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'World Fair Deal' and The Colonial Peoples

By John G. Wright
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The President's Inaugural Speech

By Farrell Dobbs

Truman's inaugural ceremony was converted into a military demonstration, while the needs of the American people and the presidential promises to serve these needs were entirely forgotten.

Gasps of mingled awe and terror arose from the vast throng as monster intercontinental bombers and flashing jet fighters flew overhead. Thousands of soldiers and sailors paraded through the streets.

But no symbol was provided to remind the capitalist politicians that Negroes are still being lynched in this country. None of the floats carried a replica of a slum dwelling to stress the urgent need for quick action on housing.

Also missing from the parade was a poorly-clothed, undernourished elderly couple to dramatize the terrible plight of the aged. No one suggested standing a moment in silence in memory of the 325,000 people who died needlessly in this country last year because they couldn't afford proper medical care.

Only as an afterthought, toward the end of his war-like speech, did the President put in ten words calling for "continued prosperity" in this country.

WHO RUNS CONGRESS

His main object was to put heavy pressure on the Senate for quick ratification of the North Atlantic military pact. He didn't say a word about the skulduggery going on in Congress to wiggle out of the election promises made to the working people.

Judging from the assignment of posts in Congress, you'd think the Negro-hating, labor-baiting Dixiecrats won the election. Dixiecrats and their fellow travellers have dictatorial powers as chairmen over ten of the fifteen key Senate committees.

Sam Rayburn, a Democrat from the poll-tax state of Texas, is Speaker of the House of Representatives. The power to block legislation, recently stripped from the House Rules Committee, has been handed over to Rayburn as Speaker.

If civil rights legislation is to be passed, decisive steps must be

taken to prevent a filibuster. Yet administration leaders in the Senate have sidetracked action against the filibuster into a committee hearing restricted to Senators only.

Meanwhile Truman's lieutenants are dicker with the arrogant Southern Democrats for a deal to put through some little concession so the administration can save face on its civil rights promises to the Negroes and other minorities.

DOUBLE-TALK ON RIGHTS

Another election promise on civil rights is going by the boards in the House. The Democrats are continuing the witch-hunting Un-American Committee that Truman promised to abolish. As a whitewashing gesture, they have dumped foul-mouthed Representative John Rankin. The Republicans have added to the committee a former FBI agent, Representative Harold Velde of Illinois.

Truman's political blacklist is still in effect. The legless war veteran, James Kutcher, is still out of a job because of that blacklist. The Department of Justice is pushing its thought-control prosecution of the Stalinists under the Smith Act. Attorney General Tom Clark already has his hirelings eavesdropping on people's telephone conversations. Now he wants Congress to legalize his wire-tapping so he can use it as evidence in court.

Truman's policies are encouraging abuse of civil rights instead of giving the people the protection he promised. The Detroit police now require newspaper reporters to sign "non-Communist" affidavits to get press passes necessary for news gathering.

Like his double-talk about civil rights, the President's promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act wasn't the real McCoy. "Responsible observers" (meaning unnamed

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Truman Urges Pact Binding America to New World War

Trotskyists Run For Office in Two California Cities

Campaigns Open in Los Angeles, Oakland

LOS ANGELES—Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, has filed her declaration of intention to run for Mayor in the Apr. 5 municipal primary. Charging that the Bowron administration has operated in the interests of Big Business, she proposes, if elected, to act in the interests of the great majority of the people in the community, the working class.

"My campaign will be a campaign for socialism," she said. "I shall deal with the real problems facing the people of this community—the growing unemployment, the threat of war or depression, the attacks on civil rights—and I shall present the socialist program for dealing with them.

"In my candidacy the voters of Los Angeles will have an alternative to the capitalist candidates of every stripe in the city election."

Myra Weiss blamed local CIO leaders for the "weakness and lack of independence and unity of the labor movement here in politics." She recalled that four years ago the CIO leaders had supported Bowron for election "only to be rewarded with police strikebreaking in the U. S. Motors and Hollywood strikes."

She warned that the California Committee for National CIO-PAC appears to be preparing to whitewash Bowron's anti-labor record in an effort to sell him as "a great liberal."

OAKLAND—Filomena M. Goelman is the SWP candidate in the Apr. 19 primary for the Oakland City Council. She will be the first socialist candidate for office in this city since 1911.

Fil Goelman is well acquainted with the problems facing Oakland workers, being an active member of Local 1566, International Association of Machinists, and the NAACP. She previously belonged to Local 76, UAW. The main issues to be stressed in her campaign will be labor control of the city government, passage of a local FEPC law and measures to assure adequate city housing and transportation and meet the problem of growing unemployment.

dollar contributed will not only relieve the strain of this difficult situation but will enable us to begin the necessary work of restoration.

To be most effective, help must reach us quickly. We are confident of the response from our readers and friends and we thank them in advance for it.

Please forward your contribution to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

'Militant' Office Gutted by Fire

NEW YORK, Jan. 27 — A fire of unknown origin broke out last Sunday evening shortly before 7 P. M. on the third floor of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place. The flames gutted the

Militant editorial office, destroying virtually the entire office equipment, desks, chairs, files, typewriters, and other material, most of it acquired with difficulty over a period of many years. It will take several weeks to repair the damage to the walls, ceilings and floors alone.

While the firemen succeeded in restricting the fire, it was not before considerable damage was likewise incurred on the floor below, where the Militant business office is located, with its addressing machines and other mailing equipment. On the whole, the fire and water damage was extensive, amounting to a loss of several thousand dollars, uncovered by insurance.

DIFFICULT SITUATION

It was a serious financial loss to The Militant, which is already sorely pressed for funds. Recognizing the gravity of the blow, the New York City Convention of the SWP, which was in session in the building at the time of the fire, took immediate action.

Upon reconvening in another building, the delegates and members in attendance immediately took up a collection. Cash donations amounted to \$230 and an additional \$285 was pledged, making a total of \$515.

HELP NEEDED

The editorial staff of The Militant wishes to take this occasion to thank the Local New York organization and, at the same time, to make an appeal for emergency funds to our friends and readers in other parts of the country.

Under the most favorable circumstances, we shall nevertheless have to function for many weeks under makeshift conditions. Every

CP Trial Shows Juries Packed by the Rich

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Jan. 27—Proof that federal juries are packed with representatives of the rich is coming to light here in the thought-control trial of 11 Stalinists. So far 16 of the 23 grand jurors who indicted the Stalinists have been called to the witness stand by the defense.

Here is what their testimony has revealed, despite desperate efforts of the government to block evidence showing the true wealth of the jurors, and despite the rigid limitations imposed on defense questions by the judge.

Grand juror Thomas Hill Clyde is a director and stockholder in a real estate corporation. His name is in the Social Register, meaning he travels in the "best" circles.

James Chester Johnson is a dealer in stocks and bonds; his address — 14 Wall Street. The whole courtroom laughed when that came out. Johnson's neighbor at 44 Wall Street, an invest-

ment banker named Milton Watkins, was on the same grand jury.

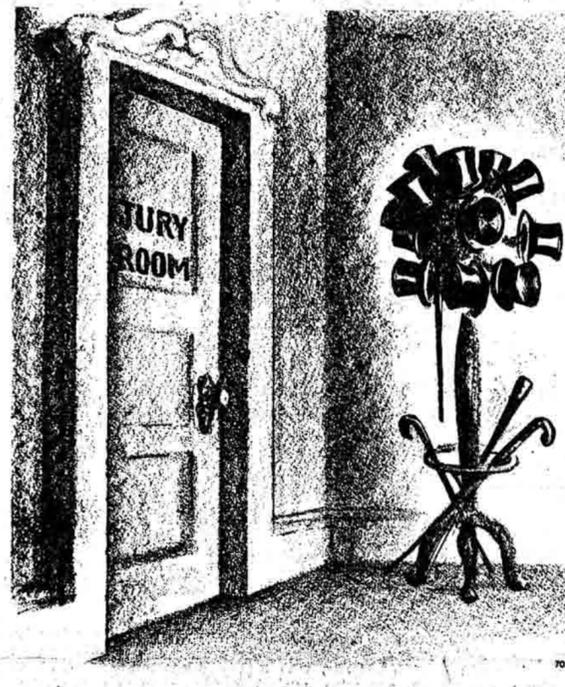
Once the prosecutor has objected to a defense question, these Wall Street sharks wait for him to object to every question. Sometimes they object for themselves, and the judge often sustains them.

Juror Henry J. Hauck is secretary-treasurer and a stockholder in a jewelry corporation located in the swank Fifth Avenue shopping district.

Arthur S. Heiman is principal stockholder in three textile corporations. He is also a member of the Federal Grand Jury Association, a private organization that supplies the government with lists of "good" jurors and gets out an "educational" publication called The Federal Juror.

