

# WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

## Nehru's Cops Murder 100 Calcutta Workers!

### HANDS OFF CUBA!

Behind all the shouting about "Communism" in Cuba, one simple fact is carefully screened out by the capitalist "newspaper curtain."

That is the fact that Cuba's whole economy is dominated by no more than a dozen Wall Street-owned sugar companies.

These immensely wealthy corporations can well afford to sell their plantations to the Cuban Government for division among the peasantry. These capitalist bloodsuckers would still have hundreds of millions of dollars worth of sugar refineries, railways, shipping interests etc. in Cuba after such a division of the land. But they are determined that this division shall not take place, much as the Cuban masses (whom they have so long exploited) may need it.

The recent raid of Havana by American-based planes is just one more proof that this is so. The counter-revolutionary activity in Cuba could not last for another week if it were not

inspired and financed in the United States.

Castro himself wants a pact with Wall Street to maintain capitalism in Cuba. But Castro wants *Cuban* capitalism to rule Cuba. And he wants to give the peasants the land as a necessary support for his regime.

But the arrogant yankee capitalists refuse all compromises. Only a further eruption of the Cuban masses will convince them that they had better give up something. That is why Castro has called on the workers and peasants again, and now threatens to give them arms.

The power of U.S. Big Business in Cuba must be broken. The task for the Cuban workers is clearly to call for the total expropriation of yankee capitalists in Cuba and for the establishment of a workers government to carry this out.

The immediate task for the United States workers is to prevent any Wall Street intervention. **HANDS OFF CUBA!**

### Boss Press Buries News as "Neutralist" Nehru Uses China Clash to Divert Mass Unrest!

The capitalist press finally revealed on October 12 that 50 to 100 persons were killed by the Calcutta police in the September demonstrations against high food prices.

This news was buried on page 9 of the Herald-Tribune half-way down the page of an article with the misleading headline, "Communist Plot Fails in West Bengal."

Nehru's cops killed 50 to 100 starving people, and wounded many scores of others. And the news was all but suppressed!

But on Friday, October 23, there was a border skirmish of Indian police with Chinese troops, and 17 of these same cops were supposed to have been killed. This became front page news throughout the United States! (Actually, it now appears that half of these were simply arrested by the Chinese, and some of the others only wounded.)

There were headlines, tears and sympathy for the cops, but not even an epitaph for the many more starving poor, who were killed by the cops.

This is a common enough practice for capitalist newspapers. They always sympathize with the cops, and never with the workers. But there is a far deeper aspect to this particular mass murder—and a very special reason for concealing the facts.

There is a colossal crisis in India. The food situation alone is practically unsolvable. The ruling Congress Party is coming apart at the seams. And state power is waiting to be grabbed by the first resolute blow from the right—or from the left.

In this situation, the India-China border crisis is first and foremost a diversion, well calculated to take the minds of the Indian masses off their

### Shoots the Workers



Nehru

real enemy (Indian capitalism) and divert them against Chinese Communism. The hypocritical bourgeois Nehru, not only made use of the crisis; he caused the crisis!

We discuss the border question further on page four, the Indian CP on page two.

## Civil Rights Fighter Jailed; Supreme Court Turns Its Back

The Supreme Court has given another boost to jimcrow by refusing to give hearing to Dr. Albert E. Perry, the civil rights fighter of Monroe, North Carolina.

Perry, framed on an abortion charge in 1957, now faces two to three years in prison.

Real story is this: He has been a militant leader of Carolina NAACP for several years. He was



Dr. Perry

hounded by the racists in his town, and finally assaulted by a car caravan of the Ku Klux Klan itself in October, 1957.

It was on this occasion that Rob Williams organized the now famous defense guard which traded gunfire with the Klan.

The idea of the abortion frame-up was to break the doctor financially and destroy his effectiveness in the Monroe fight for civil rights.

The Klan could not beat him with its guns. But thanks to the Supreme Court, it can now celebrate a victory.

This victory will be short-lived indeed if Civil Rights Defense Guards take on the Klan as effectively throughout the country as they did in Monroe, North Carolina.

