

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 Cochran, 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.

Cochran 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

with SWP members and sympathizers to discuss local party affairs and work.

The tentative tour schedule calls for Cochran to spend most of his first week in New England, starting in New Haven on Mar. 9, Boston on Mar. 10, Lynn on Mar. 12 and Worcester on Mar. 13. A full schedule of the cities to be covered will be printed in The Militant as soon as the dates suggested have been verified.

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."

That's really an eye-opening

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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

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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.)

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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 a certain sense, therefore, part of the revolutionary socialist

job in 1950 is to help Truman refute the charge that there is anything faintly resembling socialism in his program.

Of course we'll go about it differently than he will. We'll do it by showing that the Trumanite program leads inevitably to Hell-Bomb war, dictatorship, depression and permanent insecurity, if not total annihilation, because its major objective is the preservation of the capitalist system that produces such evils in abundance. One reason why Truman doesn't like the new GOP slogan is that it steals some of his own thunder. Like the Republicans, he maintains that capitalism means liberty while socialism means tyranny, and naturally he is on the side of capitalism without any reservations.

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.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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

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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-

inists, the likelihood is that "he did not approach the Yugoslav Communists in opposition to the wishes of the Chinese leader."

AN INDEPENDENT ACT
The full implications of Ho Chi Minh's move cannot possibly be assessed at this stage. But it is unquestionably a move of independence, if not defiance, of the Kremlin. It is precisely the sort of development that Stalin has been working might and main to avert in the Far East.

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

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

It is only a question of time before the international crisis of Stalinism finds its expression in the Far East as it has, in the case of Yugoslavia, on the continent of Europe. Should it erupt into the open, as it well may, amid the unfolding war to the death of the Vietnamese people against the French imperialists and their backers in Washington and London, the Kremlin will suffer another irreparable blow.

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

European Notebook

Rousset-Sartre Debate

By Ernest Germain

Ever since his release from the Nazi concentration camps, the French writer David Rousset has lived by exploiting his former captivity. All his published novels have dwelled on this theme. All his political moves have had the same pretext. Few things are more revolting than such bombastic exploitation of one's past misfortunes. On top of what is personally odious, there has been added the odiousness of his politics.

Rousset was chiefly responsible for the pro-American orientation of the RDR. When this same RDR fell apart several months ago, Rousset, badly in need of publicity, plunged into a new adventure. Using the reactionary weekly Le Figaro Litteraire as his rostrum, Rousset issued an appeal on Nov. 12, 1949 for international action against the concentration camps in the USSR.

SHEER HYPOCRISY

Rousset's pretense that he has just discovered the existence of these camps can be stigmatized only as sheer hypocrisy. For he has actually known about them for 15 years, that is, ever since he first entered the Trotskyist movement. Nor, it might be added, was he unaware of the existence of these camps in 1945, when he quit the French section of the Fourth International because of his conviction that "in spite of everything" only the Stalinist bureaucracy was capable at this time of playing a progressive role in history.

Rousset's evolution, we can conclude, reflects the evolution of petty bourgeois intellectuals in Western Europe. Yesterday, it was swayed by the pressure of the Kremlin's "victories" and Rousset was one of its mouthpieces inside the revolutionary movement. Today, it sways under the pressure of the imperialist counter-offensive, and Rousset seeks to express its aspirations before a more select public.

Jean-Paul Sartre, well-known French writer, comes quite close to expressing the same opinion. This former associate of Rousset in the RDR has published in the January 1950 issue of his magazine, Les Temps Modernes, a crushing reply to Rousset's appeal. Sartre quite correctly condemns the Stalinist concentration camps and points out that it is the duty of all revolutionary socialists to fight against them. But he categorically repudiates Rousset's attempt to line up with the authentic representatives of the imperialist bourgeoisie in this struggle. It is impossible, Jean-Paul Sartre says in substance, to fight against the Stalinist concentration camps check

by jowl with those who are responsible for the concentration camps in Greece, Spain or Indochina, or with their attorneys.

SARTRE'S ANSWER

Sartre quotes the following tell-tale passage from Rousset's appeal: "...to fight in any effective way against the exploitation of man by man, it is necessary to concentrate (sic!) the blows on the system which renders such exploitation most pitiless, carries it to the greatest extremes and shuts out most rigorously the whole future of liberation. We do not speak of injustice in general, but of this specific injustice whose name is concentration-camp injustice."

To this thinly veiled appeal for a "united front" with imperialism against Stalinism, Sartre replies quite properly: "How is this struggle rendered more 'effective' by severing from it those injustices which are not those of the Soviet system? Because, beyond a shadow of doubt, it will rally an audience that would slink away at the very mention of the Spanish or Greek governments or the colonial administrations of Britain or France."

Sartre is a thousand times right in pointing out that the best of causes can be ruined by an alliance with the imperialist bandits and their attorneys. Even in their struggle against Stalinist gangsterism, the Trotskyists have always been careful to appeal only to those personalities in labor and liberal circles who had a reputation of seriously fighting against all forms of oppression to which humanity has been subjected.

IN THE MUD

On the eve of the anniversary of Lenin's death, the American radio in Berlin, an advanced post in the cold war over the airwaves, broadcast, with extensive and laudatory commentaries, the Testament of Lenin. But this exhortation was preceded by a talk in favor of including Franco Spain in the Atlantic Pact! There is not much point to reproaching the imperialists for utilizing in their own interests all kinds of arguments, including those that they find in the revolutionary camp. But it is all the more obligatory to denounce in the sharpest terms such a crime as that of a Rousset who drags the cause of socialism in the mud by using his revolutionary past and his "Marxist" phraseology to cover up the very same deliberate muddle of ideas and sentiments which imperialism concocts for its own profit.

