

**MURRAY on 'MORALITY'
OF DUTCH BLITZKRIEG
AGAINST INDONESIANS**

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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SWP Plenum Opens Offensive On Anti-Marxists

**National Body Outlines Program to Defend
Union Democracy, Labor Independence**

NEW YORK, Dec. 27—The 20th Anniversary Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party, which concluded here tonight, mapped out an ideological and political counter-offensive against all the enemies of Marxism in the labor movement.

Taking advantage of the crimes of Stalinism, the top union officials and their Social-Democratic allies are waging a war of distortion and defamation against the Marxist program for the socialist liberation of mankind. At the same time they are attacking democracy in the unions and fastening their dictatorial grip on the workers, aiding and abetting the schemes of the capitalist government to deprive the unions of their independence.

The campaign of the SWP to strengthen and advance the Marxist program in the labor movement will begin with the following measures decided on by the plenum:

1. An organized and well-integrated campaign in the ideological, theoretical and political spheres against the enemies of Marxism in the labor movement, whose sinister influence has been growing in recent years.

2. A struggle to defend democracy in the unions, for the independence of the unions from the government, and for independent labor political action.

3. An intensified campaign against the current witch-hunt, with the objective of defeating the government's attempts to outlaw or half-outlaw the SWP and other working class organizations through the "subversive" blacklist.

4. An extension of the effective propaganda and agitation methods developed in the presidential election campaign.

5. A strengthened SWP staff, increasing the striking power of the Trotskyist press, improving the direction and coordination of the party's work in the trade unions and other mass organizations.

James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, was re-

ected National Secretary, and M. Stein was again chosen as Organization Secretary. A Trade Union Department was established, with Bert Cochran, veteran CIO leader, as chairman.

Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate in 1948 and for many years editor of *The Militant*, was elected National Chairman of the SWP. Dobbs, who was the Party's banner bearer in the election campaign, will now continue, in the capacity of party chairman the activity he began during the presidential campaign. He will testify before congressional committees and utilize all possible mediums of expression to publicize the program of the party.

CANNON'S REPORT

The report that aroused the greatest discussion of the two day sessions was the one by Cannon on "New Problems of the American Labor Movement." The growth and consolidation of a conservative labor bureaucracy he said, and its alliance with Social Democrats and renegades in support of American imperialism, obliges the Marxists to re-examine the situation in the labor movement and define their methods of struggle more precisely.

The early days of the movement, Cannon recalled, were of necessity almost exclusively devoted to theoretical exposition and polemic, designed to combat the degeneration of Stalinism, to work out the party's program and to assemble the cadres of the organization. In recent years the SWP devoted itself increasingly to practical work of organization and general anti-capitalist agitation. The 1948 presidential campaign was the highest point of the party's activity in this field.

In the next period, however, Cannon warned, the party must (Continued on Page 2)

Stalinist Legislator in Ceylon Joins Trotskyist Movement

Lakshmane Rajapakse, a member of the Ceylon Parliament, has quit the Communist (Stalinist) Party and joined the Trotskyist movement. He was elected from the south part of Ceylon, the tea and rubber producing island off the tip of India.

In a public statement, Lakshmane Rajapakse declared that his views on most national and international questions are more in conformity with those of the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, than the Stalinists. Therefore, he has decided to accept the discipline of the Trotskyist fraction in the Ceylon parliament.

The Bolshevik Samasamaja Party was formerly known as the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India.

This brings the number of Trotskyist members of parliament to seven. Stalinist representation has declined from five to three. In addition to Lakshmane Rajapakse, another Stalinist member of parliament resigned, but has not announced affiliation to any other party.

The so-called "left turn" of the Stalinists has convinced members of the Communist Party in Ceylon that the Trotskyists were correct in opposing World War II. During the war, the Stalinists slandered the Trotskyist leaders as agents of Japanese imperialism. Now the Stalinists are compelled to eat their own words about the war. Considerable disillusionment with Stalinism has therefore become noticeable among the best elements in their ranks.

The ranks of the Trotskyists, on the contrary, are firm and confident, and the movement is gaining in influence in Ceylon.

In a recent by-election for the parliamentary seat for South Colombo, Bernard Soysa, the Trotskyist candidate, made an impressive showing. He came third in the field, polling 4,200 votes. He was topped by a well-known independent candidate who received 4,700 votes and the winning United National Party candidate who got 5,900 votes.

NMU Chiefs Copy CP Methods in Purge of Stalinists

By Ralph Bell

The anti-Stalinist purge in the CIO National Maritime Union was accelerated last week with the expulsion of three prominent Stalinists and the suspension for one year of four others on charges of "anti-union activity." Under the general head of "anti-union activity" were included such charges as participating in an illegal meeting, circulating literature containing slanderous attacks on union officials and disruption of union meetings.

The trial was strongly reminiscent of the technique perfected by the Stalinists in dealing with union opponents during their period in office. It was a mass trial in which diverse elements were lumped together in a group and voted on as a whole. Included with the Stalinists were individuals charged with such offenses as shipping off the dock, use of deadly weapons, defacing union shipping cards, etc. The latter came off with the lightest penalties.

The trial committee was a "hanging committee" composed of administration adherents. The count was taken by administration-appointed counters. A request by the accused that the count be checked by their own counters was rejected by the administration chairman. The accused were required to speak first, with the last word reserved for President Joseph Curran, the main architect of the purge.

After Curran completed a twenty minute attack on the accused, discussion was immediately closed and a vote taken. Observers at the union meeting concede that if an accurate count had been taken of the hand vote, the report of the trial committee would have been rejected. As it was, the official tally recorded was 1,172 to accept the trial committee report with 667 opposed. The demand for a recount was summarily refused.

"THEIR OWN MEDICINE"

From the conduct of the meeting it was apparent that the Stalinists were to be given a "dose of their own medicine." The practice of charging opponents with "anti-union" activity, hand-picking a trial committee, rigging the count and railroadng the victims out of the union was introduced into the NMU by the Stalinist machine. The '99 year club" composed of hundreds of seamen expelled for 99 years by (Continued on Page 4)



Who Will Do Planning Under U. S. Socialism?

By Farrell Dobbs

The nature of planning under socialism is described by Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, in the following letter to Sylvia F. Porter, columnist on the *New York Post*.

December 29, 1948

Dear Miss Porter,
Your column of Dec. 21 in the *N. Y. Post* reports that Norman Thomas, in an interview on the radio program "Meet the Press," failed to answer your questions about economic planning under socialism. You ask if "any socialist among you" wants to try his hand at it? I accept your invitation.

You want to know, "What

Post-Election Trends and Perspectives in U.S.

By M. Stein

(The following extracts are from the report by M. Stein, SWP Organization Secretary, on "The Election Results and the Tasks of the SWP," delivered at the 20th Anniversary Plenum of the SWP in New York, Dec. 26.)

There were a number of significant features which make the last elections a landmark in American history. One was the emergence of the Progressive Party — the first such attempt to create a third capitalist party since the LaFollette movement in 1924. A second was the Dixiecrat split from the Democratic Party. A third was our own party's entry on the national political arena for the first time.

But the role played in the elections by the working class as a class stands out like a mountain peak in the total picture. To be sure, it did not act through the instrumentality of its own party and its own candidates. Instead it used as its vehicle a minority capitalist party.

In our resolution on the Wallace party, we characterized it as a splinter capitalist party. We can with some justice say that the Democratic Party, as it appeared in 1948, was a minority capitalist party. A much larger minority than the Wallaceites, but a minority. It represented a small minority of the capitalist class, which was united as a class around the Republican Party and its candidates. It was united around a common program of Taft-Hartleyism. It was united in its confidence of a Republican victory — and treated with contempt the Democrats and their candidate.

The working class, by its intervention in the elections through the instrumentality of this minority capitalist party, upset the entire picture. It imposed on the ruling class a coalition it did not seek. It imposed a policy of appeasement of labor it had discarded at the end of the war — and hoped it was done with.

We, of course, do not condone class collaboration politics, and the workers acted without our approval. It is our task though to

analyze why it happened, and what is even more important, to understand what can result from it.

For it is the new class equilibrium established by the elections which represents the objective situation which must determine our tactics for the next period.

There is nothing especially new about class collaboration or coalition politics. It has become the pattern in Europe where capitalism in its death agony could no longer rule in its own name and was compelled to resort to coalitions and "peoples' front" combinations with the powerful but treacherous workers' parties.

