cooperatives," says Borba, "have been converted into mere combinations for working the land of the rich peasants, which the latter accept voluntarily because agricultural labor is so difficult to get."

The agricultural question in Czechoslovakia, which is overwhelmingly industrialized, is readily capable of the most radical solutions. But the policy of the Czechoslovak Stalinists has been to protect the rich peasants. As late as the middle of 1948 the Czech party leaders boasted that there were "neither collective farms nor estate farms in Czechoslovakia."

President Zapototski proclaimed on July 5 that "our government has not only not suppressed capitalism (in the countryside), but has created thousands of new capitalists in the shape of peasant cultivators."

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THE MILITANT

"Loyalty" Purge Boomerangs on Democratic Party

(Continued from page 1)

the witch-hunt as a permanent institution of American life. And as long as Truman continues in this way, the McCarthys and profascists will be encouraged to try again.

What do the labor and liberal leaders intend to do about it? There is more at stake here than the success of the Democratic Party. Witch-hunts, which backfire even on a ruling capitalist party, are a hundred times greater threat to the labor and liberal movements, whose progress — whose very existence — depends on the maintenance and extension of civil liberties.

WHAT TO DO NOW

You can't fight one witch-hunt while supporting, condoning or remaining silent about another. On the other hand, the witch-hunt in all its forms and varieties can be quickly eliminated if the labor movement, especially, will recognize its responsibilities as the leader of the nation and open up a vigorous campaign to defend the civil rights of all and to expose the violators of these rights as the would-be rulers of a police state.

Whatever the labor and liberal leaders do, the duty of the workers is clearly defined: They must take a stand against ALL the witch-hunters and utilize the latest developments to convince the labor and liberal movements that the witch-hunt, unless resolutely opposed, will keep on extending its scope, stopping at nothing until democratic rights are utterly destroyed.

What Was Plane Doing in Baltics?

(Continued from Page 1)

concerns the authorities in Washington is not so much the episode itself but Moscow's sudden departure from the "normal" secrecy that usually surrounds such operations on both sides. Harsch reports that the most plausible explanation he has heard is the desire of the Russians to "discourage any further American reconnaissance" over the Baltic because they have something there they are "most anxious to conceal." Their "unusual" conduct is a virtual guarantee that there will be further reconnaissance flights by the U. S. over this area, concludes Harsch.

These dispatches by Harsch and Stanford were quickly seized upon by the Moscow press as substantiating the Kremlin's particular version of the incident. On April 23 Harsch issued a public statement branding Pravda's assertion as "just plain lying" and adding: "Neither Stanford nor myself accepts any part of the Russian contention that the plane invaded any territory occupied by the Russians. Our belief is that the plane was jumped on well out at sea."

Whichever side is lying, and in all likelihood they both are, there is no question that the Harsch and Stanford dispatches, which we have cited, contain information that is highly embarrassing to Washington and which they would very much like to suppress even if belatedly.

Political Aspects of Labor Unity Proposal

(Continued from Page 1)

the formation of an independent party of labor. But the labor leaders, firmly wedded to the two-party system, successfully blocked any further progress. For eight into 15 years they have followed the policy of supporting so-called "friends of labor" in the camp of the two capitalist parties.

The result of this policy is summarized in the CIO unity letter: "Despite the people's victory at the 1948 national election," Murray laments, "reactionary anti-labor forces are again in the ascendancy." How could it be otherwise? The labor leaders are either unable or unwilling to learn the political facts of life.

A Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, Robert Lynd, attempted to teach some of these elementary political lessons in a speech made at the 1949 educational conference of the CIO United Automobile Workers. The UAW recently published this speech as a pamphlet under the title, You Can Do It Better Democratically. Professor Lynd dissected American society and disclosed its class nature. Over and over again he emphasized "the most fundamental social fact about the

Strike at Homestead



A strike by maintenance workers shut down the Homestead plant of Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation near Pittsburgh. Here members of the CIO United Steelworkers who quit their jobs in support of the maintenance workers gather outside mill gates. Major demands were a full five-day week for workers now employed a shorter week, and an end to the stalling on grievances.

DEADLOCK CONTINUES ON STRIKE AT CHRYSLER'S

DETROIT, April 23 — Early last week, auto union leaders reported that the Chrysler strike was virtually over. Only "details" remained to be ironed out. But at the

end of the week, some of these "details" were revealed: the company intended to wipe out the steward system, refused to grant a union shop, demanded a five year contract, and declined any decent seniority protection. Negotiations were soon reported "deadlocked" again.

Meanwhile, GM is producing at breakneck speed, piling up cars in preparation for strike when its contract expires May 29. So far UAW officials have done exactly nothing to curtail overtime. On the contrary, Guy Nunn, UAW spokesman on the air, who is said to voice the views of Walter Reuther, reported GM's high production with great glee. He called upon Chrysler stockholders to do something in order to end the strike which is costing them dividends. But the stockholders met and failed to take Nunn's advice.

Many workers feel differently from Nunn and Reuther. They think the Big Three in auto are engaged in a vicious conspiracy to break the auto union. First, Ford forced the auto union into a one-month strike. Then Chrysler carried the ball in a strike already in its 93rd day. And now GM is preparing for strike.

URGE ALLIANCE

Militants on picket lines therefore feel that a strong alliance of all sections of auto workers is urgently needed. They are demanding an end to the soft "one-at-a-time" strategy, immediate elimination of all overtime work at GM, and the bringing of GM workers into an offensive-defensive alliance with Chrysler strikers. They also desire a clause in any new contract making it expirable at the same time as the recently signed Ford agreement, thus laying the ground for future united action. This kind of action by "Big Three" shops could paralyze Michigan and compel the auto magnates to settle in a hurry.

