

SWP Committee Maps Election Drive for 1950

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — Four days of plenary sessions of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party were concluded here tonight with the decisions to participate to the maximum of the party's forces and resources in the 1950 fall elections and to intensify the struggle against the witch-hunt and for the defense of civil rights.

In addition to discussing and deciding the party's general activities in the period ahead on the political and trade union fields, the plenum took up the evolution of the radical parties in this country and the internal problems and tasks of the SWP.

POLITICAL REPORT

George Clarke, who delivered the political report, reviewed the domestic situation in the light of world political developments which, as he correctly stressed, dominate and determine domestic

politics. A year ago American imperialism in its drive for world supremacy appeared to be in full flush of victory with the Marshall Plan seemingly succeeding, the Atlantic Pact being forged, the battle for Greece and the contest for Berlin being won, and the atom-bomb monopoly secure.

Today, the picture is drastically altered. The contradictions of the Marshall Plan are erupting to the surface, the problem of Germany remains unsolved, the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek in China has not only dealt a blow to the U. S. imperialists but caused the first breaches to appear in the hitherto united imperialist front; the atomic blast in the USSR has exploded the fiction of a-bomb monopoly.

"CRISIS IN MORALE"

All this has had repercussions at home where a division has been created in the top capitalist circles and a "crisis in morale" precipitated, Clarke noted.

He then analyzed the main elements in the domestic situation where, just as on the world arena, conditions for the outbreak of the economic crisis are maturing. He concluded that while elements of crisis are clearly apparent in the present unstable state of American economy, they constitute "symptoms of a trend but by themselves not strong enough as yet to alter the existing situation."

Turning to the alignment of political forces, Clarke emphasized that the coalition between the Trumanites and the labor bureaucracy, which dominates the domestic scene alongside Truman's social demagoguery, has rested on this relative economic stability. This same "welfare state" which exercises a "restraining effect on the workers now will become one of the bases for mass radicalization when the economic crisis ultimately erupts."

In the existing circumstances, the reporter concluded, it is necessary to place first on the list of the party's immediate tasks maximum participation in the 1950 elections. Facilitating the SWP endeavors to counterpose the alternative of socialism to the demagoguery of the "welfare state" and the dire threat of a police state, military dictatorship and war, are the disintegration of the Wallaceite movement and the pro-

(Continued on page 4)

Issues in Kutcher Case Explained by Leader of ADA

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9 — James Kutcher's case is "an almost perfect example of what's wrong with the loyalty program," Joseph C. Rauh Jr., his Washington attorney, told representatives of the nation's press at the conference at Hotel Washington following the filing of Kutcher's suit in Federal District Court here today.

Rauh explained that the legal arguments presented in Kutcher's defense proceeded along three lines. In the first place, Kutcher's discharge violated both the Hatch Act and the President's loyalty order which guaranteed a hearing to accused government workers. "Mr. Kutcher was discharged without a hearing. He got what appeared to be a hearing, but he was not allowed to show that the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belongs, does not advocate violent overthrow of the government. Thus he was not permitted to present evidence, nor did the loyalty boards make any decision, on the main issue involved in his discharge."

VIOLATE CONSTITUTION

In the second place, the suit contended that both the Hatch Act and Executive Order 9835 (Continued on page 2)

U.S. Supreme Court Upholds Shipowners on Hiring Hall

By its refusal to review the decision of a lower court, the Supreme Court has upheld the outlawing of the union hiring hall in the maritime industry. While the action concerned an NLRB ruling against

the National Maritime Union on the Great Lakes, it is applicable to all coasts and places the existence of all seamen's unions in jeopardy.

The action of the Supreme Court, composed entirely of Truman supporters or appointees, represents a major legal sanction of the Taft-Hartley Law. For the seamen, it is the most crushing blow to their main protection against involuntary servitude which has been provided by union control of hiring. Won as a result of bloody battles in the long drawn-out strikes of 1934 and 1936-37, union hiring had virtually eliminated from the waterfront the victimizing of seamen by shipping masters, crimps, gin-mills and boarding houses.

This is the third and most serious attempt on the part of supposedly pro-labor administrations to break the backbone of maritime unionism after the shipowners had failed to do so with their own resources. Both other attempts, one in 1936 when the government tried to impose a "fink book" on the seamen and another in 1938 when the Maritime Commission tried to establish its own hiring hall, failed because of the uncompromising militancy of the seamen.

The present assault contains the greatest dangers because of the conservative policies of the union officialdom, their reliance on the "friendliness" of the government, their union-raiding and strikebreaking, their witch-hunting and purges against militants within the unions.

CURRAN'S REACTION

Curran's first reactions to the Supreme Court decision, as reported by the N. Y. Times, was typical: "The Taft-Hartley Act has done a greater service to Communism than anything else on the waterfront. We don't get any help when we try to clean up

the industry. This will give the commies a field day on the waterfront." Expecting gratitude for his anti-red purge, he is outraged to find the government and the shipowners exploiting the weakness and division in his policies have produced within the NMU.

Curran's program to meet the crisis remains as cowardly and inadequate as ever. The emphasis is merely shifted from reliance on Truman's Supreme Court to reliance on Truman Democrats in Congress.

"We will not win this struggle by haywire demonstrations or (Continued on page 3)

H-Bomb Means Annihilation, Einstein Warns

By John G. Wright

Dr. Albert Einstein has once again shown himself to be a courageous, sincere and honest man. Appearing on a television network last week, he publicly opposed production of the Hell-Bomb and warned that its stockpiling and use would mean "radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth."

On such subjects Einstein speaks as the world's greatest authority. His grave words will resound at home and abroad. The imperialist warmakers are deeply chagrined by his stand and will do their utmost to counteract its effects by every subterfuge and lie.

Equally courageous and forthright was Einstein's declaration on what the Hell-Bomb regime at home really spells out. His words are worth quoting in full: "Within the country — concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military, militarization of the youth,

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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FIRST WE'LL GET THE GUY IN FRONT!



Progressive Convention Faces Deep-Going Crisis

By George Clarke

The second convention of the Progressive Party which convenes in Chicago on Feb. 24 will be as different from the convention in Philadelphia where the party was launched in July 1948 as day is from night. In place of its wide popular support, and the crusading fervor of "Gideon's Band" that then animated it, the party today shows all the features of advanced decay.

The record shows that 18 months after its foundation, it has lost most of its initial mass support and most of its original momentum and enthusiasm. In most states it has been reduced to a mere front for the Communist Party. A wide breach has opened in the alliance on which the party was based, producing a split between the Left Wing Democrats of the Wallace vintage and the Stalinists. There are apparently irreconcilable differences on organization, program and perspective among the top leaders.

WHY IT FAILED

How explain the precipitate decline of an organization which only 18 months ago had promised to supplant the two old parties and to wage a war to the death against militarism and the monopolies?

The reasons are to be sought in the program and class character of the party. Its essential aim was to build a new middle class party, somewhat to the left of the Democrats but still determined to perpetuate capitalism in a somewhat reformed version. It lacked the decisive support of the organized trade union movement. As such it was bound to follow the futile road of its predecessors,

Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party and Robert La Follette's Progressives.

In fact, the Wallace party was quickly eclipsed by Truman even before the votes were counted in November 1948, although the Democratic Party had entered the campaign a divided and discredited organization. It was no great problem for Truman to outflank Wallace on the left, to outdo him in radical-sounding speeches and social demagoguery. It was difficult for the masses to tell one from the other, except that Truman had the larger and older party and appeared to have a better chance for election than Wallace.

This situation has continued to the present. Learning that radical statements pay off, the Trumanites have draped themselves with the mantle of the "welfare state."

It is futile for the Wallaceites to

accuse the administration of insincerity because it is a well-known fact that there is just about as much or as little "welfare" under Truman as there was "new deal" under Roosevelt and Wallace. No more, no less. Besides, sincerity alone is a threadbare political program.

There is room in America for a mass party based on the trade unions, a party of the workers and/or a revolutionary Marxist party aiming at the abolition of capitalism. But for none other. O. John Rogge, who is leading the opposition to the Stalinists, has not yet grasped this elementary axiom of American politics. His draft program submitted to the Chicago convention calls for "a coalition of all left-of-center forces" to build a party that is "not radical and not Communist."

With tactical differences on foreign policy, Rogge's program is not unlike that of the Americans for Democratic Action and must eventually lead those who support him into a coalition with the ADA within the Democratic Party.

DIFFERENCES NOT BASIC

The differences between Rogge and his supporters and the Stalinists are not of a fundamental nature so far as domestic politics are concerned. The Stalinists have no intention of inscribing the aim of communism in the Progressive Party program; they are content to have it remain a middle class Peoples' Front party whose main purpose is to try to soften Washington's attitude toward the Kremlin. Nor are the differences greater on foreign policy. Both groups believe that a peace is possible without the

(Continued on page 3)

declaration that we will never use the H-Bomb in warfare unless an enemy uses it first against us or our allies.

This proposal was "foolish," said the editors. "It would tie our hands, and give notice to a potential aggressor that our hands were tied. That might invite attack." This means stockpile H-Bombs and start dropping them whenever the militarists decide that the need of "backing by force" has arisen.