Donald C. Webster sells cement to building contractors for the Universal Atlas cement monopoly. He, too, is in the Social Register. Walter A. Colman has a New York sales agency for several

New York Grand Jury System



Imperialists in Shanghai Fear Workers' Uprising

With the collapse of Truman's attempt to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power in China and the flight of the former dictator from Nanking, American and British business interests in China are now seeking the earliest possible understanding with the Chinese Stalinists.

This is clearly indicated in a Jan. 20 dispatch from Shanghai to the conservative N. Y. Herald Tribune which reveals with unusual frankness the current attitude of Anglo-American imperialism toward the Chinese Stalinists.

"Far from admiring Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for his continued stubborn battle against the Chinese Communists," declares the Herald Tribune, "leading representatives of big British and American capital here today are cursing him openly for his failure to recognize that the war has long been lost and for

the incapacity of his Kuomintang clique to rule."

Chiang's refusal to capitulate and his transfer of the capital to Canton, "thereby prolonging the struggle, has only exasperated foreign business men here still further. They were absolutely convinced that complete victory for the Communists under Mao Tse-tung is only a matter of a little time, and are already reconciled to it. They profess to believe they can do business with the coming Communist government, and are principally worried here in Shanghai at what kind of brief interim there will be between the hours when Nationalist rule collapses and Communist rule is established."

This on-the-scene report of the views of American and British imperialist representatives reveals their acute consciousness of the class forces operating in the Chinese revolution. They place above all other considerations

retention of their holdings. Every move they make is designed to tighten their grip; or if their grip is being loosened, to retain a finger-hold as long as possible.

IMPERIALISTS CONVINCED

Continued association with the Chiang regime now endangers their holdings. They must seek a new point of support. This is offered by Chinese Stalinism. Quite apparently Mao Tse-tung and his associates have succeeded in convincing the British and American imperialists that they really intend to safeguard foreign investments and imperialist exploitation of China.

It must be noted that a deep fear has helped incline British and American business toward putting their trust in the sincerity of Stalinist assurances. As the Chinese revolution develops, it will tend more and more to spread from a strictly peasant overturn

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Puts Pressure on Congress To Arm North Atlantic Bloc

By Joseph Hansen

The immediate political purpose of Truman's saber-rattling inaugural address was to smooth the way for the Atlantic Pact, the most far-reaching military alliance in history,

now being readied in secret for rubber-stamp approval by Congress. The larger aim of this bristling speech was to justify Truman's astronomical armaments budget and the open preparations for the third world war projected by American imperialism.

The heavy barrage against "communism" was designed to lay the guilt for atomic war preparations on the prospective enemy, the Soviet Union. Its hypocrisy can be judged in the light of Truman's highly-publicized avowals of warm regard for Stalin, the fountainhead of all bestial crimes which revolt class-conscious workers. American Big Business has no differences with the Kremlin over morals. It has willingly covered up Stalin's crimes when it suited its aims, made deals with the Moscow bureaucracy at the expense of the working people, and will do so again if it appears expedient.

Truman's praise of capitalism was a heavy-handed attempt to psychologize America for a holy war in behalf of the profit-producers, industrial barons and naution kings. In this respect the speech was obviously patterned on those made by Roosevelt who, in preparation for World War II, called for a "quarantine" on the aggressors and the conversion of America into an "arsenal" of democracy.

However, where Roosevelt promised "again and again and again" not to send the youth of America overseas to fight on foreign battlefields, Truman promised nothing. His immediate objective is to push through at top speed a military pact with the old imperialist powers of Europe that will commit the government in advance to send America's

SWP Rally in N. Y. To Protest Trial of Stalinist Leaders

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party will protest the government's thought-control trial of the 12 Communist Party leaders at a meeting Sun., Feb. 6, 8 P.M. at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

The main speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the SWP and Militant correspondent at the trial, who will give an eye-witness account of the proceedings, and James P. Cannon, SWP national secretary, who will explain why the Trotskyists are defending the Stalinist leaders.

youth onto the battlefields of the new war Wall Street is planning.

4-POINT PROGRAM

The four-point program announced in direct continuity with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. It picks up the thread, temporarily dropped during the election campaign, of the drive of American imperialism for world domination. All of Truman's pre-election promises about battling against Wall Street in behalf of world peace have now been filed in the ash can.

As the first of "the courses of action" of his administration "in the coming years," Truman listed continued support of the United Nations. Most of the capitalist press dismissed this as a diplomatic gesture toward the organization that is awaiting burial alongside the League of Nations as a peace-making body.

As the second item, Truman

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3 MORE CIO COUNCILS BACK LEGLESS VETERAN

James Kutcher's fight against the Truman administration purge of government workers for their political beliefs has won support from CIO Councils in three important cities — Detroit, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis.

At its delegate meeting on Jan. 18, the officers of the Wayne County CIO Council were instructed to work with the UAW and the national CIO "in processing the Kutcher case to a satisfactory settlement." The delegates to this body come from locals representing hundreds of thousands of auto and other industrial workers in the Greater Detroit area.

The executive board of the Philadelphia CIO Industrial Union Council voted to endorse the work of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee and to facilitate its approach to all CIO unions in the city for financial and moral support on behalf of the legless veteran.

On Jan. 12 the Hennepin County CIO Council unanimously approved a strong resolution introduced on Kutcher's behalf, which will be sent to all affiliated unions embracing around 25,000 members. This resolution states in part that "the Hennepin County CIO Council join in the defense of this victimized veteran, that we denounce this outrage committed by the Veterans Administration and the so-called loyalty board, that we demand the restoration of James Kutcher to his status before his dismissal from his job."

This declaration of support by the Hennepin County CIO is especially significant. During the wartime Minneapolis Labor Case this Council, then dominated by Communist Party followers, sabotaged support to the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, although many of the 18 defendants were prosecuted as CIO members as well as Socialist Worker Party leaders. The firm stand now taken by this same Council in defense of civil rights constitutes a repudiation of Stalinist treachery and indicates the sharp decline of their influence in the Minnesota CIO movement.

At its annual convention over the Christmas weekend, the Student League For Industrial Democracy protested Kutcher's firing. "The dismissal of James Kutcher, a clerk in the Veterans Administration," reads the SLID resolution, "dramatizes the danger of members of minority parties in non-security position. Such arbitrary action must be condemned and adequate safeguards enacted so that repetition of such an incident will not occur."

Republican Congressman Jacob K. Javits of the 21st District in New York and member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has written the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee that he will "help in every way possible to get justice for Mr. Kutcher."

Does 'World Fair Deal' Differ from 'Old' Imperialism

By John G. Wright

In outlining his foreign policy, President Truman devoted the fourth plank of his inaugural address to the problem of the "under-developed" countries. Included here is the overwhelming majority of mankind; the oppressed masses of Asia, the teeming peoples of the Middle East, the millions of native Africans and the inhabitants of Latin America.

To these vast impoverished multitudes Truman made a solemn promise: "The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans."

But what Truman omitted to give was any serious reason why he should be taken at his word by colonial and semi-colonial peoples who have known for centuries no other lot than foreign exploitation. After all, they have heard similar promises from every foreign conqueror and colonial despot.

The noblest motives are invariably ascribed to themselves by all capitalist politicians, especially when it comes to their program of colonial exploitation.

Germany, under the Kaiser, claimed no goal other than that of extending the boons of "kultur" to the benighted peoples. England, for her part, eagerly assumed the "white man's burden" exclusively to spread the benefits of her own brand of civilization. The French, the Dutch and all the other "civilizers" vied with one another in the loftiness of their moral and cultural aspirations for the "under-developed" areas under their rule.

We have before our own eyes the end-results of the work of all these enslavers. England's record is the oldest. It is the record of retaining in colonial Asia all the survivals of Asiatic barbarism. It is the record of retaining the medieval institutions of mass oppression. The record of the others is much the same.

But what about U.S. capitalism? It arrived late on the historical arena, rising to supremacy after the whole world had already been divided among the leading

powers. In the new re-division of the world's colonies, markets and sources of raw materials it is therefore necessary to modify some of the old practices, paint them up, adjust them to new conditions. This is exactly what Truman is trying to do. But does this alter essentially U.S. policy as compared with that of "old imperialism"?

For an answer we need only compare Truman's words with the deeds of his administration, say, in Japan. If Britain did everything to preserve the feudal princes in India, then to Washington belongs the sole credit for preserving the rule of the Mikado, one of the most ancient relics of Asiatic barbarism. In fact, the same reactionaries rule in Japan under MacArthur as did in Tojo's day. The Japanese peasants, who are the bulk of the population, live under the same frightful conditions as before.

