

THE TROTSKYIST PROGRAM IN CHINA

A First Hand Report

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THE MILITANT

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Kutcher's Appeal Rejected By Loyalty Review Board

The top Loyalty Review Board of the Truman administration's 'loyalty purge' apparatus this week denied James Kutcher's appeal for restoration to his clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration, from which he was ousted last October because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

refused to consider the main issue in the case: Whether the political party in power has any right to blacklist another political party or organization and persecute its members.

COURT FIGHT PLANNED

George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, announced that Kutcher's case will now be taken into the federal district court and carried up to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary.

"Organizations representing millions of Americans have rallied behind our defense of James Kutcher," Novack said. "The legless veteran has become the most dramatic symbol in the struggle to preserve civil rights today. We believe he has both the right to a government job and the right to his political beliefs and we intend to continue our efforts until those rights are won."

The National Committee of the KRCR was scheduled to hold a meeting May 4 to discuss plans for the next steps in the campaign on Kutcher's behalf.

24-Hour Work Stoppage Can Turn Tide on T-H

IWW First Union Named on Clark's 'Subversive' List

Attorney General Clark's latest additions to his 'subversive' blacklist, which were made April 27, include a labor union — the Industrial Workers of the World. This is the first time a union has ever been designated as 'subversive' by the government of the United States.

The IWW is not a large union today, although during the early part of its 44-year history it was one of the most dynamic sections of the American labor movement. Nevertheless, it is a union, acting as bargaining agent for workers in a number of industries and certified as such by the NLRB.

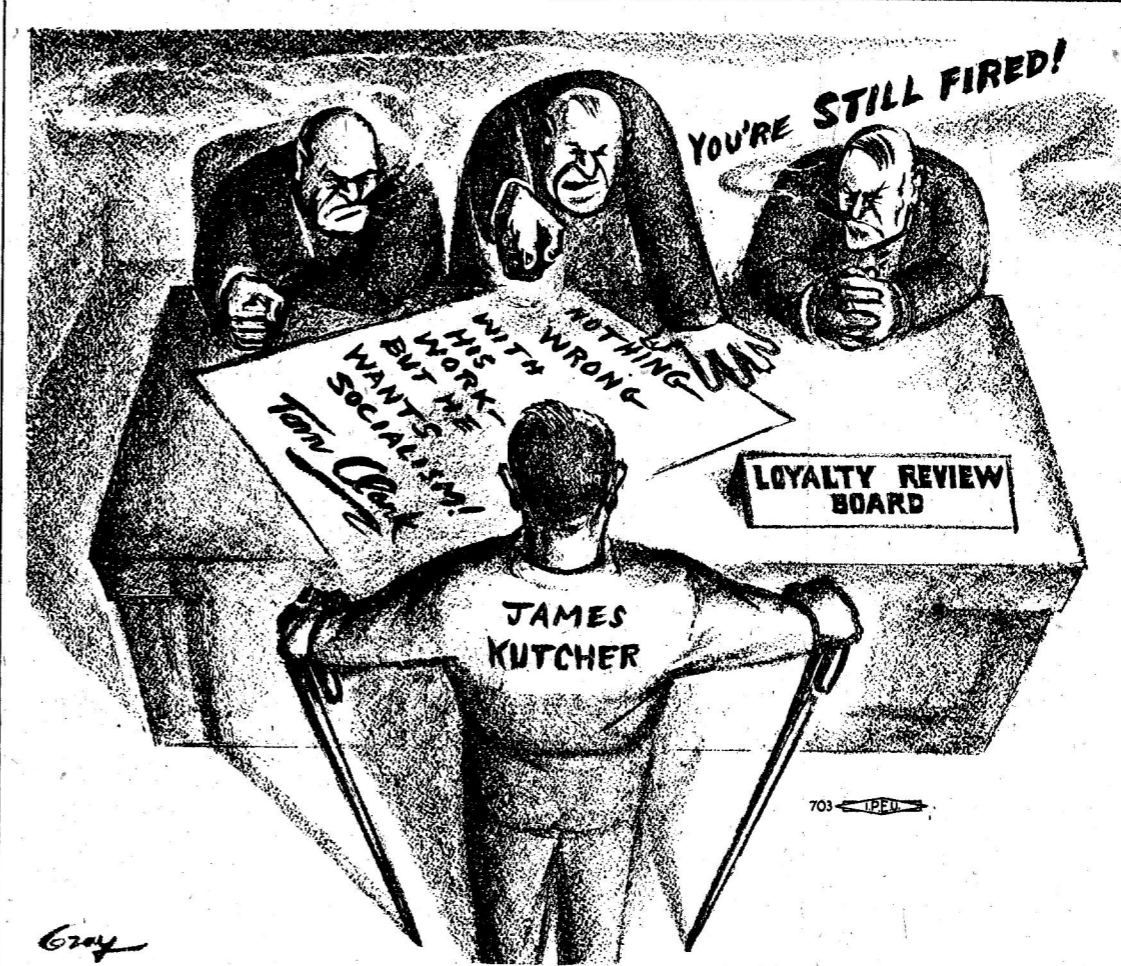
During and following World War I, the IWW suffered severe persecution by the government because of its famous class struggle preamble. But in 1927 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled: "No substantial inference can, in our judgment, be drawn from the language of this Preamble, that the organization taught, advocated or suggested the duty, necessity, propriety or expediency of crime, criminal syndicalism, sabotage, or other unlawful acts or methods."

As IWW Secretary-Treasurer W. H. Westman points out, Clark's arbitrary ruling "is a novel development, a novel doctrine in law, and in our considered opinion is clearly subversive to democratic institutions. It is a device that can more effectively undermine unionism even than the Taft-Hartley Act."

Westman stresses the fact that the IWW has a "repugnance to the introduction of any species of politics into our union activities. This makes the declaration that this union is subversive all the more ironic."

He also asked the labor movement to express itself "on this basic issue: Is unionism subversive — and if so, to what? For ourselves, we have no doubt that unionism is necessarily subversive to the Organized Greed that has been running and ruining the world, but if this is what Mr. Clark means smoke him out and make him say so."

Most of the labor movement has been critical of Clark's blacklist. The attack on the IWW shows the rights of labor as a whole are involved and underlines the necessity for labor to act now to put an end to the blacklist system.



Slick Deals, 'Compromises' Bring Fiasco

If the 16 million organized American workers had shown their united determination to smash the Taft-Hartley Act and all substitutes by a nation-wide 24-hour general work stoppage last week, there would have been a different story to tell this week.

The failure of the top union leaders to summon the ranks for an overwhelming mass demonstration of opposition to the Taft-Hartley Law and the various "compromises" proposed by the Truman Democrats, has left the American workers still saddled with the Slave Labor Law.

But it is not too late for labor to act. All that is needed is the word from the top union leaders.

The workers will respond. Only last Nov. 2 they gave a political demonstration of their irreconcilable hostility to any law that would undermine their unions. They pinned their hopes, unfortunately, on the empty promises of Truman. They have seen those hopes betrayed. Their only recourse now is to fight with their own means, depending only on their own strength. We repeat—the situation can be saved.

The union leaders, however, are mired in their coalition with the Truman Democrats. They have not lifted a finger to mobilize their own ranks for effective action. Their efforts have been centered on back-room deals, phony "compromises" and "clever" maneuvers, aimed only at wangling out a Trumanite victory for any kind of bill at all, so long as it could be represented as the fulfillment of Truman's promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

These shady deals—the essence of which was to accept the principles of the Taft-Hartley Act for the elimination of the name—have led to a complete fiasco. Every retreat, every offer of compromise only whetted the appetites of the Taft-Hartleyites, encouraged them to demand more anti-labor concessions. Not even the most far-reaching of these concessions — the Sims amendments to the Lesinski bill—could satisfy the ravening pack of Congressional labor-haters.

WHAT THEY FEAR Their boldness and aggressiveness is the direct result of the union leadership's timidity and cowardice. They have seen no reason to yield when the Murrys and Greens, Reuthers and Dubinskys have given them a virtual glib-edged invitation to do whatever they please because they did not have to fear any serious, militant labor opposition.

At one point in the House debate, there was a real indication of what the union-haters fear most. Rep. Arthur Klein, a New York Democrat, in the heat of debate dared to suggest that labor call a 24-hour work stoppage to show Congress that the workers really oppose the Taft-Hartley set-up and mean business. This proposal raised an immediate clamor of repudiation from all sides of the House, Truman Democrats, Dixiecrats and Republicans alike. Decisive mass labor action — that's what takes the starch out of the spines of the labor-haters in Congress.

The union ranks will wait in vain for such action if they leave it up to the top leaders. They have to demand of their leaders, in no uncertain terms, that the summons for a 24-hour general work stoppage be issued without delay. The demand should be raised by resolution in every local union and city central labor body. It must become the rallying slogan of local mass meetings and demonstrations. No more retreats, back-room maneuvers and "compromises." Let labor show its might in action.

MARTIN ABERN DEAD; HEART-ATTACK VICTIM

On Thursday, April 28, in Brooklyn, N. Y., Martin Abern died prematurely of heart attack at the age of fifty. Together with James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, he formed the

pioneer contingent that founded the American Trotskyist movement.

Martin Abern was born on Dec. 25, 1898. As a youth he worked his way through school, enrolled as a student in the University of Minnesota and was a member of its football team. While still in his early teens he had joined the Young People's Socialist League in Minneapolis.