Rousset's game serves not only the cold war of the State Depart-

ment. It also helps reestablish unity in the Stalinist front, which has been gravely torn by crises both in the apparatus as well as among the ranks. The Thorezes, Togliattis and Harry Pollitts have no other serious argument with which to answer the ever mounting criticism in their own ranks except: "It is impossible to depart from the policy of the USSR on any point without going over into the camp of imperialism."

The explanation for the Cominform's hysterical attacks against Yugoslavia is to be found, at bottom, in the fact that Yugoslavia's very existence is a striking refutation of this central thesis of Stalinism. For, here is not a small vanguard group but a party with a membership of hundreds of thousands and a country with a population of more than 15 million that has broken with the Kremlin without becoming an agency of imperialism.

HELPS STALINISM

All of Rousset's activities — his Barnum-like propaganda tours in a number of countries, his appearances at press conferences alongside of representatives of extreme reaction and of avowed apologists of colonialism — all these are grist to the mill of Stalinist propaganda. These are so many "proofs" pounced upon by the Kremlin's lackeys to "prove" that Soviet concentration camps cannot be condemned by anyone without his also becoming an attorney for Franco's concentration camps.

Rousset's campaign will not free a single prisoner of the GPU. Nor will it convince a single Figaro reader of the need to fight Stalin — the French bourgeoisie needs no lessons from Rousset on how to defend its class interests.

The only objective result of his campaign will be to drive some hundreds of Communist intellectuals and workers, who are on the point of breaking with the Stalinist apparatus but mortally afraid of going over to the side of their own exploiters, back to obedience and (co)(m)informism.

PROGRESSIVE ACT

That is why the reply of Jean-Paul Sartre, who reaches this very same milieu, is a highly important and progressive act. By drawing a rigid line of demarcation from all anti-Soviet imperialist moves, by explaining that he addresses himself exclusively to the working people in the struggle against Stalinism, Sartre creates the premises for carrying on that dialogue with the workers and intellectuals breaking away from the Soviet bureaucracy which is today the Number 1 task of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

The renegade Rousset gives voice to the demoralization of the ex-Marxist intellectuals who are deserting to the camp of the class enemy. Jean-Paul Sartre, on the other hand, symbolizes the progressive evolution of bourgeois intellectuals who are sincerely trying to break with their class and to go over into the camp of the proletariat. Let us hope that they will not halt mid-way on this road!

Plot Anti-UMW Injunction



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

BACK US UP AND WE CAN WIN, MINERS SAY

(Continued from page 1)

miners' position on "seizures" but protect the operators' profits just the same. Representative Bailey of West Virginia is reported to be preparing a bill to permit Truman to take over the mines without profit to the operators — except for a guarantee of a "net return" on their investment.

KICK THEM OUT!

The miners say they want the government to operate the mines without any profits to the owners. And that is a step toward a more fundamental and permanent solution of their problems. If the government can operate the mines temporarily without profit to the owners, why not permanently? Why not nationalize the mines, kick the parasitic operators out altogether, and operate the industry under the control of the men who do all the work and face all the dangers, the miners themselves?

Truman is hesitating. He says he needs a law to seize the mines. He can find all the law he needs to try to force 370,000 miners to work against their will and has even claimed "inherent powers" to do so. But he can't find "inherent powers" to seize the mines at the expense of the operators. The operators themselves are fearful of government seizure of the mines under any conditions. Won't that expose how little they are needed in the operation of the coal industry? Won't that show them up for the useless parasites they are? If the government can run the mines, then what is the function of absentee owners?

The coal miners' battle to preserve their union security and better their conditions of life has hatered the real class relations in American capitalist society. Layer after layer of the myths and lies that conceal the mechanism of capitalist class rule have been melting away in the heat of this tremendous class struggle.

Every individual, agency and institution of government connected with this struggle has been put to the class test. All of them — Truman, Congress, the courts, the major political parties — have been forced to take their stand. All have answered, "Present!" when the capitalist class called the roll.

Truman thought he could pretend to stand above the struggle, conceal his real class ties. But the class forces have proven mightier than he is. Twist and squirm and maneuver as he might to keep up his pretense of "friend of labor," he has been forced to drop his mask. In the end, it was not the hand of friendship he offered the miners, but the club of Taft-Hartley.

POLITICAL LESSON

No doubt, he hopes that the Trumanite union leaders, the Murrays, Greens and Reuthers, will be able to cover up for him once more. They will plead all kinds of extenuating circumstances for him, or at least keep silent about his real role. Some of them, like Murray, have been forced by the pressure of their own ranks to make gestures of support for the miners. But they remain criminally silent about Truman's strikebreaking.

Long after this struggle ends, its effects will be felt on the political thinking of the miners and the rest of the American workers. Can the miners still support Truman after what he has again done to them? Can the union leaders again represent Truman and the Democrats as "labor's allies" and make it stick? They will try, but they will have a tougher time. They will meet more and more resistance from workers who will be thinking and saying, "You can't trust ANY capitalist politician or party! What we need is a party of our own!"

Stalinists Hope Miners Won't Remember 1943

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

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

They will remember that if the Stalinists had had their way during the war, the miners wouldn't have the highest wages in industry today, the welfare and pension fund, or even a union!

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

On May 2, 1943, the CP held a series of "May Day" celebrations. The theme was: Break the miners' strike! In Philadelphia, William Z. Foster, then as now National Chairman of the Communist Party, publicly called on the miners to repudiate their leader, John L. Lewis, and bow to the notorious War Labor Board.