Here in the United States we have seen the special American version of coalition politics under Roosevelt. That too, like its European counterpart, was imposed on the capitalist class by a devastating economic crisis. What gave it its peculiarity here was the fact that the working class had no party of its own. The coalition then took the form of a deal with the trade union bureaucracy on a common program. From this deal, capitalism gained a lease on life. It staved off complete bankruptcy, gained time to prepare for war, and carry it out to a victorious conclusion.

The trade unions, in this deal, gained in strength, wage concessions, social reforms. The bureaucracy gained in power and revenue. This coalition broke up at the end of the war.

POST-WAR CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

After the war the capitalist class — once sure of its power — bolstered by lush profits, felt cocky enough to launch a drive against the working class, to deprive it of its acquired power.

The drive against the unions on the economic front proved very costly. It resulted in bitter strikes out of which the unions emerged with their organizations intact, and even with some wage gains.

Then came the political offensive, culminating in the Taft-Hartley Law. Against this political offensive, the unions proved powerless. They had no party, no spokesmen in Congress. The trade union leaders were too cowardly to use the economic power of the

unions for political strikes and too capitalist-minded to launch labor's own political party.

When the elections came, there was little choice but the "lesser evil." But the important thing is that labor took this course as a class. By so doing, it gave such a demonstration of power that it startled the world by upsetting all predictions. More than that, it upset the plans of the bourgeoisie.

The New Deal coalition of the 30's was imposed on the bourgeoisie by a grave economic crisis. The 1948 coalition was forced on the capitalist class when it least needed it from the economic point of view. It will never again sit on top of a more favorable economic conjuncture than 1948. It had everything pretty much as it would have wanted.

But where it miscalculated — and so did we — was in not properly assessing the consciousness and the power of the working class. We made the mistake in thinking that the Republicans would win as a consequence of working class apathy in the elections on the one hand and a greater Wallace vote on the other. For the revolutionary vanguard, such a mistake in properly estimating the workers' moods and the compulsions which made them take the course they did is a cause for blushing under ordinary conditions. It can prove disastrous under revolutionary conditions.

THE POWER OF AMERICAN LABOR

We have been cognizant of the power of American labor. We have talked about it. We have written about it. But we were caught by surprise when we saw just how it expressed itself in life. And we will be caught by surprise again and again unless we take yet another factor into account, namely, that the political power of the working class is a demonstrated fact today and is part of the consciousness of all classes in society.

What is most important from our point of view is that it is part of the consciousness of the average workers. The worker in the factory felt on the morning after the election that he put it over, that he is the man who can bring victory or defeat to a candidate. It is this new consciousness of power which

must now become our point of departure in summoning the workers to greater and bolder deeds.

Let us take an example: Our slogan for a Workers and Farmers Government will appear to a worker far more practical since the elections than it did before. Our propaganda for a Labor Party will henceforth occur on a much higher plane. The question as to whether labor has the strength to build its own party is no longer a debatable one.

WHAT FUTURE DEPENDS ON

It is true the Democratic Party has a period of grace before it. So does the trade union bureaucracy. The workers will give them some time to deliver on the campaign promises. How long this period will last it is hard to tell. It depends on the international situation, on the duration of the economic boom. It depends on Truman's ability to deliver the reforms he promised. It depends on our own development. But it is safe to say that the first real conflict between Truman and labor will bring up the Labor Party issue with explosive force.

The arrogant offensive of the bourgeoisie following the war sharpened the class struggle here almost to the breaking point. What prevented a real showdown fight more than anything else was the fact that the working class is politically unorganized and saddled down with a capitalist-minded leadership. This sharpened class struggle, without the possibility of an immediate conclusion, resolved itself in a deadlock. Such a position can only be of brief duration. Truman must seek to free himself from this deadlock, for he must do the bidding of his capitalist masters. The working class in its present frame of mind will on the other hand not be satisfied with mere sops. The elements of conflict are there and they are building up even now.

SIGNS OF DISCONTENT

I get the impression that even the trade union bureaucracy is beginning to show signs of dissatisfaction with the treatment it is receiving from Truman. Only a few weeks ago, the CIO leaders held what they referred to

as their victory convention. They were treated there to a speech by Justice Douglas. His main theme was the refutation of Marxism and the class struggle as applying to the United States. That is purely a European phenomenon, according to the learned Justice of the Supreme Court: We here have a classless society.

The bureaucrats assembled ate it up. They cheered themselves hoarse for the distinguished guest and his pearly drops of wisdom. But lo and behold! several weeks later the New York State CIO met in convention. There Potofsky, who inherited Hillman's mantle, made a very significant speech. He said, in effect, that if Truman does not come through with his election promises, the trade unions will have to take the European road and build their own party on the British model.

To paraphrase Leon Trotsky, the bureaucrats may not recognize the class struggle, but the class struggle recognizes them. And I may add, very often uses them as its instrument against their will.

At the present stage, Potofsky was only threatening. But isn't it a little soon after November 2 to be threatening? It certainly is, unless the bureaucracy is already dissatisfied with the treatment it has been accorded since the elections.

The trade union bureaucracy, which cringed before Roosevelt during all his years in the White House, holds out a threatening finger under Truman's nose even before his inauguration. The difference is not merely in the caliber of the two men. The difference is in the shift in class relationships. The bureaucracy has acquired a new sense of power which stems from the power of organized labor. With power grows desire. They can no longer be satisfied with the role they played under Roosevelt.

The organizing drive decided on by the CIO convention was only in part a maneuver against the Stalinist-controlled unions. In the main, it is an attempt by the union leaders to really strengthen the labor movement and their own specific weight in the political life of the country.

The elements of conflict between the elec-

tion promises and performance will come to the fore when the 81st Congress convenes. What is to be the substitute for Taft-Hartley Law? Will the burden of taxation be shifted to the monopolists? What will happen to the high prices? Will the people get homes? What will happen to Negro rights? What will happen to civil rights, generally? All eyes will be on Congress when it is in session.

We on our part must follow carefully the next session of Congress, intervene through our spokesmen in Congressional hearings, agitate for the independent action of the workers and the Negro people to force Congress to come through with the fulfillment of their election promises.

The slogan of the Congress of Labor will acquire particular potency. Only the other week the Illinois State CIO went on record for a Congress of Labor. This slogan proved powerful during the strike wave in 1946. It then declined in popularity during the period of working class passivity, but was picked up by the ITU, which was under special attack under the Taft-Hartley Law. But what is interesting is that it should be adopted by important union bodies now so soon after the elections.

It is a clear indication the workers, even though voting for Truman, did not give him a blank check. There is a growing awareness that whatever concessions will be gotten from the 81st Congress, must be wrested from it. The past experiences with capitalist politicians who had been hoisted to power on the workers' backs, only to betray them, has not been wasted. The American worker's attitude towards them is now far more distrustful and vigilant.

The easy victory monopoly capitalism won against the workers in the 80th Congress proved inconclusive. This battle will now be fought over again. The outcome of this fight will depend on the maximum mobilization of the independent power of the working class and the Negro people in a Congress of Labor that would bring together and unify the exploited and the oppressed around a common program and a common course of action.

SWP Pioneers Honored At Anniversary Affair

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 — Tonight was a gala occasion for the Socialist Workers Party, now celebrating the 20th Anniversary of American Trotskyism, the authentic Marxist movement in the United States. At a banquet in Irving Plaza hall, some 200 members and friends of the SWP paid tribute to the veteran fighters who for two decades following their expulsion from the Communist Party in 1928 have carried on the battle for international socialism.

Founders and pioneers of American Trotskyism, including James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, Arne Swabeck, Vincent R. Dunne, Rose Karsner, George Clarke and Harold Robbins, were honored for their 20-year-long struggle for the regeneration of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Special tribute was paid to Comrade Cannon, who launched the fight against degenerate Stalinism and has been the outstanding leader of American Trotskyism since its inception. He climaxed the celebration with an inspiring speech in which he described the immeasurable compensation the revolutionary socialist movement gives the individual in the privilege and satisfaction of serving the cause of human progress.

"True, we got a few wounds in the fight," he said, "but we consider these decorations of merit." He added pointedly, "And on these decorations something is written, 'Remember, your fight isn't finished yet.'"

Rose Karsner, first woman member of the official Trotskyist movement founded in New York, described with pride how she was the first person in America to read the famous suppressed document, by Leo Trotsky to the 6th World Congress of the Comintern, which Cannon had smuggled out of the Soviet Union and which laid the programmatic basis for the American party.

Arne Swabeck, beloved veteran of more than 40 years of socialist struggle, who founded the Trot-

skyst movement in Chicago, told of the early experiences and hardships. "Today we have a party with solid ranks and experienced cadres," describing the upheaval of the workers everywhere and the decay and corruption of capitalism, he said, "What still is lacking is leadership. That is what we will supply."