As his subsequent actions showed, this was not simply an act of youthful enthusiasm and rebelliousness. The liberating ideas of revolutionary Marxism attracted him early and upon maturing he retained this profound attraction. There are many, especially among the younger generations, whose first connections with revolutionary socialism in this country began through Martin Abern either personally or by correspondence.

EARLY ACTIVITY The outbreak of World War I found him in the ranks of the Socialist Party where, later on, he served as secretary of Local Minneapolis. In 1916, still in his teens, he joined the IWW. When this country was plunged into the war, he, sharing the views of many left-wing Socialists at the time, demonstrated his opposition to imperialist war by refusing to register in the draft.

Indicted by the federal government, he served for this a six-month prison term in Minnesota. He was later again indicted and harassed time and again by the federal inquisitors and on occasion ran afoul of local and

Party of India joined the British government in the task of hunting me and my comrades. What guarantee have we, therefore, that a Stalin-Truman agreement will not again be made at the expense of the colonial struggle for independence.

The last time there was Anglo-American-Soviet accord, the Communist Party of France, for instance, went into a coalition government. No colonial revolutionary can forget that during these coalitions the war against Viet-Nam went on uninterrupted and there was a terrible massacre in Algeria which was first exposed by the American press. What guarantee have we that the next Soviet-American accord will not lead to a repetition of such policies?

Let me stress that the European workers have similar experiences. For instance, during the honeymoon of Anglo-American-Soviet cooperation, the Stalinists helped to set up capitalist governments and to disarm and suppress the fighting partisans who were reaching out to revolutionary power.

CLASS PARTISANS We Trotskyists hold that war is the product of capitalism and that peace cannot therefore be achieved by policies of compromise with the capitalists. Nor can peace be fought for with the methods of the fellow-travelers. A true partisan of peace must be a blind adherent of Stalin but a partisan in the class struggle. The struggle against war and for peace is also the struggle against capitalism and Stalinism for Socialism.

Libyans Tell Why They Want Full Independence

By Ruth Johnson

Dr. Mohammed Fouad Shukry, delegate of the National Council for the Liberation of Libya, made stirring news last week. At the April 27 meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, called to discuss the future of the Italian colonies, he flatly rejected all form of imperialist rule, including trusteeships. He proclaimed his country's "resolute and unshakable determination to reject all foreign rule or domination, no matter under what form or in what guise, and to oppose it by all means at their disposal and with all their might."

Dr. Shukry welcomed me cordially when I called for an interview. The Militant was the first paper, he said, to send a reporter for the Libyans' own views of their rights.

I told him that the UN Information Bureau had not made it easy for him to be seen; it had referred me to the Italian delegation. He roared as I re-

peated the curt, undiplomatic response of the Consulate: "Dr. Shukry has no connection with us."

"That is certainly so," he admitted jovially, wiping tears of laughter from his eyes. "We Libyans have fought the Italian rule of our country for 38 years—since the invasion in 1911."

EQUALLY OPPOSED

In the course of our discussion, he made it clear that they are today equally opposed to the unofficial trusteeship France has assumed over Libyan Fezzan, and the British occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the areas composing the rest of Libyan territory.

The National Council for Liberation of Libya was formed in 1925 and reorganized in its present form in 1943, he said. But its roots are even deeper in the past. Its president, Bashir Sadawy, was the first man to carry arms against the invaders; his own home was shelled in the initial attack on Khons. Like

many other Libyan leaders, he is still in exile. Forced to emigrate in 1923, he found refuge in Arabia and for ten years has been a minister of Ibn Saud.

In all, more than 150,000 refugees from Italian imperialism are scattered throughout the Islamic countries. Dr. Shukry told me, waiting to return to build an independent Libya. He himself is a professor of modern history at the University of Cairo.

CONTINUOUS REVOLTS

This is dramatic evidence of the intense repression carried out by imperialism. The total population of Libya today is only about 900,000—a terrible decline from the past. Before the invasion, the population was estimated at 1,500,000. Massacres, starvation and disease have wiped out hundreds of thousands of natives, and driven them from the rich coastal areas that once held thriving Libyan cities.

He spoke with pride about the continuous rebellions under

Paris 'Peace Parleys' Had Much in Common

PARIS — The widespread fear of war, the profound mass desire for peace, was exploited in two Congresses held in Paris within the space of two weeks. One was staged by the Stalinists, lasting five days, April 20-24; the other was a one day affair on April 30, under the sponsorship of the RDR (Rassemblement Democratique Revolutionnaire).

Next Week:

As this issue goes to press, Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, is in Washington before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he was invited to testify on behalf of the SWP against the North Atlantic Pact. Next week's issue will carry a full account of this important event.

Like confidence men who exploit the misery of the poor and prey on the lonely, the Stalinists and the Stalinophobes dangled before the masses the hope of peace, if only they would follow the Kremlin in one case, and Washington in the other.

If the outcome of the cold war were dependent on the capacity of these two respective camps to mobilize mass support, then it must be said that the Stalinists won hands down. They attracted bigger crowds and demonstrated a greater endurance. For four long days the Stalinist delegations, claiming to represent 64 countries, sat patiently listening to monotonous repetitions of the latest party line. The Stalinist show was climaxed by a huge mass meeting at the Buffalo Stadium, with an attendance estimated at 50,000 by the Herald Tribune and over half a million by the Stalinist l'Humanite. This was a demonstration of their efficient and powerful machine, which lacks no material resources. They brought in huge crowds by trains and buses from towns and villages all over France.

The RDR meeting started its ceremonies in the afternoon of April 30 at the Hall of the Sorbonne University with a crowd of some 1,500. After three restless hours of speeches by an array of orators who differed in their line and emphasis according to their country and profession, nine-tenths of the crowd had gone and the meeting adjourned in an empty hall. The same evening, the mass meeting of this "peace rally" at the Velodrome d'Hiver, attracted about 10,000 people, and this meeting too petered out.

Like the Stalinists, the organizers of this rally were not lacking in material resources. Every advertising trick was utilized and they were supported by a powerful daily, Franc-Tireur. But they represented a motley conglomeration of petty-bourgeois intellectuals vying with one another for honor and prestige. Lacking unity of purpose, contemptuous of program, they could give no leadership even to the people who answered their appeal.

been previously refused the right to speak when the organizers of this meeting felt much surer of themselves, within the confines of a committee-room.

DEFENDER OF BOMB

The storm at the meeting broke when Dr. Karl T. Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, tried to tell the audience the epic of the atomic bomb, the dramatic contest between the U. S., Germany and Japan as to which power would be the first to annihilate the cities of its rivals. He boasted of how much money the U. S. government is pouring into this project even today. Outcries of "Down with the atomic bomb," "Down with Wall Street" drowned out the attempts to calm the crowd even by Garry Davis, who enjoys considerable popularity as the first "citizen of the world," precisely because he tore up his passport, renouncing his American citizenship!

Dr. Compton was brought across the seas to this meeting to counteract another Nobel Prize winner in physics, Frederic Joliot-Curie, who presided at the

Stalinist "Peace Congress." The competition for international stars did not end there. The Stalinists and the anti-Stalinists had their respective Labor M.P.'s, Catholic politicians and church dignitaries, both as speakers and sponsors. Mrs. Roosevelt was counterposed to the former Queen of Belgium, James T. Farrell to Howard Fast, Ignazio Silone to Ilya Ehrenburg and Ingrid Bergman to Charlie Chaplin.

As against the Stalinist bureaucrats heading the World Federation of Trade Unions, the RDR boasted among its sponsors such valiant fighters for democracy and peace as William Green, Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky. There was, however, one slip-up at the RDR meeting: the greatest ovation at the Stalinist rally was given to Paul Robeson, not for any speeches he made but for his singing. The RDR tried to get Marlon Anderson, now on a concert tour in France, to sing at its rally, but did not succeed. Its meeting was thus deprived of its only chance for harmony.

The underlying political conflict (Continued on page 2)

Paris 'Peace Parleys' Had Much in Common

(Continued from Page 1)
cept of the two rallies was the same: a People's Front masquerade as a substitute for the class struggle. But they were poles apart to the extent that they served different masters. The Stalinist keynote was that the Kremlin and its agencies throughout the world are the only guarantors of peace; the keynote of the RDR rally was that American imperialism was the only guarantee of liberty throughout the world. The two rallies were thus episodes in the cold war, destined to remain a faint memory if there is a compromise agreement between Stalin and Truman, or if the cold war turns hot again.

THREE CATEGORIES

While the Stalinist rally was cut-and-dried, there were nevertheless some discordant notes. These were struck by O. John Rogge, former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, and Harvey Moore, prominent British attorney. Rogge, for example, objected that it was "wrong and wicked" to exploit phrases as "capitalist imperialism." Moore on the other hand thought it was wrong and wicked to carry on a civil war, "the worst form of war," and he wanted to know if the Stalinists were prepared for immediate peace in China.

The Stalinist faithful at the Congress reacted sharply against these two speeches, and even booed, but the bureaucrats in charge rewarded Rogge by putting him on the permanent committee elected by the Congress. It was precisely those two speeches which give them the chance to claim that it was a democratic gathering.

The speeches at the RDR rally can be divided into three main categories: The French, who have a better appreciation of the temper of the masses, took a pseudo-left line, for socialism, liberty, equality and fraternity. Those representing organizations of the colonial peoples directed their fire against imperialism which, while talking peace, is

waging war against the Viet Nam and against Indonesia, and is persecuting the fighters for independence in Algeria, Madagascar, Morocco and elsewhere.