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Walkout Closes Steel Company's Homestead Plant

By F. Forest

HOMESTEAD, Pa., April 21 — The Homestead Works, the largest U. S. Steel Mill, came to a complete standstill yesterday. The full working force of 8,500 responded to

the spontaneous walk-out of 300 maintenance men and refused to cross their picket line. This was the first time since the great power strike in 1946 that the Homestead steel workers came out in an unauthorized strike.

The capitalist press calls it a "wildcat strike" and the workers call it a "holiday."

Here is what caused it: Ever since the end of last year's general steel strike many men have not gotten back their jobs, although production is at full speed. Other men work only 3 or 4 days a week, and the terrific speedup is sweating the men beyond endurance. Literally hundreds of grievances are not only not being acted upon, but are not even being considered. Fairless of the giant U. S. Steel has promised to process these in "assembly-line fashion," but nothing has moved.

At Homestead there has been goubling up of most jobs, and the non-production workers are feeling the brunt of it too. For example, where formerly the Homestead mills utilized 15 trucks, they now utilize only two. Garbage which used to be hauled daily is hauled now only once a week. And when the men take their vacation, no one does their work for them; when they return, the work is piled so high they cannot get out from under. This has hit the maintenance men particularly for the production workers in Homestead do work a full week while most of the maintenance men work either 3 or 4 days a week.

"REVENGEFUL SPEEDUP"

Considerable dissatisfaction among the men started the day after the end of last year's strike when they began to complain of what they call "revengeful speedup." Then the first week they got their pay envelopes they found that there had been a decrease in their take-home pay because the union had not gotten a wage increase and part of the social insurance fund came out of their own pockets. In addition to this grievance were the debts they accumulated during the strike and the reduced work week.

So the men began to ask their union to take a more aggressive stand on the grievances. They were fed up with the phrase "the company and the union see no cause for alarm in the number of grievances."

The members of United Steelworkers Local 1397 decided to take some matters into their own hands by putting a priority on the demand of their maintenance men for a full work week. The company took an adamant atti-

tude: "The grievance will be considered in due course." It haughtily added the men could take it or leave it, but the company would not budge from its position.

UNANIMOUS VOTE

An emergency meeting of the Homestead local was then called and the men voted unanimously to take a holiday to enforce (1) the demand for a full work week, and (2) the priority of this grievance. Early in the morning, before the first shift came to work, the maintenance men showed up at the gates, well organized.

Although it was a holiday, each had his picket sign, and the picket captains were in their cars speaking through a loud speaker explaining their holiday to the production workers. Thousands of workers milled around the loud speaker, but not a single one tried to cross the picket line, and even the supervisory personnel kept a distance away from the entrance.

In truth, the manner in which this spontaneous walkout was organized lends an added significance to this strike. Both in militancy and effectiveness of organization it was superior to the general strike of last year. Instead of two or three token pickets, which was all they had then, there was mass picketing now. Coffee was being served, and the morale was very high.

When some reporters tried to provoke them by asking them why they were "wild-cating" when Philip Murray had not authorized it, they smiled back: "Of course Murray had nothing to do with it. No one knew anything about it but the local itself unanimously decided to take a holiday until the company sees that we mean either to work five days or none."

One added: "This isn't a strike; a man can still take a holiday when he has a mind to. No one can make you work when you don't want to."

It was clear that they did not feel "ashamed" that Murray had not authorized the work stoppage; on the contrary, they took pride in that fact. What, indeed, had been done to settle grievances by Fairless or Murray? This was their way of showing "the company and the union" that the men themselves mean to do something.

Today it is announced that the company has consented to take up the grievance of the maintenance men first. The men have returned to work, but are on the alert that it should not only be taken up first but settled to their satisfaction.

IPP IN CALIFORNIA TO BACK BOSS CANDIDATES

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES, April 21 — The Independent Progressive Party of California, which is controlled lock, stock and barrel by the Stalinists, has decided to enter only three

official candidates in the coming elections. They are running for Secretary of State, State Comptroller and State Treasurer, and are being run only to ensure that the party retains its place on the ballot.

For all the major offices, the party will follow the policy laid down at the national Wallaceite convention — endorsing so-called "progressive" candidates run by the Democratic and Republican parties.

But there will be very rough sailing for the IPP in the November general elections. According to the California election code a candidate of any party may run in the primaries of any other party if he gets some registered voters of that party to sign a petition placing him on their ballot. And so the various politicians usually have a few of their cohorts registered in the other parties.

In Southern California, for example, there are at least four Republicans cross-filed in the IPP and about the same number of Democrats, none of whom the IPP leadership wants as candidates but who may be the official candidates if they win the IPP primaries. At the same time there

are the so-called "progressives" whom the Stalinists and the IPP are supporting even though they refuse to run on the tainted IPP ticket.

It is thus possible that the Stalinists may wind up in the ludicrous position of supporting the Democratic candidate against the IPP candidate!

The Stalinists keep on losing "progressive" friends. One of the latest is Ellis Patterson who is running for Lieutenant Governor. He came out with an announcement that he wanted no support from the IPP or the "left wing." He was their candidate in the 1949 majority elections against Myra Tanner Weiss of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Stalinists are also running three candidates as members of the Communist Party for "non-partisan" state and county offices. These elections are run without party designation on the ballot, unlike the partisan offices which carry party designation in California's complicated electoral system.

The Socialist Workers Party is now in the process of discussing its own election campaign. Details will be released within the next few weeks.

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