Vincent Dunne, chief organizer of the famous Minneapolis Drivers Union and SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota this year, stated that "one of the things we are proudest of is that we have established here one of the finest examples of revolutionary party-building anywhere on the planet." He made a special appeal to the youth to join the Trotskyist movement.

Harold Robbins, introduced as a "veteran of three wars—the Second World War, the class struggle and the struggle to build American Trotskyism," described the bitter battle the early Trotskyists had to wage in physical defense of their right to speak and circulate literature.

George Clarke, National Campaign Manager in the SWP's first presidential campaign, described interesting experiences of the recent Dobbs-Carlson campaign, in which the SWP for the first time won wide recognition "as the banner bearer of the revolutionary left of American politics." Clarke was the youngest of the founding members of American Trotskyism.

Ted Selander and Jack Wilson spoke as representatives of militant groups which had fused with the Trotskyists in the Thirties. Selander, Ohio SWP organizer, told of the way in which the SWP integrated the worker-members of the old American Workers Party on the road to building the genuine revolutionary party. Wilson, a militant steel worker, who joined the Trotskyists from the left-wing of the Socialist Party in 1937, told of how "it was like walking from a smoky, dusty room into the fresh air."

Two SWP leaders who had been in Europe and Asia in the late

twenties and early thirties emphasized the world influence of American Trotskyism, whose literature penetrated the "farthest corners of the earth" and inspired the reawakening of socialist internationalism.

A highlight of the celebration was the ovation accorded James Kutcher, Newark legless veteran fired from his VA job for membership in the SWP, whose courageous fight against the "loyalty" purge has become the outstanding civil rights struggle in the country today. Comrade Kutcher praised the SWP and its leaders for their all-out support in his defense.

Grace Carlson, first vice-presidential candidate of the SWP, opened the affair by blowing out the 20 candles on the beautiful SWP birthday cake, symbolizing the 20 years of struggle of American Trotskyism.

The master of ceremonies, William F. Warde, reminded the gathering that this was the celebration of a series of anniversaries, including the 100th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, and the fifth anniversary of the war-time imprisonment of the 18 SWP leaders, in the Minneapolis Labor Case, for their opposition to imperialist war.

The audience paused in their celebration to pay a standing



Grim faces reveal ordeal of miners who survived cave-in of the Christmas mine near St. Meinrad, Ill. Four men were killed.

silent tribute to the memory of all the Trotskyist fighters the world over who have given their lives in the cause of socialist emancipation.

Just before the singing of the

Mine Tragedy

"International," everyone was urged to join a picket line at the Dutch consulate here next Thursday to demonstrate international solidarity with the Indonesian freedom fighters.

WHO WILL PLAN UNDER US SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

socialism, as it did — was Stalin able to take power and betray the entire world working class?

Russia, in 1917, was an industrially backward country, with only a small percentage of industrial workers. Before socialism could be established there, it was necessary for highly industrialized countries like Germany and the United States to take the socialist road and come to the aid of the Russian workers. Instead, the ruling capitalists in Europe and America were able to organize military expeditions against the Soviet Union.

The Russian workers defeated their enemies, but they emerged from battle hungry and tired, cut off from the rest of the world. Then Lenin died.

Stalin exploited these conditions to defame and exile Trotsky so he could impose his fatal theory of "socialism in one country." Next the Stalinist ruling clique utilized scarcities of goods to foster development of privileged layers in Soviet society, as a means of support for their police rule. Under Stalin, instead of advancing toward socialism, the Soviet Union has degenerated.

BASIC DIFFERENCES

Unlike Russia of 1917, the United States is the most advanced industrial nation in the world, with the most powerful working class. Instead of foreign powers launching military assaults on a socialist America, as they did against the Soviet Union, the working people of the entire

world would follow the American workers unto the socialist road.

The great mass of the workers, supported by the farmers and all the little people, would be drawn into the struggle for socialism. Once in motion, they would release the country's tremendous productive capacity to quickly eliminate economic scarcities. There would be no privileged layers of society on which an American Stalin might base himself. The United States, and the whole world with it, would start the uninterrupted march to socialism.

We come now to your question, "Will the economic planning be by me or will it be for me?" Will it ignore or underestimate the human element?

Socialism will give full freedom to the creative capacity of the entire population. For the first time in history, the central instruments of production will be controlled by the majority. Democracy will come into full bloom. Construction of the socialist order will begin under the leadership of the Workers and Farmers Government. That government will be composed of democratically elected representatives from all segments of the working population — industrial workers, white collar workers, sharecroppers, working farmers, housewives, professional people, negroes, students, rank and file soldiers and sailors. Unions will be preserved as a means for the workers to defend themselves, by strike action if necessary, against any injurious government policy.

SWP Opens Offensive Against Anti-Marxists

(Continued from page 1)

more properly balance its agitation and propaganda, with special emphasis on polemical struggle against opponent tendencies and organizations in the more politically conscious sections of the labor movement.

The party cannot grow and prosper by simple anti-capitalist agitation and good works alone, Cannon continued. It must defeat every attempt to smuggle bourgeois ideology into the labor movement under the guise of a workers' program. Otherwise, the agitation will be wasted and the workers' vanguard will be demoralized and disrupted by the offensive of the anti-Marxists.

The general line of Cannon's report was adopted unanimously after a fruitful discussion of the perspectives which it opened up. It will be printed in a coming issue of the magazine, *Fourth International* and the discussion will be continued.

THE PARTY'S TASKS

Complementing this report was the resolution on "The Election Results and the Tasks of the SWP," the report on which was made by M. Stein, Organization Secretary.

The resolution traces the background of developments in the class struggle since the end of the war. Against this background Stein described the political trends among the workers during the election campaign, and the influences which persuaded them to back the Democrats. He laid great stress on the consciousness of their political power felt by the workers as the result of their impact on the election results.

In addition, he analyzed the new position of the trade union bureaucracy in its coalition with the Democrats, showing how this had changed from their role in the pre-war New Deal coalition. And then he carefully delineated the elements of conflict that are at work in the present coalition between them and the Democratic Party.

Stein pointed out that the world contradictions of capitalism set specific limits to the reformism of the new administration and paved the way for its discreditment. The inability of the administration to fulfill the promises it made the masses will surely lead to new political explosions, Stein predicted.

Even before Truman's inauguration, the demand for a Congress of Labor is winning new support in the labor movement, proving that the workers did not give Truman a blank check and that the prospects are good for successful combat against class-collaborationist politics. Stein called for special attention to the Negro movement, the Wallace voters and the awakening student movement as fertile sources for recruitment to the SWP.

The discussion of this report dealt mainly with the new problems and trends in the unions and

other mass movements. The report and resolution were both adopted. Extracts from the report are printed on Page 2 of this issue, and the resolution will be printed in the next issue of *Fourth International*.

Singled out for special concentration was the struggle against the government's persecution of the SWP. A report by William F. Warde dealt with the case of James Kutcher and the response which his fight against the blacklist has already won in broad sections of the labor and liberal movements. It was decided to give increased backing to the Kutcher defense movement, and through this case to step up the party's fight in defense of its political liberties.

ELECTION REPORT

A high point of the plenum was the report by George Clarke, SWP National Campaign Manager, on the lessons to be drawn from the party's highly successful entrance onto the national political scene in the 1948 elections.

The campaign, he showed, was a magnificent achievement for a party as small as the SWP, bringing benefits in many ways — in increased morale; in the acquisition of new techniques and methods of propaganda; in publicity that reached the biggest audience the party has ever had and helped to establish it in the minds of millions as the extreme left wing of American politics; in experience and training of the party members in the many fields that are indispensable for the growth of the revolutionary party.

Clarke's report placed equal

emphasis on the shortcomings, difficulties and errors in the campaign. This included shortcomings over which the party as yet unfortunately had little or no control, such as its financial handicaps. It also included mistakes which the party must recognize and correct, such as inadequate planning and preparation, the setting of unrealistic goals and faulty propaganda orientation.

Clarke urged that the whole party should study these problems and lessons in preparations for future campaigns, and that it learn to use and extend the propaganda and agitational methods which it has employed on a large scale for the first time in this campaign. Both the report and recommendations were accepted, and steps were taken to implement them.

The National Committee also received a financial report and took steps to insure the collection of sufficient funds to carry out the decisions made at the plenum.

It also voted to continue until the next plenum the discussion by the party of the draft resolution on Negro work introduced at the last SWP convention in July, 1948.