The most reactionary speeches, however, were reserved for Sidney Hook and James Farrell. Theirs was the task of selling the benefits of American democracy. They didn't do too well: the customers did not respond. It would be wrong to say that Hook had no criticism at all of the State Department. On the contrary, he said that the U. S. had made a mistake when it disarmed too soon after the war and withdrew too quickly, thus permitting the Stalinists to oppress Germany.

But it remained for James T. Farrell to hail the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact as a road to peace. Speaking in English, he was understood by only a few in the audience, but when the same note was struck by Jacques DeKadt, a Dutch reformist deputy, in a language that was understood by all, the great majority of the audience boomed violently.

MASK DISCARDED

The RDR came into existence about a year ago on a line of opposition against Wall Street and Moscow. It tried to maintain the pretense of a real "third force" as against the discredited Social-Democrats and the Stalinists. With this "peace rally," however, they threw off the mask and became identified completely with European Social-Democracy. Their backers represented the same forces which constitute the coalition government in France, the Catholic MRP, the Socialist Party and the trade-union bureaucrats associated with these two organizations. Their European allies were prominent members of government parties from Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Italy and Germany, some of them former ministers.

The first speaker at the Sorbonne meeting, Depreux, was

French Minister of the Interior and chief of police in 1946, when a big Trotskyist meeting in defense of the Indo-Chinese people was prohibited and brutally broken up by his cops. The main British speaker at the evening rally was John Hynd, former minister for occupied Germany. Sidney Hook, as is well known, champions academic freedom by demanding a purge of CP members from schools and universities. Such are the knights of democracy, freedom and peace.

TROTSKYISTS OPPOSED

The Trotskyists denounced these two masquerades for "peace." As a representative of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International, Colvin R. de Silva, leader of the Trotskyist group in the Ceylon Parliament, sought to appear before the Stalinist Congress, to present the revolutionary position in the struggle against war. He was never refused permission, neither was he admitted — he was given the run-around. De Silva issued to the press a blistering statement against the Congress and its masters of ceremony, who found place for any blubber-mouth representing no one but himself, but wouldn't hear the voice of revolutionary socialism from a representative of the oppressed colonial masses. (His statement is printed on Page 1.)

The RDR masters of ceremony, among whom were a number of renegade Trotskyists, tried to apply the same method of run-around to Colvin de Silva as well as to a representative of the PCI (French Trotskyists). They didn't succeed in the case of de Silva who in this instance represented not only the Fourth International, but also the "Congress of Peoples against Imperialism," which embraces most of the national mass movements of the colonies. Grudgingly, they granted him five minutes, but kept delaying until the end of the meeting, when an uproar from the audience forced them to give him the floor.

As for the PCI, its representative was bluntly refused the floor at the Sorbonne, and at the evening mass meeting Jacques Privas, PCI general secretary, was able to speak for a few minutes only because the meeting could not be carried on otherwise. Both de Silva and Privas denounced the People's Front character of the gathering and the hypocrisy of the self-styled democrats, acting as agents of American imperialism. They both called for the resumption of the class struggle as the only effective way to fight for peace.

Sartre, Richard Wright Denounce Atlantic Pact As Well As Stalinism

PARIS, May 1 — Jean-Paul Sartre, playwright and philosopher who helped to found the RDR, did not attend yesterday's "peace rally" sponsored by the RDR among others. Instead he joined with Richard Wright, American writer who is now living here, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, another Existentialist philosopher, in a message to the rally which said in part: "We condemn equally and for the same reasons the more or less open annexation of Eastern Europe, and the Atlantic Pact, which is an avowal of political, social and moral bankruptcy. The pact is a propaganda weapon in the hands of the Soviet Union and a weapon of oppression in the hands of the West."

The message also said that while the U. S. is not a "dictatorship" like the Soviet Union, neither is it "a paradise of liberty." It condemned the dismissal of Americans from their jobs because they held dissenting opinions, and asked for an end to "racial oppression" within the U. S.

This was in sharp variance with the main line of the RDR-sponsored rally, and was dis-

minated by the Paris edition of the Herald Tribune as typical of the "plague on both your houses" line of reasoning. Sartre, Wright and Merleau-Ponty are evidently clinging to the "third force" position enunciated at the foundation of the RDR, and now plainly abandoned by a majority of that organization's leaders.

Professor Sidney Hook immediately took issue with the statement of the three, and challenged them to a public debate on "the basic issues involved in the simplistic equation they make between Soviet totalitarianism and American culture."

NEW YORK — The May 2 issue of National Guardian, a Wallaceite weekly, states that Richard Wright "said he had withdrawn [from the RDR rally] on hearing, from a U. S. official who called him in to congratulate him on an article attacking Anna Louise Strong, that the 'counter-rally' was financed by the State Dept. and that he should leave out any attacks on the U. S. for its Negro policy."

No other details of this alleged incident were given in the National Guardian article.

POLITICALLY IMPORTANT

Are you doing everything you can to hasten the victory of socialism in America? Have you introduced The Militant to your friends and shopmates so that they can learn the truth about the socialist program for enduring peace, unlimited plenty and boundless progress? There's no task of greater political importance today than widening the circle of Militant readers. Every new reader means another potential sower of socialist ideas in the working class. That's why The Militant can be regarded as the best organizer of the socialist movement. But The Militant can't introduce itself to new possible supporters of socialism. Your help is needed to bring The Militant to the attention of workers who have not yet learned about the socialist alternative to the misery, fear, insecurity and bloodshed of capitalism. Why not take out a subscription for a friend who should be reading The Militant? Mail the coupon with \$1 for a six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Send The Militant to:

Name
Street Zone.....
City State.....



Strikers shown with some of the local leaders of the United Mine Workers after ending a 74-hour sitdown in a mine at Lansford, Pa. Ten men struck when their pay was docked for alleged early quitting. They came to the surface only after assurances that a hearing of the dispute would be held in Washington.

KUTCHER COMMITTEE REPORTS NEW SUPPORT FOR VETERAN

The recent 14th national convention of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America adopted a strong resolution in defense of James Kutcher. The delegates voted to have their international "extend all possible aid to James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in the fight to remove the abuses attendant to his own case and to guarantee the principle of the right of all Americans to live and work in freedom without being subjected to thought control."

The KRCR last week received endorsement from the Lehigh County CIO Council of Pennsylvania after the group heard a talk on the case by Karl Kuehn of Philadelphia. The Allentown section of the Kutcher Committee is making plans to contact other organizations in the vicinity of Easton and Bethlehem.

Sol Stettin, regional director of the CIO Textile Workers Union in Pennsylvania, has written the Kutcher Committee that "as a responsible trade unionist, I not only view with alarm, but consider it my duty to oppose attempts such as this to restrict the right of free speech and lawful political activity by government employees. . . . We in the American labor movement have had earlier experience with this

\$7,500 Militant Fund Reaches 68% of Quota

By Reba Aubrey
Campaign Manager

Collections in the branches for the \$7,500 Militant Fund ends May 15. The near scoreboard will appear in our May 23rd issue. Although the campaign is lagging somewhat, we are confident that all pledges will be fulfilled. Reports from the branches indicate that the members are making maximum efforts to reach the 100% mark on time. In the past week, for instance, New Haven jumped from 43% to 100%. Lynn from 28% to 74%. Reading from 60% to 92%. Boston from 61% to 91%. San Francisco sent in \$115, raising its percentage from 39 to 62, and although this branch still has some to go, we know it will come in with 100%. Anne Chester explains: "The long delay was due to the fact that we were engrossed in the local election campaign." Cleveland made an energetic jump from 25% to 82% in one week. Almeda says: "We should be able to finish our payments in another week." We have no doubt of it. Wilton C. of New York City sent in \$2; Theresa B. also of New York sent \$1; George G. of Pennsylvania \$1 and Wilfred C. of Canada \$5.

SCOREBOARD FOR MILITANT FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Morgantown	\$ 25	\$ 30	120
Seattle	50	50	100
Allentown	25	25	100
Los Angeles	600	600	100
New Haven	35	35	100
Youngstown	300	280	93
Reading	50	46	92
Boston	150	137	91
Toledo	50	45	90
Flint	200	170	85
Cleveland	150	123	82
Newark	250	190	76
New York	2,000	1,527	76
Lynn	50	37	74
Minneapolis	400	288	72
Baltimore	100	65	65
San Francisco-Oakland	500	309	62
Pittsburgh	100	60	60
Detroit	500	266	53
Milwaukee	150	79	53
Philadelphia	400	211	53
New Britain	50	25	50
St. Paul	200	100	50
Buffalo	500	204	41
Worcester	25	10	40
Chicago	250	93	37
St. Louis	50	16	32
Kron	200	50	25
Rochester	25	0	0
General	115	57	50
Total through May 3	\$7,500	\$5,129	68

THE MILITANT ARMY

Los Angeles Plans Regular Sales at Union Meetings

Bert Deck, Literature Agent for Los Angeles, reports that "we are now making plans for steady distributions of our literature at key unions and two campuses." Marj D., who is covering a regular weekly union meeting, sold two Militants the first week, five the next week, then eight and finally "eleven last night." She not only sells articles with the men before they go up to their meeting."

Comrade Deck believes that "having the same distributor every week has a definite advantage as the men get to feel like they know the person. Next week Ruth N. will start the same process at another local and we will keep adding unions to our list to the limit of our capacity. Each comrade will treat his or her union as a permanent weekly assignment."