## They Conspire Against the Steelworkers!

J. Wilson

The strike of the steelworkers in 1959 is different from all previous strikes since the recognition of the Steel Union in 1937. Not only has it been the longest strike, lasting over one hundred days, but it is also the strike which marks a turning point in the attitude of the ruling class to the working class.

This strike is the result of a calculated plan by Wall Street, a plan which was devised for the period of capitalist crisis:

With the help of automation and advanced technology, American capitalism's productive forces now far exceed market demands. And the ruling class has decided that it must break the organized labor movement in order to preserve its profits.

It has decided that to make profits which are being lost on other fronts, it must drive down the living standards of the American workers. It has decided that it must reverse the trend of the last twenty years, when it forced this strike. That is why this strike is different from previous steel strikes.

The ruling class has opened an attack on the workers movement starting with the steel strike and following up with further attacks on the labor movement as a whole.

The passage of the Landrum-Griffith-Kennedy Bill in the midst of the strike was just another part of this boss at-

### He Knows Which Side HE'S On!

The Federal District Judge who granted the Taft-Hartley injunction in Pittsburgh last week, Herbert Peter Sorg, was well trained from youth to do his dirty work.

For fourteen years he was assistant to the president of the Keystone Carbon Corporation in his home town of St. Mary's, Pennsylvania. One of his duties was negotiating contracts for the company with the 500 employees.

This chief bargainer for a corporation is now an "impartial" judge between the corporations and the steelworkers!

tack on the organized labor movement. The use of the Taft-Hartley injunction fits into the pattern perfectly. It is supposed to prove that labor is responsible for all the ills of capitalist society. And whether it is used or not, the very talk of it is leading to a propaganda cam-

paign to show that the Taft-Hartley law is not strong enough, and more stringent anti-labor legislation is necessary.

But even under Taft-Hartley conditions, the workers can prepare themselves to adopt new methods, new policies. They must find ways and means to use mass pressure to defeat any new anti-labor legislation.

They must understand that the two major political parties are both in collusion with the steel bosses just as they were in collusion with agents of the bosses when they steam-rolled the Landrum-Griffith-Kennedy Bill through Congress.

### Great Mystery!

Dr. George W. Taylor, chief of the Eisenhower-appointed steel inquiry board told newsmen on Wednesday, October 13:

"It would be a minor miracle if we could even get the issues defined by Friday (October 16)." He said the panel is "very distressed" about this.

What's the matter, Doc? Didn't you know that the steelworkers want a raise, and the steel companies want to break the union? How much defining do you need?

Now the weight of the United States Government has been thrown against the Steelworkers Union. But the magnificent struggle of the workers has made even the Government pause—hold back, and stall for time. Fearful of what the aroused workers will do when they go back to the plants, fearful of organized slowdowns and even sit-downs, the bosses' Government again puts on the "impartial" act while its tin gods of the Supreme Court deliberate over what is worse for capitalism: a longer strike, or a Taft-Hartley-embittered working class.

And yet the politicians of Big Business, from Eisenhower down, are already preparing to push for new legislation to tie the hands of labor still more. Why? Because the Taft-Hartley law, the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Bill are still not sufficient to defeat labor.

The big bosses are already talking up legislation to outlaw strikes altogether, to try to prevent workers from using their most effective weapon in the struggle for wages, hours and better conditions. The labor movement must begin mobilizing now to see that this legislation is not passed.

The workers must rely on their own power, their own strength, and not on that of their class enemies.



TROTSKY

# WORKERS WORLD

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LENIN

## Civil Rights in the Congo

Last month, 100 Congolese were jailed by their Belgian overlords. (Congo population, 13 million; population of Belgium, 9 million.) These hundred Africans were jailed because they demonstrated for Congo independence and genuine self-rule.

The continent-wide movement for independence has struck the Congo with a fury that will surprise no one who is acquainted with the horrible facts of Belgian misrule. Two additional battalions of Belgian paratroopers have now been moved in. And the "loyal" native troops, under European commanders, have been re-equipped with more modern weapons, and are holding provocative maneuvers just outside Leopoldville.