The first day of the plenum was followed by a spirited celebration of the party's 20th anniversary, held under the auspices of the New York Local. When the plenum itself ended tonight, many of the old-timers present were of the opinion that it had been one of the most fruitful sessions of the National Committee in the history of the movement.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Philadelphia Got 79 Subs in December

Philadelphia continues to lead off this column by turning in 34 more subs this week, 22 of them for a full year and eight combinations including *Fourth International*, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism.

This was partially the result of the branch's last 1948 mobilization to visit readers whose subs had expired or will expire soon. This was their last opportunity to renew at 1948 rates.

Ten renewals were obtained from readers whose first introduction to *The Militant* was the 25c. special election sub. Five new subs were also obtained. The rest were renewals by readers of longer standing.

The 34 Philadelphia subs brought in \$43 at a time when it was particularly welcome here. Philadelphia already has a record of 79 subs for December, after 49 in November.

Not even Philadelphia equals *The Militant's* business office in recent sub-getting. In response

to notices of rising rates in 1949, 45 renewals and new subs were mailed direct to this office last week. These included 14 subs for *Fourth International* for a year or more. Three were for two-year renewals. The new subs were mostly sent in by old subscribers for their friends.

Boston has kept up a steady flow of renewals, five or six a week in the recent period, mostly the work of Bebe Patch in calling back for renewals.

Newark held a mobilization which obtained 18 subs last week. Eleven from New York and eight from Detroit were the next highest returns of the short Christmas week. Many of the recent subs obtained by branches have not yet been received here. However, all mailed before the year-end will be entered at 1948 rates.

A dozen renewals and new subs came in at 1949 rates, which we appreciate. The old rates don't quite half pay the costs of publication. That is why we were forced to raise sub prices beginning this year.

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TROTSKY

"In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucracy are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism."

—Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.



LENIN

The UN and Indonesia

The Dutch armed forces are proceeding with "mopping up operations" in Indonesia the way Hitler's armed forces once mopped up in the Netherlands after the initial surprise attack. Meanwhile the big powers dominating the United Nations are putting on a show of disapproval of the Dutch action while at the same time doing everything possible to help the drive to crush the Indonesian Republic.

So far, the United Nations has issued only three orders: (1) for both sides to "cease fire"; (2) for the immediate release of all political prisoners; (3) for the UN observers in Indonesia "to observe and report" on compliance with these orders and to telegraph an account of "the events which have transpired in Indonesia since Dec. 12, 1948."

Eventually the Dutch hope to get around to "obeying" the orders. They will permit the UN observers to travel around when the main butchery is over. They will "cease fire" when the last Indonesian freedom fighter is six feet under ground. They will release the bulk of the political prisoners after Dutch military rule is entrenched.

Actually with these inconsequential "orders" the UN did nothing but give the green light to the Dutch imperialists. This becomes even clearer when you consider what happened to the proposal to order the Dutch to withdraw their troops to previous truce lines.

The proposal was first advanced by the United States delegation in hope of creating the impression that Truman was doing something against the Dutch while really continuing to supply them with armaments and Marshall Plan aid. The Soviet, Ukrainian, French and Belgian delegates abstained, thereby killing the measure.

The Soviet delegation thereupon repeated the proposal. This time the United States joined in killing it.

While the big powers tossed the hot potato of responsibility for UN inaction back and forth, the Dutch armed forces continued their blitzkrieg on Indonesia.

The UN farce was all the more shameful in view of the perfectly apparent fact that the Netherlands government would not have paid the slightest attention to a UN order to withdraw. The dispute was not at all over whether the Dutch should actually be forced to withdraw their troops, but solely whether the UN as an organization allegedly favoring world peace should or should not go on record in favor of withdrawal.

The war on Indonesia has therefore served to once more underline the fact we have insisted upon since the United Nations was set up: That this thieves' den does not serve the interests of world peace but only the sordid economic and political interests of the Western imperialist powers.

Forrestal Asks for More Power

Last week *The Militant* called attention to the Dec. 16 report of the influential Eberstadt Committee outlining how the ruling clique intends to militarize America. The report holds that war is the "normal" condition of national life.

This thesis, we said, reflects "the monstrous growth of militarism in the United States. A specific grouping is developing in power and influence, the military caste. Its thinking on national affairs starts from the premise of the certainty of war. Presumably written under civilian auspices, the Eberstadt report affirms this Prussian-minded view."

On Dec. 29, one of the chief spokesmen of the military caste, James Forrestal, reported on a year's operation of the National Military Establishment. His report picks up where the Eberstadt report left off.

Forrestal includes a legislative program which the military caste will try to push through the coming session of Congress. First on the list is a demand to give the White House and the top brass a blank check in providing "military assistance" to any country.

Up to how military assistance such as that given the Greek Royalist regime or the Chiang

dictatorship has required Congressional approval in each case. Forrestal wants Congress to abdicate this power. Forrestal wants to by-pass legislative discussion and approval, leaving the amount of aid, the kind of aid and its destination to the discretion of the White House.

This ominous proposal, if enacted, would greatly increase the dictatorial powers of the military clique. They could, for example, put General Franco of fascist Spain or any other ultra-reactionary regime on their list without having to consult Congress or explain to the public.

Bad as this would be, there is a still worse gimmick. The trigger-happy brass hats could plunge America into war whenever they pleased without the inconvenience of asking Congress. Under Forrestal's proposed legislation, the White House could send military missions abroad anywhere and any time on its own initiative. Where is the dividing line between a military "mission" and an Expeditionary Force?

This militaristic legislative program demanded by the brass hats must be aggressively opposed by the labor movement. Stop the growth of Prussianism in America!

The Stalinists and the Smith Act

Elsewhere in this issue *The Militant* has printed the sensational evidence, drawn from the Louis Weinstock correspondence on the Minneapolis case, of some of the Communist Party's consistent violations of the principle of labor solidarity during the war.

Today the Stalinists have changed the kind of slander they direct against the Trotskyists—they now do not denounce us for hampering "national unity," as Weinstock did in 1944—but they have not in any way changed their line with respect to labor solidarity. They still refuse stubbornly to lift a finger on behalf of the civil liberties of their political opponents in the working class.

The most recent example is their silence on the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired from his government job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, as a result of the "subversive" blacklist which is also being used against the Stalinists themselves. It is reported that many CP rank and file members have expressed doubt or opposition over this policy, but the leaders' refuse to alter it in any way.

Members of the Communist Party can see for themselves that the Stalinist refusal to support the Kutcher movement's fight against the blacklist serves, like the Stalinist sabotage of the Minneapolis fight against the Smith Act, to undermine the very principle of labor solidarity which they are compelled to invoke in the fight against their own persecution under the Smith Act.

In self-interest, if nothing else, the rank and

file CP members should press for a change in this policy. In self-defense they should demand that the Communist Party openly proclaim its support of Kutcher's civil rights, despite the deep and unbridgeable political differences that separate the CP from the SWP. In behalf of their own rights they should insist that the CP leaders accept the offer of the SWP for a united front struggle against the Smith Act and the growing witch-hunt against political dissidents.

As for non-Stalinist workers, they must not permit themselves to be so revolted by the criminal policies of the Stalinist leaders that they become indifferent to the outcome of the government's attack on the CP's civil liberties. The outlawing of the CP and the arrest of its leaders by the government presents a threat to ALL workers, because the precedent thus established will in turn be directed against all other working class groups.

It is necessary in this connection to overcome the many prejudices and the great miseducation on labor solidarity that have been spread by the Stalinists for many years. Support of the Stalinists' civil rights does not in the least signify support for their anti-labor policies. Support of their civil rights is necessary if our own civil rights are to be preserved. That is why *The Militant* vigorously urges on all workers the necessity to stop the persecution of the Communist Party, whose false and reactionary policies we were the first to expose and warn against 20 years ago.

"Morality" in Indonesia War

Where Philip Murray Stands in Struggle Against Dutch Imperialism

By Joseph Hansen

In his Dec. 23 letter to Secretary of State Marshall, CIO President Philip Murray declares that the attack of the Netherlands government on the Indonesian people "conforms neither to the morality of our civilization nor to the practical political needs of the people of Western Europe and the United States."

The Dutch imperialists take a different view. They believe that practical political needs demanded their Nazi-style blitzkrieg attack against Indonesia; and they consider their action morally justified, as can be seen from the following:

On Dec. 24, Dutch Commander-in-Chief Spoor urged his troops to "live up to the Christmas spirit" so that "Christmas may be a symbol from which you may draw strength to carry out your orders with the beautiful objective—to bring peace to Indonesia."