At a debate on the Atlantic Pact which he covered, Comrade Deck sold four copies of the pamphlet, Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World War! "While I was shouting 'Read the Socialist answer to the third imperialist war,' I heard one Stalinist mutter: 'Socialism! That's all we need!' Even lip service is becoming too much for them."

Milt, who covered the lecture of Harold J. Laski in Los Angeles, sold 14 pamphlets and other literature. He suggests that comrades covering Laski's lectures can make better sales after the meeting than before because Laski "comes out strong for a Labor Party in the United States."

Philadelphia's Literature Agent, George C., writes that the

problem of expanding circulation was recently discussed and plans worked out: "A branch mobilization is to be scheduled for the first available evening. The comrades will all work in one area, selling single copies of The Militant door to door. This is an area already acquainted with the paper. Comrades will keep a record of homes where sales are made and a smaller group will return the following week with the next issue of the paper. In this way, a list of good contacts who can be approached for subs will be built up."

The Philadelphia comrades have had good results in the past from this method. By visiting the same people regularly in their homes, "we become better acquainted with them, can propose that they subscribe, and can invite them up to our branch headquarters."

Grace Carlson, Organizer of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party, writes: "The May Day issue of The Militant is very bright and sparkling. The Manifesto is an especially creditable job. The only reason that we didn't order extra copies is that we are rather short of funds, what with the Militant Fund, lay-offs, etc. We are planning some very special work with the bundle that we have. Congratulations to the staff."

Sylvia B. of New York likewise appreciated the May Day issue: "I read it from beginning to end. It was a treat. My only regret is that The Militant isn't twice the size. Nevertheless, it covered many phases of the struggle for existence and for freedom. Long may The Militant live and continue its glorious tradition."

Literature Agent Harry Gold of New York reports that 223 copies were sold at the May Day parade. The New Haven comrades send "congratulations on the press." M. C. writes that "the issues are really snappy and more saleable than ever."

LITTLE ACCOMPLISHED AT NAACP YOUTH MEET

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30 — The annual Legislative and Lobbying Conference of the NAACP Youth Councils ended last Saturday with the majority of delegates clearly dissatisfied with the results of the conference.

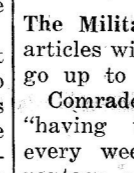
Some of the delegates correctly analyzed the source of their dissatisfaction by pointing out that while they had come to Washington prepared to review and discuss NAACP policy, the conference was confined to operating on the basis of an acceptance of past policy.

Despite the fact that only questions to the speakers were permitted during the greater part of the conference, many important ideas were brought to the attention of the delegates in the form of "loaded" questions. Questions of this type were so prevalent that George Weaver, CIO representative and a featured speaker at the Legislative Conference, compared the conference to the stormy meetings of his union local. He said that he never expected to encounter such difficulties outside of the union movement.

MILITANT PROPOSALS

Among the topics raised in the form of questions were the proposals for an NAACP-sponsored March on Washington to protest the lack of Civil Rights legislation, the formation of an independent Labor Party, and the creation of a United Congress of Negro and labor representatives to put mass pressure on the Truman administration.

In private discussion many delegates expressed their sympathy with these proposals. However, when these and other proposals for changing or extending NAACP



Martin Abern Heart-Attack Victim

(Continued from page 1)
state authorities as well, serving several minor jail terms. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 found in him a ready convert. In those days the Socialist Party split into three groups. Mature beyond his years, he participated in organizing the left-wing in the Minnesota SP which went with the Communists when the SP Convention in Chicago split in September 1919. He thus became a founding member of the pioneer American Communist movement. From 1919-20 Martin Abern served as district organizer of the Minnesota Communist Party. In the days of the notorious Pal-

mer Raids and witch-hunts, he stuck to his post. In May 1920, at the first underground CP Convention held at Bridgman, Mich., he was elected to the Central Executive Committee. Becoming its youngest member, at the age of 22, he served on this body almost continuously until the day of his expulsion, some eight years later. MANY MAJOR POSTS During his stay in the CP he held many posts and fulfilled several major assignments. At various times he served on the Political Committee. He became the first National Secretary of the Young Workers League, later

known as the Young Communist League, holding this office until 1923. From 1924-26 he was District Organizer and Organizational Secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party, Chicago District. In 1928 he became Assistant National Secretary of the International Labor Defense and played a prominent part in the campaign for Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti.

EXPELLED FROM CP He went as delegate to the Third World Congress of the Young Communist International and to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, the last gathering of this historic organization in Lenin's lifetime. On October 27, 1928, Abern,

along with Cannon and Shachtman, was expelled on the charge of Trotskyism by the then Lovestone-Wolfe majority of the American CP. He shared with Cannon and Shachtman the leadership of the new Trotskyist movement and with them played the guiding role in launching the publication of our movement's central organ, The Militant, and in assuring its subsequent appearance as a weekly. He played a similar role in the appearance of the first American Trotskyist theoretical monthly, The New International, of which he was the first Managing Editor. In 1940 he was among those who split with the Socialist Workers Party to form a rival organization, the Workers Party, where the remaining years of his life were spent. He had been ailing for the last two years. The May Day meeting of the Socialist Workers Party of New York, held on the same day as his funeral, rose and stood in silence in honor of his memory.

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Monday, May 9, 1949



TROTSKY

"With the present level of technology and skill of the workers, it is quite possible to create adequate conditions for the material and spiritual development of all mankind. It would be necessary only to organize the economic life within each country and over our entire planet correctly, scientifically, and rationally, according to a general plan. So long, however, as the main productive forces of society are held by trusts, i.e., isolated capitalist cliques, and so long as the national state remains a pliant tool in the hands of these cliques, the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, for domination of the world must inevitably assume a more and more destructive character."

— Leon Trotsky, 1940



LENIN

Loyalty Board Decision on Kutcher

The top Loyalty Board's curt and callous denial of James Kutcher's appeal for his job plainly shows Truman's real intentions in regard to the civil rights of government workers. The administration proposes as an essential step in its war preparations to promote the political purge as rapidly and ruthlessly as possible. Many people believed and hoped that after November the administration would slacken or stop its witch-hunt, or at least display leniency toward the legless veteran it had victimized. This illusion was deliberately fostered by the first board which heard Kutcher's case and especially by Attorney General Clark, who assured Newark reporters shortly before the elections that Kutcher's war record would be taken into account. Now Clark's deceit is exposed by the statement by Loyalty Review Board Chairman Richardson that Kutcher's discharge was mandatory because of directives issued by the President and his Attorney General. The Attorney General persists in refusing the Socialist Workers Party a public hearing to secure its removal from his political blacklist while his fellow appointees uphold Kutcher's discharge. Last week he added new names to his lengthening list of so-called "subversive" organizations. The administration is long on promises but short on performance, wherever civil rights are menaced. It is now clear that the fight to restore Kutcher to his job will be a prolonged one. It is no less clear that the attacks upon our freedoms are meeting greater resistance from many sections of the people. Among other evidence, the gratifying support given the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee provides unmistakable proof that there exist plenty of people and organizations in this country ready, willing and able to join the ranks of the fighters for civil liberties. It is imperative to reach more of these people and explain the importance of this case to them. The case of the legless veteran sharply dramatizes the basic issues at stake in the counter-offensive against the witch-hunters. Now that appeals to administrative agencies have been exhausted, the campaign on Kutcher's behalf passes into a second and crucial stage. While the attorneys take his case through the federal courts in the coming months, Kutcher's defenders should redouble their efforts to take his case to the American people. That is the best way to arouse, attract and enlist new forces behind Kutcher's fight for justice and to build a defense movement powerful enough to compel the administration witch-hunters to pause in their assaults on the freedoms of the people.

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Lifting of the Berlin Blockade

For almost a year the Berlin blockade has been the focal point of the militaristic agitation and propaganda of the Truman administration and the bi-partisan Congress. Around this issue, American imperialism whipped up the "cold war" to an intolerable intensity, climaxed by the greatest military alliance of all time, the North Atlantic Pact. Now, the Berlin blockade is to be lifted on May 12. Unless some last-minute hitch occurs, what for a year has been represented as the major obstacle to agreement between the Kremlin and the western capitalist powers will be eliminated. But so far as the drive toward the militarization of America and the war preparations are concerned, there is no hint of relaxation by the U. S. State Department and the military agencies. So to the contrary, this past week has seen the government's top foreign policy and military spokesmen pushing the war program relentlessly. From Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Chief of Staff Gen. Omar Bradley on down, a parade of pin-striped trousers and Big Brass before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been hammering for immediate Senate approval of the North Atlantic Pact. The campaign for re-arming the West European regimes and for the biggest peace-

time military budget in U. S. history is being pressed unflinchingly. It is no secret that the Kremlin has long been bidding for a settlement and that the American State Department for months had in its hands the proposal for ending the Berlin blockade — a fact withheld from the public while the Atlantic Pact was being prepared and signed. As James Reston, N. Y. Times commentator, said on May 5, it would seem that the western diplomats and rulers are positively dismayed at the outcome of the Berlin blockade issue, which was ideal grist for their war mill. They are reacting to the removal of the blockade, says Reston, "very much as Paul Makushak, the Brooklyn broom-closet hermit, reacted to his freedom last month. 'It's no good being out,' said Mr. Makushak. 'I'd like to go back where I was.'" Let there be no illusion that the settlement of the blockade issue has derailed the drive of American imperialism toward war. The war-makers will not lack for other pretexts to prepare the third world slaughter. The fight against the war-plotters must now begin in earnest and not cease until the American workers and farmers build their own government, eliminate the capitalist system that breeds war and create a socialist society of enduring peace.

