

Trumanites Back Police-State Bill In Senate Body

By John G. Wright

In a sudden move the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee, with only a single dissenting vote, reported out a new Mundt Seditious Bill, a streamlined version of the Mundt-Nixon Bill which died in the Senate in the Eightieth Congress and which aroused a nationwide storm of protest.

The most sinister feature of the new attempt to impose thought-control, guilt by association and all the other trappings of a police state upon the people of this country is the action of the Trumanite "Fair Dealers" on the committee who voted in its favor and thus cleared the way for jamming it through the Senate in the course of the current session. The lone vote against was cast by Sen. Langer (R, N.D.).

Ostensibly aimed at the Communist Party, the new Mundt Bill would in reality tear to shreds the Bill of Rights and bury the freedom of the press, speech and all other elementary civil liberties.

CP Goons Assault Meeting in Paris On Yugoslavia

An organized attempt was made by the French Stalinists to break up a meeting in Paris on Feb. 24 at the Palais de la Mutualite where Louis Dalmas, a journalist, spoke under the auspices of the Lenin Circle on his recent visit to Yugoslavia. There were about 300 people in attendance when a group of some 50 Stalinists started their disruptive tactics. They were quickly beaten back by well-organized defense squads and compelled to leave the hall. Dalmas then delivered his talk on "Yugoslavia Today."

The Stalinist daily Humanite carried an account of the Dalmas meeting under the provocative caption "Silence the Titoists!" "The Trotskyist propagandists for the traitor Tito," fumed Humanite, "are deluding themselves if they think they will be able to glorify with impunity the fascist regime now raging in Yugoslavia." Then referring to the Dalmas meeting, the Humanite gangsters boasted of the presence of the "partisans of peace" in the hall and concluded with the thinly veiled threat that it would not "take long" before the Trotskyists were made to understand that the "French people have no love for those who sing eulogies to fascism."

During his visit to Yugoslavia Dalmas interviewed Tito. Full text of this interview appears in the Jan.-Feb. issue of Fourth International, now on sale.

TECHNOLOGICAL GAINS SWELL ARMY OF JOBLESS

Another sharp rise in unemployment was reported for February. The Department of Commerce placed the number of jobless at 4,684,000, or 204,000 above the total in the previous month. This estimate did not include the striking coal miners.

Administration spokesmen are beginning to run out of plausible explanations. In January they blamed the weather, the holidays and the "normal lull." This time Secretary of Commerce Sawyer said the rise in jobless "appears to be due mainly to a seasonal increase in the labor force and not to any cutbacks in employment."

A part of the increase in jobless is unquestionably due to the fact that more and more youth, leaving schools and colleges, are unable to find employment. This new disinherited generation of the youth, a replica of the youth in the Thirties, is one of the chronic conditions characteristic of the existing situation. But another and no less important chronic condition is the rise of technological unemployment.

New plants and new equipment plus intensified speed-up have been stepping up production — to the profit of the corporations and at the expense of the workers. In one of the rare recent studies of growing technological unemployment, the conservative weekly Business Week, March 4, concludes that the rise in productivity last year was "spectacular."

It reports a Midwest manufacturer as having gained 15% to 20% in output per man. "Another ended 1949 with employment 1,600 under and sales volume \$10-million higher — about a 10% shift each way." Similar reports

organizations, along with their members, would have to register, and thereby be liable to persecution. Failure to register would automatically render these organizations and their members outside the law, and equally liable to persecution. All mail and material issued by "subversive" organizations must be labeled as "communist." Members of such organizations would be denied government jobs, passports and the like.

SWEEPING CLAUSE

One section of the Mundt Bill makes it unlawful "for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree with any person to perform any act which substantially contributes to the establishment within the U. S. of a totalitarian dictatorship." This sweeping clause would not only make thought control and guilt by association the established practice. It would also outlaw "any act" which is arbitrarily designated as "subversive," or connected in any way with the propagation of "subversive" views. Elementary trade union activities and Negro struggles would become easy targets under such a law.

Sen. Kilgore, one of the Trumanites who voted favorably for reporting the bill out of the Judiciary Committee, has since announced that he views the bill as a "dangerous proposal" that might be used "against labor."

Sen. Kefauver, another Trumanite, has issued a statement doubting the bill's constitutionality and conceding that it may "violate guarantees of freedom of the press, speech and individual liberty." The other Trumanites on the committee have remained mum.

But their action speaks much louder than their silence or belated "doubts." The reporting of the Mundt Bill out of the committee, with the approval of the Trumanite supporters, can only be construed as an action of the Truman administration itself, which is apparently feeling out the ground before giving the go-ahead signal for this all-out assault on civil rights and eventually on the organized labor movement itself.

The original Mundt-Nixon Bill failed to pass because of the determined opposition of labor and liberal forces. The coalition behind the new Mundt Bill is a far more powerful one than was the case in the Eightieth Congress. All the more determined and systematic must be the mobilization of labor, liberals and all honest defenders of civil rights against this latest and most dangerous assault.

come not only from industry but also agriculture.

Manufacturers agree that the pressure of the "loose labor market" (read: growing unemployment) has aided them greatly in "getting the same production for a lot less man-hours now" (read: speed-up). They are also almost unanimous that "productivity will keep on improving in 1950 and 1951. . . Again it will take fewer workers to turn out the volume of goods and services."

Business Week estimates that last year it took "3% fewer workers to produce" practically the same output as the year before. The actual drop in jobs is obviously far greater than 3% as indicated by the sharp increases in productivity. Business Week dismisses the current situation as "nothing serious." "Only 7% of the labor force was out of work in January — some 4.5 million people." But it concedes that there are some "dangerous" elements in the trend.

Leaving all the other factors aside, the permanent army of unemployed is now being expanded on the one side by the inability of American capitalism to lift production enough to absorb the growing labor force, leaving millions of youth with no prospect of jobs; and on the other side, by the constant rationalization of production which requires fewer and fewer workers to achieve the same and even bigger output, driving workers by the hundreds of thousands into the streets. And this, under conditions of "prosperity."

Vol. XIV - No. 11

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Lewis Urges "Mutual Aid" Pact for Defense of Strikes



Bridges Trial Informer Got OK of CIO Leaders

Mervyn Rathborne, a chief government stoolpigeon against CIO Longshoremen's President Harry Bridges in the latter's perjury-conspiracy trial, testified last week that he was acting as an informer with the blessings of top CIO leaders, including Philip Murray, James Carey and Joseph Curran.

Rathborne, ex-Stalinist and former secretary-treasurer of the California CIO Council, declared on the witness stand under cross-examination that he had consulted the CIO leaders and secured their tacit or open approval before accepting the then-Attorney General Tom Clark's invitation to testify for the government against Bridges.

The government had made repeated unsuccessful attempts to deport the Australian-born Bridges as an alleged member of the Communist Party. He is now being tried on a perjury charge for allegedly falsely swearing he had never belonged to the Communist Party when he received naturalization papers in 1945.

The latest move to victimize him arose last year during the Hawaiian dock strike led by his union.

He accused them of "wallowing in the hazards of atomic warfare," and finally of playing into the hands of the Kremlin.

Only a few weeks ago, it was white-supremacist Rankin who howled against Albert Einstein, defaming him as an "old faker," as a man "simply carrying out the Communist line," when Einstein warned that the Hell-Bomb could mean total annihilation. Now it is clear why the liberals made no outcry against Rankin's slanderous filth. They were waiting only to throw the second stone at the honest men of science.

Plagiarizing the statements of the four scientists, Lilienthal accuses them of "speculating on how to wipe out the earth." Sarcastically he continues, "These fine minds came up with this fine contribution — to transport thirty to sixty million people . . . this is a lot of high intellectual nonsense. It can't be done. It won't be done."

No denial of Rathborne's admissions has come from official CIO sources and the CIO News makes no mention of them. Bridges was a member of the CIO National Executive Board at the time, in October 1948, when Rathborne states he got the OK to rat on Bridges.

Rathborne related an interview he had had with Clark, now a U. S. Supreme Court justice, and Clark's statement that "they wanted to remove the influence of Mr. Bridges and others from the labor movement." Because the CIO had defended Bridges in the previous frame-up attempts, Rathborne decided to get Murray's views before agreeing to testify.

CAREY'S SIGNAL

He visited the CIO headquarters in Washington and in the absence of Murray discussed the matter with Secretary-Treasurer Carey. "Carey said, as far as he was concerned, if the proceedings were conducted properly, he wouldn't consider it an attack against the CIO," Rathborne said. Later Carey told him on the phone that he took the matter up with Murray, who "expressed no opposition at all, that he wasn't for

it, but didn't oppose it." Carey then told Rathborne that he thought it was "all right to follow Mr. Clark's advice."

Rathborne also consulted Joseph Curran, head of the CIO National Maritime Union. "Well, what did Joe Curran do, tell you to do all you could to get him (Bridges)?" the defense lawyer asked. Rathborne denied this. "In any event, he gave the undertaking his blessing?" was the next question. Rathborne testified: "Yes, he did."

FITS INTO CIO PURGE

Rathborne's testimony is the first direct evidence that the CIO leaders have aided and encouraged the witch-hunt prosecution of Bridges. This fits into their own campaign to purge the Stalinists and other opponents of Murray's political policies from the CIO.

Murray had defended Bridges during the war, when the U. S. State Department and the Kremlin were in their honeymoon. That was when the main activity of the Stalinists in the unions was breaking strikes and pushing the speed-up. The Stalinists were no better then, than now. But the State Department's line has changed, and so has Murray's.

The four scientists, in a joint discussion over the University of Chicago Round Table radio program, had pointed out that one Hell-Bomb can destroy, by blast and flame alone, any great city on the globe, including New York. For this reason, they said, the government ought to consider defensive measures and organize a vast migration of industry and population into the interior of the country if it builds the H-Bomb. They were perhaps naive to think the military mind would consider the coastal population worth saving. Lilienthal, with supreme contempt for human life, cynically says "It won't be done."

Actually, however, the four experts in atomic physics held out no hope that even such a vast movement of peoples would be effective. "The dispersal would be of no help at all against the effects of radioactivity" when more powerful H-Bombs are built, they emphasized.

Chief Lesson of Mine Fight -- Need of Joint Labor Action

AN EDITORIAL

Thanks to their extraordinary discipline, courage and endurance, the coal miners have succeeded in flinging back the combined assault of the mine owners, the Big Business class and its government. We cannot commend the miners too highly for their inspiring fight.