In the recent months, the Belgians have been making offers of independence, only to surround their offers with so many conditions as to make them completely unacceptable. The latest offer in reality amounted to a legal

barrier to real independence for a long time to come.

So the Congolese demonstrated. And the Belgians imprisoned them.

While we are not surprised at the ruthless Belgian imperialists, we must ask some questions of other quarters:

Where, for example, was George Meany, who has been so exercised over the plight of Hungary these last three years? Where was the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in which he holds so important a position? (And which now boasts a million and a quarter Africans in its ranks!)

Where was the UN which so self-righteously condemned China for its intervention in Tibet? And where, for that matter, was the Soviet Union, a member of the UN, which has the full right to make a motion to condemn Belgium in that body? (To say nothing of aiding Congo independence more substantially — with arms etc. — as a powerful workers' state should.)

## How to Hit the Moon

When General Medaris resigned his job as Missile Director, there arose a regular chorus of lamentations — especially from the missile war profiteers.

The nation's newspapers cried the blues about the United States always being "second" in satellites, in the race to the moon, the race to the sun, and so on. The Government was very much concerned, too, although it pretended not to be.

We offer the following free advice to the Government (which being capitalist, will never take such advice):

Expropriate Big Business like they did in the Soviet Union, and centralize scientific activity. End the "inter-service rivalries" (which are really inter-corporation rivalries — with one general working for one corporation, and one admiral for another corporation, etc.).

## Wall St. Pushes K Too Far!

In September, Khrushchev lectured the Chinese CP leaders against "imposing socialism by force of arms." He meant that China should not be so "aggressive" against imperialism.

But in October, Khrushchev sent the U.S. State Department a note stating that the Soviet Union would back China's just claim to Taiwan (Formosa). This means that Khrushchev reversed the position he took in Peking, and once again sided with the Chinese Revolution, against imperialism.

This welcome development does not arise from Khrushchev's personal loyalty to the revolution. It arises from the great pressure exerted on him by his Chinese allies. It arises from the fact that if you give the U.S. imperialists an inch, they want a mile.

Khrushchev only expected to give them an inch when he visited the United States this September. But within three weeks after his departure, both the

Just expropriate these corporations and all other corporations, and give the present owners an appropriate pension. (An honest job would kill them.) Just utilize all the expropriated industries rationally and planfully.

Just make it possible for the children of twenty million Negro people to become physicists or engineers or anything they want to be.

Just make it possible for every single intelligent person to go to college if he or she desires to go.

Just make it possible for everyone in the country who wants a job to get one.

In other words, build a socialist society.

If that doesn't take us to the moon, we'll just have to admit the Russians are born smart!

Secretary and Under Secretary of State made clear that they expected Khrushchev to house-break the Chinese Revolution! They also said that they held the Soviet regime responsible for any acts of war by China.

This was too much. The hard realities of world politics as well as the logic of the class struggle absolutely prevent Khrushchev from going very far along this road of appeasement.

And Khrushchev, no matter how far he is removed from the workers, nevertheless represents a workers state. In this he resembles that genial class collaborationist, Steelworkers' President, David J. McDonald. When the workers' organization he leads is being attacked by capitalism, his own privileged position compels him to put up a fight in behalf of the workers.

We, of course, support that fight, whatever we think of the fighting merits of the "leader."

## Lenin Answers Khrushchev On Disarmament

"The developing pressure of the proletariat, and especially its victories in individual countries, are strengthening the resistance of the exploiters and impelling them to new forms of international consolidation of the capitalists (League of Nations, etc.) which, organizing on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples of the earth, are directing their first efforts toward the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat of all countries.

"All this inevitably leads to a combination of civil wars within the separate states with revolutionary wars, both of the proletarian countries defending themselves, and of the oppressed peoples against the yoke of the imperialist powers. In these conditions, the slogans of pacifism, international disarmament under capitalism, courts of arbitration, etc., are not only reactionary utopias, but downright deceptions of the toilers designed to disarm the proletariat and distract it from the task of disarming the exploiters."