Trying to Steal May Day

When Adolph Hitler and his Storm Troopers smashed their way to power in Germany, they shattered the unions, stifled all democratic rights, murdered and imprisoned all opponents. But that alone was not enough to stamp out the tradition of May Day among the German workers. The goals of this celebration — internationalism, working class solidarity, the struggle for socialism — were implanted in the bone and marrow of the masses, passed down from generation to generation. Not all the repression and brutality of capitalist dictatorship could uproot them. Understanding this, Hitler tried to steal May Day, to convert it into an anti-Communist, anti-labor and pro-Nazi holiday. He ordered the workers out of the factories, mills and mines on May First on penalty of fine and imprisonment and forced them to parade under the swastika and to listen to vile Nazi rantings of Goebbels, Goering and Co. Last week we were treated to a similar spectacle on the streets of New York and other American cities. The Roman Catholic hierarchy and assorted reactionary organizations, acting with the approval of city and state governments and with the participation of high public officials, took a leaf out of Hitler's book and tried to steal May Day from the American workers to whom the celebration owes its origin. In place of the hooked cross and the glorification of the Nazi regime, there were oily words about "loyalty" and "democracy." But the meaning was the same.

A roll-call of the "dignitaries" in the N. Y. reviewing stand shows how much "democracy" was in the "loyalty" parade: Cardinal Spellman, the Prince of the Church who broke the strike of Catholic cemetery workers, James Farley, the friend and propagandist of the Fascist Franco, Julius Krug, Secretary of the Interior, the friend of the Nazi industrial overlords whose anti-labor record is cursed by every miner in the country, Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, who denounces as "pseudo-liberals" those who have the courage to uphold "academic freedom" in the universities. Not in the entire demonstration was there a hint of loyalty to labor and loyalty to civil liberties. Not a slogan against Taft-Hartley, against lynching, segregation, or for medical aid, housing and a higher minimum wage. How could there be? This was the Vatican's legion, spearheading the forces of reaction, upholding everything corrupt and dictatorial in the world. It was not accidental that the main participants in the Cleveland demonstration, the Catholic War Veterans and the Gold Star Mothers, were the principal sponsors of a meeting for Gerald L. K. Smith in that city a few years ago. "Loyalty" — yes, to capitalism, to reaction, to dictatorship. The unions and workers' organizations did not march in these fascist-like parades. But the sabotage of May Day as a workers' holiday by the officialdom of the unions is basically responsible for this attempt to corrupt the great tradition of solidarity and internationalism.

Trotskyist Program in China

(The following report by the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of China, section of the Fourth International, was written 16 days before the renewal of hostilities in the Chinese civil war. The first installment appeared in our last week's issue.)

SOMEWHERE IN SOUTHERN CHINA, April 5—Shortly after Chiang Kai-shek's "retirement" in January, the Chinese Trotskyists issued a declaration exposing the Kuomintang's strategy and the treachery of the

Stalinist eight-point peace program issued by Mao Tse-tung. Extracts from this declaration follow:

"Only an upsurge of the Chinese working class can thwart the new compromise being sought by the Stalinists and prevent a new tragedy such a compromise would inevitably prepare."

"The outstanding feature of the present situation is that while the peasant armies are scoring unprecedented victories and while the bourgeois regime is engulfed by unprecedented bankruptcy, the Chinese working class is lacking a powerful party armed with the correct program and able to provide the workers with revolutionary leadership."

"In part, the passivity of the working class is the result of bloody repressions by the Kuomintang over a long period. But it is also the result of the capricious swings of the Stalinists from opportunism to adventurism and back again over an equally long period. Above all it is the Stalinists' recent anti-labor policy that has produced among the workers an attitude of indifference, bewilderment, doubt and paralysis in the face of the military victories of the peasantry."

PROGRAM FOR WORKERS

"To the Chinese working class, we Trotskyists point out that the absence of a powerful proletarian party the peasant army has fallen into the hands of conciliators. It is being used by the top bureaucracy of the Stalinist party as a means of striking a bargain with the bourgeoisie in the establishment of a 'coalition government.' Once it begins playing the role of guardian of a 'coalition government,' the peasant army will of necessity be used by the bourgeoisie and by the conciliators as a weapon against the workers."

"You workers dare not nurse the illusion that you will be liberated by some other hands. You should rapidly consolidate your own forces, revive and strengthen your own class organizations, create a new proletarian leadership. Under a new leadership you will be able to fight successfully against imperialism and its tool, the Chinese bourgeoisie; to sweep aside the conciliators, who obstruct the struggle; to take the path to independent political action through the day-to-day economic battles; and to enter through the democratic struggle the road of struggle for a Workers and Peasants Government."

"Only in the course of united action can the confidence of the peasantry in the urban working class be revived; can the poor peasants inside and outside the peasant army be drawn away from the bourgeoisie and the conciliators; and the solid foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance laid."

PROGRAM FOR PEASANTS

"To the poor peasants, to the rank and file peasant members of the Communist Party, we Trotskyists point out that the interests of the landless, cannot and will not satisfy your needs for the land and your other democratic demands. Your leaders (represented by Mao Tse-tung) are leading you to cooperation with the bourgeoisie — that is, into a blind alley. Only the impoverished working class and its vanguard, the Revolutionary Communist Party, is your true ally. Turn your back on the bourgeoisie, look to the workers. A full-scale agrarian struggle must be linked with the liberating struggle of the working class."

"Finally, to the oppressed and war-weary people of the whole of China, we Trotskyists point out that the prerequisite for achieving a real peace in China is the complete satisfaction of the historical and social demands of the great mass of the workers and peasants. The only way to obtain this is to consolidate, to organize, to arm, to clear from our path all the obstacles by our own strength."

"The declaration concluded with a revolutionary program for freedom, for land, for control of production by the workers, for self-determination for national minorities, for the convocation of a National Assembly."

"At the end of March, when the Stalinists and the bourgeois government were engaging in their 'peace maneuvers,' the Political Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party adopted a resolution advancing a program of action:

DOWN WITH KUOMINTANG!

"In the Kuomintang-controlled area, we must expose the Kuomintang's entire policy of oppression and its 'peace maneuvers,' fight against the continuation of American aid, fight against the Kuomintang's preparations for resuming warfare and the conscription of manpower and materials. Our slogans must especially emphasize demands for

the release of all political prisoners, for the abrogation of all 'emergency' and martial laws, for the liquidation of all 'extraordinary' agencies of repression, and for complete freedom of speech, press, assembly and for the right to organize and strike."

"Only through agitation and struggle around these slogans can the people freely organize themselves, engage in action and prepare for the overthrow of the Kuomintang's rule. In the same way our transitional program (such as the eight-hour working day, land to the peasants, national independence, National Assembly, etc.) can be widely propagated among the masses, win their active support and become their program for action. In this area our general slogan is: Down with the Kuomintang government! For a National Assembly chosen by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage!

AGAINST CP POLICIES

"At present the Communist Party has placed one half of China under its rule. We must pay particular attention to systematic agitation and propaganda in the Stalinist-controlled area. Above all, we must point out to the masses that the so-called 'people's government' under the auspices of the Stalinist party is in essence a military bureaucratic dictatorship propped up with guns. In the final analysis the power of the Communist Party bears a bourgeois character, basing itself primarily on the petty-bourgeois peasantry. Power of this kind is quite unstable."

"Thus we must place special stress on the slogan of 'complete freedom of speech, press, assembly and strike' as a means of mobilizing the workers and peasants to freely organize themselves for the fight against the oppression of the Stalinist military dictatorship."

"As against the reactionary Stalinist policy of taking over the old organs of Kuomintang rule intact and incorporating the Kuomintang army into the 'liberating' army, we demand the complete annihilation of the old Kuomintang regime and the liquidation of the Kuomintang army."

"Instead of the reactionary Stalinist practice under which the property of the Kuomintang bureaucratic cliques is simply taken over by the new upstart bureaucrats and instead of cooperating with capitalists, we demand the setting up of factory committees for the control of production."

"In opposition to the Stalinist-decreed ten or twenty-hour working day and the adjustment of wages at the same level as under the Kuomintang, we demand the eight-hour day and the sliding scale of wages."

AGAINST THE STALINIST AGRARIAN

"We do not want British rule either."

STRATEGIC VALUE

"It may seem strange that this small country, which has no great natural resources and only a narrow strip of fertile agricultural land, should become an issue among imperialists. But it is strategically located, along the approach to the Suez Canal. And it once was a thriving trade route connecting the Mediterranean with the vast African interior. This is the reason behind talk of trusteeships, as it was the major reason for Italian conquest."

"The world today has no more use for doctrines that preach the gospel of imperialism," Dr. Shukry had declared at the UN hearing. "Nor does the need for the solution of a so-called over-population problem in one country, no matter how crying, justify the enslavement of another nation and the preclusion of its people as free men from the enjoyment of their natural rights of self-determination and independence."

"NOT RIGHT, NOT FAIR" He reminded me that the Marshall Plan pours out financial aid to the Italian government. "Surely you people in this country, who are giving your money to help the bankrupt countries re-establish themselves, do not want them to use that money to hold down, to rule over other countries! It is not right, it is not fair, it is not justice!"