TRUMAN POLICY

Scripps-Howard opinion is of course in complete harmony with the Truman policy. Secretary of State Acheson reaffirmed on Feb. 8 that the Truman administration will not budge from its foreign policy "based on strength and backed by force."

And they all know, from Truman-Acheson through Scripps-Howard down to all the Rankins, that there is no defense whatever against the Hell-Bomb. Dr. Vannevar Bush speaking in the name

Mine Struggle Shows Need of Labor Party

Stalinist Rulers Brutally Suppress Shanghai Workers

Chinese industrial workers are resisting the oppressive measures of the Stalinist regime and are being ruthlessly suppressed, according to a report by Drew Pearson in his Feb. 12 column. Pearson writes:

"A serious riot by 20,000 textile workers against Communist authorities took place in Shanghai last month. It followed a wage cut and an announcement that the customary annual bonus paid by the China Textile Company would be converted to people's bonds. "Angry workers tore down pictures of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, while troops with machine guns were sent to the factory gates. One hundred were arrested."

This fits in with repeated reports from general news sources and the Chinese Trotskyists, published last year in *The Militant*, that the entry of Mao's armies into the large coastal cities was followed by measures to strengthen the capitalist elements and impose severe restrictions on the workers, including wage cuts and bans on the right to strike.

Truman Injunctions Expose His Real Enmity to Workers

By Art Preis

Truman has again proved that he stands four-square on the side of labor's exploiters in any showdown between the workers and the Big Business profiteers. By hurling two strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions against the miners, he has disproved once more the lying claim of Trumanite union leaders that he is a "friend of labor."

Whatever the outcome of the mine struggle, Truman has already exposed himself fully as the tool of the coal operators, including the steel corporations, and the deadly foe of organized labor. This fact should not astound anyone who recalls how Truman used the Army against the miners and railroad workers in 1946, when he also called for a law to draft strikers into the Army.

WORDS AND DEEDS

Truman's anti-labor role is amply demonstrated, moreover, by the fact that this Democratic president, who promised so loudly before elections to secure repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, has personally invoked it not less than eight times now, while his NLRB Counsel has employed it not less than 61 times.

History does not record that there has ever been a president



HARRY TRUMAN

who talked so "radical" and acted so reactionary, who broke so many strikes or attempted to. There has never been a president who has talked so much against a law and used it against the working people with such regularity and ruthlessness.

This is what the pro-capitalist union leaders have brought on labor because they have opposed the formation of labor's own party and supported so-called "friends of labor" like Truman, who are nothing but cunning and demagogic agents of Big Business masked as "liberals" and "progressives."

The real responsibility for the existence of the savagely anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act and its repeated use by Truman rests with the unions leaders who have chained labor to the capitalist two-party system.

In this regard, Lewis himself bares his share of blame. It is true he has not shown the miserable subservience to the White House of union leaders like Murray, Green, Reuther and Dubinsky. He has revealed exemplary courage and militancy in leading the miners' economic struggles. But he has never broken with capitalist politics. He has shifted back and forth between Democrats and Republicans. He has offered the workers no way out from the political trap in which they find themselves caught between the parties of Big Business, Republican and Democratic.

ONE-WAY STREET

What more is needed than the latest Truman blows against labor, his latest use of the Taft-Hartley injunction, to prove that dependence on boss politicians and parties can lead labor only to defeat? What labor leader can honestly deny today that labor would have been in a more powerful position to combat anti-labor laws if it had built its own party and run its own candidates instead of backing the worst presidential strikebreaker in history?

Truman's assault on the miners is first of all a political lesson, a clarion call to the American labor movement: Build your own independent party of the working class! Dependence on capitalist parties and politicians is a one-way street to disaster.

MINERS' HEROIC BATTLE INSPIRES CIO SUPPORT

FEB. 16 — Once more America's miners are giving a demonstration of militancy, fortitude and solidarity that is an inspiration and example for all labor. If Truman and

the coal operators thought their two Taft-Hartley injunctions would speedily crack the backbone of the miners' resistance, they have learned differently.

Despite the terrible hardships they are enduring after a nine-month struggle, the 370,000 striking soft coal miners are standing solid as the Rock of Gibraltar. The miners know one thing — you can't dig coal with injunctions, or bayonets. They know that they have reduced the coal stockpiles to a point where the mine owners are beginning to feel it.

Above all, they are fully conscious that a defeat of the United Mine Workers would be a springboard for an assault on the entire

labor movement, particularly the industrial unions of the CIO.

FIGHT FOR ALL LABOR

The realization that the miners are fighting for all labor has begun to penetrate into other sections of the trade unions. Following the example of numerous local unions and the CIO United Steelworkers, which sent \$500,000 for miners' relief, the CIO Executive Board on Feb. 14 pledged "full support" to the striking miners. Declaring that "all American labor owes a great debt to the coal miners," the CIO Board extended the "complete solidarity of the whole CIO membership" to the mine workers.

The CIO officials also denounced the "national emergency" injunction invoked by Truman and called on him to remove his NLRB General Counsel, Denham, who secured an "unfair labor practices" injunction. But they avoided all reference to the fact that it is Truman himself who is spearheading the government's strikebreaking. And they called for no real mobilization of the CIO ranks for genuine mass action and protest against the government's moves.

RELIEF GIVEN

Such mass action by all labor is the key to speedy victory for the miners. A National Emergency Conference of Labor, representing all unions, could tremendously facilitate relief for the miners and set in motion a mighty counter-offensive against Truman's strikebreaking and the Taft-Hartley Law.

Local unions have taken the initiative in speeding relief to the miners and some are reported to have openly denounced Truman. Such local actions should be extended everywhere. They can quickly build up to irresistible pressure on the top union leaders to launch decisive action on a national scale.

Next Week:
Class Forces in the Chinese Revolution
by Li Fu-chen
a review
of Jack Belden's *China Shakes the World*

European Notebook

International Significance of British Election

By Ernest Germain

The British general elections will be of considerable importance in determining the evolution of Great Britain. A new Labor Party victory would give rise to a further differentiation to the left in the Laborite ranks.

But the international significance of the British elections is of no less far-reaching importance than the purely national one. Great Britain is the key factor in the political-military Atlantic Pact set-up in Europe.

LIMITS IMPOSED

Because the maintenance of a unified apparatus in Western Europe is a vital question for the Pentagon super-strategists, the very existence of a Labor government in Great Britain is a block to the inclusion of Franco into the Atlantic Pact.

A Tory victory would produce a radical change in this situation. The German Social Democratic Party would lose the meager support granted it by the British occupation forces.

The British bourgeoisie which was tottering in 1945 has been today strengthened in every respect thanks to the Laborite policies. No less pernicious, from a proletarian and socialist point of view has been Ewin's foreign policy.

No less serious would be the economic consequences of a Tory victory in the British elections. The "regulatory" policy of Sir Stafford Cripps remains for the moment the main obstacle to the projected "freeing of the currencies."

On the other hand, the economic policy of the Labor government likewise corresponds to the attempts of reformist leaders to maintain full employment and minimum subsistence for the toiling masses.

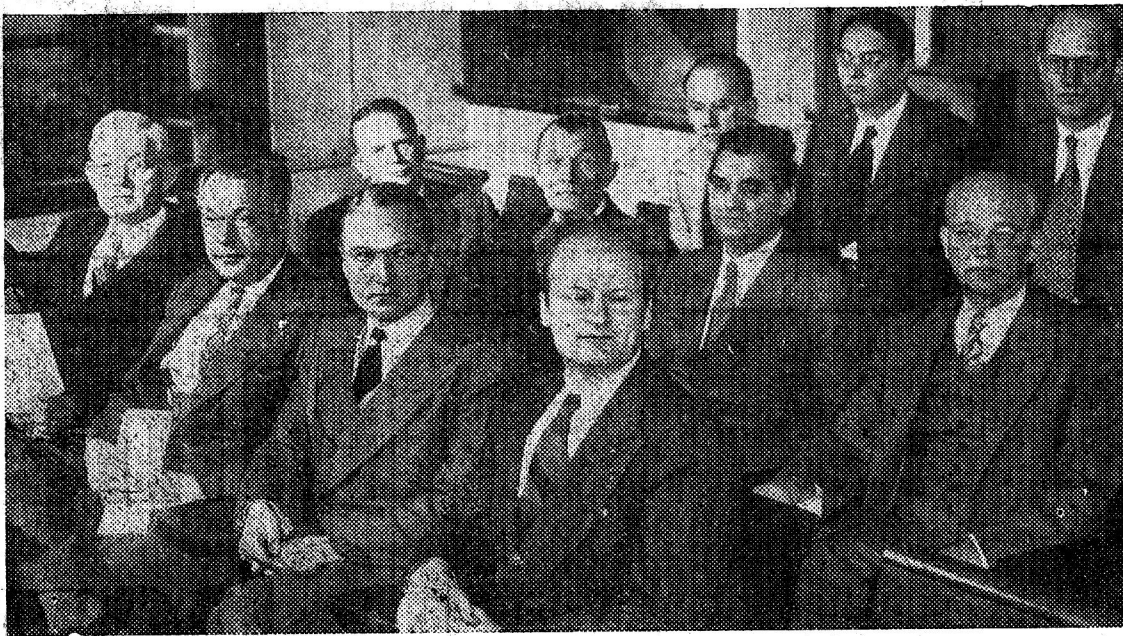
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Ask Pledge on Hell-Bomb Use



Twelve of the nation's top physicists have issued a statement urging that the United States government make a public declaration that it will never use the Hell-Bomb in warfare unless an enemy uses it first against the U. S. or its allies.