But we are mindful, at the same time, of how much sacrifice and suffering the miners and their families had to go through in their long nine-month struggle and how close they came to defeat because they had to confront a host of enemies alone.

Had the rest of organized labor responded with timely all-out supporting action and material aid, the miners would have won a speedy and even more decisive victory. And what is more, the labor movement could have used the miners' battle as a springboard for a giant counter-offensive against the Taft-Hartley Act.

If this tremendous class battle teaches one lesson above all others, it is the need for all labor unions to join unitedly in defense of any section of labor that is under attack from the common enemy.

How to Answer Boss Strategy

That is the lesson which John L. Lewis has correctly drawn. In returning a half-million dollar relief check that the CIO Steel Workers had sent the United Mine Workers, but which the UMW could not use because of the terms of Truman's Taft-Hartley injunction, Lewis proposed to Philip Murray that their two organizations negotiate "a mutual aid pact for common defense, wherein the assets of both organizations, or a stipulated part thereof, would be made available, each to the other, under emergent conditions."

He further proposed to consider "the possible admission of certain other unions that might wish to enjoy the advantage of such a protective arrangement."

To justify his proposal, Lewis explained that "the idea seems increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled one by one. This idea should be knocked in the head." On this, we agree with Lewis 100%.

A Congress of Labor Is Needed

If we have any criticism of Lewis's proposal to implement this, it is that his plan is too limited as to aims and means. Labor must speedily formulate a program for joint action not only to pool financial resources for mutual aid in strikes, but to combine for militant mass action against the Taft-Hartley Act and on every other vital issue facing the working people.

We hail Lewis's proposal as a forward-looking step. And we urge that he initiate a call for a National Congress of Labor, including all bona-fide unions, to lay the basis for a united defense of the labor movement and an aggressive nation-wide fight against the Taft-Hartley Act.

No doubt, the other top labor officials will hem and haw. They are more anxious to collaborate with the corporations and Truman than to strengthen labor for real battle. But the union ranks everywhere will appreciate the need for unified action in labor's defense. It is up to them to take the initiative in pushing the program for a National Congress of Labor.

Lilienthal Rants at Scientists Telling Truth

By Ruth Johnson

David E. Lilienthal, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission and widely touted as a liberal, has joined the pack of reactionary hounds baying at the scientists who dare to tell the truth about the Hell-Bomb.

On March 1 Lilienthal publicly assailed four world famous atomic physicists who had warned that the hydrogen bomb may wipe out all life on earth. These men, Dr. Leo Szilard and Dr. Harrison Brown of the University of Chicago, Dr. Frederick Setz of the University of Illinois, and Dr. Hans A. Bethe of Cornell University, are no fanciful alarmists. All played a key role in developing the atomic bomb. Their warning today grows out of the bitter realization that no one can win an H-Bomb war.

Lilienthal attacks the scientists as "some of the more flamboyant of the scare-the-dopes school."

He accuses them of "wallowing in the hazards of atomic warfare," and finally of playing into the hands of the Kremlin.

Only a few weeks ago, it was white-supremacist Rankin who howled against Albert Einstein, defaming him as an "old faker," as a man "simply carrying out the Communist line," when Einstein warned that the Hell-Bomb could mean total annihilation. Now it is clear why the liberals made no outcry against Rankin's slanderous filth. They were waiting only to throw the second stone at the honest men of science.

Plagiarizing the statements of the four scientists, Lilienthal accuses them of "speculating on how to wipe out the earth." Sarcastically he continues, "These fine minds came up with this fine contribution — to transport thirty to sixty million people . . . this is a lot of high intellectual nonsense. It can't be done. It won't be done."

The present H-Bomb now under construction would not destroy all life "unless a great many hydrogen bombs were exploded," they believe. But, they explained, it is entirely feasible to use a far more highly radioactive substance like cobalt, which, when released by the super-bomb, would "gradually settle out and cover the whole earth with dust."

With such radio-activity no nation could exterminate another without committing suicide.

"We are faced with the possible ironical conclusion," Dr. Brown declared, "that in this respect it becomes easier to kill all the people in the world than just a part of them."

THEY FEAR THE TRUTH

Why should a liberal capitalist like Lilienthal froth at the mouth when such plain truths are told? Why should he label this sober warning as "the extravagant and

sensational picturing of the horrors of atomic warfare?"

The reason is that Lilienthal is completely devoted to capitalism, which can only exist by world domination.

"What good comes from the extravagant and sensational picturing of the horrors of atom warfare?" he asked. No good at all, he answers, because it does not "serve the purpose of scaring the rulers of Russia," who are not "frightened by word pictures." And since he believes that telling the truth does not serve this purpose, he wants it suppressed and those who try to tell it vilified.

The capitalist class — from the foul-mouthed Rankin to slander-spewing liberals like Lilienthal — wants to minimize the terrible fate which they have prepared for the whole world. They are afraid that when the people learn the full truth about this fate, they will act to put an end to the capitalist misrule of society.

MINERS WIN VICTORY BY MILITANCY

By Art Preis

The militant soft coal miners once more have proved there is no substitute for fighting mass action to win gains for labor. By reliance on their own organized strength against the combined powers of the strike-breaking government and the coal operators, the miners have won one of American labor's greatest victories.

Their triumph is two-fold. They smashed through the wage-freeze "pattern" which Truman attempted to impose on the basis of the formula cooked-up by his steel "fact-finding" board last September and which was accepted by Philip Murray and Walter Reuther for the CIO steel and auto workers. And they dealt a damaging blow to the Taft-Hartley Act with their bold and successful defiance of Truman's injunction.

EFFECT ON LABOR

The miners' example may well inspire a new upsurge in the class struggle, after the almost steady succession of retreats led by the top union leaders since passage of the Taft-Hartley Law in June 1947. It will undoubtedly hearten the Chrysler strikers and spur the General Motors workers to a more aggressive fight for their new demands. The miners have shown the kind of methods that will win and the kind of demands that can be won.

The capitalist press, naturally, is trying to belittle the real scope of the miners' triumph. The mouthpieces of Big Business are playing up the great sacrifices which the miners had to make in their long struggle, particularly their loss in wages. But these losses — large as they undoubtedly were — do not compare with what the miners would have lost if the Truman administration and the operators had succeeded in their conspiracy to break the United Mine Workers.

Moreover, as the March 5 N. Y. Times grudgingly concedes, "a good bit of the lost time will be made up" and "a coal strike is different from almost every other kind of strike because much of the elapsed time would have been lost anyway" since the miners normally average only about 200 days' work a year.

SUBSTANTIAL GAINS

But the miners won substantial gains — in fact, about three times as much as Murray accepted for the steel workers last fall and Reuther agreed to in the Ford settlement. First of all, the miners got a 70-cent a day wage increase, despite Truman's steel "fact-finding" wage-freeze. They got another 10-cent a ton increase in their welfare and pension fund, bringing it to 30 cents total. The "package" raise totals between 18 and 20 cents an hour — higher than the CIO unions won even in their "first-round" settlements of 1946.

Moreover, the United Mine Workers has retained the substance of most of the contract clauses which the operators — aided by the "unfair labor practices" injunction secured by Truman's NLRB General Counsel

(Continued on page 2)

N. Y. Witch-Hunt Law Revaliated

Further proof that the courts cannot be depended on to defend civil rights was given on March 8 when the Appellate Division, Third Department, of the New York state courts reversed a previous finding of State Supreme Court Justice Harry E. Schirck and upheld the "constitutionality" of the Feinberg Law. This law, enacted last year by the state legislature, provides for a purge of "subversive" school teachers.

European Notebook

Stalinism and Its New 'Third Period'

By Ernest Germain

The third period of blunders of the Communist International... that was how Leon Trotsky characterized twenty years ago the ultra-leftist and adventurist line adopted by the 10th plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

factions (or rather, cliques) fighting one another fiercely, prone to police provocations, nevertheless chants this slogan proudly to its diminishing number of listeners. "The forces of peace march steadily progress," the Danish CP shouts from the rooftops at the very moment when it has lost for the first time in decades the leadership of the Sailors' Union, key union in the country.

men on Feb. 17 involved less than 50% of the workers in the venture. READY TO STRUGGLE Yet the workers of Western Europe are prepared to struggle whenever they feel that the actions involved serve their own interests. The French general strike called by all the trade union federations last November was an unquestioned success. Everywhere that the united front was effectively put in force among all workers, the strikes succeeded entirely. No cause was so popular among the vanguard dock workers in ports like Rotterdam, Antwerp, Dunkirk — in general to the left of Stalinism — than the refusal to unload any arms whatever, to engage in active struggle against all war preparations.

In 1944-45, when the mass movements in Western Europe had reached their peak; when the bourgeoisie was stripped of all repressive police powers and economic strength; when state power was within reach of armed workers in many countries — Thorez and Togliatti explained that conditions were not ripe for revolutionary struggle. It was first necessary to "rebuild" the (bourgeois) state, to resume production (for the capitalists), to defend (bourgeois) democracy.

De Gasperi's police can get away with murdering workers and poor peasants. Togliatti explains that this merely proves how increasingly fearful the war mongers are of the growing power of the masses. The Paris stock market succeeds again, as in the good old days of the Third Republic, in making and breaking governments, even in forcing the reformists out of power. "The Cabinet crises," proclaims Humanite, perfectly satisfied with the situation, "translate the ever-growing pressure of the popular masses."

But far from trying, wherever possible and with all those who are ready to struggle, to bring about a broad united front of all workers, the Stalinist chiefs of the new third period deepen daily the divisions and dissensions among the workers. It is not enough for them to label the reformist leaders as "agents of the warmongers" and to rattle the bones of the original Third Period by advancing the slogan, "the SFIO [Social-Democrats] is the same as the RPF [Gaullists], Blum is the same as de Gaulle." They find it also necessary to expel, split, isolate their own unions!

Today, thanks to the Stalinist betrayal, the bourgeoisie of Western Europe again have a solid state apparatus at their command. As a result of the aid received from their American uncle, their coffers are once again filled with huge profits. The workers are disoriented, divided, discouraged. The petty bourgeoisie, again disappointed by the labor movement, follows demagogues like de Gaulle or parties directly tied to the strings of Big Business, such as the Catholic parties. Democratic rights, above all the right to strike, are in serious danger.