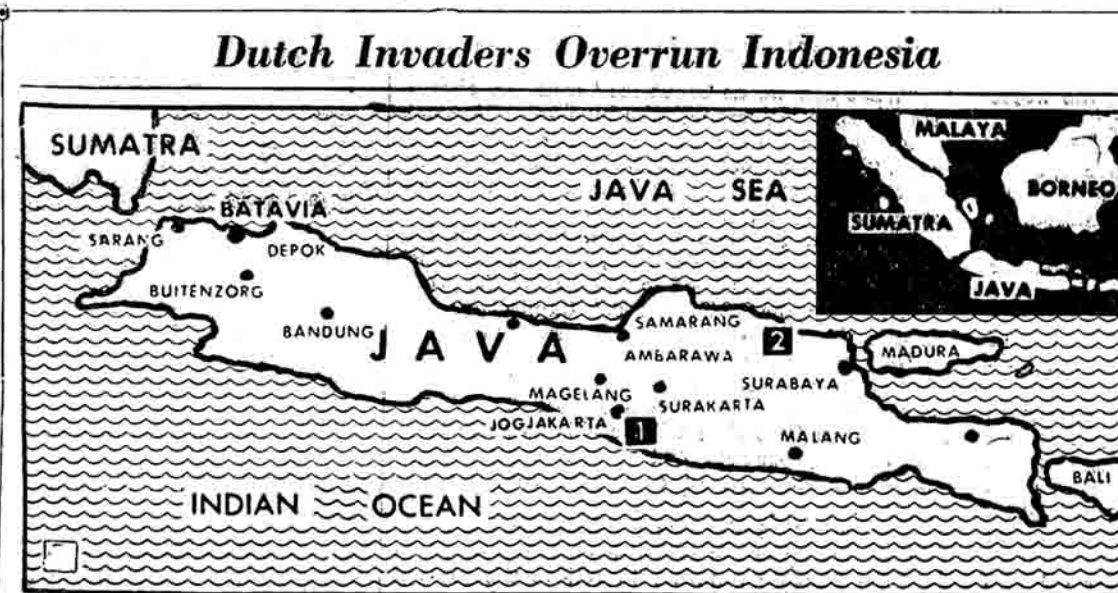
And on Dec. 25, in her Christmas Day broadcast, Queen Juliana declared that the Dutch armies were merely carrying out the promise during World War II "of assuring the Four Freedoms to Indonesia."

Are these declarations pure hypocrisy? No, not entirely. The Dutch imperialists must be credited with a certain amount of fervor. They probably feel the same kind of moral glow that the Southern Bourbons feel in instigating lynch murder.

The Dutch capitalists are not suffering from a temporary aberration, a passing lapse from the "morality of our civilization" which they will rectify as soon as a sterling moralist like Philip Murray calls it to their attention. Their actions accord with capitalist morality.

MORAL PRACTICES

This is confirmed by the fact that the British, French, Belgian and American capitalists are aiding the Dutch in their war of imperialist conquest instead of calling them to account for their crimes against humanity. They do this because they sym-



In violation of truce agreement, Dutch troops in Nazi-style blitzkrieg were landed by air (1) and sea (2) on the islands of the Indonesian Republic, which had declared its independence after the war. Indonesian spokesmen have appealed to the United States to cut off Marshall Plan aid to Holland. The Dutch imperialists could not carry on their war without this military and financial aid. The Socialist Workers Party has backed the Indonesian plea and called on Murray, Green and Lewis to mobilize the American labor movement to help the Indonesian Republic in its desperate struggle for freedom.

pathize with the Dutch capitalists and share their views on morality. The British are waging similar action on their own account in Malaya; and the French in Indo-China. The Belgian capitalists are notorious for their colonial brutality. And Wall Street, besides its own criminal record in Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Latin America, backs all the other colonial rulers with guns and dollars.

The truth is that capitalist morality is the very opposite of what most working people consider upright. In the moral world of the capitalist class a war of conquest is a crusade for "peace." Mass murder is "pacification." Plunder and rape and the smashing of an independence movement is "police action." Broken promises, violated truces, the lies, deceit and treachery leading up to a Pearl Harbor attack are viewed by the capitalists as justifiable means "to save lives."

Everything is turned upside down in their morality—that is, their real morality.

From this point of view, consequently, Philip Murray is wrong and the Dutch despots are right in the dispute over whether or not a ruthless colonial war conforms to the morality of capitalist civilization. However, it must be at once added that Murray is not completely off base in his statement. There is a grain of truth in what he says. The actions of the capitalists do not conform to the morality they profess.

They hate to admit their real moral views. First of all, they must pay lip service to the morality which the working people observe in their daily lives; otherwise they could not long remain in power. Secondly, although the capitalists actually live by cold calculation and a merciless drive for profits, they indulge in rationalization to save their conscience. Many of them find the feeling of guilt resulting from their actions painful to bear. So they picture themselves as guardians of morality, in many cases actually coming to believe

this delusion despite an occasional inner twinge!

This is true not only of the capitalists but of their agents in the labor movement, as can be seen in the case of Philip Murray. He no doubt is convinced that he is a paragon of virtue. Yet if his actions be compared with his professed beliefs, some unpleasant discrepancies emerge.

The contrast between his declarations on democracy and his actions in building a dictatorial bureaucracy in the CIO is the most glaring instance but not the only one.

In his letter to Marshall, Murray proclaims the lofty moral view that "The CIO has always felt that the peoples of the colonial countries should be given the greatest possible assistance

in developing free, democratic governments."

To conform with this moral standard, what actions are required of Murray? As head of the CIO, shouldn't he do something like the following: Call on the maritime workers to halt shipments of war supplies to the Dutch. Call for demonstrations and picket lines to put the spotlight on the sinister role of the Truman Administration in supplying the Dutch despots with arms, ammunition and dollars to carry on their war of conquest. Mobilize labor's mighty power against the Dutch imperialists and their American backers through boycott and other means. Organize effective, direct aid for the Indonesian Republic.

Philip Murray took no action like that. It cannot be argued in his behalf that he was too stupid to think up such obvious measures. It so happens that the Socialist Workers Party wired Philip Murray, as it did John L. Lewis and William Green, proposing this militant course of action. The Socialist Workers Party follows Bolshevik morality, practicing what it preaches about fighting in the cause of the oppressed and making its deeds conform to the views it proclaims.

Murray did something quite the contrary. He lauded the State Department on its cheap, face-saving gesture of stopping some \$14 million in future Marshall Plan orders earmarked for the Dutch East Indies while continuing Marshall Plan aid to Holland.

Murray thus served the practical political needs of the Truman Administration by doing his part to cover up White House guilt for what is happening in Indonesia. Like the Dutch imperialists, Philip Murray professes a morality that does not conform with his actions.

Workers Forum

Proposes United Action Against Election Fraud

Editor:

After reading the report by Emmett Moore of Flint, regarding errors in the counting of votes in his city, I feel that I have to put in my two-cents worth. Reports of vote stealing in this recent election have made me fighting mad and I would like to pass on just a few of those reports that have put me in this frame of mind.

There have really been some fireworks in Michigan over the vote count. And the point to remember is that it has been between the Democrats and Republicans. So if they are busy cutting each other's throats at the ballot box, what must they be doing to the minor parties? Anyway, here are just a few samples of what went on in Michigan:

"George D. Stevens, Flint Democrat, declared officially to have lost his bid for the sixth congressional seat, announced Friday he would petition Congress for a recount within 30 days." Stevens' attorney, Stanley E. Beattie of Detroit, "contended that there were disturbing errors in the count."

And on Nov. 8: "Democratic party leaders in five counties were searching today for evidence of reported irregularities in tabulating the vote for U. S.

Senator as a preliminary to possible challenging the election of Republican Homer Ferguson." Fitzgerald, Democratic National Committeeman, said, "Oakland county reported quite a few errors there and Jackson county says the tabulations were wrong there." He added that "the word from Shiawassee county is that more votes were reported than the registration lists allowed."

In Lansing, Democratic challengers reported numerous irregularities. "One of the more serious irregularities reported . . . was an instance at one precinct in Lansing where a machine was reported out of order. The Chairman of the precinct election board tested the machine, pulling down the lever over the Republican presidential candidate's name at least 11 times and each time recorded it on the machine." (There are many other charges that I won't go into.)

The Detroit Free Press reported of one precinct that "Progressive, Socialist and Prohibition Party votes were lumped with the Republican vote. The counters said, 'There were so few of these votes, it would not make any difference.'" If this is going to be the attitude of election boards, I say that we should take steps to do something about it. We are on common grounds with all other minor parties so why don't we get together and try to eliminate this practice?