Mine Owners' Strategy Based on Truman's Aid

FEB. 15.—From the start of the mine struggle nine months ago, the parasitic operators made it plain that they would refuse any concessions to the union.

First on the petition of the leading operators headed by the coal subsidiaries of the steel corporations, Truman's NLRB General Counsel, Robert H. Denham, secured an injunction against the United Mine Workers under the "unfair labor practices" clause of the Slave Labor Law.

COMPLIANT JUDGE

Judge Richmond B. Keech of the Federal District Court in Washington found that it was "probable" that the UMW was violating the Taft-Hartley Act by demanding the retention of four clauses of their old contract.

JUDGE KEECH AGAIN

Once more Judge Keech—filling the role Judge Goldsborough had played in 1947 and 1948 when the miners were fined a total of \$2,130,000 for "contempt" of Truman-invoked injunctions—came through with a strikebreaking

order. He issued a temporary "restraining" order for 10 days, pending a permanent 80-day injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act. This required the miners to end their strike immediately, without qualifications, and instructed the national officers of the UMW to force the men back to work.

John L. Lewis had said prior to the injunction that it would constitute forced labor and "involuntary servitude" and that he doubted that such "mass coercion" would get any willing work out of the miners.

LEWIS NOTIFIES

He notified district officials of the UMW that the top officers are "required to advise you" that "our union will conform to the requirements of the court" and that "this office . . . has no alternative other than to instruct you and all other agents of the union similarly situated" to carry out the instructions of the court.

By Arne Swaback

Following President Truman's decision, the so-called hydrogen bomb is expected to go into production. Theoretically the construction of such a weapon is within the realm of possibility.

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

and control of industry and finance is non-existent in the Soviet Union. Nationalized and planned economy still remains in effect. The nature of this economy permits the concentration of industrial efforts at desired points; and it permits, to the extent of resources available, the fullest practical utilization of scientific discoveries as well as improvements in technique.

IN THE USSR

In order to obtain an objective evaluation of the degree of development of atomic energy in the Soviet Union one need not accept at face value the boast made by Vishinsky about its use in razing mountains, irrigating deserts, and cutting through the jungle and the tundra.

From other sources it has been asserted that engineering projects of such stupendous magnitude are under way in the Soviet Union. The truth of these assertions is difficult to ascertain since reports from the East are at best only fragmentary.

Discovery of the controlled release of atomic energy unquestionably represents the greatest scientific advance since the controlled use of fire was discovered by primitive man. But the social impact from discoveries of im-

portant energy sources of the past developed slowly, over decades or centuries. Not so with atomic energy. It has sprung up to giant size at the outset with an immediate powerful social impact upon the masses of the people.

Chemical reaction taking place in fires, such as the burning of fuels, involves only the rearrangement of the loosely bound electrons in the outer part of the atom. Although this is a great industrial energy source still, the energy contributed by a single atom is very tiny in amount.

Such energy can be produced by a controlled chain reaction in the atomic pile. At the Hanford, Wash., pile where the concern is not the generation of atomic energy but the conversion of uranium into plutonium, this chain reaction is under perfect control. The great quantity of heat produced in the process by the atomic "fires" in the pile is dissipated by the waters of the Columbia River.

GREAT POSSIBILITIES

Would this not indicate the possibility also of changing the temperature of regions near the Arctic Zone to make these habitable? Forecasts have already been made of atomic blasts transforming landscapes, cutting paths through mountains, digging trenches for canals or for the change of flow of rivers, to irrigate deserts and make them fertile. And what about central-ized heating plants for cities, or

Rauh, Kutcher Explain Issues Involved in Suit

(Cont. from page 1) were wrongfully applied in his case.

In the third place, the Hatch Act and the President's Loyalty Order violate the Constitution and deprive the victimized veteran of his rights of free speech, press and assembly.

"It is conceded by government representatives that Kutcher did not have a job involving security in any way. He was discharged not for anything he had said or done nor because he represented any conceivable threat to the nation's security, but solely because of his political views," asserted Rauh.

RAUH'S ESTIMATE

Because of his firing and blacklisting, Kutcher's reputation has been destroyed; it has become impossible for him to obtain any employment; and he has in fact become far more unemployable by reason of the government's action than by losing both his legs in the war, the petition pointed out.

Rauh stated that he was "violently opposed to everything the Socialist Workers Party believes in except freedom." He is chairman of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action and his firm is official Washington counsel for the International UAW-CIO and other unions.

SWP in Detroit Urges Fight on New Fare Rise

DETROIT, Feb. 11.—The Socialist Workers Party here has issued a program and a call to working people here to stop another hike in fares on the municipally run transport system, the DSR. Thousands of SWP leaflets calling for a DSR that is run under workers' committees and as a real public service instead of exclusively for the profit of millionaire bondholders, have been distributed at Chrysler picket lines, GM and Ford plants, Wayne University and working class neighborhoods.

and operated under control of the labor organizations. I have been a member of the SWP since 1938 primarily because I was convinced then that only through socialism could there be peace."

KUTCHER'S EXPLANATION

"Both my party and myself are falsely accused of advocating the overthrow of the government by force. We believe that the socialist change can be achieved only through the action and democratic decision of the vast majority of the American people. The only time I personally ever employed violence was on the order of the government in the U. S. Army.

"I did not undertake this suit out of personal animosity toward any of the individuals concerned but to fight a vicious system which brands people as disloyal without hearing and punishes them solely for their ideas. I believe I have as much right to hold my socialist views and my job as a Democrat or Republican.

"Finally, I am not acting simply to safeguard my own rights and job but for the rights of all public workers and the rights of the whole American people."

NOVACK'S PLEDGE

George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, said that if Kutcher's appeal is denied in the lower courts, it will be taken up to the U. S. Supreme Court. It would take at least eighteen months before the Supreme Court could render its verdict.

The conference room was crowded with reporters from the Washington, New York, New Jersey papers, the news and radio services, and weekly newsmagazines. The filing of the suit was front-page news in Washington where the "loyalty" purge against government employees affects the bulk of the population.

THE MILITANT ARMY

What Miners Say About the Strike

Comrade E. B. of Pittsburgh comments on the recent distribution of 1,000 copies of The Militant to striking coal miners in the Pittsburgh area:

"First, we should have had 5,000 papers! In Coverdale, Lawrence and Liberty, The Militant is remembered for its support of the strikes in 1943 when everybody else was against the miners. We looked up the local officers. In each case, they and the men about the union hall examined the issue and after the first few lines they were enthusiastic about circulating the paper.

"We were immensely impressed with the high political thinking of these miners. Illusions about the government are gone. The miners all speak with grave pride of their union as the shock troops of the labor movement. They all feel that the blows being struck at their union are intended to bust through the first line of defense of the whole organized labor movement.

"In one town they invited us to come down to the local when they win their contract and celebrate with them. That will be some ball! I was impressed with the absolute solidarity of the men behind John L. Lewis. The local press has been almost going crazy

trying to find even a little leak in the dam. And they've failed 100 percent.

"A prominent miner explained carefully to us that the so-called 'Brownsville revolt' was the miners' way of forcing the operators to sit down with Lewis and was in no sense a disloyal defiance of his suggestion; they return. The suit of the Illinois operators infuriates them."

"E. B. thinks that the articles in The Militant were good but suggests that 'lots of workers are poorly informed on the gains the miners have made in contrast to their conditions prior to the war and prior to the CIO. Someone should draft a chart or write a brief article listing their achievements.'"

Harold of Philadelphia, a member of the contingent who distributed 1,000 Militants in the Scranton area, likewise reports that talk of rebellion against John L. Lewis is only a "legend." In Hazelton "the working people were vitally interested in what The Militant had to say on the coal situation."

One old timer told Harold, "In January 1949 when there was no strike, the anthracite companies provided only 11 days of work. This year, when the union proclaimed the 3-day week, we had 13 work days. Ours is a sick industry. It was made sick before Lewis had power. The owners themselves made it sick. They didn't care as long as they made profit. Lewis is trying to restore health to the industry and a decent living to the miners. The owners object, because they are afraid their profits will be hit. 'Not Lewis, but the owners should be held in contempt and tossed in jail.'"

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1020.
BOSTON—Workers' Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—109 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.
CLEVELAND—Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. Gift Wm. Peck Ave. Liberty 5000.
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-8267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.
FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2489. Open House Saturday evenings.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 225, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.
LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
MILWAUKEE—317 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Sat., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Home 2-2827.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7751. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—For information write P.O. Box No. 1018.
NEWARK—223 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open 10:15-12:45 and 7:10-9 p.m.
NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)—116 University Place. Phone GR 2-8149.
HARTFORD—108 W. 110 St. Rm. 25. Phone MO 2-1888. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.
BROOKLYN—Mandel's Manor, 245 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 7 p.m. CHATEAUX—130 W. 23rd St. Phone AT 2-2488.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, phone Templebar 2-3153 or Templebar 2-3154. Write P. Montano, 906-B Clay St., Oakland 7.
PHILADELPHIA—1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Friday evening.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forum Sat. 12-5 p.m. 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 5305.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., Rm. 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.
WORCESTER, (Mass.)—For information write P.O. Box 534, Worcester.
YOUNGSTOWN—214 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

reversed, if cancer could be taken out of the human body and used for bombs or biological warfare we may rest assured that the above percentage would also be quickly reversed.