"Since this pressure is always growing stronger, the struggle can be lifted to a still higher level. The immediate demands must be linked to the struggle for peace and for a government of democratic unity." (That is, economic strikes are to be transformed into semi-insurrectionary political strikes.) Here we have the current Stalinist line in Western Europe. Its logic is impeccable, it is the logic of blindness and betrayal. Actually, the Zhdanov line runs counter, more and more, to the reality of the employers' unemployment.

BUREAUCRATIC METHODS In Marseilles, the Stalinist CGT leaders recently expelled from the CGT all the longshoremen of a union who did not take part in a strike called against the unloading of arms shipments. In Holland, the heads of a Stalinist trade union body replaced in bureaucratic fashion the leadership of a seamen's union with their own hand-picked stooges, thus risking the expulsion of the whole union from the central body. In Rotterdam, they set up a "Committee for Peace" whose sole task is to wage war against independent and Trotskyist trade unionists. In Belgium, the Stalinists handed the miners the slogan to "boycott" the elections for shop committees (that is, not to vote for union candidates, against the employers' agents). And so on and so forth.

THE "ZHDANOV LINE" Such is the moment chosen by the master-strategists of the Cominform to proclaim political strikes, to throw the vanguard workers in small units against motorized police armed to the teeth, to put on the agenda a policy of "permanent offensive." Is it any wonder that in these circumstances many Communist militants are opening their eyes to the absurdity of such tactics, and that for the first time in a long while there again exist organized opposition groups inside many CP's?

DISASTROUS EFFECTS It thus becomes each day a little more difficult to reforge the unity of the proletarian front, even in the struggle for immediate economic demands. To launch political struggles at such a stage is the surest way to isolate the vanguard from the masses, the organized workers from those workers who turn their back on all organizations. And to launch such battles in ultimistic fashion, around slogans reflecting solely the needs of the Kremlin and not the immediate concerns of the workers is to sow confusion and disorder even among those workers who still follow the CP, constantly increasing the number of those dropping out of activity.

The sectarianism, adventurism and ultra-leftism, that characterize the present line of the Stalinist leaders is occasionally combined with remnants of opportunism, always spiced with the nationalism that has become an indispensable ingredient in all Stalinist dishes. Thus, in Western Germany the new heroes of the third period denounced the reformist leader Schumacher as a "Nazi-American agent."

The third period of post-war crimes by the Stalinist leadership has its theoretical basis in the "Zhdanov line." In his main report to the first conference of the Cominform, Zhdanov characterized our epoch as an epoch of continuous struggle between "the camp of the forces of peace, led by the Soviet Union" and the "camp of the imperialist warmongers." He concluded that the warmongers would lose out as the camp of the forces of peace grew continually stronger. This idea was never absent from a single issue of the bizarre journal of the Cominform, which has succeeded in distilling the quintessence of the monotonous Stalinist style.

That is what explains the pitiful failure of "the battle of the ports," unleashed several months ago by the Stalinists in Western Europe. Longshoremen and seamen, even though they comprise the trade union organizations most firmly controlled by the Stalinist machine, did not obey the order to strike against unloading of North Atlantic Pact arms. With the exception of some Italian ports, such as Genoa and Leghorn, only a minority of workers struck. And the nation-wide moves like the 24-hour general strike of French miners and railway

At the same time, they appeal to the real Nazis to join with them in the "National Front" and they make agreements from time to time, on a local level, for electoral deals with the Social Democrats, deals which are the worst examples of a "united front exclusively from above." Here even the logic of betrayal is lacking. But that does not make this policy any the less harmful to the European labor movement.

RICIDULOUS CLAIMS "The peace front grows stronger from day to day" — all the CP of Norway, having lost all its 13 seats in Parliament, split in two

Lewis' Weak Point -- Politics

By Joseph Keller

John L. Lewis shows his strong side in the conduct of union struggles for miners' wages and working conditions. He is aggressive, fearless and a master strike tactician. In this sphere, he stands head and shoulders above all other top labor leaders in America today.



JOHN L. LEWIS

But when it comes to more fundamental problems of the miners and American labor generally — the problems of unemployment and insecurity — he displays a fatal weakness. He has no real grasp of the nature of capitalist economy and hence no effective program for solution of the long-range problems it poses.

This is expressed in his attitude toward politics and the question of labor's political activity. Here Lewis reveals a backwardness, an actual ignorance, that is truly astounding in a man of his capacities and long experience in the labor movement.

'This is expressed in his attitude toward politics and the question of labor's political activity. Here Lewis reveals a backwardness, an actual ignorance, that is truly astounding in a man of his capacities and long experience in the labor movement.

LEWIS' ANSWER Krock asked Lewis: "With the British example in mind, do you still oppose the formation of American labor into a political party?" Lewis replied: "Let us begin with the example of Great Britain. The population there is sitting on a coal deposit which, if taken from the earth by modern methods, would solve the economic problem of the British. But first British management made the mistake of letting obsolescence weaken the industry. And then British labor made the mistake of becoming a political party and using the political in-

labor costs and speeding up production, but it surely is not an argument for safeguarding the jobs of American miners. Least of all is it an argument for limiting the American labor struggle to the strictly economic sphere.

WHAT EFFECTS? How have the American miners been made more secure, how have they benefited in any fundamental way by the fact that since 1929 the rationalization and mechanization introduced by the coal operators, particularly the subsidiaries of the big steel corporations, have cut the number of employed soft coal miners from more than 700,000 to 370,000? And what permanent security and decent living standards do these 370,000 now have, in spite of higher wage rates and other benefits won by their great strikes?

THE REAL OBJECTION But, due to the false policies and compromises of the British labor leadership, the British workers have not been permitted to carry through this measure to the end. The owners are given government bonds which pay them huge interest that drains the resources of the industry. Workers control has not been instituted; instead the old capitalist managers still dominate — and sabotage — the operations of the industry. That is why the British coal industry cannot be properly modernized to the advantage of

the British miners and of the greater competition of coal exports from Britain, among other places, forces more and more reductions in the number of American coal miners? What security will the miners have as the industry becomes ever more rationalized and mechanized? The British workers have made a step toward a fundamental solution of this problem, a step which they could take only because they have built their own party and have put that party in power. They have nationalized the coal industry and removed it from immediate control by the parasitic mine owners.

But, due to the false policies and compromises of the British labor leadership, the British workers have not been permitted to carry through this measure to the end. The owners are given government bonds which pay them huge interest that drains the resources of the industry. Workers control has not been instituted; instead the old capitalist managers still dominate — and sabotage — the operations of the industry. That is why the British coal industry cannot be properly modernized to the advantage of

the British miners and of the greater competition of coal exports from Britain, among other places, forces more and more reductions in the number of American coal miners? What security will the miners have as the industry becomes ever more rationalized and mechanized? The British workers have made a step toward a fundamental solution of this problem, a step which they could take only because they have built their own party and have put that party in power. They have nationalized the coal industry and removed it from immediate control by the parasitic mine owners.

LEWIS' ANSWER Krock asked Lewis: "With the British example in mind, do you still oppose the formation of American labor into a political party?" Lewis replied: "Let us begin with the example of Great Britain. The population there is sitting on a coal deposit which, if taken from the earth by modern methods, would solve the economic problem of the British. But first British management made the mistake of letting obsolescence weaken the industry. And then British labor made the mistake of becoming a political party and using the political in-

But, due to the false policies and compromises of the British labor leadership, the British workers have not been permitted to carry through this measure to the end. The owners are given government bonds which pay them huge interest that drains the resources of the industry. Workers control has not been instituted; instead the old capitalist managers still dominate — and sabotage — the operations of the industry. That is why the British coal industry cannot be properly modernized to the advantage of

the British miners and of the greater competition of coal exports from Britain, among other places, forces more and more reductions in the number of American coal miners? What security will the miners have as the industry becomes ever more rationalized and mechanized? The British workers have made a step toward a fundamental solution of this problem, a step which they could take only because they have built their own party and have put that party in power. They have nationalized the coal industry and removed it from immediate control by the parasitic mine owners.

Miners Win Big Victory With Militant Methods

(Cont. from page 1)

Denham — had tried to eliminate. The union shop remains in effect, unless a future court decision rules it out. Administration of the welfare and pension fund remains under union control. The only significant compromise the UMW made was on the "able and willing" clause, which was designed to protect the union from damage suits in the event of allegedly "illegal" strikes. But in its place the soft-coal contract contains a similarly-designed but differently-worded clause — the "good faith" and "mutual understanding" provision that was written into the last hard coal contract.

desperate to end the strike, particularly because it was stirring up tremendous support from auto, steel and other workers. Had harsher means failed to quell the miners, the government would have stood utterly discredited, its authority badly shattered. This was a risk the government dared not take. Judge Keech's decision, therefore, was a token to the miners that they finally had the operators and the government on the run. The huge coal stockpiles had at last been reduced to where the mine owners, especially the steel corporations, were beginning to squeal.

the start, nevertheless the operators had assurances that he would eventually use the Taft-Hartley Act in their favor. This he did last month by invoking two Taft-Hartley injunctions, which bolstered the operators' resistance for several more weeks. But the miners would not break the knee to government strike-breaking. Lewis had brushed aside Truman's tricky offer of "fact-finding." The miners, acting strictly on their own, boldly defied the Slave Labor Law and spat on Truman's T-H injunctions. Where 100,000 were on strike the day before Judge Keech issued the restraining order, 370,000 were out the day after. And they stayed out even though Lewis, compelled to formally comply with the injunction, instructed them to return.

THE JUDGE'S DECISION The climax of what John L. Lewis called the UMW's "Marengo campaign" (after the long and drawn-out battle at Marengo, Italy, in 1800 when the French under Napoleon defeated the Austrians) came at the hearing on "contempt" charges before Federal Judge Keech. All past experience indicated that the judge would automatically find the UMW "guilty" and impose a ruinous fine. But he acquitted the union for lack of evidence proving the UMW officials had not complied in "good faith" with the judge's injunction, which ordered them to instruct the miners to end their walkout.

THE "SEIZURE" BILL It was at this point that Truman made his final move to pull some of the operators' chestnuts out of the fire. He hastened to announce that he was introducing a mine "seizure" bill in Congress to smash the strike if it was not immediately settled. His bill provided for "fair compensation" to the owners, but prohibited the government from making any contract with the union. It was an out-and-out strikebreaking measure on the face of it.

WHO WON IT The papers say this is merely a "victory for Lewis." This is false. It was a victory, above all, for the miners. They themselves forced the fight and carried it through. It was the merit of Lewis — unlike most other union leaders — that he stuck by his men, did not break their strike on government orders and did not give away their demands at the conference table in order to make a quick settlement.