So do the peasants of Korea where the need for drastic agricultural reforms is as urgent as in Japan. In China, Chiang Kai-shek's regime has opposed long needed changes as ruthlessly as any of the previous reactionary regimes in that country's long and unhappy history. Yet American billions and arms backed Chiang to the very end.

One could cite many other instances—especially relating to Latin America—that demonstrate how closely U.S. policy, while differing in outward respects, resembles that of "old imperialism."

Truman made another promise to the effect that he would inaugurate "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas." He implied that this would be done by private in-

Protest Dutch Invasion



Indonesians living in Tokyo, Japan, stage demonstration before Netherlands Mission protesting Dutch aggression against their homeland. Placard (arrow) says: "Dear Tojo: Though you've been hanged, we uphold your Pearl Harbor spirit! Very truly yours, Dutch Militarists." Merdeka means Freedom in Indonesian.

vestments, guaranteed by the government.

This promise, too, is neither bold nor new. In fact, what Truman promises has been the standing boast of every colonial power beginning with Britain. You will not find a single British statesman who has failed to point to the railways, canals, plantations, mines and diverse industrial enterprises that Britain has brought to its colonies. How? Through the investment of billions of British capital.

What you will never find publicly mentioned by any capitalist statesman is that all these carefully calculated installments of culture and industry were apportioned exclusively in order to fac-

ilitate the plunder of the colonial resources. In every case, the principal beneficiaries were the foreign capitalists. The more wealth they pumped out in this way from the colonies, all the greater became the poverty and misery of the mass of the population. The areas remained as we see them today—"under-developed."

All this does not at all flow from the ill-will, malice or corruption of capitalist politicians but from the nature of the social order they represent. The primary need of capitalist states which reach an advanced stage of development is to export capital for which the outlets at home are

either exhausted or not profitable enough.

"Under-developed" areas provide the lushest fields for capital export. Their low living standards,

Imperialists in China Fear Uprising as Chiang Flees

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of the landlords toward a working class overturn of the capitalists.

The Herald Tribune formulates the fears of the representatives of British and American capital in Shanghai this way: "The big question in the back of their minds is whether mobs of poverty-stricken proletarians will loot this city, which today is bulging with merchandise and reeking with riches."

The nightmare of the American and British imperialists now is the revolutionary rise of the working class in such strategic cities as Shanghai. An uprising of this character would bring into operation a great, new dynamic power that would tend to shift the axis of the revolution away from the peasantry toward the city proletariat and to displace Stalinist leadership with a revolutionary leadership like that of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia in 1917.

POLICIES COINCIDE

The policy of the Chinese Stalinist leaders is to try to confine the revolution to the peasantry and to prevent a working class uprising. Consequently, at this particular juncture their policy and that of British and American imperialism in China coincide. That is why the Shanghai representatives of London and Washington not only welcome the Stalinists but burn with impatience for their arrival.

This explains the great bargaining power of the Chinese Stalinists in dealing with British and American Big Business and their native representatives. In return for doing their utmost to restrain the socialist revolution they are in position to demand a higher

price than the Stalinists did in Italy and France at the close of the war when the workers in those lands were on the march. Instead of a minority position in a coalition government with the Chinese capitalists, they are demanding a majority.

The speed with which the Kuomintang officials in Nanking have reduced their asking price in haggling with the Stalinists indicates how weak they are. Their fate for the time being hinges on the will of the Stalinists.

Chiang Kai-shek, meanwhile, with \$300,000,000 in his pockets, according to Shanghai banking circles, is trying to consolidate a base of operations in South China with Formosa as his redoubt. Other members of his entourage, evidently thinking of the fate of Mussolini, are reported to be getting ready to flee to the United States where, under the protection of the Truman administration, they will be safe from the wrath of the Chinese people.

American capitalists can no more bring culture and industrialization to the "under-developed" areas than did the British, German, French and other capitalists who made the same promises. The ends they pursue exclude any deal other than the same old imperialist deal for the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

Author Urges Help For James Kutcher

Barrows Dunham, author of *Man Against Myth*, has joined the more prominent writers protesting the victimization of James Kutcher. "The sole ground of accusation must be his views on domestic problems," declared Dunham. "By the same token the Loyalty Board must be saying that government employees may not hold opinions contrary to those officially maintained."

"Nothing more repugnant to the American tradition can be imagined. There are important questions on which Mr. Kutcher's views and mine would differ completely; but, where free political activity is concerned, he and I and nearly all Americans stand on common ground, facing a common attack. It will be foolish indeed if we do not help one another."

Dobbs to Speak In Buffalo Feb. 12

BUFFALO — Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the SWP, will speak here on "Truman's Program and the 81st Congress" on Sat. evening, Feb. 12. The meeting will be held at 629 Main St., and the public is invited.

"Socialist Workers Party - What It Is - What It Stands For"

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party? These questions answered by Joseph Hansen in this 32-page pamphlet. Send for your copy. 10c

PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Chinese Trotskyists In Struggle Against Kuomintang Rule

Chinese Trotskyists are actively participating in the struggle against the Kuomintang regime. In Shanghai on Dec. 20, members of the Communist League of China posted thousands of copies of a manifesto against the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship on walls of factories, schools, barracks and other buildings.

Two members were arrested for this underground work and three had a narrow escape from Chiang's police.

The manifesto outlines the bloody history of the Kuomintang regime for the past two decades and calls on the working people to settle accounts with this despotic government.

Chiang would have been overthrown long ago had it not been for the criminal deals made by the Stalinists, the manifesto points out. Another rotten deal with the Chinese capitalists can now be the "main obstacle and crisis in the further development of the present situation."

"What the Chinese 'Communist' party wants to do is not to overthrow the whole Kuomintang," continues the manifesto; "but only to kick out 'Chiang Kai-shek bandits' from it. Not to destroy the Kuomintang's foundation, the bourgeoisie; but on the contrary to protect and consolidate that class. Not to break completely the rotten, bureaucratic machine of the Kuomintang government; but to take it over and make use of it. Not to prosecute the policy of class struggle; but to follow a line of class collaboration. . . . Not to form a Workers and Peasants Government, but to organize a coalition government together with the 'progressives' of the Kuomintang."

The Communist League of China, it should be noted, is a dissident grouping of Trotskyists. The official section of the Fourth International in China is the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Imperialist Powers Disturbed by Asian Conference on Java

The four-day conference of 19 Asian and African countries which met in New Delhi, India, Jan. 19-23 to consider the attack of the Dutch colonial despots upon the Republic of Indonesia has thrown a scare into the chancelleries of the big imperialist powers.

What frightens them is not so much any specific action this conference took as the mere fact that such a conference was held. Obviously the meeting was called as a concession to vast public pressure in that part of the world for a united front and concerted action to help Indonesia against the foreign invader. It is this mass sentiment which alarms the imperialists, for it portends the unification of the great majority of mankind in militant opposition to their hated rule.

The conference declared its loyalty to the United Nations and insisted that it was working within the framework of the UN; but the fact that this gathering had to be called at all constituted a vote of non-confidence in the UN. Far from strengthening the UN as claimed, the conference will serve to further the utter impotence and incapacity of that body to act as anything but an

instrument of the imperialist powers.

Inadequate as the decisions of the conference were, they still went far beyond any of the UN's actions on Indonesia. The resolution agreed upon by the 19 nations demanded that the Security Council order the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia by March 15, to release Indonesian officials, grant full sovereignty to Indonesia and remove Dutch restrictions upon trade with Indonesia.

Tan Malakka Heads Guerrilla Fighters

For the information of readers of *The Militant*, we reprint the following Jan. 12 Reuters dispatch from Batavia:

"Indonesian Republican reports asserted today that guerrilla forces in East Java had concentrated east of Madiun, 100 miles to the east of Jogjakarta, under Major General Sungkono, formerly Republican military governor of East Java, and the veteran Trotskyist, Tan Malakka.

"Tan Malakka was imprisoned for more than two years on suspicion of complicity in the kidnapping of former Premier Sutan Sjahrir and the attempt to overthrow President Sukarno in July, 1946. He was released last autumn."

As previously reported in *The Militant*, Tan Malakka is well-known as one of the founders of the revolutionary socialist movement in Indonesia. He is opposed to Stalinism. However, we do not know of any available documentary material on his exact political position at present.

Totalitarian Regime In Venezuela Wins Truman Recognition

When a clique of Army officers staged a coup d'etat in Caracas, Venezuela, Nov. 24, the U. S. State Department hastened to announce that the property of investors in Venezuela was "safe" but that it was still "too early" to discuss formal recognition of the military conspirators.

The overthrown Gallegos government had polled 70% of the vote in a free election last spring. The smashing of such a democratically-elected regime shocked public opinion in the United States and the Truman administration was sharply criticized for its role in fostering totalitarianism in Latin America.