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

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

In June 1943, when the miners went out once more, the Stalinists came forth as the most zealous strikebreakers. Their agents and functionaries went into the mine fields and tried to organize a back-to-work movement. The super-patriotic Daily Worker screamed for Lewis' head.

On June 11, the Worker blazoned a front-page editorial denouncing Lewis for having split the operators and getting a section of them to agree to a \$1.50 wage raise. "Under no circumstances," howled the Worker, "should the government give way to the Lewis conspiracy!"

The National Committee of the Communist Party issued a formal statement: "The miners must return to work immediately. ... It called on the people to back Roosevelt's strikebreaking and 'uphold the Commander-in-Chief in WHATEVER STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY.' Even to using the troops!"

That's the real record of Stalinism. They tried to smash the miners' strikes during the war when it suited Stalin's foreign policy of collaboration with Wall Street imperialism. And if it suits his policy in the future, they'll be ready to betray the miners again.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Brooklyn Leads in New York Campaign For 'Militant' Subs



The campaign of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party for subscriptions to The Militant crossed the 90% mark last week. With another seven days to go, it appears that the goal of 300 points should be achieved despite considerable difficulties in sub-getting. Two points are chalked up for every six-months sub.

Brooklyn Branch continues to lead with six points over a goal of 80. These comrades are not resting on their laurels, however. They plan to see how far above their goal they can go.

Among the sub-getters, top honors this week go to Jane K. of Brooklyn. Her score is 21 points. Lucille of the Downtown Manhattan Branch is not far behind with 13 points.

In the midst of sub-getting, Zog, Pete and Cynthia sampled a likely-looking street corner in Harlem for sales. In short order they lightened their bundle by 16 copies.

Many members of the Militant Army have seen easier times for sub-getting — when workers had more money or were scoring great successes in their struggles. Right now we have neither the flush days of the war nor a mighty political upthrust. We're in between. But that makes sub-getting all the more important from a qualitative point of view.

Here's an example from Literature Agent Winnie Nelson of St. Paul: A worker in a shop there turned down a Militant sub-getter last November. Couldn't see his way clear to subscribing. Not long after, however, he came around to say he'd take the paper after all. Later, when the issue devoted to the struggle of the coal miners appeared, he was all enthusiasm. "We've got to do something about helping the miners in our local union!" he said.

As Winnie observes, "Just a tiny example of the big role 'The Militant' plays!" Seattle had something of a similar experience in selling the paper at union meetings. Literature Agent Marianne Stanley writes that after discontinuing sales at certain locals because "we didn't have very good results," another attempt was made. "When we started coming around again regularly, interest was stimulated. After handing out a few sample copies, some of the members insisted on paying for them. The last few weeks we have sold between 15 and 20 copies at one local."

Seattle is finding the campus another good place for sales, averaging 10 to 20 copies a week there.

"Last week we took 100 extra copies of the Miners' issue," continues Marianne. "With the help of some new recruits who are very enthusiastic Militant sales people, we sold 70 copies without any trouble. Another 10 were sold on the newsstands and we sent 15 copies to District 10 of the Mine Workers Union."

The Oakland comrades are continuing to get encouraging results selling The Militant. Last week, according to Literature Director Lillian Russell, 8 copies were sold on the campus of the

University of California and 9 copies at a meeting "called by civic groups to discuss the question of the recall of three Councilmen. The recall was instigated by the Real Estate interests because for 2,000 low-cost housing units." From Los Angeles, Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that "approaching individuals on a busy street corner continues to be our best method of selling the paper. Vivian sold 20 Militants in an hour. Helen spent two hours on a busy neighborhood corner and sold 50 copies. Selma has been selling up to 15 a week." In addition, "Helen sold 8 copies yesterday to the men on the Chrysler picket line."

In San Francisco the comrades ran into a typical Stalinist way of answering facts printed in The Militant. Literature Agent Dixon Woods writes that the Stalinist-dominated leadership of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, now facing an election struggle, don't like to see The Militant with its exposures of Stalinism in the hands of the membership. "They put a barrel out front for the Trotskyite & Shipowners' Propaganda, with a stooge standing by to take The Militant out of the members' hands as they enter the hall and throw it into the barrel." This succeeded the first time.

Then union members began taking a bundle of Militants into the hall to make sure they got into the hands of every one interested in knowing why both Stalin's local representatives and such reactionary trade union bureaucrats as Harry Lundeberg attack Trotskyism.

L. B. Courts of Sharonville, O., writes, "I am convinced that there is no small paper in the United States better than The Militant." We appreciate that bouquet from an old timer in the socialist movement.

D.P. of Gary, Indiana, sent an extra dollar to help get The Militant when he renewed his subscription and also \$5 "for the victims of Stalin, Truman and Philip Murray in Greece." Thanks a lot, D.P. We'll see that the \$5 goes where you intend it to. D.P. also wants to know when this paper will review Saul Alinsky's biography of John L. Lewis. The editors say it's coming up but no definite date yet.

A friend came in to contribute \$10 toward printing The Militant. He didn't leave his name, just the \$10 which we gratefully accepted. It's such contributions that keep us on the firing line.