It is no accident that atomic energy found its first development in the most powerful capitalist nation in the period of its ascendancy to world domination while the signs of capitalist decay on a world scale are multiplying. In this new development all the contradictions of capitalism are compressed and given their most terrible expression. In atomic power we can see the productive forces of society straining to the utmost against the limitations of the system of private property.

Capitalism at war brought forth atomic energy but as a monstrous abortion ready to destroy all it touches. Its actual utilization on a large scale, and genuinely for the benefit of the society of producers, will no doubt have to await the dawn of the socialist society.

[This is the last in a series of six articles.]

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E. Germain: Occupation of Factories and Agrarian Movement in Italy
Lenz: Adenauer v. Schumacher
S. Munir: The Middle East
T. Van Der Kolk: "Independence" in Indonesia
Stalinist Treachery in Greece
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lighting the night skies with a fluorescent glow from radio waves? Many engineering dreams could come true once power becomes sufficiently plentiful and inexpensive. Above all, possibilities would be limitless for the easing of the burden of toil for the actual producers of society.

Of equally great importance are the possibilities indicated by atomic energy developments for the fields of biology and medical sciences. Radioactive materials are already now considered extremely valuable as a means of tracing through the human body the process of metabolism, and growth as well as aging, and especially of tracing how the catalysts of the living tissues work.

It is known that the rays given off by radioactive materials will kill cancer cells although it still remains to be learned how to locate them in these cells to do their work from the inside. The radioactive materials could be produced in the atomic pile, assembly line style, so to speak.

CHARACTERISTIC

And yet it is characteristic of capitalist society that research to conquer this most dreaded disease of modern society has to subsist on voluntary contributions. Oh yes, let us not forget that last year the AEC gave away a half million dollars worth of radioactive materials for cancer research. This was out of a total appropriation of upward of one billion dollars. In other words a decimal fraction of 1% to combat the greatest killer of man, and more than 99% for bombs.

Federal Court Approves Jim Crow in D. C. Schools

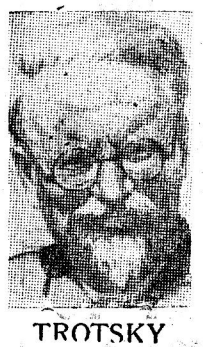
The U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington has upheld the Jim Crow segregation system in effect in the District of Columbia schools.

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Monday, February 20, 1950



"If you remember that the task of socialism is to create a classless society based upon solidarity and the harmonious satisfaction of all needs, there is not yet, in this fundamental sense, a hint of socialism in the Soviet Union. To be sure, the contradictions of soviet society are deeply different from the contradictions of capitalism. But they are nevertheless very tense. They find their expression in material and cultural inequalities, governmental repressions, political groupings, and the struggles of factions. Police repression hushes up and distorts a political struggle, but does not eliminate it."
—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1936.



LENIN

Class Justice in Action

Once in a rare while some exceptionally honest judge renders a decision in favor of civil rights or in favor of unions against employers. This is always the occasion for liberals to praise the "impartiality" of the capitalist courts and to point to them as "bulwarks" of justice. This past week we have had outstanding examples of the fact that the American courts, from highest to lowest, are juridical instruments of reaction. Like every other governmental agency, they are conscious defenders of capitalist interests and tools of the ruling class. The U. S. Supreme Court, highest tribunal in the land, on Feb. 13 refused to review a lower court ruling which had declared that the union hiring hall of Great Lakes seamen, organized in the CIO National Maritime Union, violates the closed-shop ban of the Taft-Hartley Law. This, in effect, gives legal sanction to the destruction of the union hiring hall for all seamen. If enforced, it will reimpose shipowner powers over hiring seamen against which the maritime unions have successfully fought since 1934. In the past two weeks, the lower federal courts have also revealed themselves again as agencies for the defense of Big Business interests against the demands of union workers. Truman had no trouble finding a Federal District Court judge in Washington to slap two strikebreaking

injunctions on the coal miners under the infamous Taft-Hartley Law. In fact, such is the anti-labor record of these courts, that it was a foregone conclusion that Truman and his agent Denham would get their injunctions without the slightest pretense of judicial "impartiality" by the judge. A third case is even more illuminating. This was the action of the Maryland Court of Appeals in reversing a ruling by Judge Joseph Sherbow and revalidating the Maryland "Omnibus" anti-"subversive" law, commonly known as the Ober Law. Last September, Judge Sherbow had ruled this law unconstitutional, as a bill of attainder and ex post facto law in violation of both the U. S. and Maryland constitutions. Liberals then hailed his decision and pointed to it as "proof" that the courts could be depended on to protect civil rights. The Militant warned, however, that Judge Sherbow's ruling was a rare and exceptional one and that it would be folly, in this and other cases, to depend on the courts. We have been fully confirmed in this opinion by the decision of the Maryland Court of Appeals. Indeed, our whole analysis of the American courts as class institutions has been confirmed over and over again. Relying on them is relying on outright enemies of labor and civil rights.

Three Revealing Actions

The CIO Executive Board members last week took three major actions, in addition to their pledge of support to the miners. They disavowed CIO participation in the American Legion-sponsored, Hearst-promoted "United Front against Communism." They protested the State Department's moves for full diplomatic recognition of fascist Spain. And they expelled three more international unions whose officials oppose Murray's views on domestic politics and foreign affairs. After weeks of evasion and silence, Philip Murray declared that "there was no necessity for the CIO to withdraw from the [Legion] conference, since it was never affiliated." He admitted that Harry Read, assistant to CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey, had accepted membership on the Legion front's continuations committee, but claimed "he withdrew at the end of the meeting and was not there as a CIO representative." All this is a miserable evasion of the fact that Carey and Read were leading participants in the conference, that Carey had said that "in another war we will join with the Fascists against the Communists" and that not one word of official CIO criticism has been directed at them. What we have, instead, is a surreptitious "withdrawal" made solely in

the hope that everyone will forget the shameful episode. On the matter of Spain, the Board stated it "reiterates its policy that our government should not send an ambassador to Spain or take any other step in appeasement of the Franco regime." This suffices to "make the record," but not to wage an effective fight against the State Department's policy. It is certainly not the all-out way these CIO leaders campaigned to win support for the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic military alliance. When these CIO leaders mean business, they know how to take effective measures. They mobilized all the resources and machinery of the CIO to kick out three more Stalinist-controlled unions and to launch civil war against them. For this Murray stops at no costs and no measures. A few evasive words, a mild verbal complaint — that is all the CIO leaders muster on the issues of the Legion's "anti-Communist front" and recognition of Franco's Spain. But the whole apparatus and treasury of the CIO are thrown into the fray, when it comes to purging Murray's political opponents and splitting the CIO.

Negro History Week

Negro History Week will be finished by the time this appears. The Trotskyist movement has consistently supported this celebration and, as our press shows, actively takes part in it. We believe, with many Negroes, that its national celebration draws forcible attention to the studied and deliberate misrepresentation by American capitalist democracy of the role played by Negroes in the building of the country. For this reason all support of this celebration is, in a sense, useful. At the same time there should be no misunderstanding of the thoroughly hypocritical character of the support it receives from capitalists and their political agents. Governors like Dewey make official proclamations of Negro History Week and papers like the N. Y. Times contribute a solemn editorial every year. Except for the Dixiecrats, they all utter the most pious and uplifting sentiments. All this takes place for one week. Then for 51 weeks they constantly and persistently practice and promote segregation and race prejudice in forms crude and subtle, in ways direct and indirect. Their history books are filled with lies about Negroes. If they were serious about what Negro History Week represents, they would at least rewrite these

books. For 300 years they have exploited the Negroes and, to justify it, have vilified and slandered them. Why then don't they make it a regular part of the school curriculum to teach the truth about Negroes? Important as history is, the actual social relations and evolution of society reflected in it are more important. Who can believe the capitalists are serious about Negro History Week when, flouting the will of the people expressed in the 1948 elections, all parties in Congress sabotage even the adoption of elementary legislation to restore Negro rights? Thus capitalist participation, for one week a year, in the movement to right the historical wrongs of the Negroes, is essentially fraudulent and should be exposed as such. It is only another aspect of the latest maneuver of the capitalists, who join in words to oppose the persecution of Negroes, only all the more surely to sabotage efforts to end it. It is in this light that we should look upon the hollow support given to Negro History Week by demagogic politicians, Big Business newspapers and similar dyed-in-the-wool supporters and defenders of capitalist barbarism, one of whose important sources of nourishment is the vilification, segregation and super-exploitation of the Negro people.