The State Department met this barrage with a face-saving publicity handout which "deplored" military plots to overthrow governments in Latin America. On Jan. 21, not even two months since the officer clique seized power by force and violence, the Truman administration recognized the plotters as the legal government of Venezuela. And on the same day it recognized the plotters who overthrew the government in El Salvador in December.

A State Department spokesman announced with the usual poker face of an imperialist diplomat that this "delay" was "deliberately designed to make it abundantly clear" that it still considered forcible overthrows "not only deplorable but usually inconsistent with the acknowledged ideals of the American Republics."

The military gangsters who brought totalitarianism to power in Venezuela nor in hand made no comment. Nor did the oil companies, mainly Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell, who have some \$2 billion worth of investments in Venezuela.

President's Inauguration Speech

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government officials) say the president is determined to have in the new labor law power to break "critical" national strikes, especially if the coal miners should go on strike.

What about the promise to provide homes for the people? At least seven million families live in slums unfit for human habitation. The administration housing bill calls for only one million low-cost public housing units to be built in seven years.

At that rate it would take 50 years to replace the existing slums. Housing units now under construction are so poorly built that they will deteriorate into slums within 35 years. That means the slums would never be abolished.

The Democrats answer that pri-

vate enterprise will build the additional units needed to clear the slums. But the Federal Housing Authority reports that of 925,000 housing units started in 1948 only a tiny fraction were priced under \$10,000. People whose meager income condemns them to live in slums can't afford to pay such fancy prices for a better home.

TYPICAL CASE

Truman's record on another grave social problem is indicated by the experience of Charles Mitzenwei, who just turned 65, has worked for 52 years. The other day he walked into the Federal Social Security Agency in New York and said, "I'm tired. I'd like to rest." The clerk explained that his old age benefits would total \$30 a month. Mitzenwei looked very tired and disappointed. "I guess I'll have to go on working," he said.

Still Congress fumbles with the question of old-age pensions, just as it does with unemployment, disability and medical insurance, because these are "controversial" issues. Truman put plenty of heat on Congress to get action on his war program, but there was not one word in his inaugural address about the vital needs of the American people.

Over \$16 billion is now lying idle in the various Social Security trust funds. Nevertheless, in his

eagerness to protect the capitalists from any expense for the social security program, the President asks additional wage taxes to finance any improved social benefits to the workers.

Economists have told the House Ways and Means Committee these new taxes will take as much as \$40 more a month out of the workers' pay. The employers will simply add their share of the new wage taxes to the price of their products. In the end the workers must pay the whole bill.

Plenty of taxes are planned for the workers. But Truman hasn't said a word to the 81st Congress about his campaign promises to levy an excess profits tax on the "gluttons of privilege."

IMPERIALIST INVESTMENT

The president sought in his inaugural address to conceal his real program of imperialist plunder behind honeyed promises to help the peoples of the world fight disease and obtain better food, clothing and housing. However, his actual aims are revealed in publications read mainly by the rich. Here is what they report, based on information from the "responsible observers."

Raw materials needed to wage war exist in the colonial areas. Access to these materials is impeded by lack of transportation, inadequate means of subsistence for a native labor force, and health hazards.

For example, a railroad is

needed from Northern Rhodesia to the port of Mossambica to bring out African copper. The government invites the capitalists to make private investments for profit in such projects, with a government guarantee against loss of their investment.

What an evil omen for the colonial peoples! Human lives will be squandered by the capitalists as they were when the American railroads were pushed across the Rocky Mountains years ago.

The native wage slaves will be housed in slums like those built for immigrant laborers in the bleak Pennsylvania coal and steel towns. Company stores, selling the coarsest foods and shoddiest kinds of merchandise at robber prices, will grab what little pay is left after the native workers meet their rent.

The president didn't rest the case for American imperialism solely on sugary promises of social benefits. He reminded the world of "our most powerful weapon," a not very subtle threat to hurl an atom bomb at those who resist Wall Street's foreign policy.

Truman's record speaks for itself, louder and clearer with each passing day. It is the task of revolutionary socialists to help the workers learn the political lessons of that record; to show them why they must break with the Democratic Party and take the road of independent working class political action.

TRUMAN ASKS PACT FOR NEW WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

listed continuation of the European Recovery Program. The real meaning of this program, the Marshall Plan, has become fully apparent in Greece. Under guise of giving economic aid to this war-torn land, the Truman Administration at the end of the war took over the puppet government set up by the British. Economic aid gave way more and more to military aid to the reactionary Glucksburg dynasty until the prosecution of the civil war that has been raging for four years completely overshadowed all other aspects of the Truman program for Greece. The course of events in Greece is a foretaste of what is projected for all of Europe.

Third point in Truman's keynote address was the North Atlantic Pact. The military and diplomatic representatives of the imperialist powers of Western Europe have been meeting in secret in Washington for some time, drawing up this sinister alliance for war on the Soviet Union.

Modelled on the Rio de Janeiro Pact which binds all of Latin America in advance to participate on the side of American imper-

alism in the plotted conflict, the North Atlantic Pact will enroll Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Canada. It has been leaked in the press that Franco and Italy and a revived German capitalism will come under its provisions.

UNDER PRESSURE

Terrific pressure is being placed on the traditionally neutral countries like Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Ireland and Portugal to sign on the dotted line. They are no longer to be permitted to try to avoid participation in the slaughter or wait until the outbreak of hostilities to line up, as in World War I and World War II.

Under the North Atlantic Pact, preparations will be speeded to build strategic military bases, re-arm Wall Street's satellite powers and convert Western Europe into a giant springboard for the eventual attack. The Truman administration is openly preparing to carry out the project undertaken by German capitalism in World War II of smashing the Soviet Union.

Truman's fourth point was a call for a "new" type imperialism

under American leadership in the "under-developed areas" of the world. He spoke about investments and "new economic developments" to "benefit the peoples of the areas in which they are established." This is the same language used by the old imperialist powers in subjugating colonial peoples. It is Truman's way of voicing Wall Street's drive to become the dominant imperialist power in the colonial regions whether by open conquest or through merger with the imperialists already entrenched there. Precisely in the epoch when the colonial people are rising against Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, American imperialism mobilizes its vast economic and military power to force the yoke back on their necks.

Truman's inaugural address was not a ceremonial speech tossed off for the occasion. It was a deliberately-timed programmatic declaration outlining the perspective for his administration in the next four years. That perspective is to utilize the full power of the government to advance the strategic aim of American imperialism—conquest of the entire world.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

An excellent sale of *Militant* was made at a protest meeting on Indonesia in New York City. Two SWP members, Izzy of the East Side Branch and Blackie of the Chelsea Branch, sold 23 copies at this meeting of 150 people.

Some of those who bought *The Militant* associated it with Tan Malakka, the Indonesian "Trotskyist" reported to be one of the leaders of the Republican guerrilla forces in Indonesia. There are undoubtedly many meetings in New York and throughout the country where similar results can be achieved by *Militant* salesmen.

Last week's fire at 116 University Place put a heavy strain on the *Militant* staff. Despite the added burden, however, this week's issue of the paper appears on schedule with its full quota of labor news and Marxist interpretation of political events. Many suggestions for the utilization of *The Militant* were brought forward at the City Convention of the New York Local

of the Socialist Workers Party last week. It was pointed out that the many timely articles on American labor in *The Militant* were of special value for workers in the factories and unions. Distributions of the paper on the waterfront and on ships were so successful that at one point the leadership of the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party had to instruct Communist Party rank and file seamen not to read *The Militant*. Trade unionists in the party are planning to intensify their use of the paper.

At this convention, the New York youth organization reported that it too was planning to bring *The Militant* and *Fourth International* to the students of many high schools and colleges in New York City.

READ

Fourth International

Subscriptions: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.50 per yr.; \$1 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 31, 1949



TROTSKY

"Lenin refused to recognize moral norms established by slave-owners for their slaves and never observed by the slave-owners themselves; he called upon the proletariat to extend the class struggle into the moral sphere too. Whoever favors before precepts established by the enemy will never vanquish that enemy! The 'amoralism' of Lenin, that is, his rejection of supra-class morals, did not hinder him from remaining faithful to one and the same ideal throughout his whole life; from devoting his whole being to the cause of the oppressed; from displaying the highest conscientiousness in the sphere of ideas and the highest fearlessness in the sphere of action; from maintaining an attitude untainted by the least superiority to an 'ordinary' worker, to a defenseless woman, to a child. Does it not seem that 'amoralism' in the given case is only a pseudonym for higher human morality?"

—Leon Trotsky, "Their Morals and Ours," 1938.