Let no one think that Judge Keech was motivated by a strict love of justice in making his verdict. Had the miners given any sign that they would have returned to the pits under pressure of a "contempt" conviction and heavy penalties, the judge undoubtedly would have thrown the book at them. But it was clear that punitive measures might have only hardened the miners and prolonged the strike. Moreover, the government was

Above everything else, the miners have shown what tremendous reserves of power lie in organized labor. If 370,000 miners could hold out and win against the combined forces of the capitalist class and government, what could not the 15-million organized workers of America accomplish if they were united on an independent fighting program to combat monopoly capitalism in both the economic and political fields? Before the invincible might of labor, the power of the capitalists would crumble overnight. The American workers could take the whole of society in their own hands and remold it into anything they desire.

TRUMAN'S ROLE Truman blamed "both" the miners and owners for the hold-out. But Truman himself encouraged the operators to stall for nine months against the union's just demands. If, for reasons of political expediency, he did not move directly against the miners from

Auto Union Relief Caravan Hailed in Coal Mining Town

By F. Forest

PURSGLOVE, W. Va., March 6 — There was jubilation in Pursglove today. Willis Massey, chairman of the Miners Relief Committee, got word from Tommy Thompson, president of UAW Ford Local 600, that a food caravan from Detroit auto workers was on its way to West Virginia miners. Immediately Massey, "Happy" Condyck, Joe Kuhn and their wives left to intercept the food truck at Washington, Pa., and escort it into West Virginia.

THE UNION SPIRIT "It is true," he continued, "that the treasury, the building and all worldly goods that the union possesses could be confiscated by a Taft-Hartley government. But what they cannot confiscate is our spiritual union. And that is because the spirit of unionism and labor solidarity is not only in us as a group but is in every individual miner. What is in the soul of every miner no one can take away, no one can break." He closed by stressing the labor solidarity evident here in the help of the auto workers. "Our victory shows what can be done when we fight together."

At the same time other UMW members began to decorate Dallas Hall to welcome this food relief from their fellow workers. The West Virginia University Students for Miners Relief offered to paint the signs. These were ready when the caravan arrived, and read: "Welcome Food Caravan," "United Labor Can Lick the Taft-Hartley Law," "UMW and UAW Fight Together," "UMW District 31 Miners Greet Brother Thompson, President UAW Local 600." Meanwhile word spread quickly in "The Run" and 100 miners and their wives filed into the hall. Tommy Thompson had to return to Detroit immediately but three UAW committeemen, Archie Occacia, Joe Hogan and William Hood, remained to celebrate with the miners.

The audience cheered. The morale of these miners who had just won their contract fight against the operators was raised higher by the display of labor solidarity. They cheered the representatives of the auto workers, and took them on a tour of the mining community. There were no bands and no fanfare, just a simple showing of worker to worker of where and how he lives and of the why of their constant struggle against the greedy operators. The auto workers will have a story to take back to their fellow workers in Detroit which will further cement the labor unity of the two great bodies of organized labor.

GIVE THANKS When the meeting was called to order, the miners decided to honor the auto workers by electing one of them, William Hood, to act as chairman of their meeting. The first to speak was Archie Occacia. He spoke of labor solidarity "not only of the miners and the auto workers, but of the whole CIO and AFL. There is need for the whole laboring class to stick together. If you hurt my brother, you hurt me. If the operators had beaten the UMW, it would have destroyed all organized labor since the UMW is the strongest union in our country."

When miners cheered the 12 tons of food that the auto workers had sent, and a check for \$1,000 from UAW Local 600, and another for \$333 from Local 155, Joe Hogan rose to say that the auto workers didn't come "to get thanks from the miners, but to GIVE thanks to the miners for their splendid fight" which had helped not only themselves but the whole labor movement.

When the meeting was called to order, the miners decided to honor the auto workers by electing one of them, William Hood, to act as chairman of their meeting. The first to speak was Archie Occacia. He spoke of labor solidarity "not only of the miners and the auto workers, but of the whole CIO and AFL. There is need for the whole laboring class to stick together. If you hurt my brother, you hurt me. If the operators had beaten the UMW, it would have destroyed all organized labor since the UMW is the strongest union in our country."

When miners cheered the 12 tons of food that the auto workers had sent, and a check for \$1,000 from UAW Local 600, and another for \$333 from Local 155, Joe Hogan rose to say that the auto workers didn't come "to get thanks from the miners, but to GIVE thanks to the miners for their splendid fight" which had helped not only themselves but the whole labor movement.

SEATTLE — For information, write P.O. Box 1243. BOSTON — Workers' Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month. PITTSBURGH — 424 Summit Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO — 166 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312. Tel. 2-4763. HARTFORD — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone 7-8227. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. NEW YORK CITY (City) — 116 University Place, Phone GE 5-8149. NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University Place, Phone GE 5-8149. PHOENIX — 1305-05 W. Grand Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening. PITTSBURGH — 1415 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m. ST. LOUIS — For information, phone PR 5505. SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore. TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3. WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information, write P.O. Box 654, Worcester. YOUNGSTOWN — 231 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Cochran's Tour

Table with columns for location, date, and time. Locations include Buffalo, Flint, Detroit, Toledo, Milwaukee, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Seattle, San Francisco-Oakland, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, New York, Philadelphia, Newark.

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor": Buffalo Mar. 16-17 Flint " 18-19 Detroit " 20-25 Toledo " 26 Milwaukee " 28 Chicago " 29-31 Minneapolis-St. Paul Apr. 1-4 Seattle " 5-8 San Francisco-Oakland " 9-12 Los Angeles " 15-20 St. Louis " 22 Cleveland " 23-24 Akron " 25 Youngstown " 26-27 Pittsburgh " 28 New York " 30 Philadelphia " 2-3 Newark " 6

WORLD REPORT

In the latest issue of Fourth International, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, just off the press: CHINA — C. L. Liu, veteran Chinese Trotskyist, reports from Macao, the Portuguese island colony off the south coast of China, on recent developments in the Chinese peasant revolution. Bitter opposition to the Stalinists has already appeared, he declares. Having driven the hated Kuomintang regime off the mainland, the peasants now want to harvest the full fruits of their great victory. But the Stalinists, dedicated to protecting and preserving capitalist property relations, are doing their utmost to halt the revolution. Liu analyzes the character of the Stalinist coalition government and shows why it is headed for a new stormy crisis.

agreement "will not be smooth. . . Violent social and political struggles are on the order of the day in Indonesia." ITALY — Ernest Germain reports on a new stage of the class struggle in Italy. Both the Communist Party and the Social Democratic movement are hard hit by acute crises that open up favorable opportunities for the development of a mass revolutionary socialist party. In the countryside peasants are staking out squatters' claims on big estates. In the cities workers answer mass lay-offs by taking over factories and trying to continue production. What is needed to make such progressive moves a full success? Under the heading, "The Art of the General Strike," Germain suggests some effective measures that would speed the Italian working people along the road to victory over capitalist reaction.

Communist Party? Read the answers in this on-the-scene report. YUGOSLAVIA — "An Interview with Tito." The full text of Marshal Tito's answers to searching questions submitted by the French journalist, Louis Dalmas. The editor of Fourth International in an accompanying note indicates the attitude of the Trotskyist movement toward the positions taken by Tito. ARSENAL OF MARXISM — An illuminating letter by Leon Trotsky on the peasant war in China makes timely reading 18 years after it was sent to the Chinese Trotskyists. Trotsky's great foresight once again has been confirmed by events of the day that seem almost modelled to illustrate his profound explanations of the course of the class struggle.

INDONESIA — Is Indonesia really independent? T. Van Der Kolk, writing from Amsterdam, Holland, discusses the role of Dutch and American imperialism in strife-torn Java. The Hague agreement, recognizing the "independence" of Indonesia, bears the trademark, Made in USA, Van Der Kolk demonstrates. In his opinion, the application of this

FRANCE — Pierre Frank probes the deepening political crisis in post-war France. Will the capitalists succeed in imposing de Gaulleism on the French people without de Gaulle? How powerful are the Stalinists? What is the meaning of the secret faction in the

4th INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. Send me a copy of Fourth International featuring "World Report." Enclosed is 25 cents. Name _____ Street _____ City _____ State _____ Zone _____

Fewer Medical Students Now Than 45 Years Ago

Despite the great shortage of doctors, fewer students were enrolled and graduated from medical school in this country last year than 45 years ago. Although the U. S. population today is almost twice as great, figures released by a committee of the American Conference of Academic Deans showed only 79 medical schools, 23,670 students and 5,094 students in 1945 as compared with 160 medical schools, 26,147 students and 5,606 graduates 45 years ago. Approximately three out of every four qualified pre-medical students cannot become doctors because of the restrictions and quotas imposed by the powerful American Medical Association.

Flint "Outlook for Labor in 1950"

Socialist Workers Party Hall 215 East Ninth Street Sunday, 7 PM March 19

Brooklyn The Tito-Stalin Conflict

Friday, 8:30 PM March 17 — PITKIN MANOR 1625 Pitkin Avenue (near Hopkinson), Brooklyn

Subscriptions: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per yr.; \$2 for 6 mos.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9339)
 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
 Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XIV - No. 11 Monday, March 13, 1950



TROTSKY

... it is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions. On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of 'order' in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist power.

—Leon Trotsky, Third International After Lenin, 1928.



LENIN

Bureaucratic Bankruptcy Exposed

The miners have done more than defeat the mine owners and their government agents. They have exposed the bankrupt policies of all those union leaders, like Philip Murray and Walter Reuther, who have opposed militant methods of union struggle and have urged the workers to depend on the "favors" of capitalist politicians like Truman.

Murray ran to Truman last summer and begged for a "fact-finding" board so he wouldn't have to lead the steel workers in a real fight. Truman's board handed the steel workers a solid wage freeze, with a small sop by way of welfare and pension funds that cost the steel corporations between six and eight cents an hour — and the steel workers had to strike six weeks anyway to get even that. Reuther stuffed an even worse deal down the Ford workers' throats.

Compare this with what the miners have just won by refusing to kowtow to the government and beg favors of Truman, by defying the Taft-Hartley Act and fighting every inch of the way. They not only won more than the steel and Ford workers got for welfare and pensions — a 10-cent per ton increase in royalty payments on top of the 20 cents they already were receiving — but they got a real wage increase amounting to between eight and ten cents an hour.