Worker in East Germany Defends Trotsky

A long article in the Leipziger Volkszeitung, organ of the Socialist Unity Party (Stalinists) of Eastern Germany, has come to our attention. Entitled "Political Confessionist or Agent of the Class Enemy?" this article deals with the "Michaelis Case" as a typical example of the way to expose Trotskyism. What are the facts? On Sept. 25, 1949, the worker Willi Michaelis, employed in the printshop of the Stalinist paper mentioned above, appeared at the meeting of the Stalinist unit which was to elect delegates to the party convention, and delivered a lengthy political declaration. Let us quote the report as it appeared in the Leipziger Volkszeitung: "He declared that our party's road was dictatorial and that we followed a Russian road which was wrong. To this he counterposed an 'international road,' which according to him could lead to socialism." SIX QUESTIONS Taking fright, the leadership of the unit decided to immediately convene an emergency meeting of all members of the party with the aim of making a decision on the case of this worker. "From the beginning of this meeting," the paper says, "he condemned the policy of the National Front, the initiation of the 'trade organization' [legalization of the black market for those who possess large sums of ready cash] and piece work. . . . He propagated his opinion on the remarkable role Judas Trotsky is supposed to have played in the October Revolution and his merits in the ideological preparation of the masses for the world revolution. . . . He pictured the formation of the National Front as a kind of unity of action with the 'class enemy and the fascists. . . . Then when he posed six provocative questions in the discussion, it became clear that his only aim in the discussion was to exploit the plenary meeting for his aggressive Trotskyist propaganda. . . . We have no information on the six 'provocative' questions posed by the worker Michaelis to the members of his unit. Undoubtedly the Stalinists did not dare mention the questions since they constituted a vigorous condemnation of their criminal policy. But we know, thanks to the same article that Michaelis was 'so blind' that he had returned 'strengthened in his opinion' after a term in the cadre school where he had been sent to 'correct his errors.' We also know that even a reading of The Great Conspiracy by Sayers and Kahn had confirmed him in the correctness of his ideas. And the article, in these words, gives us this notable proof of the courage and intelligence of the worker Michaelis: 'The infamous character of the forces to which he succumbed . . . was laid bare by the fact that he placed The History of the CP of the USSR by Comrade Stalin, this great encyclopedia of Marxism-Leninism . . . on the same level with the falsifications of the Hitlero-Trotskyists.' MICHAELIS DOOMED The conclusion of the incident was clear for the Stalinists. They decided that they could no longer discuss with "people like Michaelis." They put a big headline in their paper: "The only possible answer: Expulsion!" And they immediately adopted a resolution demanding that "an end be put definitively to his work of diversion." We know, unfortunately, what the word "definitively" means in the Stalinist world. . . . Our conclusions are no less clear. We regret not being able to do anything to save this courageous worker. We believe that so well-informed a militant should not have been so naively imprudent, but his public declaration undoubtedly indicated that he felt himself already doomed. We can be certain, however, that his case is not unique. Despite all the Stalinist terror, the class-consciousness of the proletariat in Eastern Germany is finding expression and will continue to find expression among the better worker militants. And Trotskyism, which today haunts the Kremlin bureaucrats and their miserable lackeys, is alive and will live, thanks to this inevitable development of the understanding and the struggle of the proletariat. [Taken from an article by K. H. in the Jan. 1950 issue of Unser Weg, paper of the German Trotskyists.]

LIBERALS IN BITTER DISPUTE ON JIM CROW

Should the labor and Negro movements support anti-segregation amendments to welfare legislation in Congress even though their adoption will probably result in the Southern Democrats voting against the welfare bills and possibly defeating them? This became an important issue last year when the NAACP supported amendments prohibiting segregation in housing and education financed by federal funds, and when the liberal Senators (headed by Humphrey, Douglas, Morse and Glen Taylor) joined in an alliance with the Southern Democrats to defeat them. We explained the principles involved in an article last May 16 and declared: "In this dispute we Trotskyists stand 100% with the NAACP and Walter White, and 100% against the liberal demagogues." Now the issue has been raised again by a controversy in the Social Democratic New Leader, where the NAACP position is attacked in two articles by William E. Leuchtenberg, a former organizer for the liberal Americans for Democratic Action and now a social science teacher at Smith College, and defended by Henry Lee Moon, public relations director of the NAACP. Leuchtenberg takes the same line as his ADA comrades Humphrey and Douglas, and even pays tribute to their "courage" in opposing anti-Jim Crow amendments. (He discreetly omits quoting Douglas's statement in the Senate last year: "I do not want at this time to disrupt the United States of America during a period of grave national crisis when we are being threatened by the police state in order to force upon them [the Southern Democrats] what I believe to be correct.") Segregation is evil, says Leuchtenberg, but anti-segregation amendments are also evil because their effect is "no new schools, no new homes, no new hospitals." And anyhow, segregation isn't altogether evil, he contends, because new housing, even if segregated, will benefit Negro slum dwellers and increased educational facilities, even if segregated, "will create a more favorable reception in the South to reasoned arguments against racial discrimination." A Liberal With a Very "Gradual" Program He doesn't believe that it will be possible to outlaw segregation by federal legislation for a long, long time ("even President Roosevelt did not venture to attack segregation") and he questions the wisdom of enforcing equality in a reluctant South. What, then, should be done? Go out, he says, and see to it that "a new pattern of non-segregation is established over considerable areas of the country to serve as a national model and as an impetus to federal legislation." Leave the South alone, concentrate on the North and West, don't bother so much with Washington (where presumably the national patterns are set). True, he admits, "We shall have used the funds of the American people to foster and strengthen racial segregation in the South, to construct new Negro ghettos." But that is the price he is willing to pay for his "gradual" program in the rest of the country. Then, "If segregation persists, there will be only one group to blame, the liberal forces — NAACP, trade unions, ADA and others — for not having done a good enough job in making segregation a political issue and educating their neighbors on its evils." The NAACP line, he charges, is politically "an act of desperation," which plays "right into the hands of their opponents." Moreover, "by placing in an impossible position the liberals who have been leading the civil rights fight," meaning the Trumanites like Douglas and Humphrey, the supporters of anti-Jim Crow amendments "are threatening the whole Fair Deal program." And of course all good Trumanites are more concerned about that than anything else. While Moon's reply doesn't say everything that can be said, it says enough to tear Leuchtenberg to ribbons. "Many of our liberals," he says, who will fight reaction on labor and other issues, are seized by "a strange and enervating malady" that makes them "turn tail and flee ignominiously before the synthetic fury of Dixiecrat demagogues whenever the race issue is raised." This happens so often he wonders if it "stems from a subconscious sympathy with the southern point of view." Moon says Leuchtenberg is one of these liberals, "faint-hearted and myopic," who would "accept" unsegregated housing and education but are unwilling to make a real fight for it, who are willing to fight where the forces of reaction are not so strong but counsel surrender to the Dixiecrats. Moon contends that the patterns of residential segregation in the South are less rigid than in New York or Chicago. The NAACP, which opposes segregation, especially when it is supported by public funds, "opposed a housing program without safeguards against discrimination and segregation because we have seen the federal government introduce into areas, both North and South, a rigid pattern of segregation which had not existed prior to the introduction of federally-sponsored housing." In other words, Leuchtenberg's line leads to the extension and therefore the strengthening of the segregation he deplores — an evil which thoroughly negates whatever "good" some people may see in segregated housing and education. This one fact alone demolishes Leuchtenberg's entire position, so we will skip over most of Moon's other points and get to his conclusion. Charging Leuchtenberg with pessimism and the belief that there is no answer to the issues under discussion, Moon says: "We are convinced that there is an answer, and that answer is intensified and expanded political action in the South by such groups as the CIO Political Action Committee, AFL's political wing, the ADA and the NAACP." Specifically: "An intelligently conducted campaign to swell the number of voters in the Southern states and to hunt out and support decent candidates [like Senators Pepper, Graham and Kefauver], could result within a decade in a complete regeneration of Southern politics. . . . Now wait just a minute, Mr. Moon. We agree that the political picture in the South can be changed radically and quickly with the application of the correct policy. But aren't you forgetting a few things? Isn't it a fact that ALL of the Southern Democrats, including the "decent" ones named by you, voted against the anti-segregation amendments last year? Isn't it a fact that all of the non-Southern Democrats, liberal and otherwise, did the same? And isn't it also a fact that all of these people were elected to office with the active support of the CIO, AFL and ADA leaders and the tacit support of the NAACP leaders? How will the election of more people like them, in the South or the North, help to improve the situation? Moon has harsh though accurate words to describe "many of our liberals" like Leuchtenberg. But don't the same words apply to Truman and all the Trumanites whose election Moon himself supported? Calling Leuchtenberg to account while continuing to elect people sharing his views to the White House and Congress is not only contradictory — it is also proof that Leuchtenberg is not the only one in this dispute who is "faint-hearted and myopic." Political action IS the answer. But not the kind of political action that has been practiced up to now by the leaders of the mass organizations. Political action can be meaningful in the fight against Jim Crow only if it is based on a complete break with all varieties of liberal capitalist demagoguery — that is, only if it strives to build an independent Labor Party working to establish a Workers and Farmers Government that will abolish the economic and social roots of capitalist oppression and exploitation. * * * One other aspect of the dispute, although it concerns tactics primarily, is worth brief consideration. In defending NAACP support of anti-segregation amendments to welfare bills, Moon notes that the NAACP opposed the Langer civil rights amendments to the oleo bill in the Senate last month because "lynching, poll taxes and other such civil rights questions are not germane to, or involved in, the repeal of the oleomargarine tax." We don't say that civil rights riders should be introduced to ALL bills, but we think the NAACP made a mistake in this specific case. The Dixiecrat strategy is to postpone action on FEPC for as long as possible, because the later in the session the filibuster against it begins the harder it will be to defeat the filibuster. Langer's oleo amendment to establish an FEPC provided an opportunity to begin the fight against the filibuster in mid-January (instead of March or whenever the Truman administration will finally bring it into the Senate for a vote) and the NAACP, instead of tying its hands with formalities about "germaneness," should have seized this opportunity for immediate action.