LENIN

UAW Conference and Labor Party

An important speech was delivered at the UAW educational conference held in Milwaukee last week. The 2,500 delegates heard the speaker charge that the National Association of Manufacturers and other employer groups had started a "super-duper Mohawk Valley Formula" in an effort to win control of the government and wipe out democracy in this country.

The auto workers were warned that Big Business was engaged in an "all out war" with democracy in this country and that this war was being waged under the cloak of propaganda slogans intended to convince American citizens that capitalist economy was synonymous with democracy.

This was not so, declared the speaker. What we have in this country today is a "crazy combination of half democracy and half exploitation" under which "the walls between the classes in our society are getting higher and thicker all the time."

Truman's election does not provide assurance that democracy is safe in the United States, he said, and he urged the workers to take immediate steps to form a national labor party, rather than continue working through the Democratic Party. These words "won enthusiastic applause from many delegates."

All of the above was carried in a special dispatch to the N. Y. Times, Jan. 23. Who was the speaker? Was it any of the UAW leaders at the conference? Unfortunately, no. It was Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University.

We do not mean by this to minimize what Professor Lynd said. But his words, which were so weighty, could not possibly have carried the same weight as they would coming from the lips of the union's official spokesmen.

After all, he was not speaking for the union. What is even more important, the union officials offer different "advice" from Professor Lynd's, as the Times dispatch pointed out.

We are glad to see that the truths uttered by Professor Lynd, which the official union leaders are unwilling or afraid to state, "won enthusiastic applause from many delegates." We urge those delegates to express their agreement with these ideas not only by applause but also through action. One such action should be the initiation of a movement to replace the present labor leaders with unionists who understand the need for breaking with the Democratic Party and launching a Labor Party, and who act accordingly.

Taking over Nazi Methods

The ominous pattern of the witch-hunt and "loyalty" purge continues to unfold in America.

On Jan. 21, at one of the Truman inauguration celebrations, Attorney General Tom Clark made a public bid for secret denunciations of government employees. If any person could name one communist on the government payroll, he said, "send that name to Tom Clark and he'll do the rest."

By "communist," Clark meant a member of any group on his "subversive" blacklist. Among other things, his statement was a rejection of the growing demands by labor and liberal groups for the reinstatement of James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from the VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Clark's call for denunciations is one of the methods developed by the Nazis and the Stalinist bureaucracy to terrorize political opposition. Under this system, a victim is presumed guilty until he proves his innocence. Since he is not given a fair trial, permitted to face his unknown accuser or even know what the specific allegations are against him, innocence is not so easily established. Even if he does get off, the accusation stands on his record, a perpetual question mark over his "loyalty."

Thus Clark's declaration is an incitement to every would-be stool pigeon to get busy. It is an instigation to every grudge-carrier to inform on a fellow employee's "dangerous

thoughts." It is a provocation to every unscrupulous climber to clear his path with a poison pen.

No greater mistake could be made than to think that honey-combing employees' ranks with spies and stool pigeons will be confined to the government. Clark is setting an example for all of industry which will be hailed and imitated by every labor-hating company.

This is not the end of the forces set in motion by the witch-hunt. In Scranton, Pa., Judge Albert L. Watson on swearing in some applicants for American citizenship declared: "If anyone ever says to you that there is something wrong with your government, and that the government which exists—if it does exist—in Russia today is the type of government which will guide you to happiness and liberty and comfort, get rid of that person just as quickly as you can—and I recommend physical force."

This judge was not arrested and put on trial for advocating the use of force and violence against anyone who voices an unpopular opinion in exercising his right of free speech. Instead his fascist-like utterance was given wide publicity. Undoubtedly, every reactionary with lynch-murder in his heart rejoiced on reading it.

Such sentiments are clearly in the spirit of fascism. Expanded into a dogma and put into action by an organized following they could mean the end of democracy in America.

Unemployment Rises in America

A nationwide survey conducted by the N. Y. Times (Jan. 23) shows a swift rise of unemployment throughout the country. Applications for unemployment insurance have risen since mid-October in key areas from 10 to 100%. Among the most heavily affected are New York, New Jersey, New England and midwest industrial regions.

Job firmness in some cities such as Pittsburgh and New Orleans is ascribed to special local conditions.

In New York State, unemployment insurance and veterans' readjustment rolls dropped 6,000 in the week ended Jan. 7, leaving a total of 461,280, a rise of 67% since Oct. 8. This slight dip in unemployment, however, was countered by the removal of 10,000 workers from the rolls even though they had found no jobs. The Times explained that the 10,000 had exhausted their benefits.

In the past three months, according to union officials interviewed by the Times, about 750,000 workers have lost their jobs. They estimate that unemployed ranks may swell to 3,500,000 by spring. As reported in last week's Militant, the estimate in Washington is that the figure will be close to 4,000,000.

The Times reported that explanations for the layoffs among employers ranged from

"uncertainty" over Truman's fiscal policies and "lack of orders" to "buyer resistance to high prices."

Although the Times gave its survey front-page prominence, it did not take what it calls an "alarmist view" over the rise in unemployment. This authoritative voice of Wall Street counts on the preparations for World War III to avoid a major depression.

"The beneficial effects of the rearmament program on employment . . . are just beginning to be felt . . . and officials are confident that defense orders and the European Recovery Program will create tens of thousands of new jobs by spring."

How tens of thousands of new jobs can take care of the expected three to four million unemployed, the Times did not explain.

In view of these warning signals the trade unions should at once begin considering ways and means of combatting unemployment. We suggest organization of committees in every local to see that unemployed members get maximum aid. The question of fighting for a sliding scale of hours to spread the work with no loss in weekly pay should be taken up. And the labor movement should begin to campaign for the 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay.

"Why Don't You All Get Together?" And Other Letters from Readers on Problems Facing Labor Movement

Can't See Why the Minority Groups Fail To Unite Against Joe

Editor: We lose interest in the minority groups when they begin fighting each other and apparently lose sight of the larger issue; which is combatting reactionism — the common enemy of all progressiveness.

The minority groups would best serve their individual interests if in the beginning they united with their brother and sister organizations to strengthen first the cause of World Peace which is our greatest issue today and forget in the face of such a looming and greater catastrophe their individual differences for the common good.

It is difficult to understand why they sacrifice so much of the good they stand for by literally slugging each other and in this way accomplish the very result that the reactionary powers want. I'm referring to Norman Thomas and to yourselves, to countless others who will, or do not submerge their petty or individual interests to the Common Good. Divided they get nowhere but united they would present a formidable threat to the old system.

C. J. F. Westbrook, Conn.

ED. REPLY: It is a common experience for persons who have become dissatisfied with the capitalist system to wonder why the various groups and parties professing socialism do not unite into one organization.

Marxism gives a truthful explanation of the source of poverty, depression, fascism, imperialism, war — all the major economic, social and political evils afflicting mankind today. The socialist solution to these burning problems is so obvious and simple that one's immediate reaction is, let's get going, what are we waiting for?

It is then that the problem of obstacles in the path of socialism arise. Many of these are obvious ones, such as the general ignorance about what socialism really stands for, inertia and conservatism, the lies of the capitalist press, organized opposition to socialism, and so on.

The fact that those proclaiming socialism are divided over many issues and organized into separate parties seems to be a completely uncalculated obstacle. Haven't the socialists ever heard that in unity there is strength?

If the differences were simply hair-splitting, this unfavorable impression would certainly be justified. However, more is involved than that. At the bottom of the differences is a vital question: What is the correct road to the socialist goal?

From this question a number of others arise: Is there only one road? If there are more, which is the quickest? Which the most sure? How can we best convince the workers to avoid the blind alleys, detours and pitfalls? What is the most effective way to organize the struggle for socialism?

The answers to all these and related questions are summarized in the programs of the various parties.

That these are not "petty or individual" differences can be seen from the history of the socialist movement. Crushing defeats and catastrophic setbacks can be traced directly to incorrect programs. Similarly, a great historic triumph such as that scored by the Bolshevik Party in Russia can be traced directly to the implementation of a correct program.

Take the case mentioned by C.J.F. Why doesn't the Socialist Workers Party submerge its differences with Norman Thomas for the sake of the struggle for world peace? First, we must state some of the differences. Norman Thomas is a fellow traveler of the U. S. State Department. He declares that the cause of world peace is best served, for instance, by supporting the Marshall Plan.

The SWP, on the other hand, opposes the U. S. State Department, declaring that the State Department is preparing for another imperialist war and that going along with the State Department will only facilitate those preparations. The Marshall Plan, says the SWP, is one of the means of preparing for that projected war. Its main aim is to build up European militarism.

Consequently, it should not be difficult to see that the differences between the SWP and the Norman Thomas party on how best to fight for world peace are of deep-going character. Each party advocates views in fundamental opposition to those of the other. With differences like that, unity between the or-

ganizations is not possible. They are vying for political leadership of the working class on the basis of different programs.