—Program of the Third International 1919

## MAIL BAG

### Defends our Headline —

Editor, Workers World:

I very much liked your headline, "Soviet Science Hits the Moon; Soviet System Proved Superior!" and thought you proved your point in the accompanying article. However, I have heard several adverse comments about it. Someone said to me:

"Well, then if the U.S. had hit the moon first, you'd have to admit the capitalist system was superior. Or suppose Nazi Germany had done it. Would that have made fascism superior?"

But I believe this person simply missed the point of your article. If the Soviet Union had been second or even third to hit the moon, it would still have proven the Soviet System superior. Has any capitalist nation been able to advance from an ox-cart economy to

second or third place in 40 years? In what other part of the world has science ever advanced from the dark ages to the age of rocketry in two generations?

It's easy to reduce an argument to absurdity by dragging in Nazi Germany. But what, in reality, did either fascist Germany or fascist Italy ever do to improve production or advance science? They were able to "make the trains run on time" and bring a brief period of boom-employment (with starvation wages) because of hopped-up war preparations. But that was all!

Sputnik and the moon rockets have only dramatized and made obvious what has been evident for some time—that the Soviet system is the only system that can advance without boom and bust, and the only system that can do better without the production of armaments.

Yours for a Workers World,  
New York E.R.

## Indian CP Yields to Hysteria Of Bourgeoisie Over China

Ana Kezman

The Indian Communist Party is turning to national chauvinism under the bourgeois hysteria created over the China-India border dispute.

This was made plain by the public emergence of the right wing group within the Indian CP. Under its pressure, according to the October 25 New York Times, the All-India CP has issued a statement "directly condemning Com-

lords, has finally erupted into vulgar pro-capitalist patriotism.

One of the leaders of the right wing of the Indian party is S. A. Dange, who is leader of its fraction in the national Parliament. He recently declared that the whole nation would "stand behind Nehru" in whatever steps he took! What if these steps were to include war with Revolutionary China? That's exactly the "step" the imperialists want Nehru to take!

Other outstanding right-wing leaders are Gavindan Nair, Secretary of the Kerala CP, and E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of the ousted CP government of Kerala. They are operating hand-in-glove with Dange.

Ajoy Ghosh is the leader of the so-called "center." An Indian version of Eugene Dennis, he and his group try to straddle between the conflicting factions of the party.

P. C. Joshi, whose position corresponds most to that of William Z. Foster in the American party, is putting up a show of holding back the chauvinist flood in the party. But it is a sham effort.

Meantime, the American CP organ, the *Worker*, remains silent. Can it be that the *Worker* has failed to notice the India-China border crisis? Not at all!

The September 6 *Worker*, in a three paragraph item, stated: "Efforts continue to blow up the incidents in India to proportions that would lead readers (of the capitalist press) to think that India and China were about to go to war . . . we suggest there is no way of getting to rock-bottom fact without reading this paper (the *Worker*) regularly."

A careful reading of the seven subsequent issues of that paper has yielded not a single word—"rock bottom" or otherwise—about the India-China dispute.

Why is the *Worker* so close-mouthed on this vital working class issue? Its readers should give some serious thought to that question!

### Pro-Nehru; Anti-China!



E. M. S. Namboodiripad  
A Leader of Indian CP

munist China's action in Ladakh" (where several Indian soldiers were reported killed by Chinese).

The Indian CP has been following a crassly opportunist line for a long time. But its flagrant support of Nehru, the tool of the Indian capitalists and land-

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# High Court Rules for Integrated Juries

## But This is Only a Paper Victory—Without Mass Action!

The U. S. Supreme Court has just said no Negro in Mississippi can be convicted of any crime! Why? Because Negroes, not being registered voters in most Mississippi counties, do not serve on juries.

Robert Lee Goldsby, a Negro condemned to die for murder, was ordered to have a new trial because there were no Negroes on the jury which convicted him.

But Mississippi is neither going to

allow Negroes to register, nor to allow Negroes to escape its Southern-style justice. Only the most credulous fools will believe that the same Supreme Court which double-crossed its own school integration decree, will now give Negroes the right to vote.