The third member of the group, Dr. A. N. Anzeiz of the League of Arab States, added as the discussion closed:

"It is to the people of the United States that we appeal. They have a great love of freedom. They cannot want imperialist rule in other countries. We appeal to them to help us!"

policy, we fight for the confiscation of all landlord and kulak land without compensation, dividing it among the poor peasants and fighters, under the auspices of the committees of poor peasants.

"As a substitute for the 'new assembly of political consultation' through which the Stalinists seek a rotten compromise with landlords and capitalists, we advocate the convocation of the National Assembly chosen by universal, direct and secret suffrage."

"And against the 'coalition government of all classes' we counterpose the Workers and Peasants Government."

"A genuine peace is conceivable only through a stormy revolution — that is, the total overthrow of Kuomintang rule together with the whole foundation of bourgeois society, establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government, fulfillment of the historic democratic and national tasks, entry on the road of socialist construction and finally extension of the revolution itself to all other countries of the East as well as of the world. This is the only way to prevent the new world war in which China will inevitably be once more a tragic victim."

We Trotskyists understand that

in the first stage of the Stalinist dictatorship we will be isolated temporarily from the broad masses. What is more, we know that we are threatened with physical annihilation.

PURGE THREAT The Stalinist bureaucrats have just declared in their Hong Kong paper, Hwa San Pao, that they will launch a savage campaign of extermination against the Trotskyists immediately after Nanking and Shanghai are "liberated." From a reliable source we have also learned that a list with the names of many of our leading members is in the hands of the Stalinist GPU.

We know they want to behead our movement, just as they have done in every other country where they got the opportunity. The bloody tragedy of our Vietnamese movement is still fresh in our minds. The siren song of Stalinist "new democracy" will never lull us to sleep. That is why we have moved our Central Committee from Shanghai to a more suitable place where we shall be able to maintain close contact with our local branches and to continue the struggle for revolutionary emancipation whose success we confidently expect to see, despite the great difficulties now facing us.

Equally strong is the sentiment in the CCF youth organizations. Naturally, the opposition resolutions do not take a clear-cut revolutionary position. They tend to center around formal arguments that the pact bypasses the United Nations and that hope for peace rests in the UN. But the sentiment behind the resolutions is clearly directed against alignment with Wall Street imperialism and its war aims, even if the alternative offered by them is confused and full of pacifist illusions.

The pressure of the revolt was so great that a number of CCF members of the Canadian Parliament declared that they would vote against the pact. The Coldwell leadership whipped the parliamentary fraction sufficiently into line to prevent any such "disaster." But they could not prevent a shamefaced expression of this revolt on the parliamentary arena. When the vote on the pact was taken, ten CCF parliamentarians were "absent from the house."

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Trotskyist Group Organized in Japan

The Secretariat of the Fourth International has announced, through its press service, that a Trotskyist organization has recently been formed for the first time in Japan. The Japanese Trotskyists have taken the first steps with a decision to issue a regular publication, the announcement states, as well as to publish the most important works of Trotsky in the Japanese language.

Communications from the Japanese Trotskyists relate that a new wave of political radicalization has hit the country, following the newly-instituted heavy taxation program of the government and the projected dismissal of 30% of all workers employed by the government. The Stalinists are at present benefitting most from the renewed mass radicalization, the reports say, because they have had a virtual monopoly of the fight against capitalism and the imperialists. The rise of a Trotskyist group will provide a revolutionary banner for the radicalized workers and challenge the treacherous stranglehold of Stalinism in Japan, as elsewhere.

Revolt Against Pact In Canadian CCF

What appears to be the most serious rank and file revolt in recent years, it is reported, has spread throughout the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (Labor Party) over the issue of the North Atlantic Pact. The Coldwell leadership, like reformists and labor bureaucrats everywhere in the West, naturally committed the CCF to support of this most ominous of the steps toward World War III. However, they did not expect reaction within their ranks to be so strong, as is evident from ensuing developments.

In British Columbia and Yukon, opposition to the line of the CCF leadership on the pact appears to be particularly heavy, with not only many individual clubs voting against it, but the provincial council coming out against it with the overwhelming vote of 38 to 2.

Left Socialists Active In Scandinavia

A left wing in the Social Democratic Party of Denmark and its youth organization took an organized form recently, centering its agitation against the North Atlantic Pact, which the "socialist" government recently signed.

A resolution adopted by the new organization, the VSU, at its first conference in March, denounced the pact as a step toward World War III and demanded a national referendum on the question. While sharply differentiating themselves from the Stalinists and denouncing Kremlin policy, the Left Socialists pointed to capitalism as the real source of the war danger. They have published the document for wide distribution at factories and in trade unions.

A meeting with a similar group of Swedish Left Socialists took place in Malmo on March 27, at which joint May Day demonstrations in that Swedish city and in Copenhagen were arranged around the slogan of a Socialist United States of Europe.

INTERVIEW WITH LIBYAN SPOKESMEN

(Continued from page 1)

Italian domination. "The refugees have always kept close ties with the people at home," he said. "Bashir Sadawy was even able to supply the rebels with arms, and to agitate for boycotts of Italian ships."

The president of the delegation, Mansour Kadara, who was also one of the early fighters for freedom, handed me a pamphlet now being prepared for publication in English.

Its ghastly photographs of mass executions match the horrors of Hitler's concentration camps and Chiang Kai-shek's blood-baths. There were pictures of scores of bodies dangling from gallows; of severed heads impaled in public squares to intimidate the populace; of women and children hunted down by imperialist troops.

This was the "civilization" brought to Libya by Italian arms. At the UN hearing, the Italian delegation had boasted of the money poured into the colony for development. Dr. Shukry's reply cut through the hypocrisy of this claim:

LAND CONFISCATED

"In his statement of yesterday," he told the Assembly, "the honorable representative of Italy quoted figures to show that in the period of 1913 and 1941, Italy spent on the development of the colonies — including Libya — more than one billion U. S. dollars at their pre-war valuation; and all this, he so inaccurately stated, had been directed toward the economic progress and material welfare of the people."

"Yet a rapid glance at the history of Italian colonization and demographic settlement schemes would show the exact manner in which part of this huge sum of money was spent. . . .

"Bent on a policy of extermination of these Libyans in order to

people the country with Italian colonists, no sooner had the Italians subjugated Libya than they embarked on their notorious policy of land nationalization, a policy based mainly on the confiscation of the land from its lawful Arab owners, and encouragement of Italian peasant emigrants to settle in Libya by furnishing them with loans and grants-in-aid. . . .

As for the schools Italy boasts of having erected, these too were for Italian settlers:

"... with a community of 70,000 in 1940-41, the Italians had 19 kindergartens with 1,841 children; 74 primary schools with 9,704 pupils; 3 trade schools with 393 pupils and 8 secondary schools with 1,775 pupils, 16 evening classes with about 15,000 pupils and student — quite a striking contrast to the number of Arab pupils and students who numbered 18,258 and this of an Arab Muslim population of 729,500, nearly ten times the number of Italians."

I asked about the Italian farmers still living in Tripolitania. How did they and the Libyan people get along?

"We do not quarrel with them," he said. "We would guard their safety and their rights as a minority. But that does not change what we want — our freedom."

He lashed out at the UN discussions of trusteeships. "Some people think Libya must have it because we are 'not educated.' And if our people are illiterate, whose fault is it? The people want to learn. In the short time since the British occupation, enrollment in kindergartens has risen to 20,000."

He added hastily, "But this must be understood: I do not say this to justify the British occupation. It is better than the Italian rule, that is true; but that is all.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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Baruch's Great Fear

By Art Preis

Bernard M. Baruch, "Elder Statesman" of American imperialism and its master strategist, outlined in his April 23 Saturday Evening Post article, "What of Our Future?" Wall Street's perspective for "fitting ourselves to this concept of war and peace as an interconnecting stream" in which the country from now on must be "mobilized in advance of war."

As our article last week described in detail, Baruch's plan for permanent mobilization and regimentation of the American people means that, in his words, "we would have to accept the hateful regimentations and denials which war itself entails." And this would flow, as he states, from "the necessity to strengthen government and to give military matters an emphasis beyond anything traditionally American."

This latter phrase, "beyond anything traditionally American," recurs in one form or another as a major theme of the Baruch statement. It is a key to the motivation of the article, to the deep-seated uncertainties that fill the American ruling class even as it commits itself to plans for world-wide conquest.

What Baruch implies is that Wall Street and Washington may scheme to shackle the American people "in advance of war" — but the American people may not submit.

The question that keeps the leaders of American imperialism awake at nights is: will the American people docilely accept "the regimentation they hate to preserve the freedom they love"? Baruch indicates the fear of his class that it will be no easy or certain task to put this proposition over.

"Many of these disciplines [draft, rationing, wage controls, militarization and regimentation, etc.] were resisted during the last war while American men and women were fighting and dy-

ing," says Baruch. "How much greater will be the temptation, when war has not yet broken out, to 'wait and see,'" he complains.

Strong in the mind of Baruch and his co-conspirators is the awareness of the deep-grained hostility of the American people, particularly the working class, to infringements on their rights and freedoms and their abiding desire for peace. And America's rulers are likewise aware of the tremendous reserves of power that the organized working class can call up in opposition to imperialism's scheme. It is only three years ago that this American working class, aroused to fighting action, forced the American capitalists to their knees in the mightiest strikes this country has ever known.