This does not prevent them from uniting on specific issues where they do have agreement. In the struggle for civil liberties and democratic rights, for example, the SWP joins at every opportunity with other working class groups in concrete actions. And this is not the only field. The SWP recently participated in a joint picket line protest against the crushing of the Indonesian freedom movement by Dutch imperialism. United front actions like that enable the various parties to combine their strength against the reactionary foe while still retaining their right to freely debate their programmatic differences before the working class public.

Which program is correct? If you have studied the history of the socialist movement, you can get an idea from the success or failure of similar programs in the past. If you have the time and inclination to work out in theory which program best meets the needs of the American working class, you have another test. Finally, there is the actual test of events.

For instance, the SWP said that the Marshall Plan would build up European militarism. Hasn't this been confirmed already, most strikingly in the case of the Netherlands which used Marshall Plan aid to build up a war machine for use in smashing the Indonesian Republic?

It is a great mistake to dismiss differences over program as "petty." When the American working people begin moving in mass force onto the political field, these differences which seem like hair-splitting today can spell the difference between victory or defeat.

After a worker has become convinced of the correctness of socialism in general, his next duty is to learn the precise differences that divide the various working class parties and then to join actively in defending and advocating that program which appears correct to him in the light of his own investigations and experience.

Commends Exposure Of Stalinists on Minneapolis Case

Editor: Orchids to all of you putting out The Militant for a better and better paper. Liberal-Social Democratic hypocrisy is for the moment in the saddle, riding high on Truman's refurbished nag. It's a sick, weak nag, as your steady diagnosis shows. Historically, it belongs in the glue factory, together with the ideas of the Liberal-Social Democratic "mixed-economy" advocates. As for the Stalinist traitors to militant labor, their dirty shenanigans are coming increasingly to light. Their decent rank-and-filers are wise up to the policies of Foster and Company. You scored a real scoop on Stalinist Weinstein. More of these eye-openers will pay off big political and organizational dividends.

S. T. Chicago, Ill.

New Deal Democrat Carries the Ball For the Steel Trust

Editor: The Truman proposal for an increase in steel capacity has had this merit at least: it has succeeded in smoking out a number of half-hidden skunks who masquerade under the labels "liberal" and "New Deal Democrat" and revealed them as servants of the steel trust.

The Representative to Congress from the Youngstown district is a gentleman by the name of Michael J. Kirwan. Mike began as a simple Fourth Ward Councilman back in the depression days, and his subsequent career has given grand hopes to all who have since served as Councilmen in the city of Youngstown, just as a certain fellow-Democrat of Kirwan's has stirred vain hopes in the minds of all Missouri County Commissioners.

Mike has two ambitions in life: to serve the people of the nation and the people of his district. To break this down into concrete terms, he is at one and the same time a Democratic wheel-horse of the first water in Congress, and an abiding friend to the steel trust especially in the Youngstown steel district.

Mike was the chairman of the Democratic campaign committee to elect Democratic Congressmen. His achievements in this field brought a flush of pride to the cheek of the local newspaper, the

Youngstown Vindicator, which was against a Democratic Congress, but nevertheless, all for Mike.

What was Mike to do in the face of a proposal to expand steel production in the interests of the war machine, when his local buddies — Frank Furnell and Hank Roemer, etc., etc. — want to stall a little and get their full extortionary price as they did at the beginning of the last war? What can a wheel horse do when the reins pull one way and the steel collar the other?

Kirwan came out immediately after Truman made his proposal with a sharp attack on the whole proposition, using the ready made arguments of the Iron and Steel Institute. Frank Furnell, president of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, made headlines alongside of Kirwan by corroborating his every word.

It's tough, Mike. It didn't look so good in print. But what is a wheelhorse who wears a steel collar to do? It is plain to see that a "liberal New Deal Democrat" Congressman's life is not a happy one.

And it's going to get a lot unhappier.

Harry Braverman, Youngstown, O.

Truth About Lenin's Views on Use of "Illegal Methods"

Editor: On page 73 of The Steep Places, Norman Angell quotes Lenin as having said (in the Infantile Disease of Leftism): "We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing truth." He states, on Max Eastman's authority, that the American translation of the pamphlet was inaccurate, and that the correct translation was that given above. Would you have any information on this?

A. H. K. New York

ED. REPLY: The above "quotation" ascribed to Lenin is a trick in the spirit of all historical falsifications. In the first place, it is a deliberate distortion of what Lenin did actually say. Secondly, the distortion itself is based on a phrase deliberately torn out of the body of a sentence.

Lenin was writing about the reactionary trade union bureaucrats. He said: "There can be no doubt that those gentlemen, the 'leaders' of opportunism, will resort to every trick of bourgeois diplomacy, to the aid of bourgeois governments, the priests, the police and the courts, to prevent Communists joining the trade unions, to force them out by every means, to make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, to insult, bait and persecute them."

Immediately thereafter follows the sentence in question:

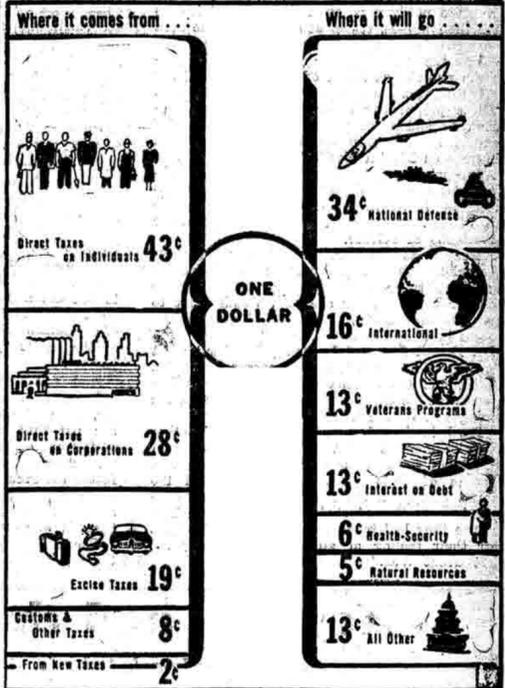
"We must be able to withstand all this, to agree to any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs." (Our emphasis.)

This translation is to be found on page 38, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, International Publishers. Comparison with the Russian original shows that this is virtually a literal translation of what Lenin himself wrote. Eastman, or any other "authority" who states the contrary, is simply "withholding and concealing truth."

From the context of the foregoing sentence it is self-evident that Lenin advised "stratagems" and "artifices" exclusively as measures of self-defense by the Communists against the repressions of a reactionary trade union bureaucracy. By advocating "illegal methods" in reactionary unions Lenin simply meant that the revolutionary opponents were under no moral compulsion whatever to abide by "legality" imposed by reactionary union officials, any more than the proscribed opponents of a dictatorial regime have any "lawful" obligations.

The whole of Lenin's thought and argument in this section of his famous work is directed against the sectarian "left wingers" who at the time opposed on principle work in the reactionary trade unions. Among their chief arguments was the contention that it was "impossible" to work in such unions anyway because of the ruthless bureaucratic regime. Lenin takes all these difficulties and obstacles into account and replies that such work is nevertheless possible, provided the revolutionists make the necessary sacrifices and employ suitable

Where Taxes Come from — and Go



What we're paying for — and who pays — is graphically diagrammed in this chart prepared by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget to illustrate Truman's proposed budget for the fiscal year 1950. Note that 62c of every tax dollar comes from the pockets of lower income groups in the form of income and sales taxes, while corporation taxes are 28c. Compare public welfare items with 50c for military and Marshall Plan expenditures.

tactics against enemies who stop at nothing.

No one has yet invented "legal methods" of struggle against those who outlaw their opponents and their ideas. Under these conditions the choice is either to capitulate or to resort to "illegal methods," "evasion," "artifices." Gentlemen like Norman Angell want to depict Lenin as an "amoral" monster who at all times and under all conditions was "ready to employ trickery, deceit, lawbreaking," and the like. They therefore tailor their "quotations" from Lenin to suit their own "moral" purpose of identifying Lenin with Stalin. Lenin, often remarked that the rarest thing under the sun was a conscientious opponent. Mr. Angell and his friends are certainly the crassest illustrations of this fact.

The "Fair Deal" and Other Phony Labels

Editor: A brand new label is now being peddled to the American people. It is Truman's "Fair Deal." As if by magic, these two little words have been picked up and played up by all the dailies and weeklies, radio, newsreels, pulpit, etc. And this is just the beginning.

What delights most publicity tub-thumpers is the slickness of Truman's formula. Every opponent of the "Fair Deal" begins presumably with two strikes against him. How can any one speak up openly against being "fair"? It is much like being told to answer a trick question like "Have you stopped beating your wife?"