Report Trotskyist Book Seized in Argentina

A dispatch from Buenos Aires printed in the Feb. 15 N. Y. Times reports that the government has confiscated a book called Latin America — One Country, which was written by Jorge Abelardo Ramos, and calls for a Socialist United States of Latin America. The Times dispatch says "the book is a study of economics from the Trotskyist point of view, according to the owner of the shop that was offering it for sale until the remaining copies were removed."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON—Workers' Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-8:00 p.m., social Sat. Sat. month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAJLison 9600. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO—110 W. Washington Street, Rm. 315-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4707.
- CLEVELAND—Every Sunday, 9 p.m. Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off W. 9th Ave.) Liberty 5006.
- DETROIT—6106 Linwood Ave. Phone TR 7-6327. Mon. through Sat., 12-4 p.m.
- ELINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-9480. Open House Friday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 9081.
- LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkirk 2-5337.
- MIDNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW HAVEN—For information write P.O. Box No. 1019.
- NEWARK—428 Springfield Ave., 2nd fl. Phone 5-1399. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
- NEW YORK CITY (Ha.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.
- HARLEM—103 W. 119 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1599. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
- BROOKLYN—Manda's Manor, 345 E. 75th St. Phone 7-6327. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, phone Templebar 2-8183 or Telephone 3-2373. 2nd fl. Phone 554-0000. 900-B Cypress St., Oakland 7.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.
- PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Phone 3-2373. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, phone PR 5305.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201. So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9276. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- TOLEDO—Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 2.
- WORCESTER, (Mass.)—For information, write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.
- YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

"THAT LITTLE PAPER"



"We'll never forget the way that little paper defended us during the war when everyone else was against us." That's what one of the district officials of the United Mine Workers said recently about The Militant.

Behind these simple, affectionate words there's a big story. The miners took the lead during the war in labor's struggle for decent wages and conditions. They were hounded and persecuted by the big corporations and their government agents. The entire reactionary press from The Wall Street Journal to the Stalinist Daily Worker screamed at the striking miners. Only The Militant backed them up 100% in their progressive actions.

Like the miners on the economic front, the Trotskyist movement took the lead on labor's political front during the war. The Militant, as the weekly paper of the American Trotskyists, opposed the imperialist war and called for a socialist world of enduring peace, boundless plenty and the brotherhood of man.

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

Today The Militant is America's leading socialist weekly, the most respected and authoritative voice in the radical political wing of the labor movement. It has earned its solid reputation for telling the truth no matter what the consequences.

If you are interested in getting the facts under the surface of events, if you want to know the real score in politics, economics, foreign affairs and all the dynamic social struggles of our time, you need The Militant. And if you enjoy a paper that knows how to fight on the political front in the most effective way against Big Business and its agents, you'll wonder how you ever got along without this "little paper."

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Letters from Our Readers

The Bureaucratic Regime in the SIU

Editor:

It seems because of the recent rank and file revolts against the graft-soaked bureaucrats in the SUP and NMU, that Paul Hall, bureaucrat number one of the SIU, has developed an acute case of jitters. He is aware of the fact that the totalitarian and finky sell-out practices evident in the Curran and Lundeberg machines are also unquestionably evident in his own machine. Knowing this, and knowing that rank and file revolt sometimes spread beyond the confines of one union, he has launched an all-out campaign to purge all sincere and militant elements within the SIU.

Let us examine his actions and see what he is really up to.

Paul Hall moved into the Secretary-treasurer's office after John Hawk had suddenly taken "ill" and retreated to the West Coast in early 1947. His ability to take over completely was due largely to his posing as a great militant. This show of militancy did not stem from consideration for the membership, but was simply the means to an end — an absolute dictatorship over the SIU and any other union that could be brought under his control through raiding and back door agreements.

Hall's consideration for the rank and file is demonstrated by the fact that less than one year after his raiding and subjugation of the Canadian Seamens Union, Hal Banks, his chief lackey in Canada, announced that the manning scale on SIU Canadian ships would be reduced by as many as six men per ship. There have been reductions in the manning scale on SIU American ships also; namely, the elimination of galley boys and bedroom stewards on some ships. This is a far cry from the old union slogan, an injury to one is an injury to all, but of course this means nothing to one whose only objective is personal power.

Hall's role in the handling of hot cargo in the Hawaiian longshoremen strike is one of the most infamous acts in labor history. While we probably have less use for Harry Bridges than Hall does, we realized that the issue in that strike was wages and not political adventure. Those Hawaiian strikers were making about forty cents per hour less than the lowest paid union longshoreman in the States, while the cost of living was as high, if not higher than in the States. One of Hall's excuses for sailing hot ships was, the MEBA finked so we can too. Hogwash! There were men on the S.S. Marine Flyer who did not want to sail her, but were threatened with ex-

pulsion if they did not. We understand though, that some of the men did refuse and were expelled.

So far we have only mentioned Hall's crimes against organizations, but his crimes against individuals can't be dismissed. It would take volumes to list all the victims of his goon squads, picked trial committees and discriminatory policies so we will only touch on a few.

Most members in the Port of New York have heard of the system Hall used to keep Puerto Ricans off the new Bull Line passenger ship, the S.S. Puerto Rico. Any member could throw for the jobs as they came on the shipping board, but after taking the jobs the men had to go before a Hall screening committee. Out of the entire crew it seems that only one or two Puerto Ricans were passed by this committee. Rotary shipping?

As for the democratic nominations and election of officials, the fraud is quite evident. The credentials committee is hand-picked from the same old clique of loyal lackeys year after year. Assuming that the nominations were honest, how can the membership be assured of an honest referendum when the ballots are kept in the union hall night after night with only the incumbent officials holding the key to the hall?