U. S. SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS SHIPOWNERS ON HIRING HALL

(Continued from Page 1) soap-box oratory," says Curran in the NMU Pilot which appeared on the eve of the Supreme Court action. What then does he propose? 1. Send wires and letters to Congressmen urging passage of the Lesinski-Magnussen amendments to the T-H Law, legalizing the hiring hall. 2. Enlist the support of "community groups" to aid the seamen. And that is all! Curran does not say that the self-same program crashed in a heap last year when Congress, despite all the letters and telegrams, adjourned without acting on the Lesinski amendments. GESTURES Actually, Curran and his lieutenants themselves do not have much faith in their own lobbying program. That is why they felt constrained to make a gesture in the direction of united action by proposing a call for a conference of all seafaring unions, excluding those under "communist" control. Harry Lundberg, president of the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific, who for the past years has been engaged mainly in expelling any and all oppositionists inside his own union felt it necessary to make a similar gesture. "We approve in principle," he wired back. Whether this call for a conference of the different maritime unions actually ever takes place, and whether any discussions are taken to organize a genuine fight against the T-H Law, depends exclusively on how much pressure the rank and file seamen exert on their officials. Curran's basic strategy, if it can be called that, calls for "attempts to have the shipowners join with us, or, at least, remain neutral in this struggle until we have successfully won what is legitimately our right." This is "the direct road to disaster. It begins with the fantastic premise that there is some real difference between the government and the shipowners and that therefore the shipowners will cooperate with the union in finding a formula that will circumvent the T-H Law and retain the hiring hall. It is flatly contradicted in another page of the same issue of the Pilot. The union's open letter to Congress cites the unambiguous opposition of the shipowners to continuing the hiring hall. This was one of the principal issues in the 1948 negotiations, and it was finally waived by the shipowners when the union agreed that the contract would be reopened in the event that the hiring hall was outlawed by the higher courts. NEW NEGOTIATIONS That situation is close at hand now. The NMU must re-enter negotiations with the club of Taft-Hartleyism, placed in the shipowners' hands by Truman's Supreme Court, suspended over its head. It cannot proceed in the hope of cheating concessions or the hiring hall out of these negotiations, as Lundberg did on the West Coast in 1948. Times have changed, the relation of forces has altered in favor of the shipowners — and anyhow the NLRB is preparing an attack on the "Lundberg formula." The union needs power on its side. Its defeat is inevitable if the only force at its disposal are letters and telegrams and all the discredited clap-trap of make-believe action learned in the Stalinist school. If they are to be successful the new negotiations should begin in an atmosphere of struggle heralded by the calling of a one day stop-work protest meeting of all ships in American ports. The NMU is officially on record in favor of a Congress of Labor to fight the T-H Law. It is time to put the resolution into action to cement a fighting alliance with the mine workers, to take Murray and Co. go beyond verbal expressions of sympathy and support. INTERNAL PROGRAM Meanwhile the union must be consolidated internally and whipped into a fighting force in anticipation of a big battle. Curran must be made to live up to his statement that "all other issues become secondary, and should be swept aside in the interests of a united struggle to preserve our hiring hall." The witch-hunting and the purges must be stopped; the expelled workers must be reinstated, democratic procedures must be restored, the hired goons and the cops ousted from the union hall and the union meetings; the "anti-Communist" fund must be transformed into an anti-Taft-Hartley fund. Such a program would lay the foundation for a successful struggle to preserve the hiring hall. Russian Potash Shipments Help Break U. S. Strike New Mexico potash workers, belonging to the Stalinist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, have succeeded in cutting production by 85% in a two-month strike that has had a face savage strikebreaking attacks by the mine owners and a court injunction against mass picket lines. Now U.S. manufacturers are trying to break the strike by buying potash abroad. "The first shipment of potash from Russia in 11 years is due to reach this country any day now," says the CIO press. This is nothing new for the Kremlin, which shipped oil to Mussolini while he attacked Ethiopia and shipped Polish coal to France during the last mine strike there.

Wallaceites Face Deep-Going Crisis

(Continued from page 1) spread of socialism throughout the world provided there is good-will among men, an agreement between Stalin and Truman — all to be carried out under the auspices of the UN. Nevertheless the demand raised by Rogge and supported by Leo Isaacson and many others — that the party should be at least as critical of the Kremlin as it is of the State Department — will probably lead to an irrevocable split in the Progressive Party. The Stalinists can no more remain in the same party with supporters of Tito and critics of Stalin than they could remain in a united front for democratic rights with supporters of the Trotskyists. The Kremlin will permit a united front with fascists, Nazis, reactionaries of all stripes but never with Trotskyists, Titoists or critics of the Kremlin. This accounts for the furious campaign in the Daily Worker against Louis Adamic and supporters of Tito in American Yugoslav organizations, most of which have been associated with the Wallace movement. It presages a bitter struggle at the Progressive Party convention and perhaps a split in the near future. The Stalinists are serving notice that they will not tolerate the "Rogge heresy." CRISIS IS ORGANIC The disintegration of the Progressive Party is irrevocable. It arises from organic and programmatic causes and not from this or that tactical difference with the Stalinists. A patched-up unity at this convention may delay the final demise of the party but cannot avert it. There can be no perspective for progressive-minded workers and intellectuals except on the road indicated by the great Marxist teachers and in a coalition with those who follow an uncompromising program of class struggle — that is, with the Socialist Workers Party. Meanwhile the struggle launched by Rogge and others against Kremlin domination cannot fail to have a progressive and salutary effect on the struggle for democratic rights, within the labor movement: it cannot fail to aid the Yugoslav people in their fight for survival. It is to be hoped that, whatever the outcome of the division within the Progressive Party convention, the action of Rogge and his friends will facilitate the formation of a broad united front of all labor and liberal forces for the protection of civil rights against the encroachments of the police state at home and against Stalin's despotic methods in the world labor movement.

SAN FRANCISCO - OAKLAND Annual Negro History Celebration

Public forums on: "THE MEANING OF NEGRO HISTORY TODAY" Speaker: William Gorman Friday, Feb. 24, 8 p. m. "FEPC, THE NEGRO QUESTION AND SOCIALISM" Speaker: Allen Willis Saturday, Feb. 25, 8 p. m. Discussion, Entertainment, Refreshments Socialist Workers Party headquarters 1739 Fillmore Street, 4th fl., San Francisco Admission Free

H-Bomb Liberals

By George Breitman

Since the end of the war we have seen Truman Doctrine liberals, Marshall Plan liberals, Atlantic Pact liberals and aid-to-Chiang Kai-shek liberals. It therefore should come as no surprise to learn that we have H-Bomb liberals with us too. Oh, the H-Bomb is a terrible thing, of course, of course — but still and all, and despite everything, not to make the H-Bomb would be still more terrible from their viewpoint.

Others may have more appropriate nominations, but my choice for H-Bomb Liberal No. 1 is Arthur Schlesinger Jr., theoretician of Americans for Democratic Action and author of *The Vital Center*. Ever on the alert to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism, he takes Secretary of State Acheson to task in the Feb. 12 N. Y. Post for his refusal to utilize the H-Bomb to reopen negotiations with the Kremlin, as has been advocated in the Senate by McMahon and Tydings.

Schlesinger agrees with Acheson that "a new approach to the Soviet Union at this point has virtually no chance of success," but he believes "it still may well be worth trying if only as a means of uniting our own side. It may, indeed, be itself an indispensable component in Mr. Acheson's great drive toward the final re-establishment of western strength."

To prove this point, Schlesinger refers to the Yalta Conference. As we showed last week in our review of Stettinius' Roosevelt and the Russians, the Yalta agreements, far from giving Stalin anything he did not already have, were instruments by means of which the imperialists were able to justify the launching of the cold war. Schlesinger apparently agrees with this estimate, and quotes in its substantiation a recent comment by Andre Malraux, ex-fellow traveler of the Stalinists and now chief adviser to de Gaulle. Malraux said of Yalta: "Our attempt to reach an agreement with the Russians entailed a

liability which was, for France, very heavy. But would it not have been still heavier if we had refused even the attempt? I do not think that any one could have remained in power in France, or even in the United States, if he had brought about a break with Russia, which at that time would have seemed to have no justification."

Schlesinger says: "A similar argument, I believe, is applicable today. . . to justify so ominous and terrible a decision as our own to go ahead with the hydrogen bomb. Such a decision can be accepted by the world only in the conviction that every possibility of friendly negotiation has been tried and has failed."