Shyster lawyers are not the only ones who habitually employ verbal trickery like this. It is an

inseparable part of the day-to-day operations of "free enterprise." Reputable banks include the word "national" in their firm names, the better to disguise the private monopoly ownership of these institutions. Utility corporations masquerade as "public" bodies as they mercilessly mulct the public, resisting or evading every attempt to regulate their operations on a local, state or national scale. Every Main Street has its "economy" lunch room, grocery or drug store or some other "cut-rate" clip joint.

Each of us can easily add dozens of examples from personal experience. But many of us have still to learn on what a vast scale all these and similar devices have been transplanted into political life, where demagoguery has become the rule, not the exception. There is no trick too base for a capitalist politician.

Truman's formula is so seductive, so sly and so slick that it will bear the closest scrutiny. And unless the American people keep a close watch they will be sold a package that is even phonier than the label.

Reader New York, N. Y.

Stein's Article Was Inspiring

Editor: Your article, "Capitalist Propaganda Runs into Sales Resistance" by M. Stein, struck home. Your mature handling of this presentation was immensely enjoyable and inspiring. If I could read an article that good once every six months, I would be grateful.

M. S. Philadelphia, Pa.

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NEW BRITAIN, Conn. — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. MILITANT

By Mary Wood

The old-time quacks of the medicine shows must be green with envy. A whole batch of upstarts have taken over their racket and made it big and respectable.

In the old days, barnstormers who peddled sugar-and-water "cure-alls" gave out a quick spiel and raked in their take. With one eye out for the sheriff who might spoil the game, they left town with as little publicity as possible.

But the newcomers, with kite-tails of letters after their names, travel at ease. They are sure of a welcome from the government and a build-up from the capitalist papers, because they peddle the stupendous fraud of an "easy cure" for the affliction most dreaded by the people—war.

These pretentious humbugs are famous psychologists and anthropologists. They exchanged formulas a few months ago at an "International Congress on Mental Health" held in London.

Appropriately enough, it was a British anthropologist from New York—representing Anglo-American imperialism—who served as executive officer. Her speech was typical of their perversions of science.

According to this Dr. Nina Ridenour, the anthropologists must work to "prevent war" by studying "the nature of groups—study how the Germans or Russians, for example, would react to certain circumstances, the object being to achieve success in discussions with them."

Dr. Ernest Jones of London pointed out what she they will take if "peaceful persuasion" fails. President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, he has already laid the blame for the coming war on the USSR:

"The behavior of some of our friends in other countries may be due very much to a sense of guilt." For example, he said, "The Russians had a sense of guilt because they destroyed the Czarist culture in the 1917 revolution, the Germans because they started the Second World War because they had to do something violent to get over their feeling of guilt about starting the First Great War."

That is supposed to explain everything. Now the Russians must start a war to get over their regret for having wiped out one of the most oppressive regimes in history, a "culture" that condemned hundreds of millions of people to illiteracy, poverty, and brutality.

In the case of Germany, they blandly ignore all scientific proof that there is no such thing as a "racial" or "national" pattern of thought. They never admit that ideas grow out of material conditions; that the life of a worker makes him think differently from his boss about wages and prices, for instance.

They skillfully avoid any discussion of the real cause of war, the capitalist system whose national rivalries grow from the merciless drive for profits. According to these quacks, wars are just the product of mental disturbances that afflict entire nations.

This isn't entirely new. Hitler years ago spewed out the theory of "collective guilt" to justify the murder of millions of Jews and other "inferior peoples," as he called them. The prostitute scientists have just brought his ideas up to date to suit Wall Street.

Like the medicine-show barker, they try first to lull the audience. Don't go to a real doctor, don't listen to the Marxists who say the cancer of capitalism must be removed. One quick swallow of the magic "psycho-analytical" dope will fix you up!

And if it doesn't work—as it can't? Ah, then comes the second bottle of "something even better, even stronger"—a poisonous brew of nationalist hatreds, a hypnotic drug to make you spring out of bed at the sound of a war-drum.

Fine medicines, these! The physicists who perfected the atom bomb, the biologists who perfect germ warfare, are joined by the psychologists and anthropologists who rush for a place in Wall Street's war machine.

The medical quacks were benefactors compared to the scientists who sell themselves to capitalism.

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Weinstock Admits Treachery Of CP in Fight on Smith Act

By George Breitman

The Jan. 3 Militant article on the Louis Weinstock correspondence, showing how the Communist Party during the war had sabotaged the fight against the Smith Act under which its leaders are now being persecuted, has received wide publicity in the press and over the radio. By now the details of this sordid story are well known in all labor and radical circles.

But despite the wide interest this story has aroused, the Stalinist press has maintained a rigid silence on the matter, not daring to comment one way or another. How can they? To admit the facts would only damn them further in the eyes of class-conscious workers. To attempt a denial in the face of the documentary evidence cited in The Militant would be the height of futility. That is why the Daily Worker contents itself with repeating the lie that this is the first time in American history "that a political party faces criminal charges for its platform and history."

While the Stalinist press can remain silent in this way, individual Stalinists are not all so fortunately situated—and least of all Louis Weinstock himself. Forced to discuss the issue in the New York AFL Painters Union, he has completely confirmed The Militant's charges against himself and his party.

WEINSTOCK ADMISSIONS

Weinstock used to be secretary-treasurer of Painters District Council No. 9, and it was in that capacity in 1944 that he played his part in the scabby Stalinist campaign to prevent the mobilization of the labor movement against the Smith Act when 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members were railroaded to prison under its provisions in the Minneapolis Trial. The members of the union have since then kicked Weinstock out of that post, and the forum he used in discussing The Militant's expose was a meeting of Painters Local 848, held at Yorkville Temple on Jan. 17.

He could not deny that he and his fellow Stalinists had prevented the District Council from extending aid to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, which was helping the 18 Trotskyists.

He could not deny that under pretext of "investigating" the facts in the case, he had written letters to Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the Teamsters Union who had openly asked Roosevelt to jail the Trotskyists; to Attorney General Biddle, whose Department of Justice had indicted them; and to District Attorney Victor E. Anderson, who had headed the government staff prosecuting them.

Nor could Weinstock deny that after receiving replies from them, he had given the widest possible circulation to their arguments upholding the conviction of the Trotskyists—including their argument that the Smith Act was constitutional and did not violate free speech.

Weinstock was compelled to admit all these facts, either explicitly or by refusing to mention them in his "answer." The only question of fact which he even half-tried to dispute was his personal responsibility for the letters, which he disclaimed on the ground that he had been directed to write them by the District Council.

WHAT WAS AUTHORIZED

But The Militant had not accused him of acting in this case as an individual. We specifically stated that the Stalinists at that time controlled the District Council and that Weinstock was only "carrying out the Stalinist line."

Furthermore, our objection was not to an investigation by the Council of the facts in the Minneapolis case—but to the nature of the "investigation" that Weinstock conducted. He sent letters to those who were publicly committed to support of the Smith Act and of the government's persecution of the Trotskyists; and he asked them only for answers which would help him to prevent aid for the Trotskyists.

On the other hand, he did not seek to get any information from the defendants themselves; or from the Civil Rights Defense Committee; or from the American Civil Liberties Union, which defended the 18 Trotskyists on the same basis that they are now defending the 12 Stalinists; or from the hundreds of labor and liberal leaders who recognized in the Minneapolis Trial a basic threat to all civil rights.

Workers, in Your Hand Lies Indonesia's Fate



—Reprinted from De Tribune

Dutch Trotskyists Back Indonesian Freedom Struggle

The Indonesian people have found militant support for their struggle for independence right inside the Netherlands. The Dutch Trotskyists, organized in the Revolutionary Communist Party, Netherlands section of the Fourth International, are calling on the Dutch working class to fight for the withdrawal of all troops and the immediate freedom of Indonesia. Since the loading of the first troop ship, they have insistently called on labor to organize a boycott to help the Indonesians.

When the attack on the Indonesian Republic began on Dec. 19, the Trotskyist newspaper, De Tribune, at once issued a manifesto bitterly opposing the war of the Dutch imperialist government. In a blazing headline the front page, De Tribune declared: "Solidarity with Indonesia!"

The manifesto condemns the Dutch capitalist class as being "interested only in the subjugation of Indonesia as a colony." It points out how cold-bloodedly the government prepared the war, freezing wages to get more money for armaments and imposing a "civil state of siege" in preparation for possible resistance to the wage freeze and the colonial war.

THE COMMON ENEMY

De Tribune hails the Indonesian people who "are struggling for their freedom. They have no desire to experience anew the 'blessings' of Dutch rule, which after 300 years domination has brought nothing but illiteracy, starvation wages of a few cents a day and concentration camps! The right is on the side of the Indonesian fighters. Their enemy is our enemy: the Netherlands bourgeoisie!"