Mark Twain's Kind of Loyalty

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

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become

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Class Forces in the Chinese Revolution

By Li Fu-juen

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

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917 there has hardly been an event which compares in historical significance and immediate political importance with the gigantic upheaval in China which brought about the collapse of the Kuomintang regime. Marxists record this event as the opening stage of the Third Chinese Revolution. A book describing the various facets and phases of this uprising of nearly a quarter of the human race is eminently deserving of study.

Jack Belden has done a wonderful job as a reporter, and partly as an interpreter, of the tremendous post-war happenings in China. His qualifications were good to begin with. He spent nine years in China between 1933 and 1942 and traveled extensively over the country during the latter five years as a newspaperman covering the Sino-Japanese war. During these years, unlike most foreign reporters, he became quite proficient in the Chinese language.

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

At the end of 1946, after an absence of more than four years part of which was spent as a war correspondent in Europe, Belden was drawn back to China by the strong magnetic pull of events. His book is the product of long careful, conscientious and often dangerous observation both in "Red" China and Kuomintang China, including Manchuria and Formosa.

Here is no dull reportorial work, but a highly dramatic account of seething events which conveys to the reader the animating spirit of a nation in revolt against ancient and modern oppressions grown intolerable against a political regime which symbolized all their woes. Pathos and passion enliven the pages of this book, especially where the author elects to reveal some aspect of the great social drama through the story of an obscure actor in it. These simple but burning stories convey more than any literary paraphrase could do. Especially outstanding is "Gold Flower's Story," epitomizing the wrathful revolt of Chinese women against medieval-type male domination, which unfolded as one of the most striking aspects of the great uprising of China's millions.

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

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

STALINIST POLICY
The banner of agrarian revolution was not unfolded until more than two years after the defeat of Japan. During the war, the Stalinists pursued a policy of class collaboration in the alleged interests of the struggle against the foreign invader. With the war over, they strove might and main to forge a "coalition" with Chiang Kai-shek. Only when this effort failed because of the obstinate refusal of Chiang and his landlord-capitalist backers to make any concessions, did the Stalinists declare open war on agrarian "feudalism" and call for the destruction of the Kuomintang regime.

The land reform, however, did not abolish the right to buy and sell land confiscated from the

landlords. Thus it favored a new concentration of land in the hands of the rich peasants. But even this very limited reform, after it had served the purpose of destroying the regime, was abandoned in August 1948 — less than a year after its formal inauguration — as regards the vast landlord-ridden area of South China. How the policy of class collaboration in the village was carried out during the war is described by Belden in his chapter "The Peasant Speaks." He states that "despite all the importunities of the poor, the Communists resolutely kept the land from the peasants." Again: "Throughout the whole war they resolutely guarded the land from peasant seizure." All the Stalinists did in the field of agrarian reform during this entire lengthy period was to enforce, where they could, a 25% reduction of land-rents as called for by the Kuomintang back in 1926.

PEASANT PRESSURE
It was only under the urgent pressure of the impatient peasant masses that they finally went over to a program of land expropriation with the cry of "land to the landless." As Belden puts it, "with the Japanese surrender... poorer peasants could no longer be put off with talk." They wanted the land. Had the Stalinists not agreed to give it to them, they would have taken it themselves, in fact were already doing so. Moscow's Chinese henchmen are here revealed very clearly, not as revolutionary leaders of the masses, but as opponents of revolutionary action. The restraints imposed upon the peasants by their supposed leaders were exercised on the familiar ground of the need for "national unity" against the imperialist invader. Belden accepts this excuse, as he does most of the Stalinist apologetics.

"In fighting the Japanese," he says, "there was no question [for the Stalinists] of making a revolution, there was only a question of existing. Doomed as they were to fight in the rear of enemy territory, surrounded on all sides by hostile forces, the only way the Communists could even remain alive was to find bases among the people. To have started a class war would have endangered these bases."

FALSE ARGUMENT
This argument is not merely specious, but false to the core, and Belden a little later on unwittingly proves its falsity. Who exactly were "the people" among whom it was imperative for the Stalinists to have bases? In the villages of North China, as elsewhere throughout the rural countryside, the population could be divided roughly into two classes: the overwhelming majority, composed of peasants and rural workers; and the tiny minority of landlords and rich peasants and their political hangers-on. The poor peasants and rural workers as Belden himself showed, were straining to march on the landlord's manor. In what way could the Stalinists have lost their base among the people if they had given them the green light?

But instead of leading the masses, they elected to woo the landlords by proclaiming themselves guardians of their property. The landlords, alas, considered the Japanese invaders much better guardians of their property. As Belden himself reports, "many landlords had gone over to the Japanese and the demands of the people in these villages were particularly insistent."

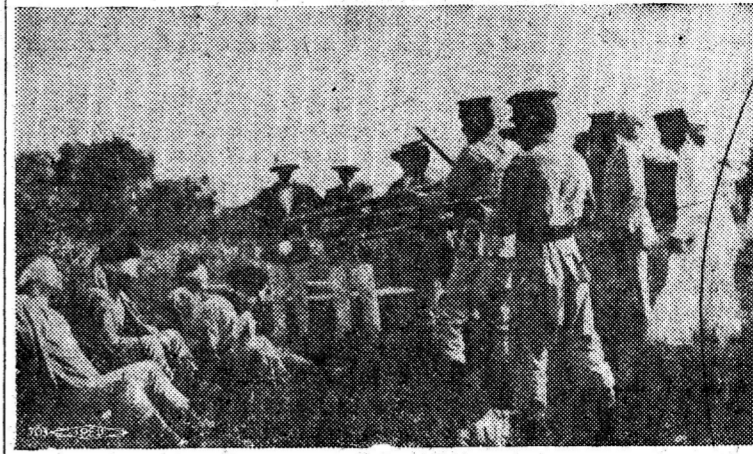
Even considered as a tactical expedient, the lame, tail-endist line of the Stalinists was a dismal failure, because the propertied elements in the village went over to the Japanese anyway. The people, the real people, the great mass of the peasants, were left to nurse their land-hunger. As a social and political force the landlords were no serious factor to be reckoned with by the Stalinists.