And that's the essence of H-Bomb liberalism — excite the hopes and exploit the fears of the people in order to make the "ominous and terrible" decision palatable. Deplore the H-Bomb? Twenty-four hours a day. Oppose the H-Bomb? Not even by implication. Certain sections of the capitalist class are visibly worried at the prospect of winning the next war with the H-Bomb only thereby to make the whole world uninhabitable — even for capitalists. But apparently nothing frightens the H-Bomb liberals so much as the thought that "our own side" may not be united — that is, that the masses of this and other Atlantic Pact countries may rebel against the policies of Wall Street and the State Department and try to take their fate into their own hands.

It would be rash, however, to conclude that the liberal lackeys of H-Bomb democracy have reached the final stage in their degeneration and treachery. Give the ruling class time to perpetrate some new and even more monstrous crime against humanity than the H-Bomb and they will prove that there is really no limit to the depths of cynicism and servility to which they will not descend.

Dogs, Steaks and Bells

By James E. Boulton

Well-fed, 235-pound Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, a Truman Democrat of purest stripe, has brought forth some ideas for trimming the national budget. The time has come, he discovers, for the workers to be satisfied with less. He would begin by cutting down the vacation leave of civil service workers; then kick ten percent of the civilian government employees onto the growing lines of the jobless; curtail the building of roads and of the dams that might otherwise ease some of the floods that ravage this country, etc.

Douglas, you will remember, is the man who was the light-of-love of the labor bureaucrats during the last election campaign. They pressured him and told us to vote for him. A reporter who called on Douglas to ask about his sudden penny-pinching ways, got a reply that told more than Douglas intended.

To explain his purpose, Douglas used a comparison that gives his real opinion of the workers, the poor farmers, and the unemployed. Douglas reminded the reporter of the famous Dr. Pavlov. We're just a bunch of dogs to him!

Dr. Pavlov had a number of dogs which he used for experiments. He rang a bell and fed them choice pieces of steak. The smell of good red meat made their mouths water. After they had gone through this routine for some time, they associated the sound of the bell with the taste of juicy steaks.

Finally Dr. Pavlov took the steaks away. He kept on ringing the bell. The dogs became confused. The bell rang, their saliva flowed in expectation, and they got nothing. Their digestive apparatus finally became so upset that dog psychiatry became necessary.

I. F. Stone on Kutcher

The Kutcher case is a vivid, and cruel example of the assaults engendered by the cold war on the right of political opposition, columnist I. F. Stone wrote in the Feb. 12 N. Y. Daily Compass, shortly after the legless veteran filed suit in the Federal District Court in Washington for reinstatement to his VA job.

"The sole charge [against Kutcher] was membership in the Socialist Workers Party," Stone said. "The Socialist Workers Party is a Trotskyist group. It was listed as subversive by the Attorney General. It is also regarded as subversive in Moscow. Tom Clark and Vishinsky agreed. . . ."

"Kutcher was a Trotskyist when he lost his legs in battle. A generous country, might consider his sacrifice ample demonstration of loyalty. The \$45-a-week clerical job in the VA office in Newark was little enough reward for his disability. There was no allegation that he did not do his work faithfully. The job, as the government admitted in the loyalty proceeding, involved no 'confidential' material. There are no atom bombs secreted in the Newark VA files. The Kremlin is probably the last place to which a Trotskyist would ship them, anyway. The Kutcher case shows the erosion of basic rights, good sense and humane feeling in this country under the pressure of cold war jitters. Fear creates cowardice, and cowardice creates cruelty."

Akron Police Murder Defenseless Negro

AKRON, Feb. 12—Murder of an unarmed Negro veteran by a city policeman last Thursday night has produced a wave of revulsion against police violence in Akron and a demand that Policeman Robert Wilcox, admitted slayer of Ernest Fenner, be prosecuted on a charge of murder.

The local legal redress committee of the NAACP has intervened in the case and unearthed the following facts:

Ernest Fenner, 26, was discharged from the Army in 1944 suffering from nervous disorders. In the intervening years he had Veterans Administration medical care for his condition.

Thursday night Fenner went berserk and began beating his wife. Neighbors called an ambulance and the police.

Before the arrival of the police

"Well, the same thing happened with government spending under the Roosevelt New Deal," explained Douglas. "President Roosevelt wanted and got big expenditures of money to lick the depression, and the liberals, including myself, approved. And the saliva kept flowing. Then he needed big expenditures to beat Hitler. But now Hitler has been beaten and the expenditures have kept up. The saliva has kept on flowing. We have a conditioned reflex which if not cured will require the treatment of a psychiatrist."

Until recently, Douglas was among the loudest bell-ringers. The labor-fakers mistook the noise for the steak of social security legislation. They persuaded millions of workers to anticipate good things when the liberal Dr. Pavlov sounded the call.

A lot of people, including some labor leaders, New Deal "reformers" and many workers too, are dismayed. They didn't expect such a dirty trick from a Douglas. We Trotskyists are not surprised. Liberalism was a half-way honest profession 150 years ago, when capitalism was healthy and could afford to toss a little freedom and occasionally a crust to the little fellow. But "liberalism" today serves only to apologize for imperialist wars, for Washington's alliance with France, for invasions of trade union rights, etc. Most important, liberalism's chief job now is to convince workers that capitalism can achieve a "welfare state," so that they will not explore the socialist road to abundance.

Let the liberals and the Wall Street bankers whom they serve remember that the workers don't and won't respond "favorably" to experiments in hunger.

"Kutcher lost more than his government job. He was branded disloyal. The brand will make it more difficult for him to get a job elsewhere. In suing the government for restitution, he is suing for more than himself. The issues go beyond the Civil Service."

"Kutcher was fired on the ground that he was a member of a party the Attorney General had ruled subversive. It was held that the Attorney General's ruling made dismissal mandatory, no matter what Kutcher might offer in his own defense. The original ruling by the Attorney General was made without hearing of any kind."

"It has not been customary in America before these degenerate cold war days to deprive a man of livelihood and reputation on the basis of guilt by association with a political party the Attorney General has branded 'subversive' without notice, hearing or findings."

"We are beginning to take it for granted that an Attorney General may proscribe a whole political party as 'subversive,' though the word itself is not to be found in the law books or the Constitution. What is 'subversive'? Nobody knows. How does the Attorney General make his decision? Nobody knows. Why did the Attorney General brand Kutcher's party 'subversive'? Nobody knows. It may soon become dangerous to ask. . . ."

by the bullets fired by Policeman Wilcox.

Even the Akron Beacon Journal, faced with the weight of evidence against the police, has felt under compulsion to demand an investigation of this brutal murder.

Federal Judge Upholds Deportation of Hariasides

Deportation of foreign born workers for past membership in "subversive organizations" has been declared "constitutional" by Federal Court Judge V. L. Leibell in a far-reaching decision in the case of Peter Hariasides, a Greek journalist. Hariasides came to this country at the age of 13 and later joined the Communist Party from which he was dropped 11 years ago. His case will be appealed to the higher courts.

He emphasized the ne-

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THE MILITANT

Cannon Honored for Forty Years' Service to Socialism

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, Feb. 11 — Warm well-wishes came from all parts of this country as well as from abroad to James P. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement, and National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, which was celebrated at an SWP dinner here tonight at the New Starlight Restaurant.

A large gathering of friends and members of the SWP, including many who had come to New York for the Plenary meeting of the party's National Committee, expressed their deep affection for "Our Jim" as the loyal friend of revolutionary socialists everywhere and paid tribute to his 40 years of unstinting service to the working class of America and the world.

The joyous spirit, comradeship and solidarity of the birthday party was a tribute also to the unbounded confidence and optimism of the party Comrade Cannon has led in 21 years of struggle for the principles and program of Marxism. It showed the morale of the party at a high peak in contrast to the complete demoralization and pessimism that pervades all other so-called "socialist" and "communist" tendencies in the labor movement.

AFTER-DINNER TALK

Representatives of some sections of the population were not represented, as Comrade Cannon in his inspiring after-dinner remarks noted with approval. He observed that, unlike at the recent testimonial luncheon for Norman Thomas, there were no plaudits from capitalist tycoons and their agents, bosses of the Democratic and Republican party machines, union bureaucrats and labor lie-



JAMES P. CANNON

tenants of the State Department, or renegades who have deserted the fight for socialism.

"I like this celebration," Jim said. "It is a gathering of comrades and co-fighters for socialism. I would feel dishonored to have on my sixtieth birthday greetings and compliments from those I have been fighting all my life. I would consider such things as an indication that they did not take my fight very seriously."

"I like this celebration too because it is not isolated from our life and our struggle. We come here from two days of discussion on the problems of our day and we will return tomorrow morning to a continuation of the discussion."

"IN A MINORITY"

Reminiscing on his 40 years of activity as a revolutionist, Jim observed: "The most important question a man can ask himself at a time like this is, 'Has your life been consistent with your youth?'"

How have you conducted yourself in the light of the ideals which inspired your youth?"

"Youth is the age of virtue — or rather of courage, which is the first virtue. The struggle for socialism, with all its hazards and difficulties, has been comparatively easy for me because my youth never forsook me even in the darkest hours. In fact it was then that my younger self, my better self, was most with me, always confronting me with one imperious demand: 'Remember, I am your youth, do not betray me.' That I never did, although I have made mistakes."

"I felt sure with never a doubt that I was on the right road even though that put me in a minority, and more often than not, in a minority of a minority."