There are many counties in Mississippi where Negroes are in the great majority. They could, should, and would elect Negro sheriffs, Negro mayors, and

Negro city councils if they were allowed to vote. If this happened, the capitalist white supremacist rule of Mississippi would have to go.

That is why Mississippi Attorney General Joseph Patterson said: "I do not feel Mississippi is about to let down the bans and permit everybody to register."

And that is why the Supreme Court is not going to do anything about it, either.

### The First Integrated Jury: It Took a Civil War to Do It!



## How They Integrated the Jury

The jury in the picture is half white, half Negro. It is the grand jury that indicted Jefferson Davis for treason in 1866. (Davis was *President* of the Southern Confederacy.)

Today, ninety-three years later, integrated juries are scarce as hen's teeth, and half-and-half integration (as shown) simply non-existent.

Could anything answer the Uncle Toms, the "evolutionists", the "gradualists" and the pacifist pie-in-the-sky preachers better than this?

These people make a regular profession of telling us that "time" brings all things to him who waits. That's a lie! As far as integrated juries are concerned, progress has gone *backwards* for nearly a century.

The jury that indicted Jefferson Davis was integrated for one reason only: because the *Civil War* had just broken the power of the white supremacist slave-owners.

Tooday, it is not a matter of fighting the same Civil War all over again. But

it is a matter of learning something from that heroic event besides the sugary bedtime-story lessons now taught in the schools (both North and South).

## THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

V. Grey

"Pop, you goose-greased son of a so and so," shouted Breezy, who had lurched into the locker room for the three o'clock shift on pay-day. "Don't you recognize your old friend anymore?"

"The last time I recognized you on a Friday afternoon, I had to buy you two drinks," Pop growled.

"So you admit it! What do you guys think about that? And I thought he was my friend!" Breezy put it on pretty good. "But I'm big-hearted. When I see you in this condition, Pop, I'll come right over to your side of the road and buy you three more drinks. How do you like that?"

"You don't have to buy me no drinks, Breezy. You save your money for your old age. You can't work when you're old," Pop said.

"Play young and work old! That's the only way," Breezy insisted. "How'm I gonna play when I'm old and dried up like you? — Anyway, I'm gonna live on the interest when I'm sixty-five."

"What interest?" asked one of the first-shift boys who was washing up.

"Why my pension fund, what do you think? — but that's after I go to pasture. — Look at Pop now, he's different. He's a two-income man. He's making sixty bucks a week from the company and a pension from the government too."

"I got eight years to go, sweeping and hooking for guys like you before I get that royal pension, Mr. Breezy." Pop was huffy.

"Eight years! Don't you try to tell this gang you're only fifty-seven years old, Pop! You're seventy-seven if you're a day. — I bet you're eighty-seven. Say, fellows, Pop's the guy to see if you want to borrow money. Pop's got all that pension loot salted away somewhere."

## Would an Integrated Jury Have Acted Like This?

In Pine Bluff, Arkansas last month, an all-white jury let a 23 year-old white rapist off with three years probation after finding him guilty.

The man, James D. Casey, assaulted and attempted to rape a 16-year-old Negro girl. Three white women and policemen testified that Casey assaulted the girl.

In asking the all-white jury to be lenient, Casey's lawyer said it was "simply a case of a drunken boy come to town on a spree."

Readers of Workers World will recall that in September an all-white jury in Pikeville, Tennessee sent twelve-year-old James Westmoreland (Negro) to jail for *thirty-five years*.

Three Negro youths are awaiting execution in the Florida death house. Two of them were convicted by all-white juries. Their alleged crime — rape.

## Here's Why They Have All-White Juries!

In the "Democratic" state of Tennessee there is a county in which 64 per cent of the people have never had a representative nor a vote in a single election in fifty years!

In Haywood County, in western Tennessee near the Mississippi River, the white capitalists allow only the 36 per cent white population to vote. And they shut out the vast majority, who are black, from even having the right to decide which capitalist politician shall rob them.

Jet Magazine (Oct. 1) reports that when Currie P. Boyd, a Negro school teacher, tried to register in Haywood County last June, he lost his job and was black-listed in the school system.