THE KREMLIN'S LINE
The kernel of the matter lies in this, that the Stalinists refrain-

Government Deportation Drive Hits a Snag
The government's drive to deport all militant and radical foreign-born struck a snag on Feb. 21 when a U. S. Supreme Court decision held that it was illegal for immigration inspectors to sit as trial judges in deportation cases. This means most of the pending deportation cases will start all over again from the beginning.

Anti-War Novel Banned As "Indecent" in Japan
The first foreign book seized and banned in Japan since the end of the war is Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead*. Police said the anti-war novel was "indecent."

When Chiang Was Stalin's Ally



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

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

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

CP BETRAYALS
Belden might well ask himself why, in 1948, while he was preparing his book, the supposedly revolutionary Stalinists once more reneged on their land program as they moved into South China, thereby allying themselves with the landlords against the peasants, and provoking widespread revolt against their newly-founded regime. He might ponder a little more deeply their program for a "new capitalism."

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

In his book Belden sees none of this. Abandonment of the land program during the war, he tells us, "did not have such unrevolutionary results as might have been expected from first glance." In place of class war the Stalinists fought a "national war" which "was revolutionary and often produced more ferment more quickly than the land reform might have done." Clearly he got this line of double-talk from the Stalinists themselves. Despite his clear-sightedness as a reporter, he had no difficulty in swallowing it.

THE OLD DOUBLE-CROSS
All the same, he found that "the Communist program did alienate some of the poor peasants, the tenants and long-term workers... Only if you gave him land did the poor peasant think you meant business. When the Communists abandoned land confiscation and told the tenantry and the rural workers that they must forget about the landlords and fight the Japanese, these dispossessed men saw behind such fine promises [of what the Stalinists would do after the war] nothing but the ancient double-cross."

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

flood. There could no longer be any question of restraining the aroused people.

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

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

[A second article concluding this review will be printed next week.]

New York NMU Votes To Support Jim Kutecher

NEW YORK, Feb. 16 — The New York Branch of the CIO National Maritime Union tonight voted to support James Kutecher for reinstatement to the VA job from which he had been purged. Other NMU branches along the East and Gulf coasts have done the same.

KREMLIN-CHINA TREATY IS WINDOW-DRESSING

By John G. Wright

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

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

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

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

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

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

No Compensation for Pillaged Industries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



TROTSKY

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



LENIN

Hands Off Yugoslavia!

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

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

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

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

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

Encouragement to Union-Busters

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

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

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

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

One of the Biggest Lies in History

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

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

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

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

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

By John F. Petrone

President Truman granted an exclusive interview to Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times. Although Krock is no Trumanite, he ended his story on Feb. 15 by saying that whether or not Truman "has the greatness which the times require — a question that must be left to history — he means to preserve the basic system by which this nation attained its greatness." Greater tribute than that Krock can pay to no man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hot Potatoes

By Ruth Johnson

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

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

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

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

There was a suggestion that some potatoes could be sent to hungry millions abroad. Can't be done! Why? Because "there's a dollar shortage abroad." No cash on the barrel-head, no potatoes. So the government is now "selling" the potatoes back to the farmers it bought them from. The farmers get \$2 for every hundred pounds of po-

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

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

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

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

What do you think?

Advertising, 1950

By George Breitman

It has been a long time since anybody seriously contested the fact that the values, tensions and conflicts of the society we live in are reflected to one degree or another in literature and art, which hold a mirror up to life as well as fulfilling esthetic and other functions. This is true also of the "popular," that is, commercialized, substitutes for literature and art which have become a major product of capitalist culture in its period of decadence.

These thoughts, by no means original, occurred to me one day last week when, riding in a bus, I found that my eyes hurt, put down my newspaper and began to study the billboards, posters and other advertising media that the bus passed. For the first time I personally was struck by the fact that American advertising serves as a mirror for capitalist civilization even more clearly and graphically than literature and art, from which it has borrowed some techniques only to apply them in the crudest possible fashion.

The first ad I noticed near a bus stop was a poster showing a U. S. Marine in combat uniform, his face contorted with the lust to kill, bayonet fixed in his rifle as he lunges forward to destroy whatever human life may get in his way. The title over the picture is:

IN THE HIGHEST TRADITION

This portrayal of capitalism's highest tradition evidently plays a double function — for what the ad-men would probably call a tie-in sale. On the one hand, it calls attention to a movie about Iwo Jima playing at one of the local theatres, and on the other it invites young men to enlist in the Marines.

Next came a large billboard sign in blue and white, apparently designed for the more thoughtful passers-by because it doesn't have a single picture. All it says is:

Find Yourself through Faith
— Come to Church this Week

The religious business is experiencing a certain boom nowadays, as it generally does in times of mass disillusionment, confusion, fear and political groping. It is not accidental that ex-radical intellectuals are now engaged in a symposium on the revival of religion in the current issue of *Partisan Review*; those who are thrown into despair by lack of confidence in the ability of men and women to solve the crises of H-Bomb democracy will inevitably be drawn toward a faith founded on mysticism. From the bus I could not make out the name of this ad's sponsor but I had to admit that it was a shrewd and well-timed piece

of huckstering. All we need look forward to now is widespread distribution of comic-book versions of the Bible.