These other union leaders, unlike John L. Lewis, bowed before the Taft-Hartley Act and shamefully signed their names to yellow-dog Taft-Hartley affidavits. They sold their unions politically

to Truman in hopes of getting small favors in return. But all they got for the workers was the back of Truman's hand — some 61 Taft-Hartley injunctions in less than two years and the steel "fact-finding" formula of wage freezes and "dead men's" pensions.

While the Murrays and Reuthers cringed before the Taft-Hartley Act, the miners, led by Lewis, fought the Slave Labor Law tooth and nail. They defied Truman's injunction and smashed it. And they wrestled from the operators nearly three times as much as Murray and Reuther got by licking Truman's boots.

Of course, we can expect the Murrays and Reuthers to tell us now how Truman tried to "help" the miners, how he stalled off his use of the Taft-Hartley Law as long as possible, etc., etc. But the fact is that the coal operators would have capitulated long ago if it hadn't been for their expectation that Truman would eventually intervene in their behalf. He didn't disappoint them. And he got no little assist from the Murrays and Reuthers who have kept silent on Truman's strikebreaking.

Had the CIO leaders followed the method of Lewis and the miners it is safe to say the CIO members would have won far more substantial wage and pension gains last fall and the miners themselves would not have had to suffer such a prolonged struggle. And if the whole labor movement now followed the example of the miners in mass defiance of the Taft-Hartley Act, that infamous law would be effectively smashed in record time.

The Wallaceite Sickness

Everybody, including the Stalinists who pretend otherwise, knows that the Progressive Party is sick and dying. Its second convention was not a meeting of people with confidence in its future; on the contrary, it was a demoralized gathering, and when it ended the delegates knew that, despite all the hoopla, its future would be even more difficult and unpromising than its past.

The state of the party can be gauged by the fact that the main achievement of the convention was a behind-the-scenes deal between the leaders of the liberal and Stalinist wings over such issues as Yugoslavia, civil rights and 1950 electoral policy which prevented a split in the organization.

This would be bad enough for a party which started out with such high hopes and optimism less than two years ago; but added to that is the fact that everybody at the convention sensed that the unity achieved there is highly tenuous.

The reasons for the deal are plain enough: The Stalinists are so discredited today, especially in the labor movement, that they need a front with some respectable leaders through which they can carry on the activity which is their main reason for existence — that is, attempts to secure a deal between U. S. imperialism and the Kremlin bureaucracy. The Wallaceites, on the other hand, have been so isolated from their former supporters that they simply don't have the forces to run a party by themselves. That is why each side still has need of the other, and is willing to make concessions in return for the use they can make of each other.

But the forces separating them are much more powerful and will surely prevail in the long run. The Stalinist leaders are conscious agents of the Kremlin; the Wallaceite liberals owe their allegiance, more or less consciously, to U. S. capitalism, critical though they may be of some of its policies. When a showdown comes between Moscow and Washington, and in many individual cases before then, the Wallaceites will break with the Stalinists and go over to the Fair Dealers.

The split has been postponed for the time being — no one now knows for how long. But both wings know that it is inevitable, and it is this knowledge that benumbs and paralyzes the Progressive Party today, even while its leaders are going through the motions of celebrating their "unity."

Why No Action on Unemployment?

On the front page of this issue our readers will find figures and facts relating to the forces which are now inexorably feeding unemployment. It has grown by leaps and bounds for almost a year, until some 5 million are now admittedly without jobs. This official figure is a flagrant under-estimation. Actually there are at least a million more jobless and, barring an immediate outbreak of war, their number is bound to increase.

Just when will the official leaders of the labor movement start advocating effective steps, for example the institution of the 30-hour week with no decrease in weekly wages, to combat this terrible danger?

From all indications, these labor leaders still remain as unconcerned about the problem of unemployment as "Fair Dealer" Truman himself, who recently diagnosed the situation as altogether "healthy."

Contrast this do-nothing attitude and pollyanna twaddle with the words and actions of such a prominent figure as Sewell L. Avery, chairman of both the U. S. Gypsum Co. and the mail order giant of Montgomery Ward & Co. He has told the Gypsum shareholders that the time to

prepare for "the thing that hit us in 1929" is right now!

That is why both his companies, in the face of increasing "sales and earnings" have been amassing vast liquid reserves of "the same type" that enabled them to "earn money and pay dividends regularly" through the depression of the Thirties and will prepare them "now for the thing that is going to come."

Avery said flatly, "I am becoming more and more convinced momentarily that it is not far away." Whether his forecast is right or wrong, the fact remains that Avery is not a chance individual, he personifies a class, whose interests he serves and in whose behalf he speaks and acts. In any case, his companies are prepared, and, while other corporation heads may not say so quite frankly, they too are busily piling up their cash reserves.

And unemployment isn't something "that is going to come." It is here already. Not in its worst aspects, to be sure. But it is already so acute as to cry out for action. When all the Averys "prepare," isn't it high time for the labor leaders to make some preparations too in the interests of those whom they are supposed to serve?

Laborite Chiefs Try to Straddle Vital Issues

By Paul G. Stevens

The new Labor Party government intends to pursue a cautious course, balancing itself between the pressures exerted by the working class on one side and the capitalists on the other. It expects, as the elections indicated, a mounting political crisis on top of the economic crisis that has become the normal feature of post-war British life. As a result, the reconstructed Attlee cabinet's main line is that of holding itself in readiness for social emergencies.

This much becomes clear from the "Speech from the Throne," the King's address at the opening of the new Parliament on March 6. According to the mumbo-jumbo tradition of the constitutional monarchy that the Laborites have left untouched, the "Speech" is usually ghost-written by the Prime Minister and is actually a statement of government policy.

The Tories were quick to press their advantage in the Commons — with the reduced Labor majority — by demanding that the government shelve the bill to nationalize the steel industry, passed at the previous session, which is to take effect next October.

ATTLEE'S REPLY

Attlee's reply for the government was that it would continue "in the same spirit and in the same principles as we have during the last four and a half years." Several days previously, within the parliamentary caucus of the Labor Party, there had been an outburst by Michael Foot, Richard Crossman and others identified with the government's "extremist" Minister of Health Aneurin Bevan, demanding a defiant continuation of the party's full-fledged nationalization program.

According to reports, the Bevan opposition was quickly "persuaded" by the party leaders to desist from pressing their point, in view of the slim Laborite margin in Parliament. Attlee's remarks about spirit and principles were obviously a face-saving sop for this opposition.

On the crucial practical question of the steel industry, Attlee was more apologetic in his tone. "There is nothing to be done in the matter of iron and steel immediately," he said, "as that statute is on the statute book and our purpose is to give effect to acts passed by Parliament." He thus confirmed, by indirection as in the case of the King's speech, that the Laborites had no intention of pushing further nationalization.

But, his resort to the legal status of the steel bill shows that the reformist leadership is equally reluctant to actually reverse a nationalization measure that has already been taken. They do not want to antagonize the capitalists (whose views they gratuitously ascribe to the "middle class") but they are also afraid of arousing their working class base against themselves. They would like best, naturally, to stand pat.

WORKERS' PRESSURE

But the capitalist pressure is only half the picture. The working class pressure, only weakly reflected by the Bevan and Crossmans — who can be appeased by a few elevations in cabinet rank or other personal shifts — is just as powerful.

Even as the new Parliament was meeting, a renewed wave of wage claims and strikes was beginning. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, representing 37 unions and 750,000 members, was conducting a strike vote for a \$2.80 a week raise. Railway union delegates were meeting to decide on action upon the rejection of a wage increase for 140,000 of their

lower-paid workers. An unofficial strike of 1,000 workers at the De-Havilland aircraft plant in Hatfield set out to prevent piece work. 1,100 workers, out for three weeks at the Crossley auto factory in Stockport, were joined in a sympathy strike by 146,000 metal workers in the area, in a protest against layoffs and discrimination against shop stewards.

THE ELECTION VERDICT

Another 1,500 workers were out on strike on the London docks against the discharge of one of their fellows. Civil Service employees were sending delegations to the Treasury to demand reopening of wage scales. The Trade Union Council itself, through a sub-committee, issued a call for an investigation of the aircraft manufacture, machine tools, generating machinery and locomotive industries, as to their suitability for nationalization. Obviously, the British workers do not take the election verdict to mean the need of a retreat.

The "Speech," after noting that the government proposes only a limited program of legislation for the present session, also said: "Nevertheless, should other measures prove in their [the government's] view to be immediately necessary for the maintenance of full employment and the national well-being, my Ministers will not hesitate to submit them to Parliament even though they may seem likely to prove contentious."

In other words, Attlee and Co., while unwilling to introduce legislation offensive to the Tories, are leaving the door open, in case the workers' pressure grows strong enough, to propose emergency measures that may result in a parliamentary fight. In reality, the political struggle in Britain thus becomes more and more an issue that is going to be decided by direct mass action.

YUGOSLAVIA AND THE WALLACEITE CONVENTION

By George Breitman

Yugoslavia "is an internal problem of Eastern Europe, not of the Progressive Party." This was the so-called "compromise" position agreed on by top leaders of the Progressive Party, including the Stalinist and non-Stalinist wings, who met to work out a deal on the controversial issues facing that organization prior to its second convention in Chicago last month.

They did not dare to state their position so plainly at the Chicago gathering, however. Formally, the convention did not have a thing to say about Yugoslavia's fight for independence from the Kremlin. They tried to sidestep it, but like all burning issues it would not permit them to do so; it hovered over the convention like a specter, confronting them on every side and mocking their "agreement" that it was no problem of theirs. Their attempts to ignore it were unavailing for their very silence on this question was more eloquent than all the convention speeches and resolutions put together.

Here was the Progressive Party trying to stage a comeback by reiterating its claim to be a consistent fighter for peace and equality. But what radical worker, student or intellectual can now honestly believe this claim after seeing how this party has turned its back on the genuinely progressive Yugoslav struggle for independence? Who now will accept the pretense that the Wallaceites are motivated by principle rather than expediency when they have said in effect that Stalin's crimes in Eastern Europe have no importance for the rest of the world?

Here was Henry Wallace, characterizing the United States and the Soviet Union as "the two big brutes of the world." But what was the value of such a statement when he could not find a half minute in his hour-long convention speech to urge support for the country that is resisting the pressure of both these brutes?