Both the white and colored children in Haywood County are taught that "all men are created equal" and that we live in the most democratic country in the world.

## Nailing a Lie About Puerto Ricans!

K. Cathy

They lie when they say that Puerto Rican workers come to New York to get on relief!

A recent survey by the San Juan Dept. of Labor shows with devastating clearness that the above slander has no foundation in fact. Migration to and from the island follows the ebbs and flows of a depression-ridden economy here on the mainland.

During the 1954 recession, which was considered mild by the bosses, there was a 69% drop in migration from Puerto Rico. The main aim of the migrants is to find *work* not *dole*, and when job prospects dim, the number of incoming workers fades.

In 1957 and 1958 when jobs were

even harder to get here in the U.S., Puerto Rican workers returned to the island in great numbers, even when they could have collected relief here. They preferred to return to their friendly native land where the dole is \$12 a month than to remain in a hostile city where the relief is \$100 a month.

Over 50% of all migrants are skilled and semi-skilled workers, and this percentage is higher than that which prevails in the total island population. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican newcomer to New York is above average in schooling and skills, contrary to the general impression which boss propaganda generates. Only 8 per cent are illiterate; 91 per cent come from urban environments.

Distortion and lies about the Puerto Ricans is solely intended to keep them alienated from the rest of the organized labor movement in New York.

### Jimcrow Patriot

Harry S. Truman hit the headlines again on October 18 when he got up in church (Elmwood Methodist in Dallas, Texas) and said that the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence were based on the bible.

We're not so sure about that. But we are sure that the Elmwood Methodist Church is based on jimcrow!

### Majority Loses!

China was shut out of the UN this year by a vote of 44 to 29.

What does this vote mean? The vote is conducted country by country. But some countries have very tiny populations, and their governments are merely stooges for the American bankers.

The 29 votes probably represented a greater number of human beings than the 44. India (who proposed China's membership), the Soviet bloc, and China together comprise the vast majority of humanity.

So what's Pop going to do? Or Breezy, or anybody else, for that matter? Butt his head up against the wall and wind up on skid row?

There's only one thing we can do. Organize to overthrow the whole rotten system. We don't want their starvation bread when we're old. We want a decent workingman's society, where a man fifty to sixty years old can make his own choice to keep on working, or take it easy, AT THE SAME GOOD PAY EITHER WAY. That's the way we'll fix things under socialism.

## In the India-China Border Dispute —

## Workers World Party Defends China

Other Parties Defend Indian Bourgeoisie  
Or Maintain Discreet Silence!

China is a revolution under barricade and quarantine. Blockaded by the US Seventh Fleet in the east, hemmed in by the imperialists to the southeast, rebuffed by the United Nations, it is making Herculean efforts and unheard-of mass sacrifices in order to develop itself. To do this, it needs *peace* on its borders and peaceful trade with all countries.

It also needs, for the same reason, the integration of its land and the *security* of its borders. This may at times require an *assertion* of what these borders are, or even a *correction* of these imperialist-dictated borders, if it feels strong enough to correct them.

The *Militant*, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, takes the opposite stand. It lines up with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Leftist phrases against Mao:  
Class collaboration with Nehru!

Workers China has given semi-colonial, feudal-capitalist India every advantage in the past, including even the maintenance of Indian currency in Tibet. Now India has opened a boundary dispute which Nehru is using to divert the mass discontent of the Indian workers and peasants, attacking revolutionary China. (One need only remember the recent food riots in Calcutta where Nehru's troops opened fire on the unarmed masses, to know how badly Nehru needs the diversion of this border incident.) Nehru is acting here as a stooge for imperialism just as he was acting in the case of the Dalai Lama in the Tibet affair. For the first time in years, Nehru is getting the applause of the imperialists. And the *Militant* chooses just this time to conciliate with — Nehru!

Giving long quotations from its sister periodical the "*Militant*" of India, and from its co-thinker, Colvin de Silva of Ceylon, it headlines its Oct. 5 story: "Indian-Chinese Conflict Alarms Asian Socialists."