Later the bus passed a big Ford Motor Co. ad. It shows a pretty young woman, her arms around the neck of a young man, her face uplifted for a kiss. But the young man is looking elsewhere and saying:

"sure honey
... but look at that
'50 FORD"

This is obviously meant to be a joke, but it is not very funny. Isn't it a fact that behind this piece of Fordian humor, the young man's attitude is actually the one that Ford and all other capitalists and the capitalist system seek to instill and encourage everywhere — the attitude that acquisition of private property assumes primacy over all human relations? The Ford ad may be intended as a semi-joke, but it also happens inadvertently to contain a great deal of tragic truth about social values that prevent, distort or destroy normal and happy relations among human beings under capitalism.

Before leaving the bus, I turned to my newspaper again and there found a costly full-page ad issued by the Detroit Board of Commerce and reprinted by local dealers of the Plymouth-Dodge-DeSoto-Chrysler corporation whose workers are now on strike. Naturally it was an attack against strikes, but one with a novel slant. A picture shows a factory whose gates are shut and covered with a sign, "Closed By Strike." The caption is:

It may be LEGAL, but is it LOYAL?

Here certainly is a new slant, the implication being that it is more important to be "loyal" (like J. Parnell Thomas, for example) than to engage in practices that are admittedly legal (such as striking for a decent standard of living, or belonging to an anti-capitalist party put on the Attorney General's "subversive" list). This ad is a genuine product of its time, inconceivable except during a nation-wide witch-hunt, and epitomizing the kind of capitalist thinking that is subverting the Bill of Rights.

American advertising, 1950 style, may not be as great an evil as the ones it reflects and helps perpetuate — militarism, mass murder, reactionary traditions, superstition, dehumanization, shyster-like concepts of right and wrong that prepare the way for a police state. But its face is just as hideous as these other offsprings of capitalism in its death agony, and its odor just as foul.

Cannon Birthday Dinner in New York



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

Cannon Greeted Warmly At 60th Birthday Dinner

NEW YORK — Few of those who attended will ever forget the celebration of James P. Cannon's 60th birthday, held here on Feb. 11 under the auspices of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

"The best affair I ever attended," was the most common comment heard from participants at the celebration honoring Comrade Cannon for 40 years of service to revolutionary socialism — and one of the participants have been attending affairs and meetings in the labor movement for almost that long themselves.

The things that stood out at the celebration were the talks given by Comrade Cannon and others, the warm spirit of comradeship and confidence exhibited by everyone and, last but not least, the nature of the messages received by the committee in charge from all parts of the United States and abroad.

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

ENCOURAGING EXAMPLE

The secretary of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, from which the SWP was forced to disaffiliate because of the reactionary Voorhis Act ten years ago, sent the following message:

"In the name of the IS and myself personally, I send you my sincerest wishes for your 60th birthday. We wish that your life,

whose example has given us all great encouragement, will be prolonged for many more years, for the good of your American party and of the entire world Trotskyist movement. On Feb. 11 we will drink a toast to your health and each one of us, you can be sure, will wish from the bottom of our hearts prosperity and long life to the valiant American youth and to the youngest among them, our Old Jim. We press your hand very warmly."

The Los Angeles Local of the SWP, which was meeting in convention that day, wired that a recording of Comrade Cannon's recent speech on perspectives at the mid-century had "opened our convention and inspired its deliberations with the perspectives of revolutionary internationalist optimism. We salute you as a leading fighter in the ranks of the world working class."

"OUR HEARTS AND HANDS"

The Chicago Branch said: "On this, your birthday, we do not bring you great train loads of gifts, nor do we shower you with adulation. We give, instead, our hands and our hearts in promise that we shall go forward to victory in the cause for which you have given your entire life."

The Minneapolis Branch, expressing justifiable pride in the part it has played in the party's history, wired: "To Jim Cannon, who upheld the Minnesota militants in the dark days, we pay thankful tribute on the occasion of his 60th birthday anniversary celebration. Grateful for his wise

counsel, his Marxist understanding, his Bolshevik spirit, and confident of the ultimate victory of the working class, we salute the outstanding Trotskyist in the United States."

The Seattle Branch wrote: "The glad tidings we send on your 60th birthday is news that the party is growing in face of reaction. Young people are entering the ranks. Members of CP are following trails you blazed 21 years ago."

The Boston Branch said: "We are proud to be among the ranks of the party which has produced a leader of stature in the international revolutionary movement. Youth and energy of spirit coupled with solidity and richness of experience characterizes Comrade Cannon. On his 60th birthday he stands as a symbol of what our party must be."

TEACHER AND COMRADE

Connecticut Trotskyists said: "History need not wait to record appreciation for your unerring Bolshevik steadfastness against our epoch's terrible reaction. Well have you served our movement as leader, teacher and comrade. Our aim is to become ever more worthy to travel the road to victory that you have so painstakingly pioneered."

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

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

The Buffalo Branch expressed the wish: "May the time not be far distant when your years of glorious effort shall see an equally glorious response from the working class of the whole world."

"40 MORE"

Two comrades in Youngstown wired: "Your 40 years of work have meant much to us. We look forward to 40 more." The Newark Branch hoped "to celebrate with you the success of your lifelong work in the next decade." The Philadelphia Branch said it looks forward "to celebrating the victory of the proletarian revolution, at some not too distant birthday, with Comrade J. P. C." And the SWP New York Youth Section, Internationalist Socialist Youth, said:

"It is the deepest wish of each of us that when we have reached the age of 60, each of us will be able to say to himself, 'I have done as much in the first 60 years of my life as Jim Cannon did in the first 60 years of his.'"