Now, the American people are beginning to sense what capitalism has in store for them, in contrast to its glittering but false promises. "Many letters have come to me," admits Baruch, "anxiously inquiring about the future. Will I lose my job in another depression?" writes one worker. A housewife complains, "With prices and taxes so high, how can we save for our child's education?"

These are the questions which are stirring and boiling among the people. But Baruch cannot assure them peace and security. He can only try to convince them that it is possible to "reconcile" the "deep inner torments among us," the conflict between "our normally relaxed ways and the state of semiwar which now prevails." It will all be done by putting the future of the American people in the hands of a grand strategy board of "thinkers"—meaning the top Big Business and military spokesmen—who can be counted on, according to Baruch, to "draw the line" between "necessary" and "temporary" restraints and permanent loss of our freedoms.

They Can't Intimidate Us

By James Kutcher

During the war years those of us who were in the armed forces were often cut off from contact with the party for a long time. Overseas, we did not receive mail for weeks at a time, which meant no news of the party and its activities. When we reached a town and got a chance to catch up on world news, I would wonder about how the party was getting along, what it was doing, how it was analyzing the big political events of the day. But whether I received mail or not, May Day was the one day of the year when I could feel sure that I knew exactly what the party and the world Trotskyist movement were saying and doing.

I always knew that on this working class holiday, regardless of what happened to other parties, our party, at meetings such as we are holding this year, was speaking out against the war and against the capitalist system that had brought it about, and against the treachery of Stalinism which was responsible for the maintenance of capitalism. I knew that 18 of our leaders had been imprisoned, that the government was trying in many other ways to silence the party, but I was confident that they would never stop our opposition to war and capitalism.

Today, as they are preparing for the third world war the capitalist class is trying harder than ever to intimidate our party. They want to silence our opposition to the coming war, and our program to build a socialist society of peace and brotherhood. I don't think they are going to succeed.

American capitalism seems to be more powerful than ever today, and our party appears as only a tiny minority in opposition to it. Why then are they going to such lengths to intimidate us? Because they do not deceive themselves about their own fundamental weakness, because they see the writing on the wall. They realize that the powerful American labor movement cannot for long remain passive in the face of an approaching police dictatorship and a catastrophic war of atomic destruction. They are as sure as we are sure that, confronted with such a situation, the masses must inevitably turn to our party and its program for a way out of the blind alley that they have been led into. That is why they are trying so hard to shut us up. They hope that the workers won't get a chance to hear about our socialist program.

They are trying to blacklist the ideas of socialism out of existence, but they can't do it. This is not a new thing in history. Every bankrupt and dying ruling class has tried to stave off its inevitable doom by spending its last fury on the revolutionary opposition. All of them, without exception, tried to prolong their rule by launching campaigns of slander, intimidation and terror against the men and women of vision and courage who called upon the masses to rise up and rid themselves of the oppressor.

The British rulers dispatched their Red Coats to American soil in an effort to strike fear into the hearts of the small group of revolutionists who raised aloft the banner of independence for the colonies, but all their seeming might did not succeed in stemming the tide of the victorious American revolution.

The heroic leaders of the Abolitionist movement were hounded from one end of the country to the other and subjected to every kind of persecution, but they too stood by their principles, fought back and in the end inspired the great revolutionary movement that wiped out chattel slavery in this country.

And the most inspiring example of all is that of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Consider the odds that confronted them — they too were a small party, fighting for their Marxist ideas against every form of political renegacy within the labor movement. They had to face the vast police power of the Czarist state, they were driven into illegality, hounded into exile. But always they stood intransigent in their opposition to the capitalist system. The history of their struggle against the class enemy at times reads like the struggle of David against the giant Goliath, but we know that in the end all of the weapons hurled against them did not prevent their assuming the leadership of the Russian masses and the establishment of the first workers power in history.

Today our party is in a comparable position. Our numbers are small, and we are being subjected to a new campaign of intimidation, but we do not meet the attack unarmed. Our ideas, our program that the masses must eventually turn to, these are all-powerful weapons. No subversive lists, no loyalty purge can destroy correct, scientific ideas. So long as we understand this, no campaign of intimidation can stop our march to victory.

(From a May Day speech in New York.)

Notes from the News

AND THEY CALL THEMSELVES COMMUNISTS! — Outlining the Stalinist program for the coming NAACP convention, Peltis Perry, chairman of the Communist Party's National Negro Commission, writes in the May 4 Daily Worker: "The convention should raise the slogan of putting the Italian colonies under the trusteeship of the United Nations, with a definite time limit for their independence." Like the imperialists, the Stalinists evidently think the colonial peoples are not yet "ready" for independence.

BACKWARD AND DOWNWARD — Labor's share of the total national income declined last year in the U. S., Canada, Belgium and New Zealand in comparison with 1938 levels, UN statistical experts report. The ratio of wages, salaries and other income to labor stood at 62% of total national income in the U. S., a decrease of 4% from the position ten years earlier. The ratio fell 7% in Canada for the same period, 6% for New Zealand and 4% for Belgium.

UE CAUCUS — Anti-Stalinists in the UE have called a national caucus conference for May 7 in Dayton, O.

LIFE IN THE PENTAGON — The Minneapolis Tribune's Washington correspondent tells this one about the "armed services' internal security sleuths" at the Pentagon building: "Pentagon snack bars switched brands of milk, and the new brand came in a different paper container. Opening this container broke government gals' fingernails. One of them circulated a petition to get snack bars to switch back to the old containers. Without looking where they leaped, security sleuths grabbed the gal, took her to the provost marshal's office and questioned her about being a Communist trouble-maker. The story got out, and many ears are a rich, ripe red."

STALINIST REPORTING — According to the Daily Worker, a "Loyalty Parade" in Lawrence, Mass., was supposed to have "Fred Beal, a Trotskyite" as speaker and to have been sponsored by the "Workers Defense League, the Trotskyite-Socialist outfit." All we know about it is that Beal isn't and never was a Trotskyist, and the

same goes for the WDL. This sample indicates how trustworthy Stalinist reporting is.

NEW PAPER IN NEW YORK — T. O. Thacker, who was forced to resign as editor of the N. Y. Post because he had "the choice of supporting the Atlantic Pact or resigning," has announced plans to publish a new morning tabloid, the Daily Compass, which will sell for ten cents. The plant of the defunct Star will be used, and so will finances put up by Mrs. Emmons Blaine of Chicago, 83-year old International Harvester heiress and Wallaceite.

30-HOUR WEEK DEMAND — Retailing Daily says the first objective of the CIO Furniture Workers' campaign against unemployment will be "a 30-hour week without reduction in weekly pay." One out of every seven in the industry is jobless today.

TALKING ABOUT OBSCENITY — Norman Mailer's anti-war novel, The Naked and the Dead, soon to be published in Britain, has been attacked by several London newspapers. The Sunday Times is pressuring the publisher to cancel its publication on the grounds of "obscenity."

SANTO TO LEAVE — The Department of Justice has given permission to John Santo, former CIO Transport Workers Union leader, to leave the U. S. within 60 days. Santo, who made the request himself, has been under "alien deportation" proceedings for several years.

"DEMOCRATIC" REQUIREMENTS — In Ohio, which all minority parties agree has the toughest election laws and boards in the country, the Progressive Party has opened a campaign to become a recognized party with a place on the ballot by collecting 450,000 signatures of voters, or 15% of the total vote in the last gubernatorial election.

SAME OLD ROUTINE — Following in the footsteps of Forrestal, Secretary of Defense Johnson has ordered the armed forces to practice "racial equality" toward Negroes. Of course he did not order the end of segregation.

Landlords Move in For Kill Behind New Rent-Hike Ruling

By Joseph Keller

NEW YORK, May 3 — Yesterday, on my return from work, I found the janitor of our apartment building busily slapping some poisonous-looking green paint over the doors and trimmings at the entrance. Since

that was the first fresh paint — regardless of hue — that the landlord had applied either to the outside or inside of the building in six years that I know of, I was indeed surprised. I was even more surprised to find our "lawn" — three square feet of soot-enriched sod — sprouting three sickly-looking flowers and two immature bushes bearing what were unquestionably lemons.

Being of a suspicious turn of mind, I immediately began speculating on this sudden impulse of the landlord toward redecorating and "landscaping." Especially since we tenants had long since given up asking for anything except our regular winter demand for heat every-time the "coal supply ran down," which happened three out of every seven days in the week.

My suspicions were confirmed when I heard on the radio that Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods had just announced that under the new Rent Law landlords would be guaranteed 20 and 25% profits over all operating expense and "depreciation." My fellow-tenants and I would have to make up the difference to our landlord through a rent increase if he could show — which he will undoubtedly try — that he is right now netting less than 20% profit on his "fair net operating income."

Since our landlord hasn't spent a nickel on the place in at least six years, keeps a part-time custodian instead of a full-time one and wangled a number of 15% rent boosts from scared tenants (not me) last year, that green paint job and the new "garden" are part of a quite obvious attempt to pad current costs to qualify for rent boosts. Maybe he'll even put a new strip of carpet on that first flight of stairs to replace the torn rag I nearly break my neck on every day. Anyway, the real estate agent, looking mighty dapper and cheerful, was sniffing around the place yesterday evening. And that's the first time I've seen him outside his office, when he

reaches out to collect my monthly pound of flesh in six years.

Like most of the 14 million tenants under rent regulations in this country, I am now forced to wait in trepidation to find out how much more the new "strengthened" federal rent control law is going to cost me. It all depends on whether my landlord insists that his present net operating profits are less than 20% of his "gross income." If the government says it is, he can collect enough rent from me and the other tenants to bring his net operating profits up to 25%. It's lucky we're not living in a "small structure with four or less units" — then he'd be able to claim an operating profit of less than 25% and collect the difference up to 30% out of higher rents.