K. N. Lansing, Mich.

DUBINSKY STABS WORKERS IN BACK WITH 'SUBSTITUTE' ANTI-LABOR BILL

(Continued from page 1)
September 1, 1949!

It is with this type of procedure that Dubinsky wants to shackle all the unions.

Dubinsky also wants to give the government power to settle "jurisdictional" disputes through a board nominated by the Department of Labor. This board could rule out of existence a militant union in favor of a conservative union or even a disguised company union. He likewise favors a ban on so-called "unjustifiable" secondary boycotts—a perfect legal weapon to force unions to handle goods made by scabs during a strike of a sister union. Such a provision in the Taft-Hartley Act has blocked efforts of the ILGWU itself to organize scab clothing contractors.

YELLOW-DOG OATH

The "Dubinsky-Taft-Hartley Bill" would go even beyond the present law in requiring non-Communist affidavits and financial statements. It would require a yellow-dog oath not only from all elected officers of a union, but from all paid functionaries of the union. To make this restriction on labor more "equitable," Dubinsky wants it extended to all employers—a pretty tough restraint on the capitalists, to make them swear they're not "communists!"

Another Taft-Hartley clause that Dubinsky wants incorporated into his "substitute" bill would continue to permit employers to petition for collective bargaining elections where "a bona fide question" exists as to which of two or more unions is entitled to represent the workers. This has already been widely used by employers as a pretext for refusing to negotiate with long-established unions, particularly when they go on strike, and for bringing in rival and company unions.

The ILGWU president announced that his executive board had even voted to "thank" the 80th Congress for one provision of the Taft-Hartley Act—the ban on the use of union funds for political campaign purposes. Because of this ban on labor's political rights, Dubinsky explained, the ILGWU bureaucrats had the pretext for keeping their huge treasury intact while squeezing an additional \$275,000 for Truman's campaign out of "voluntary contributions" from the membership.

With these proposals, Dubinsky has now assumed the dubious honor of spearheading the drive of the AFL moguls for revision of the Wagner Act along anti-labor and anti-industrial union lines. Dubinsky has spelled out the text of the law implied, but not specified, in the AFL convention resolution adopted in November.

HELPS REACTION

The effect of Dubinsky's traitorous proposals will be to intensify the efforts of the Truman administration and the Democratic and Republican labor-haters in Congress to retain as much of the Taft-Hartley Act restrictions as possible in any "substitute" law. Having already yielded so much in advance, the "labor statesmen" will now be called on to agree to further "reasonable compromises" when repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act is actually under debate in Congress.

The treachery of Dubinsky and others of his stripe is all the more vile because he and the other Trumanite labor leaders called on the workers to vote for Truman with the assurance that "Injunction Harry" would work for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act if elected. Since the elections, Truman has made clear he intends to advocate his own anti-labor bill, including some of the most vicious features of the present law.

These union leaders are not only trying to cover up for Truman's dishonest repudiation of his promise of unconditional repeal of the Slave Labor Law. They actually like certain features of the Taft-Hartley Act! They find the yellow-dog oath procedure a weapon in their raids on non-complying unions. They welcome the red-tape of "cooling off" and "fact-finding" as a means of curbing the militancy of their members.

FOR WALL STREET WAR

Dubinsky has a special aim in mind, moreover. He is seeking to establish himself as the most "reasonable labor statesman" in the eyes of the U. S. State Department, ever ready to sacrifice labor's interests for the sake of Wall Street's war preparations against the Soviet Union. He is one of the ambitious Social Democratic-type liberals in the labor movement who are playing for government recognition as

the most reliable agents of U. S. imperialism inside the unions.

Dubinsky's move to split and betray the fight for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act comes as a direct repudiation of the workers' demands, expressed in their overwhelming vote to oust the Taft-Hartley Congressmen and Senators. The workers want full and unqualified smashing of the Taft-Hartley Act. And their further slogan is: "Accept No Substitutes!"

Labor has just demonstrated its power. It does not have to go begging hat in hand. Mobilized in united action, placing no reliance on Truman or any other capitalist politician, using its own independent organized strength, labor can compel Congress to grant its demands on Taft-Hartley repeal, housing, civil rights and all other progressive measures.

What is needed is a National United Congress of Labor, such as the AFL International Typographical Union proposed and the National Maritime Union and many local union bodies have endorsed. This Congress of Labor should be convened in Washington, with rank and file representation of all unions, to confront the 81st Congress with labor's demands and labor's mighty power on the day the new session opens.

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"Children Not Wanted"

By Art Preis

"I never realized how unpopular children are — how discriminated against, even how hated — until I went across America in search of apartments to rent," Howard Whitman declares in the January *Woman's Home Companion*. "My mind still echoes with 'No Children,' 'Adults only,' 'No dogs or children.' Discrimination against children would be bad enough any time. It's fantastic in the worst housing shortage in American history."

From coast to coast Whitman found apartment house doors barred to children. "In Chicago, after dismal plodding, I was offered only two places to live — provided I boarded out the children. In a small Missouri town a professor's wife denied me even a trailer which she had advertised for 'adults only.'"

"Out of 43 ads in a Cincinnati paper, 22 openly barred children. In a Pittsburgh paper 17 out of 26. In Columbus, Ohio, the total reached 87% — 13 out of 15!"

In New York, the world's largest city, conditions are no better. "The New York City Housing Authority maintains a Vacancy Listing Bureau. In its sparse files 88% of the listings contain a ban against children. Many of those which admit children are either priced sky-high or far removed from working centers."

Whitman discovered that this universal discrimination against children embitters parents. "I was aghast at the number of couples who have apparently been convinced that somehow it is a crime to have children these days. One father walked into the Los Angeles Housing Authority and said, 'Every time I find a vacancy I know there is no use because I have a little child I shouldn't have had.'"

Why do landlords discriminate against children? The most common excuse is that "Children are destructive. However, that is not the real reason." "When stripped of masquerade," says Whitman, "the basis of child discrimination is largely a greedy axiom: 'Get the most money for the least occupancy.'"

"What can we do about it?" asks the author. He proposes "educating" the landlords. "A small landlord can be painfully ignorant," Whitman says. "He hasn't been educated to the basic tenet of the free enterprise system: a profit motive conditioned by the public good."

This is a hopeless proposal. Capitalism has existed for hundreds of years, yet the capitalist class has not yet learned to "condition" the profit motive "by the public good." Capitalism puts profits first. It always has and always will.

Only under socialism will the welfare of the family be placed first and children welcomed as our most precious asset. Under socialism, America for the first time will be able to fully solve its housing problem and provide every family with the ideal living conditions that children require.

A step in that direction can be taken right now by mobilizing public pressure on Congress for a federal housing program to relieve the present impossible conditions. If the money now spent in armaments were turned into the construction of homes it would not take long to break the back of the housing shortage.

With plenty of vacant apartments for rent, landlords would begin to think twice before putting up their cruel sign, "Dogs and children not wanted."

Not So Few, But So Many

By Paul Abbott

It has come to be an axiom that the revolutionary socialist movement is a devourer of men. Yet as I looked around at the comrades during last Sunday's banquet celebrating 20 years of American Trotskyism, I was struck by the thought not of how many had fallen by the wayside, but how many have stood firm over the years.

Of the leaders of the party, most of them have to their credit 15 to 20 years of continuous service to the American revolutionary movement of our times, and none has less than a full decade. And among the ranks, I saw scores and scores at the banquet — and it was largely a New York City affair — who have staunchly fought the good fight for as many years. How remarkable, I thought, that we have not just a few veterans, but so many.

Sitting at the speakers' table were James P. Cannon, Arne Swabeck and Vincent R. Dunne, men who already were veterans of the struggle for more than 20 years when they took up the cudgels in 1928 to fight to rebuild the revolutionary movement from the ground up after the betrayals of Stalinism and the Second International "socialists." And they are not merely honorary figures, but dynamic, active leaders of our movement.

Not only individuals, but so many movements professing to be Marxist, have disappeared from the scene or degenerated in the past 20 years — movements far larger numerically and with greater material resources to begin with than Trotskyism. In the annals of revolutionary movements in

all countries, it is the rare party that has lasted as much as ten years and the rare individuals who have survived even as long.

It cannot be said that American Trotskyism has had an easy time of it or offered material rewards to its members and leaders. No advantages of good living or public acclaim have held the veteran Trotskyists to their posts for so long. On the contrary, they have all led lives of poverty and physical hardship. They have undergone ceaseless abuse and victimization from a host of powerful political enemies.

And rich American capitalism has tremendous resources for the corruption of revolutionary leaders, either to buy them off entirely or soften them. No one can say that of the American Trotskyists, who are recognized by their bitterest enemies as incorruptibles, who never yield an inch on principles.