BOTH WINGS EXPOSED THEMSELVES

Here were the Wallaceite liberals who had made a big noise about their intention of asserting their independence of Stalinism, and who succeeded in getting the convention to declare that the Progressives "are not apologists for Russia." But of what use are such abstract assertions unless they are accompanied by concrete measures of support for the country whose very existence is menaced by Stalinism? And how much reliance can be put in the ability of these liberals to continue resistance to the tremendous pressure of imperialism here at home when they cannot successfully resist the pressure of even the discredited Stalinists on such a clear-cut issue as Yugoslavia?

The Stalinist leaders exposed themselves too. Why didn't they fight for their real position — the crushing of Yugoslavia and its subjection by the Kremlin? To their members they rationalized the convention deal on Yugoslavia as a necessary measure to prevent a split in the Progressive Party. But the truth is they know that even if the liberals would not walk out, the adoption by the convention of the real Stalinist position on Yugoslavia would utterly destroy the effectiveness of the Progressive Party as a front organization. Their premise — and it is correct — is that nobody in the world but the Stalinists and abject Stalinist stooges support the Kremlin position on Yugoslavia. Their eagerness to arrange a deal on Yugoslavia constitutes a tacit admission of the untenability, unpopularity and indefensibly reactionary nature of their policy on Yugoslavia.

The Record of Stalinist Treachery in China

By Li Fu-jen

To a large extent Jack Belden does an excellent job in uncovering and identifying the social and economic factors animating the events which he relates. And, as I acknowledged previously, the reportorial parts of his China Shakes the World leave little to be desired. He dissects the Kuomintang and its leading personalities, and Chinese society as a whole, with the sharp scalpel of class analysis and lays bare the mainsprings of the mass revolutionary action which marked a new stage in the continuing permanent Chinese revolution. His chapters depicting the internal rot, the break-up, and finally the dissolution of Chiang Kai-shek's monstrous regime rank as first rate political and historical material.

Yet somehow he misses the point of it all. In the summing-up, as it were, he fails utterly to comprehend the over-all political significance of events or to understand Stalinist policies. His book thus falls short of being a great social and political work. In fact it is marred by terrible confusion and downright error. The basic reason for this is that Belden is not a conscious and consistent Marxist and is therefore without a political compass.

ATTITUDE TO MARXISM

The venerable Freud once chided his opponents, the psychiatrists, by saying that they warmed their pot of soup at his fire, but refused to acknowledge his hospitality. So it is with Belden. Throughout he displays a disdain for Marxism, while at the same time employing the methods of Marxism to analyze Chinese society and explain the events which he so graphically describes. Nowhere does he seem to be aware that it was Marxism, as a system of ideas, that furnished him the clues to an understanding of social phenomena.

Where did he get his ideas on the role of imperialism in China if not from such Marxists as Lenin and Trotsky? Where did he learn to use the method of class analysis to uncover the dynamics of a great revolutionary upheaval, if not from Marx and the Marxists? Without any credit at all to the author, he has lifted passages from Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution and used them as his own interpretive material on China with alterations so scant that their original source is at once obvious to anyone well-acquainted with Trotsky's writings.

Yet for Marxism he has only slighting references, each one compounded of ignorance and error. The "proletarianization of nearly the entire Chinese people" due to the "collision of the capitalist, West and the feudal East," he tells us, "proceeded not along any narrow Marxian path." Since he does not offer any explanation for this slur, we are entitled to question him.

Where and when did Marxism prescribe any "path," narrow or broad, for the process he refers to? And what is there that is "narrow" about a social, economic and political science which has stood the test of a century, and to which Belden himself instinctively turned, though without acknowledgement, when writing his book?

CONFUSION ON STALINISM

Where he deals with the Stalinist program for China, Belden displays the confusionism common to all anti-Marxists navigating in rough political waters without benefit of a reliable compass. He notes the divergence of this program from "original Marxist theory," but considers that the Stalinists were compelled by the "objective conditions of Chinese society" to "come to terms with the devil of private property." Experience indicated the need to concentrate their attack against "feudalism" by means of land reform and taught them "the wisdom of going slow." So slow, in fact, that Mao Tse-tung has proclaimed the postponement of the socialist revolution for a hundred years. Meanwhile, there has been a retreat even from the land reform.

Belden, approving this brazen flight from the struggle for a new society, asserts that it was the "almost dogmatic faith" of the Chinese Communists in the objective of the proletarian socialist revolution, and the attempt to realize it, that "led to the defeat of Chinese Marxism twenty years ago." Following this, Mao Tse-tung "waged a constant struggle" to uproot all this nonsense from the thoughts of his followers.

THE SECOND REVOLUTION

With a more conscientious regard for historical truth, Belden would have studied the events of 1927 (the record is ample and available) and discovered that it was not Chinese Marxism which suffered defeat and brought the Second Chinese Revolution crashing in ruins, but Stalinist opportunism — the same kind of miserable compromise and retreat that Mao and his cohorts are practicing today — except that conscious treachery to the revolution now takes the place of opportunist mistakes.

Like the disdain he shows for Marxism, a constant denigration of the Chinese working class as a revolutionary political force runs like a leit motif through Belden's book. The Marxists are just all wrong in contending that

the peasantry can play a leading, independent role in the revolution and this is being proved in China. The city proletariat is just of no account. It was "too weak" in 1927 "to play the role the Russian proletariat did in the Russian Revolution. On this hard rock the Chinese Communist party, in fact, the whole Marxist world, cracked its head more than once before it learned any wisdom."

The author would seem to be unaware that proletarian Shanghai was the main powerhouse of the 1927 revolution. The workers captured the city and set up their own government, which was the only revolutionary power in all China. It was destroyed when their Communist leaders, on orders from Moscow, turned it over voluntarily to the executioner Chiang Kai-shek. Where did the "weakness" lie — in the proletariat or in its political leadership?

ROLE OF PROLETARIAT

A proletariat which was "weak" in 1927 is today just "an ineffective force," with no role to play in current events. This "objective fact," according to Belden, justifies abandonment of the socialist revolution by the Stalinists and their compact with the class enemies of the workers. By extension it ought also to justify their clubbing the workers over the head with a ban on strikes, compulsory arbitration, wage slashes and so on.

Nowhere does the author make any attempt to explain what he means by the alleged weakness of the proletariat and its supposed inability to play any role, much less a leading role, on the political arena. He contents himself with the bald assertion. Yet with Chiang's armies dissolving and his government collapsing, the workers were, as a matter of fact, much stronger than their capitalist enemies. The Shanghai bourgeoisie were not even able to interpose between themselves and the workers a dependable police force. Let Belden himself testify:

"Crowds in Shanghai stormed the rice shops, the restaurants, the grocery stores, the coal shops. Police rounded up scores of rioters but had to release them. The jails were already filled. Moreover, policemen had begun to look the other way when mobs burst into rice shops. 'Why should I arrest them?' a policeman asked a reporter. 'I may join them myself tomorrow!'"

What was lacking to bring the workers into action was a revolutionary leadership with a program that would have given these proletarians not only a stake in the outcome of the struggle, but a leading role. However, all the

Stalinists offered them was a continuation of capitalist slavery. In spite of this, Belden can still say that the Stalinists could not call for workers' strikes because "the Chinese proletariat was such an ineffective force."

FEAR THE WORKERS

The blunt fact is that the Stalinists feared the workers and did everything in their power to keep them passive, because Mao Tse-tung had already made his dirty deal with the Chinese bourgeoisie. The specific weight of the working class on the political arena is determined for Marxists, not arithmetically in terms of its numerical proportion to other classes, but by its strategic social and economic position. By simple arithmetic it would be impossible to explain the leading role of the proletariat in the Russian Revolution. The Chinese proletariat, however, if one considers the industrial workers together with the millions of city poor, is no less a force, in proportion to other classes, than was the Russian proletariat in 1917.

Belden appraises the Stalinist rise to political power as nothing less than a completed social revolution. It would be a "fundamental error," he states, to regard the Stalinists as the leaders of "a mere reform movement." And why? Because "any movement which overthrows property relationships, turns out the governing class, changes the tax system, assaults the cultural and religious patterns, arouses bloody passions among millions of people and produces a social convulsion of continental proportions can hardly be called anything but a revolution."

WHAT WAS CHANGED?

Let us see. The "bloody passions" were not aroused by the Stalinists. Nor did they engineer the "social convulsion." These were the objective premises of the great upheaval. At first the Stalinists curbed the popular passions. Then they made use of them. Changes in the tax system and assaults on cultural patterns are not in themselves criteria of social change. If they were, Hitler could have been considered a revolutionist.

The decisive element is property relations and here very little has been changed. Expropriated landholdings in parts of North China have been distributed to land-hungry peasants. In South China the land confiscation program has been totally abandoned and the land in this vast area, where landlordism has always existed in its vilest and most oppressive forms, remains in the hands of the landlords. Capitalist ownership of industry is intact except for enterprises previously nationalized by

the Kuomintang and which continue to be state-owned. The Stalinist program expressly preserves capitalist private property. Where, then, is the revolution?

Apart from the meager and measly land reform, the only important change is in the governmental power. Yet even here things are not at all as "revolutionary" as they might seem. Mao Tse-tung sits in a government check by jowl with political representatives of the bourgeoisie and an assorted coterie of generals who fell out with Chiang Kai-shek. Among the latter is the malodorous butcher Li Chi-sen, executioner of the Canton Commune. It would, of course, be a mistake to underrate the importance of the overthrow of the Kuomintang and the rise to power of the Stalinists. A greater mistake, the one Belden commits, is to regard this development as a completed social revolution.

REFORMIST POLICY

None of the pressing social problems which gave rise to the upheaval in China, and which projected the Stalinists into the seats of power, has been solved. The Stalinist program, indeed, precludes even a start toward a solution. A mere change of government, however it may have been accomplished, is not a social revolution. What is decisive is the program of that government. The program of Stalin's Chinese henchmen is by every test reformist, not revolutionary, and only mildly reformist at that.

With whatever interval of time, the next stage of the revolution will surely arrive. The armed rebellion of the South China peasants against the Stalinist power is the harbinger of events to come. The workers and peasants will sweep away the landlords and capitalists — and with them their newest political agents and defenders.

Belden should understand this. And he can, if he will only throw off his disdainful attitude toward Marxism and study it systematically and with the same conscientiousness that he brings to his reporting.

LEON TROTSKY
FASCISM — What it is — How to Fight It. 48 pages, price 15c.

A compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky on fascism, including:

1. The Tragedy of the German Proletariat
2. The Collapse of Bourgeois Democracy
3. The Perspective Ahead in the United States.