The essence of the Indian *Militant's* position is as follows:

"Whatever be the motive, (our emphasis—ed.) the Chinese border incursions cannot be supported by revolutionary socialists in India. They must be condemned unreservedly because of the damage they do to the revolutionary movement."

Colvin de Silva says:

"The Sino-Indian border incidents especially as they come on the morrow and in the context of the *disturbing events in Tibet*, (again our emphasis) help nobody except reaction."

Let us see just who is guilty of "damage to the revolutionary movement"!

## China's case distorted!

In the present case, China is absolutely in the right, *even from a bourgeois-nationalist point of view*, which is the real point of view of these "socialists." But since they want to make sure that China is "condemned unreservedly", they are compelled to employ some double-talk:

"If bourgeois India is guilty of keeping the boundary lines vague (although Nehru has said that repeated attempts made from New Delhi for a settlement remained unresponded to by Peking for over ten years), the Chinese Government is equally guilty of not taking the initiative to settle the dispute." (*Militant* of India — parentheses theirs).

The authors of this statement blandly equate the guilt for the dispute (India's) with the guilt for *not settling* the dispute (China's)! Even bourgeois lawyers would not be guilty of such an outrageous formulation!

The boundary ITSELF  
Is a heritage of imperialism

The McMahon line which India now claims as the proper northeast border between China and India was drawn by British imperialism in 1913-14. It was considerably north of the traditional border, and was never accepted by *any regime* in China. It was protested by Tibet immediately after India

became "free" of Britain in 1947. So much for the Indian *Militant's* insinuation that the line has been *accepted* by China.

It is important to add that Britain never felt the need of a boundary to India as far north as the McMahon line *until after the Chinese Revolution* of 1911, when the handwriting on the wall began to indicate that China was going to be free. (Britain used to rule *both* China and India!)

Nor has the Chinese-Indian boundary line ever been changed on Chinese maps. The area between the McMahon line and the old India-China line to the south of it was unguarded for a long time. The Indian troops, however, moved north to the edge of the McMahon line in 1951 after the Chinese re-established their connection with Tibet (during the Korean War). The Chinese did not feel strong enough to protest at that time.

Recently in the aftermath of the counter-revolutionary uprising in Tibet, the Chinese had to guard the border with special care. The Dalai Lama crossed this border into India to raise counter-revolutionary troops if possible. Many similar crossings took place. Indian troops moved north to protect refugee Tibetan rebels. Border clashes were inevitable. After all, the reactionaries of the world not only wanted to move the border a few miles into Tibet. They wanted *all* of Tibet.

What about the sacredness of  
National boundaries, generally?

But suppose China *were* compelled to make an "incursion" across the real boundary by some other necessity of the revolution than merely adjusting a false border or defending its real border (as in this case). What then?

During the Russian Revolution, the Red Army, under the leadership of Trotsky, was compelled to yield up the Chinese Eastern Railroad (Czarist enterprise) to the Chinese capitalists. But in 1924, Trotsky supported a Soviet-Chinese treaty which returned the railroad to the Soviet Union. *This was a correction of the boundary line*, so to speak, and very much in Russia's favor as against then-capitalist-colonial China.

Later the Chinese again seized this strategic railroad and in 1929 Soviet troops, under Stalin's rule, recovered it. Trotsky, of course, supported the Soviet side.

Trotsky was reproached about this by certain critics who claimed this was "soviet imperialism."

In his answer, it is only necessary to substitute for the word China, the present India (since the general class nature of China at that time was roughly the same as India today.)

What Trotsky had to say  
Sounds a little different  
Than the national-pacifists!