Besides the many personal salutations and messages from abroad, there were also warm greetings from the Akron, Allentown-Bethlehem, Flint, Lynn, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, St. Paul, Toledo, Worcester and Youngstown Branches.

Fire Denham? Truman Not Even Considering It

President Truman was asked at his press conference on Feb. 16 if he was considering firing NLRB Czar Denham, as requested by the CIO. Truman said he was not considering it, although he admitted that he has the power to do so.

Strikers Favor More Militancy At Chrysler's

DETROIT, Feb. 19 — Despite the over-all no-picketing policy in the Chrysler strike, local leaders have responded to sentiment in the ranks by calling mass demonstrations for the second time in the strike. One thousand cars, with more than 3,000 workers, participated in a two-hour motorcade around Chrysler-Jefferson plant last week.

The demonstration occurred amidst blaring of horns and waving of placards at a time when negotiations with the company were in progress. So powerful was the effect that the Detroit press editorialized against this "bumper-to-bumper" picketing which effectively blocks plant entrances.

Meanwhile, the UAW negotiating team is presenting 43 contract revision and 33 wage inequity demands on the company. Strike action has nullified the previous contract. UAW militants feel corporation policy is to weaken the union through a strike on economic issues now, and then be in position to dictate their own terms in August when the contract normally expires.

However, the union has taken advantage of a clause permitting it to reopen the agreement in case of strike. The company was perfectly willing to talk contract earlier when they offered a five-year extension of the present rotten agreement. But now that changes are proposed, the com-

pany claims the contract is not up for discussion. So far, therefore, the negotiations are stalemated.

RELIEF POLICY

While this goes on, relief officials are helping the corporation to demoralize the unionists. Only a couple dozen have so far been put on the relief rolls out of literally tens of thousands who applied. Those put on are required to work for their "handout," thus interfering with their strike duties. A new relief policy requires recipients to sign a contract to pay back what they get at a later date. Similarly, only a handful of the 20,000 veterans in the strike are getting any help from a state fund designed to help needy vets. Local unions aid destitute members denied relief.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of tightening up the strike. Why are maintenance and office help continuing to work? What kind of strike is this that lets them go to work? These questions were heard many times during last week's demonstration. They indicate the strikers are beginning to favor more militant and decisive action than in the past to bring the corporation to terms.

GRAND JURY TO INVESTIGATE MURDER OF FENNER IN AKRON

AKRON, Feb. 19 — A Grand Jury probe of the slaying of Negro veteran Ernest Fenner was ordered this week as a result of the NAACP's speedy intervention in the case. Fenner, under treatment for mental illness, was unarmed when two city policemen, W. Loex and Pohl, shot him in cold blood.

A mass protest meeting against the murder jammed Wesley Temple here tonight. Some 1,000 were in attendance and an estimated 500 were turned away at the door. It was the largest NAACP meeting ever held here.

Other developments in the case this week: The CIO Council passed a resolution condemning "any and all police violence against citizens of this community" and demanding court action against the policemen who shot Fenner.

The NAACP Legal Redress Committee met with Mayor Charles Slusser and asked that the two cops be suspended from the force pending arrest and trial. Slusser turned down the request. "To suspend the two men would

injure the morale of the police force," he said.

In an attempt to quiet protests against Slusser's inaction, Police Chief Lynett transferred the two cops from cruiser duty to desk jobs at the police station.

At the Wesley Temple meeting, Attorney W. Howard Fort described how a neighbor of the Fenners had phoned the police that there was a fight out in East Akron (between Fenner and his wife) and got the answer from the desk sergeant: "Oh, you n—rs fighting again out there."

"This incident shows the depths of race hate in the police department," said Fort. He also called for pressure on Slusser to suspend the two officers.

A similar view was presented by W. O. Walker, editor of the *Cleveland Call Post*, who warned: "Slusser will protect the police department until he is convinced we mean business."

NMU IN HIRING HALL CRISIS

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party to drive the corrupt and treacherous Stalinist gang out of the leadership of the NMU. Curran could not have wished for more. He can now pretend that the only alternative to him are the despised Kremlin "hacks." He can cover up his own crimes with a recitation of the no less foul and numerous crimes of the Stalinists. He can use as his text the bitter but correct tirades of the "dissidents" against the CP gang as recently as six months ago. His game is facilitated by the "opposition" which had not a solitary word to say about the former "back" administration, neither in the conference call nor in the Membership Pilot, a paper published by this opposition group.

How can the membership be inspired to fight for democracy against Curran when the leadership of the "opposition" is shared by that very group which was driven out of office for its transgressions on the democratic rights of the rank and file? How can the seamen be moved to vote against Curran in the election when the choice offered them on the "opposition" slate will consist in good part merely of inferior editions of the Palazzis, Stacks and Mackenzies? What better way is there to assure a Curran victory?

The draft program published by this group in the Membership Pilot is hardly superior in fundamentals to the one presented by Curran for coping with the grave problems facing the seamen. It has nothing to counterpose to Curran's dependence on Truman except perhaps reliance on —

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

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

INDEPENDENT PROGRAM

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

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

The NMU must break with its subservience to the capitalist parties and politicians who whether Republican or Democratic, have always been the worst enemies of the hiring hall. It must take the lead in a policy of independent working class political action, in the building of a Labor Party based on and controlled by the unions.

Independent action — against the Kremlin and the State Department; on that road alone is there hope for America's seamen!