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS

The Miners' Wives

By F. Forest

A trip to northern West Virginia, seat of some of the most militant mass picketing of the just-concluded mine strike, reveals that the miners' wives played an important role. This is one of the many facets of the successful mine struggle that the local press dealt with sketchily and the national capitalist press not at all. The most that could be gleaned from the big dailies was that the wives were "taking" the long fight and empty food baskets because they had no choice. In truth, however, the role they played was not a passive but an active one. Here are but a few incidents.

It seems that the union had permitted pumpers and a few other maintenance men to work for the Pursglove Coal Co. during the strike. The women took a different attitude. They threw up two picket lines, one blocking the road and the other the bridge leading to the tipple. They let only the foreman through. This action on the part of 50 women who took matters into their own hands not only stopped the maintenance men but quickly led the company to "reconsider" its decision to try to have maintenance men.

In Charleston, W. Va., the women joined the picket line of their men. The snobbery of the owner's son particularly aroused their anger. The women pickets stripped his shirt and jabbed hampers into his shoulders. The "roughing up" of the scion of wealth led to arrests but did not stop the women from continuing with their picketing.

The women also took an active role on the question of miners' relief. While the miners appealed to other labor bodies, the wives went door to door in their own and surrounding communities, and then they helped decorate the hall, meet delegations of UAW and other workers who had displayed their labor solidarity by contributing to miners' relief, and aided in the distribution of the food to the most needy families.

Precisely because the role of the women was an active one it was inevitable that it should lead to organization. In Beckley, W. Va., the women decided to back up their husbands in the fight for a contract by organizing themselves into a Women's Auxiliary. They formed this organization "to help miners at all times, particularly during strikes." Mrs. Haynes Hayworth, wife of the treasurer of the UMW local at Amigo, and organizer of this women's auxiliary, was asked what the wives would do if their husbands decided to go back to work without a contract.

"Then," she answered quickly, "they'd have to do the housework too. They will have to build fires, cook their own food, wash their own clothes, clean the house and hire baby sitters to take care of the children while they are in the mines."

But there was never any question at all — except in the minds of capitalist reporters — of the miners returning to work without a contract. The miners themselves not only fought against the coal barons, they also welcomed the action of their wives. One miner said: "Our wives are right. We can't work on empty stomachs. And we won't work without a contract."

These actions on the part of the women will be sure to leave their mark on the community as a whole.

VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1950

NUMBER 11

New UAW Group Makes Good Start In Toledo Election

TOLEDO, March 4 — As the strike of the Plaskon workers for pensions and other demands entered its fourth week, internal union developments took the spotlight.

For the first time in local CIO history, a city-wide group has been formed to challenge the long-trenched right wing leadership of the 25,000 member amalgamated Local 12 of the UAW. The group, calling itself the "UAW Committee for Better Unionism," ran a slate of candidates in the recent elections of Local 12. According to the local's president, the opposition slate's leading candidate received one-quarter of the votes cast. This showing more than satisfied the new group.

The opposition program correctly analyzes the administration's regime as one which has weakened the union. They call for a return of the union to the fighting spirit of the 1930's, an honest and democratic administration, full support to the current pension fight, wage increases out of profits and rank-and-file participation in union affairs.

The administration sought to hang the "communist" tag on the new group but those familiar with local UAW developments know that the few Stalinists who adhere to it have been successfully isolated and their policies rejected in favor of a program of democratic and militant trade union principles and a pro-CIO orientation.

REPLACEMENTS

In the Spicer unit of Local 12, where the opposition has its main support, the right wing suffered a heavy defeat in the elections. Its leading candidates were replaced by militants pledged to restore conditions to what they were before the right wing won control of the unit. This victory for the opposition is especially significant because the Spicer plant now employs only 1,300 workers whereas the last time the opposition was represented in the leadership to any extent over 3,000 were employed.

The decline in the number of workers, leaving in the plant those who are traditionally more conservative, resulted in a clean sweep for the right wing a year ago. Now, having had a good taste of the right wing's inability to maintain even the old conditions, to say nothing of improving them, the membership turned them out of office.

In another unit election at the large Champion Spark Plug plant, 7 out of 9 oppositionists were elected to office, turning out the right wing administration which had been in continuous control since the unit was organized. In the elections at DeVilbiss, the opposition to the right wing was victorious.

These developments in local UAW circles have brought a new atmosphere to Toledo, the beginning of a resurgence of the old UAW fighting spirit. The main reason for this is the current attack on the unions by a millionaires' committee of bankers and industrialists which seeks to make this a low wage-scale town in order to attract business. It agurs well for the future that a section of the local labor movement has come forward with a fighting program to meet this challenge.

Sit-In Strikers



These two young women, along with 16 other members of Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, called a sit-in strike at the Fuld Co. in N. Y. City where the employer, planning to move out of town, fired them. A few years ago the loss of a job didn't mean so much because there were new ones to be found. But now, with unemployment rising steadily, it really hurts.

N.Y. PAINTERS LEADERS BEGIN WITCH-HUNT PURGE

NEW YORK — District Council 9 of the AFL Painters Union took the first step in lining up with the witch-hunt in the labor movement by expelling Louis Weinstock,

Morris Gainer and Morris Davis, the three leading Stalinists in the district. They were charged with violating the union's constitution which excludes from membership anyone who is "a member of the Communist Party and has consistently associated himself with other organizations which subscribe to the doctrines of the Communist Party and which expound and promote doctrines and philosophies inimical to and subversive to the fundamental principles of the Government and the AFL."

The trial evidence against Weinstock merely consisted of establishing his openly acknowledged membership in the CP. Similar charges had been preferred against him in 1945 when he was secretary-treasurer of District Council 9 which, with the approval or at least the knowledge of the International Executive Board, dismissed the charges.

Weinstock was then permitted to violate the union's constitution because he was following to the letter the pro-war Stalinist policy of the time. No betrayal of the painters' interests and conditions — all of course for the "war effort" — was too low or dirty for this Stalinist hack. He had urged the Department of Justice to jail the 18 Trotskyists indicted under the Smith Act; he had appealed to the government to prosecute John L. Lewis and the miners for striking during the war.

None of these anti-labor crimes of Weinstock became the basis of charges. On the contrary, it was perhaps precisely because of them that the witch-hunters

UAW Officials Propose Retreat At Chrysler

DETROIT, March 5 — Retreat on the Chrysler front, but an offensive launched against General Motors marked this past week's United Auto Workers strategy. Union

leaders offered to send the men back to work, negotiate contract changes for 30 days, and finally arbitrate all disputes with Chrysler — if the company would grant ten cents for pensions, place this fund in a trust, and provide for joint administration.

What was the reason for this latest union contract retreat? "The peace proposal was intended to answer the company's contentions that the union is dragging out the strike by insisting on talking at this time about contract matters." So said Norman Matthews, UAW Regional Director.

But while retreat to arbitration, which has cost Ford workers a paid lunch period and given the company the right to speed up production at will, is being proposed on the Chrysler contract front, an offensive against the profit-bloated General Motors Corporation has been declared. Union demands on GM adopted by a conference of 250 delegates from 100 plants total 31c an hour.

NEW GM DEMANDS

The UAW is thus following behind the coal miners by upping their own 1950 goal from ten cents won at Ford and now being demanded of Chrysler, to the new GM package. The 31c includes a flat nine cents wage increase and 22c for pensions and health insurance.

Other objectives are: Transformation of the escalator section of the GM contract into a one-way clause guaranteeing an eight-cent yearly wage boost. (The present escalator clause in the GM contract was criticized by The Militant for its low base rate, and for being geared to false government statistics.) Triple time for holiday work, time-and-a-half for Saturday and double-time for Sunday; and a union shop (backed up by a 7-to-1 government-conducted vote this past week).

The conference that adopted these demands requested Truman to seize the coal mines and confiscate all profits until the operators agree to the strikers' terms.

Negotiations at Chrysler were still stalemated. The company has rejected the union's latest bid for peace. The more alert unionists — flying squadron members and militant stewards — are hostile to the union's new offer which, they feel, throws in the sponge on the contract fight. These feel that calling off the strike, and then "talking" or "arbitrating" a new agreement, will be harmful to the union.

A WEASEL WAY?

The unionists recall vividly Reuther's statement at a membership meeting just preceding the strike, that the contract "would not be extended five minutes, let alone five years." His new arbitration proposal, however, appears to many to be only a weasel way of putting an extension over on the membership. When the strike was first called, there was greater response in

the ranks to changing the rotten agreement than there was to the pension. This problem will be presented by the leadership to a strike mass meeting this coming Tuesday.

Unionists point out that the Chrysler Corporation listens to reason only when power is applied, and when this strike power is removed, "talking" is useless. The new GM contract demands will be compromised from the beginning if contract concessions asked of Chrysler are thrown to arbitration.

DETROIT, March 7 — "We offered to arbitrate the contract with Chrysler only as a maneuver," said Walter Reuther today before a meeting of 20,000 Chrysler strikers. He reaffirmed the contract demands, claiming even that further demands would be made on the arrogant corporation if the strike lasted another week. This statement received a tremendous ovation.

He did not say what he would do if the company agreed to his "maneuver," offered a few pennies for pensions, and thus faced Reuther with his own agreement to end the strike. He did not explain why the union had been repeating its "maneuver" with full page ads since last Friday.

Reuther's reference to arbitrating the contract as a "maneuver" came in the face of resentment and hostility from the ranks against his offer to submit the contract demands to arbitration.

The spirit of the meeting was high, stimulated by the victory of the coal miners. Norman Matthews, Chrysler union director, was vigorously applauded when he said: "I wish I had a hat. If I had one, I would take it off to John L. Lewis." He failed, however, to even comment on the offer of solidarity of John L. Lewis. Lewis has offered to contribute \$1,000,000 to the Chrysler strikers. This is in sharp contrast to Reuther's lack of public support or offer to the mine workers when they were under government and Big Business attack in their recent strike.

Jail Homeless Family On 'Cruelty' Charge

By Ralph Gallegher

Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Phillips were clapped in jail in New Orleans on March 4 on a "technical charge" of cruelty to their nine-day old son. The family had been forced to live in a "house" made of cardboard boxes and scrounge the garbage dumps for food.

Their troubles began one year ago in Florida when Mrs. Phillips developed a form of paralysis after giving birth to a baby that died. To pay the doctors' bills they had to sell their little farm and become migratory agricultural workers, following the harvests until they arrived in New Orleans a month and a half ago, homeless and penniless. Mrs. Phillips was shortly confined in Charity Hospital where she gave birth and was then discharged into the streets.