"A WAY OF LIFE"

"From the start I assessed the goal of socialism as a way of life as well as an end. To live like a socialist even in an environment of capitalist society, is to some extent to live in the coming socialist society. He who has seen a vision of a better future is already a citizen of that better future. I consider that my reward — a rich reward. Never did I think of renouncing my citizenship in that future world."

"I consider it not illogical or inconsistent for us soldiers of the revolution to have a party tonight, and to have a good time. Socialism for me has always been the philosophy of the good life, alien to all asceticism. It is the doctrine of 'The good time comin' and the great gettin' up in the morning.'"

The birthday party was in every way a celebration of Jim's "good time comin'." Revolutionary songs rang through the hall, comrades chatted enthusiastically about the old days and the tasks ahead.

SWP Committee Maps Election Campaign for '50

(Continued from page 1)

posals to definitely remove the Socialist Party from the political arena. The practical difficulties are by no means insignificant, but they can be surmounted by the party, as they have been in the past, and highly effective campaigns conducted.

Alongside this effort in the election campaign was placed the task of unfolding the struggle for civil rights. The witch-hunt has become a permanent feature of this country's life. So, too, has the struggle for civil rights, which can be won only by mobilizing united front action to defend the rights of all victims of the witch-hunt.

Favorable fields of work have been opened up for the SWP by the crisis of the Wallaceite movement and the repercussions of the Tito-Stalin conflict inside the CP and especially among the Stalinist periphery and the Slavic population. Intervention in both these fields was stressed as part of the urgent party tasks.

NEGRO STRUGGLE

The Negro struggle was designated as another sphere of important party activity. The Negro mass movement, like the unions, has suffered from stagnation during the last year. But the Negro masses have shown, thru the recent Civil Rights Mobilization, growing impatience with the capitalist betrayal of promises on civil rights legislation and can be expected to respond readily to the first favorable opportunity for militant action against Jim Crow.

Last, but not least, it was decided to expand party work among the youth, who are the first to feel the direct effects of the fading of the boom and restricted opportunities for employment. Among the large student body on the campuses is to be found the first postwar generation of youth with little or no prospects of a job who will tend to become disillusioned with capitalism and gravitate to socialist solutions as did the disinherited generations of the youth in the Thirties.

In the trade union report, Bert Cochran, chairman of the SWP Trade Union Committee, analyzed the experiences in the labor movement last year. He drew special attention to the fact that the defeats and decline of various broad progressive union oppositions were due to the slow tempo of the radicalization of the working class and the sweep of unfolding reaction. He emphasized the ne-

Waltham Watch Winds Up



The Waltham Watch Co., one of the nation's oldest manufacturing firms, has closed its doors. Here some of the 1,200 workers rendered jobless leave the plant after receiving their dismissal notices. Lack of business was blamed for the shutdown.

necessity for revolutionary socialists to carry on basic propaganda for their anti-capitalist views as the indispensable preparation of new progressive formations once the tide turns and a new wave of insurgency starts. The plenum adopted the report.

OTHER PARTIES

The developments among the various radical parties during the last year were discussed in the report of National Secretary James P. Cannon. He made a detailed study of the evolution of the Communist Party, the Wallace Progressive Party, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party and the Shachtmanites. Unlike its opponents in the recent period, he noted, the SWP is the only party that has been able to maintain both its morale and its forces. This gives added assurance that with a new turn in the situation it will be able to forge ahead.

The plenum adopted a resolution, "The Capitalist Witch-Hunt and How to Fight It," reviewing main trends in the current witch-hunt and elaborating the most effective counter-measures to be taken in the struggle against it. The SWP resolution on the Negro question, whose general line was adopted by the 1948 convention and submitted for further discussion in the party, was also formally adopted.

EASTERN EUROPE

There was extensive discussion over the class character of the countries in Eastern Europe under Stalinist domination and Yugoslavism. The plenum decided to continue the discussion in the party.

PLENUM URGES SUPPORT TO CANNON BIRTHDAY FUND

A group of New York comrades had the happy thought of collecting amongst themselves a fund to mark James P. Cannon's sixtieth birthday and the 40 years of his work for socialism. They collected \$400, which was presented to Comrade Cannon at his birthday celebration, held by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, to use as he desires for the good of the movement.

The National Committee of the SWP, meeting in full session last week-end, heartily approved the initiative of the New York comrades. They felt that so excellent a project should not be confined to New York, but ought to be extended. Accordingly, the National Committee unanimously voted to make the Cannon Birthday Fund a national project.

This fund, to be given as an expression of gratitude for his contributions to the building of the Trotskyist movement, will be placed at Comrade Cannon's disposal, with this one condition: That the gift be used in any way he sees fit to advance the aims to which he has devoted his life. Individual friends as well as party members and branches are invited to contribute.

They applauded, with Jim, his many long-time comrades in arms who were able to be present.

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

Arne Swaback, master of ceremonies for the evening, recalled Comrade Cannon's invaluable work in helping to organize the pioneer Communist Party in this country in 1919, and his achievement in bringing back from Moscow in 1928, the forbidden "Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern" written by Leon Trotsky. This was the document which became the starting-point of the world Trotskyist movement for the regeneration of socialist internationalism against Stalinist degeneration.

SWP National Labor Secretary Vincent R. Dunne, with the advantage of having already passed his sixtieth birthday, jovially assured Comrade Jim that revolutionary life does not end at three-score years. In reply, Comrade Cannon promised to give another ten years for the move-

ment, and then we'll see if Rose and I are still needed."

Morris Stein, National Organization Secretary, praised the enduring principled character of Comrade Cannon's long revolutionary career. He pointed out that of all those who had led in the pioneering of the communist movement in the United States, aside from those who had died in the Twenties, only Comrade Cannon had not betrayed the cause, quit or gone over to the capitalist class camp, or sunk into the Stalinist mire where not even their own colleagues have any affection or respect for them.

Since Comrade Jim had indicated to the New York comrades his disinclination to receive any personal gifts, the New York Local presented him with a gift he would receive, a check for \$400, from voluntary contributions, as a "Cannon Birthday Fund" to be used in any way he saw fit for the benefit of the socialist movement.

NEW DEMANDS ISSUED BY CHRYSLER STRIKERS

DETROIT, Feb. 12 — A meeting of 125 Chrysler union delegates last Wednesday opened an offensive on the strike-bound corporation with the following chief demands: Union

shop and check-off; improved and strengthened grievance procedure; elimination of wage inequities; time and a half for all Saturday work; reduction of probationary period for new men from 90 to 30 days; promotion strictly according to seniority; liberalized vacation pay; elimination of company rights to discipline for "unauthorized" strikes.

Strike demands, originally limited to 10 cents for pensions or wages, have thus been broadened to include issues of union security. They aim to eliminate company policies that undermine and weaken the union.

While negotiations have so far been fruitless, the 19-day shutdown of 25 Chrysler plants by the CIO United Auto Workers has remained 100% effective. More men and women are participating in strike work than at any time since the plants went down. A special strike assessment of \$1 per working member will soon add \$10,000,000 to union strength. In addition, UAW ads in newspapers, while not on the scale of company advertising, answer the corporation propaganda.

Veterans having difficulties collecting money from government channels are assisted by their locals. At the same time, auto workers are putting pressure on relief authorities who require strikers to work for subsistence (which interferes with strike duties) and also demand that virtual destitution exist before aid is given.

Settlement to tighten up the strike grows. Criticism mounts against permitting maintenance, powerhouse and office help to work; against lack of mass picket lines, lack of membership meetings and absence of demonstrations. Militants feel that closing off plants to all help and holding mass meetings would insure more membership participation and control, and gain quicker victory.

Criticism made itself felt at the UAW Chrysler conference last Wednesday. A Dodge delegate wanted to know whether his unit, comprising a third of those on strike, would be granted its full voting strength. He was told, in substance, his unit would get 12

votes out of 125, or 10%. Thereupon, the whole Dodge delegation walked out, joined by a section of the Plymouth contingent, in protest against the undemocratic voting procedure.

The Dodge people later put out a statement, reading in part: "Our action is not to be considered as a rebellion against International union policy, and we wish to emphasize that our local and leadership are solidly behind our union negotiators in all of their demands on Chrysler." They described their action as a "fight to hold our democratic voting strength. . . and to keep our full voice in formulating decisions and policy in cracking the arrogance of the Chrysler Corp. and winning our just demands. . ."

While fearful for democratic rights and supporting new contract demands, militants are suspicious of one union demand they feel the company will most surely grant, calling for greater power in the hands of an "impartial umpire." They feel such a "concession" may lead to giving up, in grievance procedure through an umpire, what has already been won through union power. This happened at Ford when workers lost a paid lunch period. At both Ford and GM, umpires have ruled to give the companies police-powers over production rates, and workers are brutally penalized for not meeting arbitrary company standards.

Legion Purgers Brand Nursery Tunes Subversive

The American Legion witch-hunters, moving into the nursery schools, have branded as subversive nursery rhymes put out by Young People's Records Inc., whose discs are now being used in thousands of homes, private and parochial schools, 200 public school systems, including New York and Los Angeles. The Legion complaint is that one of the tunes, "Building a City," glorifies construction workers but "does not hint that manufacturers, contractors, bankers, architects draftsmen or even capitalist entrepreneurs have a part in building a city."