Only one thing has held so many so long unswerving to their revolutionary duty — a great and true program, principles so powerful and enduring that those who absorb them become men and women of tougher moral fibre, armored against all adverse circumstance and inspired to utter selflessness.

These men and women do not come from the privileged sectors of society. Most of them are ordinary working people. They had no special educational advantages. Yet the cause and the program have molded them into revolutionary leaders, teachers and fighters, ever young and ever courageous.

These Eyes that Haunt...

In Indo-China and Indonesia, the French and Dutch imperialists are carrying out what they call the "pacification" of the local population. This is a time-worn term invented in the early days of colonial conquest, not to place a truthful and accurate label on what the troops abroad were doing but rather to help in the pacification of popular indignation at home.

That the process of "pacification" of a colonial people has not changed to this day can be seen from the following letter sent by a woman in the zone of Indo-China now occupied by the French imperialists. The letter was released by the Vietnam American Friendship Association.

Dear Friend,
A am writing to you at 1 A.M. from the martyred province of Quang-tri. I have been sitting up all night for the last two days, for as soon as I go to bed I see them appear in front of me, haggard, in tears, crying for vengeance. Oh these eyes that haunt... How can I forget them?

Two days ago, when I was following the Quang-tri-Dong-ho road to go to the village of Khai-phong, the noise of motors suddenly thrived in my ears. There the enemy is coming. Save himself who can.

All those who were on the road and in nearby villages disappeared in the bushes and forests

like poultry at the approach of a hawk. I crossed the rice field, dived into a wood and squatted in the middle of a thorny bush, my clothes torn and my body lacerated.

The rumbling of motors became louder. Then, noises of heavy boots on the road, oaths and jokes. Suddenly a cry of terror burst out, a feminine voice calling for help. A long and feeble groan of agony was followed by a squall of laughter. I trembled to think of the fate of this unfortunate woman, of that of thousands of others who are suffering from the French bestiality.

Time turned out horribly long to me. I kept on waiting, restraining my anger and indignation. I finally heard a death-rattle and the noise of boots and trucks slowly faded away.

I waited until complete calm had returned. Then leaving my hiding place, I went in the direction from which the cries of distress had come.

I found under the shade of a tree... guess it... the corpse of a girl of about twelve or thirteen. The blood was coagulating on the road. She was dead but her open eyes were fixed upon me.

Ah! how serene and ingenious these eyes were which moved me to the bottom of my heart. They cried out the hatred of the Vietnam women, the hatred of the whole Vietnam people. They craved for vengeance. How can I forget these eyes?

Notes from the News

FREE ENTERPRISE — John R. Franco, Michigan Democratic chairman, frankly admits he paid commissions as high as 45% to professional fund raisers in the recent election campaign and denies that the practice is either unusual or unethical. "I have won an election and the end justifies the means," he explained.

SAND RUNNING OUT — Allan L. Swim, CIO News editor, writes that the Democrats must "do their utmost to carry out their campaign pledges" if "the nation is to avoid the creation of a real third party."

FED UP WITH RENEGADES? — The New Jersey Labor Herald, a local AFL paper, didn't like Max Eastman's speech at the recent AFL national convention and complains editorially that it is "fed up with the horde of ex-Communists who, in recent years, have had the unmitigated gall to assume the ridiculous pose of prophets, lecturing (at so much per) those of us who never tolerated the Commies, on our behavior." But of course the top AFL leaders know how useful the renegades from Marxism can be.

STALINIST DEFEAT — The Stalinists suffered a severe setback in the UE-CIO last week when the members of Local 601 in Pittsburgh, representing 16,500 members, voted them out of control by a vote of almost two-to-one.

DEATH FROM THE SKIES — Peacetime uses of atomic energy still remain a dim prospect, but its wartime uses have apparently unlimited horizons. Defense Secretary Forrestal's annual report envisages a project for a man-made satellite or platform, hanging beyond the earth's gravity pull. From this "earth satellite vehicle" atomic rockets and bombs could be launched by radio. Scientists are now busy at work on this project as part of the central guided missiles program.

POPULATION STATISTICS — U. S. population stood at 148 million at the end of the year — an increase of 3 million in the last year, and almost 17 million since 1940. The number of households exceeded 40 million, making the average family about 3 1/2 persons. More than 3 million families were living "doubled-up" with other families. There are over 14 million women workers out of a total civilian labor force of 63 million.

COMPETITION — The House Committee on Un-American Activities is competing with the Justice Department to see which can propose more savage laws against radical parties and militant labor. Recently Attorney General Clark informed reporters that the Truman administration will present a bill to Congress tightening up on "subversive" organizations. This week the House Committee advocated passage of "Communist-control legislation" along the lines of the notorious catch-all Mundt Bill. The House Committee also advocated its own continuance.

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Weinstock Letters Show CP Sabotaged Fight on Smith Act

By George Breitman

On the eve of the trial of 12 Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act, *The Militant* has come into possession of a file of correspondence that clearly proves: 1. That the indictment of the Stalinists under this reactionary law is due in great part to their sabotage of the labor

movement's fight against this law during the war. 2. And that the Stalinists, who now are advocating labor solidarity against the coming trial, themselves were the grossest violators of this fundamental principle, materially contributing by their example to the workers' present lack of response to the appeals for united protest against the government's persecution of the CP.

This file of correspondence consists of letters from and to Louis Weinstock in the months of May and June, 1944. They were written by him in his capacity as secretary-treasurer of New York District Council 9 of the AFL Brotherhood of Painters. At the same time Weinstock was a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, which means that he was carrying out the Stalinist line.

At the beginning of 1944, the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union Local 544-CIO were imprisoned because they exercised free speech in opposing the 2nd world war and fought for democracy inside the union movement. The indictment against them was based on the Smith "Gag" Act—the first time this witch-hunt legislation was used. The U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the case.

THE CRDC CAMPAIGN

The Minneapolis case was the most flagrant attack on American political liberties in World War II, and as such aroused a storm of protest from most sections of the labor and liberal movements. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which was organized to aid the defendants, carried on an aggressive campaign for the pardon of the defendants and against the Smith Act. In the course of time it asked the Painters District Council 9 for formal support of its objectives.

A number of delegates to the Council from locals which had already endorsed the CRDC's campaign urged the Council to do likewise. The Stalinists, who then controlled the Council, opposed this action and set up a committee to "investigate" the matter. Weinstock took the lead in securing the "evidence" on the case. On May 11, 1944 he sent off three letters, copies of which *The Militant* now has.

SCABBY LETTERS

The first was to Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, at whose request Roosevelt had instructed the Department of Justice to prepare the indictment of the Trotskyists. In this letter Weinstock complains about some

of the Council delegates who "were almost ready to give these people a helping hand" and urges Tobin to send him "a brief history of the case" that could be used to prevent aid to the CRDC.

The second letter was to Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, falsely charging the CRDC with using the name of the PAC and asking for a prompt reply that would accuse the CRDC of misrepresenting facts.

"I know that this is not the case," wrote Weinstock, "but a lot of other people are misled by this subterfuge. We know that the Political Action Committee of the CIO is doing everything for the re-election of President Roosevelt. We also know that these eighteen (18) Trotskyites convicted in Minneapolis were everything but supporters of our President..."

It is true that the Trotskyists had serious political differences with those elements in the labor movement who were supporting Roosevelt. But Weinstock's point was that since such differences existed, the pro-Roosevelt unionists should not give any support to the Trotskyists in their resistance to persecution. It is precisely this approach which many labor leaders today use in opposing support to the Stalinist victims of the witch-hunt!

There is no evidence in the file to show that Hillman ever answered this letter. He knew that although the PAC had never acted on the Minneapolis case, most of the important CIO leaders had expressed support for the 18 defendants. Hillman's own paper, *The Advance*, did the same.

IRONICAL ASPECTS

The third of Weinstock's letters dated May 11 was addressed to Attorney General Francis Biddle, whose department had engineered the trial and conviction of the 18. Weinstock told Biddle he was anxious to get information demonstrating that the 18 were convicted for "sedition" rather than "activities in behalf of the labor movement."

The first reply Weinstock got to these letters was from Biddle's office on May 17. "You may be assured," it said, "that the basis of the prosecution in this case had nothing to do with activities on behalf of the labor movement."

An ironical aspect of this letter was that it was written for Biddle and signed by an assistant attorney general—Tom C. Clark, who is now attorney general and spearheading the persecution of the Stalinists under the same Smith Act.

No Justice Here



Army court martial procedure will continue under the dictatorial sway of commanding officers, since the new "reform" law which goes into effect in February makes no basic changes. Above is scene of a court martial in session.