This is the plight to which the poor in this country are driven because of lack of proper medical care. For those living on such marginal incomes as the Phillips family unexpected medical expenses often provide the straw that "breaks the camel's back." The vicious opposition of the American Medical Association and other reactionaries to "socialized medicine" is the real cruelty in such cases.

An adequate federal program of socialized medicine would not only eliminate such tragic cases but bring medical aid within the reach of all.

Unfair Employment Practice Protected in New FEPC Bill

The toothless FEPC bill passed by the House of Representatives with the aid of the Trumanites expressly provides that "any member of an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General and/or the FBI as a Communist organization or as a Communist front organization is excluded from the provisions of the bill." This means that the FEPC, if established, would not even have to "investigate" charges that militant workers were being victimized by political discrimination in hiring.

A 'Do-Good' Minister

By Frank Rossi

The minister is a well-meaning man. Here in his little community in the mine area he organized a mission for the miners. All in all, he did a good job of rallying material support from the community for the miners. As a result, some \$2,000 worth of food and clothes was collected for the miners' families. A commendable achievement, especially when the miners were beleaguered. Yet we must note a deficiency.

The federal court injunction thrown at the miners was completely ignored by them. As the Charleston, W. Va., Chamber of Commerce observed, the injunction "has not even been treated with respectable contempt." Thus, in the final weeks of the strike, the miners' determination to defeat the operators, regardless of federal injunctions, created a problem for people like the minister. He was confronted with the miners and the government pitted against each other. What to do?

Maybe he wrestled with his conscience; we do not know. Anyway, he decided that he could not fight with the miners against the government and that he would have to resign his position as community leader of the miners. It was a bit more complicated than this, but this was the gist of his actions. It's one thing for the miners to defy the government, but quite another thing for a respectable member of the community like the minister to do the same. Out of the question!

The miners needed help more than ever now that the injunction was hanging over them? That's true, but the minister decided that his higher duty was to respect not the miners, but the government. So he resigned his post.

A meeting which was called to establish a new organization to replace his mission was attended by a Miners' Relief Committee. This committee

comprised a number of militants from many locals. It was primarily a union affair while the mission was a community affair. This Miners' Relief Committee had been quite successful in getting the support of many other labor unions in the larger cities of Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc. I had already raised several thousand dollars for the miners. Now it came to offer the Mission Committee its help.

Then came the payoff. The Mission Committee accepted this help but soon began to imply that the chairman of the Miners' Relief Committee was a — communist. Before long the mission was converted into a "loyalty" court for testing the political integrity of the leader of the organization that had come to offer its hand in aid to the miners!

That put everything in a new light for the minister who had just resigned. Now he felt no fear in continuing to be active, once such action meant he could play a leading role in impugning the "commies." Eager to show the stuff he was made of, he volunteered to bring "the facts" to the next meeting, proving the "guilt" of the leader of the Miners' Relief Committee. Better still, he would bring the FBI!

There we have it. Yesterday, the minister was the champion of distraught miners against the world. Today the minister becomes the champion of the distraught government against — not the miners, exactly — only some of the miners. This is, the "reds." Tomorrow? If the miners had not won the strike, if they had been forced to continue in their "unrespectable contempt," we can safely conclude that the minister, like so many other well-wishers and do-gooders, would be savagely attacking the miners.

From the Yugoslav Press

From time to time, The Militant will print information based on reports in the Yugoslav press which receive little or no coverage in American papers.

The joint Soviet-Yugoslav navigation company, "Youspad," was liquidated last year after two years of operations. Drawing the balance sheet of its record, Rad, official periodical of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, concluded that far from being a joint enterprise, it was "a purely Soviet shipping concern" in the operation of which the Kremlin "imposed on Yugoslavia economic relations devoid of all equality in rights and exploited it economically."

In 1947-48 "Youspad" carried for Yugoslavia 220 million metric tons at the rate of 40 paras a ton. The Soviet Union shipped 190 million metric tons at less than half these rates. Other countries were charged 28 paras a ton. The deficit borne by the Yugoslav economy amounted to 38 million dinars. In addition Rad points out that the Kremlin failed to live up to a single one of its obligations to "Youspad."

Mosha Piyade, prominent member of the Yugoslav Politbureau, delivered a speech in December exposing the role of the Kremlin in blowing up the negotiations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to form a federation. A direct meeting between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav representatives in Belgrade was countermanded by

direct orders from Molotov who instructed both parties to proceed to Moscow.

Piyade, as chief of the Yugoslav delegation, had occasion to meet twice with Stalin, who apparently played his customary game of duplicity. The Bulgarians demanded parity "in which Bulgaria would have one unit, and Yugoslavia, as a whole, another. . . . We, however, considered that Bulgaria could be only one of the seven federal units."

"The first time, when the two delegations made a joint call on him, Stalin spoke in the spirit of the Bulgarian view, hence in favor of dual federation, offering as an explanation that Bulgaria had been an independent country. . . . When a day or two later we were at a dinner given by Stalin he himself reopened the conversation on the matter, and then firmly maintained the view that Bulgaria could be only one of seven federative units."

"Finally," said Piyade, "all these efforts of Nov. 1944 to almost the end of Feb. 1945, came to an end, and not only federation but any hope of a treaty of alliance [with Bulgaria] was finally abandoned. This was done at the request of the Soviet government."

The British also opposed a federation of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; they wanted one "which would include Albania, Greece and Turkey."

In conclusion Piyade said: "Now, these undeniable facts which I have here related, and which are only a part, as I have not told all, show most plainly that in the history of judicial scandal there has surely never been a trial based on such flagrantly false evidence as this Sofia trial. The only rival is the Budapest Trial. . . ."

"If Traicho Kostov was hanged merely for wanting a federation with Yugoslavia, although he insisted precisely on the same form of federation, with Bulgarian hegemony, as all the other members of the Bulgarian Politbureau, then from their standpoint, from the standpoint of the indictment of, that shocking trial, they have hanged an innocent man."

According to Tanjug report, Belgrade, Jan. 30, elections for "workers councils" in mines, factories and other Yugoslav enterprises have been taking place. The dispatch speaks of these "new bodies in the system of economic management, which, in cooperation with the management of the enterprises, will take measures to promote production, improve the workers' living standards, and control the management in the fulfillment of its obligations toward the workers."

The voting is by secret ballot. Among those reported elected in Bosnia-Herzegovina are "the best workers, the shock-brigades, the innovators and rationalizers." Singled out for special mention is Aliya Sirotanovich, "initiator of socialist competition among Yugoslav miners for attaining high labor productivity."

SDF LEADERS OVERRIDE MEMBERS ON SP UNITY

By Albert Parker

The Socialist Party's wooing of the Social Democratic Federation, with which the SP wants to merge as quickly as possible, suffered a rebuff on Feb. 25, when the SDF National Executive Committee voted unanimously to postpone action on the unification proposal at this time.

The Social Democrats are fond of talking about democracy, but evidently their leaders are fonder of talking about it than practicing it. In a referendum held just last December, 52.6% of the SDF membership had voted in favor of merging the two organizations. But after all, what is a majority vote to professional democracy-shouters?

The SDF leadership decided that it would consider this vote as merely "advisory" in nature; besides, it adds, the vote was "close." That obviously gives the NEC the right to disregard it, and to continue waxing indignant at the "totalitarian" and "amoral" character of revolutionary Marxism.

SOME DEMOCRATS!

An even larger majority of the SDF members (64.8%) had voted in favor of holding simultaneous conventions of the two organizations to consider a program for

organic unity. Judging from the report of the NEC meeting printed in the March 4 New Leader, the NEC didn't even bother to act on this proposal, just sweeping it aside without mention. In the Social Democratic scale of values, 11 NEC members have greater weight than almost two-thirds of the members.

The only concession made to the majority of the membership by the NEC was the passage of motions authorizing collaboration with the SP in the establishment of a Socialist Bureau and joint educational propaganda for the "basic ideas of socialism," which is standard SDF terminology for democratic capitalism, the "welfare state," etc.

WHY SO COOL?

A question that will puzzle some people is this: Why are the SDF leaders so cool toward the SP's advances, especially since the SP is ready to accept virtually the entire SDF program?

The last difficulty standing in the way — the SP's traditional policy of running its own candidates — is being removed by the Norman Thomas leadership's proposal to discontinue independent SP electoral activity and become a left wing of the Democratic Party via the ADA. And even

prior to the SP convention that will decide this question in the spring, important sections of the SP have already shown their "good will" in this respect by withdrawing from the 1950 campaign (as in Michigan).

A hint of what's troubling the SDF Old Guard was given recently by Joseph P. Lash in his N. Y. Post column. In New York City, he explains, the adoption of the new SP electoral policy will result in the SP members joining the Liberal Party, in which the SDF is now the predominant political influence.

WHAT BOTHERS THEM

Some of the Liberal Party leaders (especially those associated with the Jewish Forward) "are none too sure that this sudden influx of men and women passionately devoted to independent political action will work out happily," according to Lash. "They are fearful that the Socialists will dogmatically favor the Liberal Party's running its own candidates rather than supporting the candidates of the two major parties and that this will endanger the delicate maneuvering involved in coalition and 'balance-of-power' politics. These Liberal Party leaders are of the view that the Socialists have not

undergone a change of heart with respect to a working class political party, but have found the strain of sponsoring Socialist candidacies too great for their small membership."

In short, the SDF leadership is still suspicious about the intentions of the SP, or a section of the SP. They have not forgotten that a few months ago a minority of fully 28% of the SP members voted against endorsing the Atlantic Pact, and they know that a large minority of the SP membership is still opposed today to abandoning its traditional election policy. They want to be sure that what remains of the SP has truly had "a change of heart" before they commit themselves to merger.

The probability is, therefore, that SP-SDF unity will not take place in the spring, as the Thomases hoped and urged. First, the SP will have to hold its convention and prove beyond all doubt that it will abide by the SDF policy on all important issues. Only after that will the SDF leadership permit the unity question to be re-opened. But since the SP's "change of heart" is politically genuine, the prospect is still for merger of the two Social Democratic wings of American reformism in the next period.

In Defense of Marxism

240 pages cloth \$2.00
paper \$1.50

Trotsky's last work, a collection of articles and letters written against the Burnham-Shachtman opponents of orthodox Trotskyism. A brilliant discussion ranging from the question of the class character of the Soviet Union to profound problems of dialectical materialism.

Every student of modern politics, sociology and philosophy should put this book on his must list.

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.