Landlords of "small structures" if you don't count the "depreciation" allowance of up to 21% of the gross income, will actually be guaranteed 46% net operating profit. On "large structures" (over 4 units) they are allowed up to 16% for "depreciation," which means that their real guaranteed net operating profit will be 36% of gross income. The building where I live looks like it might be something the Indians threw in when they sold Manhattan Island to the Dutch for \$24. And there are a lot of other slums here where they've been deducting "depreciation" as an operating expense for many decades.

The landlords around here have started a clamor for even more than the fat rent boosts the government will be handing them in the next few weeks — although so many of them made applications for rent hikes on the very first day of the new ruling that the local area rent offices ran out of blank forms. It looks like there's no use banking on Truman (which I've been preaching right along) and we tenants will have to organize to take some action on our own to keep the landlords' paws out of our pockets and a roof over our heads.

RIGHT-WINGERS TAKE CONTROL OF LOS ANGELES CIO COUNCIL

By Steve Roberts

LOS ANGELES — For the first time in the 11-year history of the Los Angeles CIO Council, right wing forces are in complete control after routing the Stalinists in the "unity" convention held April 23 and 24, at the Rubber Workers' hall in South Gate. A record 760 delegates, representing more than 90,000 workers from 111 locals, were in attendance.

The defeat of the Stalinists was complete as the right wing, by a majority of 2 1/2 to 1, swept in its entire slate of 25 for officers and executive board members.

On the crest of this anti-Stalinist wave, the right wing leaders were able to push through a series of amendments to the constitution that gravely impair the democracy and independence of the Council. Some of the more drastic changes are:

- Elimination of the secret ballot in elections; extension of term of office from one to two years; granting of greater powers to the executive committee at the expense of the affiliated locals' rights; designation of the Council as the INSTRUMENT of the national CIO; prohibition of support to groups, newspapers or candidates for public office "who are consistent supporters, or who actively participate in the activities of the Communist Party or any fascist, totalitarian or other subversive organization which opposes the democratic principles to which our nation and this organization are dedicated."

The Stalinists put up a show of opposing these amendments and of protesting the right wing's use of their majority to cut off debate. But this was a sham as they had previously agreed to substantially all these measures in the joint committee meetings which were held under sponsorship of the national CIO and had established the conditions for the unification of the local CIO.

The only authentic democratic expression heard at the convention was from Walter McLogan of the UAW, who in the debate

on the proposal to extend the term of office to two years, stated he wasn't in either group and was opposed to any provision that would enable either to get a stranglehold on the Council.

But many other delegates, who supported the right wing leaders in the voting on all questions, privately expressed their concern with many of the convention decisions. They had been won over to the right wing on the ground that it was a lesser evil as compared to the Stalinists and are genuinely desirous of solving the problems of the labor movement on a progressive basis.

The mighty Stalinist machine that ruled the California CIO for more than a decade has been shattered, and this is the right wing's day. But as it exposes the conservatism of its policies, the need for an authentic left wing will become clearer to all the militant workers.

Next Week

Grace Carlson begins her series of articles on socialized medicine in next week's issue. Among other things, the series will deal with Truman's National Health Insurance Program, rival congressional measures such as the Taft Bill and the Hill Bill, the AMA proposals, voluntary insurance programs, union-sponsored health programs, etc.

Americans in Paris, or Two Not-So-Innocents Abroad, takes up the activities of Prof. Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell at the recent "peace conference."

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Nationalists on the Run



Wounded soldiers of the Nationalist army (top) pass through Nanking as Stalinist-led troops entered the city from the north and then swept on toward Shanghai. There was no resistance to the occupation of Nanking, former capital of the Nationalist forces.

Alarm Expressed Over Blacklist, School Purges

ADA, ACLU Urge Review of Clark List

In a joint letter to Attorney General Clark two days after he had added new names to his blacklist of "subversive" organizations, the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union said that the whole idea of listing "so-called subversive organizations" is "both 'unsuccessful and distinctly dangerous.'"

The two Anti-Stalinist groups asked that the question of issuing blacklists be reviewed in the "light of the basic objectives of democracy."

Appealing specifically for the removal from Clark's list of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the letter said:

"Affiliation with these organizations [listed by Clark] is used to damage seriously many innocent and loyal persons. They are made subject to accusation of guilt by association. What is worse, the accusation is made retroactive, since the North

American Committee has been defunct for ten years."

In 1939 when the Spanish civil war ended, they explained, the North American Committee's name was changed to the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, and soon after Stalinist members were forced out.

Don't Fire Teachers For Politics—Dr. Lynd

Dr. Robert S. Lynd, author of Middletown and professor of sociology at Columbia University, revealed last week that the growing witch-hunt has caused him to revise his previous position, which opposed the hiring of Communist teachers in certain posts. In a letter printed in the April 28 Columbia Daily Spectator, Dr. Lynd declared:

"Until the present year I have held the general position that it is unwise to engage a Catholic or a Communist to teach the social sciences. My reason for this has been that I believe that a teacher should not teach with a bit in his mouth controlled by an organ-

ization able thereby to control what he teaches and omits from his teaching and with a record of exercising such control.

"Today anti-communism is actively fostered as a blanket political weapon, and pressure is brought on educational institutions to dismiss uncritically actual or alleged Communists.

"Under these circumstances, I believe it makes no sense to apply refined criteria to the judgment of Communists' teaching when our American society is attacking them by un-refined, crude methods. I have accordingly changed my stand, and it now is: No teacher should be refused a position or be fired on the basis of his membership in any organization; but hiring or dismissal should be based solely on the basis of his individual competence as a teacher."

Anti-Intellectual Bias Cited by Dr. Condon

Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, warned a meeting of the American Physical Society on April 28 that "there is growing in this country a wave of anti-intellectualism which is violently opposed to free speech and free discussion, unless the views expressed happen to fit its own stereotype."

State legislative "anti-subversive" committees, he said, "are directing their attention to the universities, and to scientists in particular, in a way that is strikingly reminiscent of the wave of anti-intellectualism which formed an early part of the Nazi rise to power in Germany."

"The Nazi formula is being applied here with practically no variation from the way the Nazis were using it just 15 years ago."

Dr. Condon, a government official who was himself a victim of unsubstantiated charges by the House Un-American Committee, did not attack Truman's "loyalty" purge of federal employees or "fairly and competently conducted" investigations of suspected subversive activity.

But he condemned the lengths to which such investigations had gone, and the ridiculousness of the some of the charges made. At his own "loyalty" hearing, for example he was asked about an accusation that he had been "highly critical of the older ideas in physics."

"A recent tour across the country," he continued, "gave shocking evidence of the way in which various state legislative committees are becoming active in attempting to discredit university scientists, merely because a few scientists do entertain minority views."

"It seems to me to be my duty to put before you this warning of the dangers to America of that attack and to urge all of you, in each local community, to give serious attention to the menace to our Constitution of these attempts to 'lynch by label.'"

Bay Area SWP Spokesman Denounces Witch-Hunt Bills

SAN FRANCISCO, April 26 — Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, Robert Chester, Bay Area Organizer, today attacked the Tenney Bills as part of the campaign to set up a full-

scale thought-control system in California. He appeared before a sub-committee of the Board of Supervisors which was considering two bills proposing "loyalty oaths" for all public employees.

At the hearing eleven organizations denounced the bills as well as the Board of Supervisors' action in approving them. All agreed that the bills' main object was to intimidate holding ideas in opposition to the national or state administrations, as well as give broad powers to executive and legislative officers to investigate, hound and discriminate against those who hold "unpopular" beliefs.

The Tenney Bills follow in the footsteps of the Smith Act, Taft-Hartley Act and the government purges; if anything, they go further. State Senator Jack Tenney, a professional red-baiter, has tried for many years to get such legislation passed. Taking his cue from Washington, he feels that his chances are good this year.

SWEEPING BILLS

Senate Bill 132, aimed at minority parties, requires all candidates for public office to sign a loyalty oath. Already passed by the Senate, it is now before the Assembly.

Senate Bill 280 legalizes the witch-hunt against any public employee. It is based on Tom Clark's "subversive" list or any other list compiled by congressional or state committees. Employees and applicants must swear they are not, and in the future will not become, members of any "subversive" organization.

Employees must check on the list of some 150 groups blacklisted by Clark those to which they belonged in the past. This bill is now in committee.

Senate Bill 515 extends the same restrictions to anyone working directly or indirectly on the production of goods, industrial or agricultural, for the U. S. or any department thereof. This can include the majority of the state's industry.

UNITED ACTION URGED

Senate Bill 516 empowers labor organizations to set up their own blacklists. Thus any militant opposition could be termed subversive and expelled. This bill applies to any one who prints, displays or distributes Marxist literature or "who knowingly assembles with a group of persons at which meeting Communism is advocated." Communism is interpreted as a system in which the government holds title to substantially all raw materials, production and distribution facilities.

Among the groups at today's hearing were the AFL and CIO Councils, ACLU, Lawyers Guild, NAACP, American Jewish Congress, Progressive Party and Communist Party.

In his testimony Chester said: "The Socialist Workers Party stands in full solidarity with all other organizations represented here today who are opposed to these measures. We will cooperate fully with them for the defeat of these vicious laws."