Equally ironical is the fact that Weinstock himself would now be among the 12 CP National Board members under indictment except for the fact that in 1946 the painters revolted against Stalinist domination and kicked him out of office, which led to his demotion from the National Board.

On June 2 Weinstock got his answer from Tobin, who offered "information" that he hoped would be helpful to Weinstock, including a letter Tobin had solicited from Victor E. Anderson, prosecuting attorney in the Minneapolis trial. In this letter, dated May 21, Anderson tried to justify the persecution of the 18 by asserting that the Supreme Court while refusing to review the case had found the Smith Act was "not unconstitutional."

GOVT. INTERPRETATION

Anderson's letter to Tobin interested Weinstock so much that he entered into direct correspondence with Anderson. In a letter dated June 5, he praised Tobin for supplying him with "a proper and satisfactory explanation concerning these defendants" and asked Anderson for additional help to "satisfy some of these doubting Thomases whom we have around here."

On June 7 Anderson replied with an offer to supply any additional information "if it is within our power to do so." Again he referred to the Supreme Court's refusal to act on the defendants' appeal because "the law under which the prosecution was had was not unconstitutional in violating free speech or for being indefinite."

With this "evidence" the Stalin-

ists was not at all an isolated phenomenon. All the other Stalinists in leading union positions did the same, and issue after issue of the *Daily Worker* read like a summons to the workers to lynch the Trotskyists and other of their political opponents who did anything that might in any way interfere with "national unity."

UNDERMINED SOLIDARITY

Thus the campaign to mobilize the labor movement to smash the Smith Act was undermined in part by the Stalinists in collaboration with reactionary union bureaucrats like Tobin and Department of Justice officials like Biddle and Clark. Although the CRDC won the support of organizations representing millions of people, it was unsuccessful in its challenge to this gag law, and it remained on the books where the Department of Justice last year picked it up again, this time for use against the Stalinists.

It used to be a recognized principle in the labor movement that all sections must unite in defense of any individual or section within its ranks that was subjected to reactionary attack by the employers or government. The Stalinists, by their behavior in the Minneapolis case as in many others, did more than any other group to disrupt and destroy the practice of labor solidarity.

By withholding support from victims of reactionary persecution merely because they had political differences with these victims, the Stalinists helped to create a new approach to the problem and a precedent which the labor leaders are today employing with full force against the Stalinists themselves.

(See Page 3 for editorial on *The Stalinists and the Smith Act*.)

NMU PURGE COPIES CP

(Continued from page 1)

the Stalinists on trumped-up charges, became a notorious scandal on the waterfront.

The memory of this ferocious bureaucratic persecution so embittered many members that they are ready to condone any method to rid the union of the hated Stalinist clique. The Curran leadership has cleverly exploited this sentiment. At each stage in the purge Curran has been able to point to the Stalinist record and the bureaucratic precedents they established to justify their use against them.

CP ADVENTURISM

In addition, since their defeat in the last election, the Stalinists embarked on a reckless course of irresponsible adventurism and disruption. Their mimeograph machines churned out a steam of unsupported accusations and invective against the elected officials. Membership meetings were broken up and rump meetings held at which the Stalinists

gave vent to hysterical outbursts calculated to invite reprisals.

In opposition, the Stalinists acted like people bereft of their senses and permitted themselves to be repeatedly provoked into committing acts of disruption that turned the membership against them. Thus, they provided the leadership with abundant pretexts for moving against them. The most ominous development is the tendency of the Curran administration to seek short cuts to eliminate their Stalinist opponents. This manifested itself first in the publication of a purge list and the announced intention of jerking union books without trial.

The administration was compelled to abandon this practice when the Stalinists went to court to seek an injunction against the leadership for violating the union's constitution. In recent weeks there have appeared a number of inspired resolutions adopted by various branches calling for a referendum to amend the constitution to outlaw "communists" from the union.

The great danger is that under cover of the fierce faction fight against the discredited Stalinists the leadership will move to curb the democratic rights of all members and reintroduce those bureaucratic practices against which the membership rebelled when they ousted the Stalinist gang from office. Ironically enough, the prime movers against the Stalinists were long-time collaborators and ex-members of the Communist Party. In view of this fact the membership has good reason to feel apprehensive about any tendency to stifle the hard-won and dearly-bought internal union democracy without which there can be no talk of militant and progressive unionism.

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READ

Fourth International

Jim Crow Puts Liberals on Spot

By J. Meyer

The left wing of the Democratic Party finds itself on the spot on the Negro question. It is far easier to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act than it is to make any serious attempt to grant civil rights to the Negro people. Discrimination against Negroes is part of the life-blood of American capitalism and as far as this system is concerned, Negroes are going to have to stay "in their place."

This is the dilemma in which Senator Humphrey, Governor Chester Bowles, Leon Henderson and other liberals of this group find themselves. They were very prodigal with promises before the election. They know that this is one question about which they have to do something. But they also know that this is one question which can ruin their careers and the fine, fat and rosy futures they see for themselves as pioneers of the new liberalism. What therefore is their tactic? To maintain a tremendous racket about Negro grievances and to tackle such modest problems as seem to offer some prospect of solution without touching fundamental industrial and political interests.

A TYPICAL CASE

A case in point is the decision by the Appellate Division of the Court of New York supporting discrimination against Negroes in the Stuyvesant Housing project, which is controlled by Metropolitan Life Insurance.

Bartley Crum is another of these liberals and his paper, the *New York Star*, very often expresses the views of this particular wing of the Democratic party. On Dec. 23 it printed an editorial on the decision, bursting with righteousness, good will and a desire for Negro emancipation.

Housing, it said, was a public problem. Stuyvesant Town, it said, had been granted tax exemption by the municipality of New York for 25 years. Restrictive covenants, it said, had been barred by a decision of the Supreme Court in May. Therefore, argued the *Star*, the Negro petitioners should take their case to the Supreme Court in Washington with a good chance of winning a victory. It was "pretty sure," it said, that the adverse decision would be "knocked down." It gave bland encouragement to the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and all others who are fighting the case.

The whole method of approach and line of argument are familiar. Chester Bowles would dress it up one way, Leon Henderson would dress it up another, and Hubert Humphrey would be very noisy indeed. Bowles, speaking on this subject, would probably have on the platform with him the young Negro whom he has appointed as one of his military aides (the first in the history of Connecticut). All this is supposed to be fighting the Negro issue.

It is time that the Negro people

and the labor movement set out on a systematic campaign thoroughly to expose this fraud. First of all, who gave Metropolitan this Jim Crow contract? Nobody but the New York municipality itself. The municipality, mind you, of New York, which is supposed to be the center of freedom for the Negro people above the Mason and Dixon line.

Who was the person directly responsible for this infamous transaction? Nobody but that great liberal, the late Fiorello La Guardia, the Little Flower himself. Was La Guardia unaware of what he was doing? The Negro people in particular protested vigorously to him on the injustice and the inevitable consequences of his signing such a contract for the city. In vain. La Guardia insisted.

So that in New York, La Guardia, the great liberal, on behalf of the municipality, signs this Jim Crow contract with one of the largest capitalist concerns in the country over the protest of the Negroes. Then a New York judge, Justice Benavga, decides in favor of Metropolitan. The Appellate Division supports Benavga's decision. And then, the *Star*, breathing battle, proposes: "On, Boys! to Washington!"

A POWERFUL OBSTACLE

We are for using the law courts to the utmost limit that is possible. But any kind of champion of Negro rights who does not lay the responsibility for this and

other cases upon the New York municipality and upon liberals like Fiorello La Guardia—all such people are hypocrites and fakers who are playing politics with the Negro question.

We single out this editorial because it is characteristic of the politics of the liberal wing. We can expect much more of the same in the future. There is no doubt that as a result of the election, the government is going to pass laws which in one way or another, will make the pretence of clearing away some of the terrible burdens that now rest upon the Negro people. The *Star*, Bowles with his appointment of Negroes, Humphrey with his speeches against the Southern Dixiecrats, and all that bunch are going to spread themselves in denunciation of Jim Crow and passionate appeals for justice on behalf of Negroes.

We will not believe one word of it and we ask the people who voted for civil rights for Negroes not to believe one word of it. Until these fast-talking politicians point out that not only La Guardia in New York but their own Democratic Party, ruler of the country for sixteen years, has been the most active practitioner and exemplar of Jim Crow in the country, we shall continue to insist that on this, as on all other serious politics affecting the people, these liberals and their circle are a powerful obstacle in the road of Negro and all other types of emancipation.