In contrast to this model revolutionary socialist stand of the Dutch Trotskyists, the Social Democratic leaders of the Dutch Workers Party—co-thinkers of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party—stand at the head of the government which pulled the Pearl Harbor sneak attack on the Indonesian Republic.

The Dutch Stalinists share the guilt of the Social Democrats for the assault on the Indonesian Republic. They supported the Lingadjatti and Renville agreements which helped pave the way for the blitzkrieg war. The Stalinists are now beating their breasts in public over their "very serious errors" whereby "the Indonesian revolution was brought in great danger."

At the same time the Stalinists are redoubling their attacks on the Trotskyists, who have consistently fought for the slogan, "Free Indonesia from Holland Now!" Despite their "self-criticism," the Stalinists still refuse to take up this traditional slogan of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Detroit Youth Group Hits SLID Moves

DETROIT — The Socialist Workers Party Youth Group of Detroit, through its organizer Seymour Lyons, has issued a sharp denunciation of the recent national convention of the Student League for Industrial Democracy which voted to exclude Trotskyists from membership as "totalitarians."

Lyons' statement demonstrated the dishonest, frame-up character of this charge by contrasting the program of the SWP with that of the Social Democrats and their allies who run the SLID. On the issue of Indonesia, for example, the SLID convention voted down a resolution calling for a halt of Marshall Plan funds to Holland, thus giving objective support to the war of Dutch imperialism, while the SWP fights unceasingly for support of the Indonesian struggle for independence from Dutch totalitarianism.

The statement concluded by appealing to SLID members to support the Wayne University Chapter's request for a referendum on the question and to resist all efforts to bureaucratize the SLID under the pretext of fighting "totalitarianism."

and we will have no united front with them. I am confident that the Communist Party will fight the indictment successfully."

With this approach, the Stalinists repel rather than attract mass support for the fight against government thought-control. With this approach, they are compelled to remain silent when Victor Riesel, the N. Y. Post's competitor to Westbrook Pegler, prints a whole column on the CP behavior in the Minneapolis case and draws the moral that Stalinists don't deserve support because they won't give any to the civil rights of their political opponents.

That is why, even while opposing the government's attack on the Stalinists, we must continue to expose the perfidious Stalinist practices and philosophy, which have miseducated broad sections of the working class and must be rooted out if the labor movement is to be rallied for a successful fight against thought-control.

These questions—let alone their answers—never occurred to Weinstock. "We don't need the help of the Trotskyites," he concluded, "and we don't want it."

where political differences exist—is so alien to this Stalinist bureaucrat that he can explain it only as a "confusing trick."

But if stressing labor solidarity, despite political differences, is a contradiction, then on what basis can the Stalinists appeal for help from non-Stalinists in the present trial? And on what basis should non-Stalinists extend support under these circumstances? If the support of Trotskyists is to be rejected because they have political differences with the Stalinists, won't this mean that the support of other groups having political differences with the Stalinists will also have to be rejected? Wouldn't such a policy, if logically carried out to the end, isolate the Stalinists further and guarantee success to the government's campaign to outlaw the CP?

These questions—let alone their answers—never occurred to Weinstock. "We don't need the help of the Trotskyites," he concluded, "and we don't want it."

Stimulating Program Marks Bay Area Celebration of Negro History Week

By Dickson Woods

SAN FRANCISCO—The revolutionary answer for the American Negroes will be dealt with in a three-day program and historical exhibit, celebrating Negro History Week at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters, 1739 Fillmore St., on Feb. 10, 11 and 12.

The program will include a series of lectures and discussions on the Negro people's 300 years struggle for liberation in America and where it is now leading; on such great revolutionary Negro leaders as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Frederick Douglass; on the Negro's contributions to American literature and music; and on the relation of the Negro people to the coming socialist revolution.

Speakers will include Allen Willis on "The Negro's Revolutionary Past," William Gorman on "The Negro and Socialism," Dickson Woods on Negro literature, and Cliff Sharp on the meaning of American jazz. "The Black Napoleon of Haiti," a documentary film on the life of Henri Christophe, will be shown Feb. 11. "Music in America," a March of Time film showing how jazz was derived from Negro

folk music, will be shown Feb. 12. The celebration will then conclude with refreshments and dancing, featuring many early jazz recordings.

The historical exhibit will include first editions and other books, pamphlets and articles on the Negro question. The hall will be decorated with portraits of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Douglass, Harriet Tubman and with scenes from the Underground Railroad. No admission price will be charged for the exhibit or the evening programs, which will begin at 8 P.M. on Feb. 10 and 11 and at 9 P.M. on Feb. 12. The exhibit will also be open to the public during the afternoons of those days. For further information, visit SWP headquarters or phone Fillmore 6-0410.

From Coast to Coast

In "liberal" New York City the Board of Education has barred the IWO from use of public school facilities. And in the "progressive" state of Washington the Board of Regents, including David Beck, vice-czar of the Teamsters, voted to fire three University of Washington professors for "Communist" activity and to put three others on "probation."

'New Republic' on Kutcher

By George Breitman

Elsewhere in this issue we have reported on the reaction by the Stalinists to our expose of the Louis Weinstock correspondence and of the Communist Party's sabotage of the fight to smash the Smith Act in the Minneapolis case. But there is another postscript to the Weinstock story that deserves some comment.

Like many other periodicals, the Jan. 24 New Republic, in its column "Left of Center," recorded the main facts we had published about Weinstock and the Minneapolis Trial, including the fact that despite the treachery of the Stalinists, we Trotskyists are defending the 12 Stalinists now on trial. Then it added:

"The Stalinists refuse to reciprocate, however. They continue to boycott the defense campaign for James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from the Veterans Administration for his Trotskyite affiliations."

The author of these remarks evidently feels that such conduct—"boycotting" the Kutcher defense—is reprehensible. We think so too. And we're not thinking only of the Stalinists.

The Kutcher case is now five months old. As we pointed out in the Jan. 17 Militant: "Virtually all the liberal journals have taken a stand [on it]; only the New Republic and Socialist Call have not yet found space to express their views."

That was not because the editor of the New Republic did not know about the case. On the contrary, The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has supplied the New Republic with all the information, just as it has done with other periodicals. Furthermore, the editor of the New Republic is a member of the National Planning Committee of the AVC, which voted unanimously to call "upon all liberal organizations and upon all individuals who believe in our Bill of Rights to come to his [Kutcher's] defense."

When the New Republic was approached for a short editorial statement on the Kutcher case last October, its spokesman replied that they were rather crowded for space at the time in covering the election campaign, but they would see what they could do. Perhaps they are still crowded because of preparations for the next election. At any rate the passing remarks in "Left of Center" are the very first ever printed in the New Republic about the dramatic case of the legless veteran.

These remarks may be regarded as a step forward for the New Republic, but they hardly represent taking a stand on the case. And they certainly don't give the editor of the New Republic grounds for feeling any moral superiority over the Stalinists because they boycott the Kutcher defense.

Notes from the News

STILL VERY IMAGINARY! — The day before Truman's inauguration, N. Y. Star columnist I. F. Stone printed "An Imaginary Press Conference" in which Truman on the day of his inauguration announces he has reconsidered the case of James Kutcher and decided to reinstate him. The day after the inauguration, Stone said he didn't think Truman could protect civil rights while carrying on his war drive and concluded: "Mr. Truman spoke with malice toward none except half of mankind (Russia and China), and with charity toward all willing to give us military bases."

GOOD IDEA — A furniture workers union contract in Laurel, Mass., grants a 120-day leave of absence to any member who decides to run for office. If the candidate loses, he gets his job back without loss of seniority; if he wins, he gets a leave of absence to cover his term of office.

SWP FRIEND DIES — The Flint SWP Branch mourns the death of its friend and sympathizer, Peter Schumacher, 42, killed in an automobile accident Jan. 22. Pete was one of the founders

of AC Spark Plug Local 651 and a militant unionist. His father, a well-known union leader in Germany, was assassinated by the Nazis.

CAN'T CALL THEM BIASED — The Social Democratic New Leader on Jan. 22 gave one page to an Indonesian Republic spokesman denouncing the Dutch imperialist war and one page to a Dutch government representative defending it.

ODD PLACES — Republican Senator Langer (N.D.) denounced the undemocratic New York jury panel system from the floor of the Senate while liberal lawyer Morris Ernst upheld the Smith Gag Act in the New Republic as "in accordance with American principles."

MINERS' WELFARE — In the 20 months ending Dec. 31, approximately 68 million dollars has been paid to over 260,000 beneficiaries of the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund. These figures, relating only to the bituminous industry, cover disabled and pensioned miners, widows, orphans and other dependents.