"Departing from the class standpoint for the sake of an abstract-nationalistic position, the ultra-lefts necessarily slide away from a revolutionary position into a purely pacifist one. Louzon relates how the Soviet troops captured in their day the Siberian railway and how later 'the Red Army, in conformity with Lenin's anti-imperialist policy, carefully came to a halt at the frontiers of China. There was no attempt to recapture the territories of the Chinese Eastern Railway' (Revolution Proletarienne, p. 228). The highest duty of the proletarian revolution, it appears, is to carefully dip its banners before national frontiers. Herein, according to Louzon, is the gist of Lenin's anti-imperialist policy! One blushes with shame to read this philosophy of revolution in one country. The Red Army halted at the frontier of China because it was not strong enough to cross the frontier and meet the inescapable onslaught of Japanese imperialism. . . . Wherein lies the misfortune of Louzon and others like him? In this, that he has substituted a national-pacifist policy for the international-revolutionary policy. This has nothing in common with Lenin."

(Reprinted in *Fourth International* October, 1946.)

The national-pacifist Colvin de Silva also has nothing in common with Lenin. He says:

"The capacity of the Chinese revolution to influence to the full the common people in other countries and especially in neighboring countries depends considerably upon the Chinese Government's capacity to maintain good relations with such of the newly independent non-revolutionary countries of Asia as strive to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese People's Republic. India certainly belongs to that category."

India is a *capitalist* country, still dependent on imperialism, (not merely a "non-revolutionary" country). Its ruling class is the mortal enemy of Workers China as well as of the Indian working class. Its capitalist Prime Minister Nehru, imprisons workers and peasants daily and hourly. In Bombay, his troops open fire upon them.

## Tell the truth about Nehru!

It is the first duty of proletarian revolutionists to explain the class character of the Nehru Government to the Asian masses. But this can hardly be expected from left-handed *supporters* of Nehru!

Trotsky taught that a revolutionary country's "capacity to influence . . . the common people in other countries" depended on quite other things than remaining friendly with the capitalist oppressor-governments of those countries.

You are betraying Trotsky, as well as the "common people", Mr. de Silva! Knowingly or unknowingly, you and your Indian friends are preparing a still bigger betrayal, because you are already disarming the revolutionary vanguard in the name of a cowardly "impartiality" between revolution and reaction. In the event of an open conflict, the logic of your line would be "neutrality" as the very best!

A first class example  
Of socialism in words  
And Chauvinism in deeds

But how do matters stand with the American *Militant*? Its editors greet "New China's Tenth Anniversary" on the same page in which all the foregoing treacherous nonsense (and more of the same) appears.

The editorial, a harmless, rambling thing, quite appropriate for an "anniversary", ends on the following lyrical note:

"As the workers take power in the West and proceed to build socialism, they will extend unstinting aid to the Chinese working people."

The workers of China can be thankful indeed for this promise of aid *after* the American socialist revolution! But we make so bold to suggest that the Chinese workers need some of that "unstinting aid" — against Indian capitalism *right now*.

The American *Militant's* China editorial, like its much-belated recognition of the character of the Chinese Revolution, is purely platonic, that is, formal and literary. It is only meant to impress those Guardian supporters with whom the *Militant* still maneuvers for a phony electoral bloc. It cannot be taken seriously.

It is easy to recognize a revolution long after the event. The question for revolutionists is: where do you stand *during* the event; which side are you on?

Three times in the last six months, the *Militant* has been on the same side as the world bourgeoisie on fundamental world class conflicts.

These conflicts were: 1. Tibet. 2. Kerala. 3. The India-China border dispute. Each time, the *Militant* spoke through its Asian co-thinkers. Each time, the *Militant* made no editorial comment.

## Where does the Worker stand?

One more point. The 16-page Stalinist *Worker* has not found space for a single word about the India-China dispute. The *Worker* kept a similar silence in the case of Kerala. What is the reason for this shabby conduct? Why does the *Worker* fail to support its own comrades abroad when they are under fire from the capitalist class?

And why, for that matter, does *Khrushchev* not take a resolute position in defense of China in this dispute? (How quick Nehru was to praise *Khrushchev* for his stand!)

But whatever the phony "friends" and "leaders" of the Soviet Union may do, we revolutionists must do our duty. Let us tell the imperialists of all stripes, including their colonial stooges and semi-stooges (like Nehru), and their "socialist" apologists (like de Silva etc.) that *WORKERS WORLD* is for the uncompromising defense of *both* the Soviet Union and China!