THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY JANUAY 3, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Union Democracy, Labor Independence

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

Union Department was establish-

ed, with Bert Cochran, veteran

Farrell Dobbs, presidential

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 com-

mittees and utilize all possible

mediums of expression to publicize

The report that aroused the

he said, and its alliance with

(Continued on Page 2)

votes. He was topped by a well-

who received 4,700 votes and the

candidate who got 5,900 votes.

the program of the party.

CANNON'S REPORT

precisely.

Joins Trotskyist Movement

Lakshmone Rajapakse, a | In a recent by-election for the

CIO leader, as chairman.

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

1. An organized and well-integrated campaign in the ideo- greatest discussion of the two logical, theoretical and political day sessions was the one by spheres against the enemies of Cannon on "New Problems of Marxism in the labor movement, the American Labor Movement.' whose sinister influence has been The growth and consolidation of growing in recent years.

2. A struggle to defend demoeracy in the unions, for the in- | Social Democrats and renegader dependence of the unions from in support of American imperialthe government, and for in- ism, obliges the Marxists to redependent labor political action. examine the situation in the

3. An intensified campaign labor movement and define their against the current witch-hunt, methods of struggle more 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. the party's work in the trade unions and other mass organiza- the party's activity in this field. if an accurate count had been

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

ment, has quit the Communist

(Stalinist) Party and joined the

Trotskyist movement. He was

elected from the south part of

Ceylon, the tea and rubber produc-

In a public statement, Laksh-

mone Rajapakse declared that

his views on most national and

international questions are more

accept the discipline of the Trot-

The Bolshevik Samasamaja

Party was formerly known as

the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik

This brings the number of

Rajapakse, another Stalinist mem-

Stalinists has convinced mem-

Ceylon that the Trotskyists were

correct in opposing World War

II. During the war, the Stal-

inists slandered the Trotskyist

leaders as agents of Japanese

imperialism. Now the Stalinists

are compelled to eat their own

words about the war. Consider-

able disillusionment with Stalin-

ism has therefore become notice-

able among the best elements in

The ranks of the Trotskyists,

on the contrary, are firm and

confident, and the movement is

Leninist Party of India.

any other party.

their ranks.

parliament.

ing island off the tip of India.

SWP Plenum Opens Offensive Dubinsky Deals Stab-in-Back On Anti-Marxists To Labor in Taft-Hartley Fight

NMU Chiefs Copy **CP Methods in** M. Stein was again chosen as Organization Secretary. A Trade

By Ralph Bell

The anti-Stalinist purge in the CIO National Maritime candidate in 1948 and for many 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.

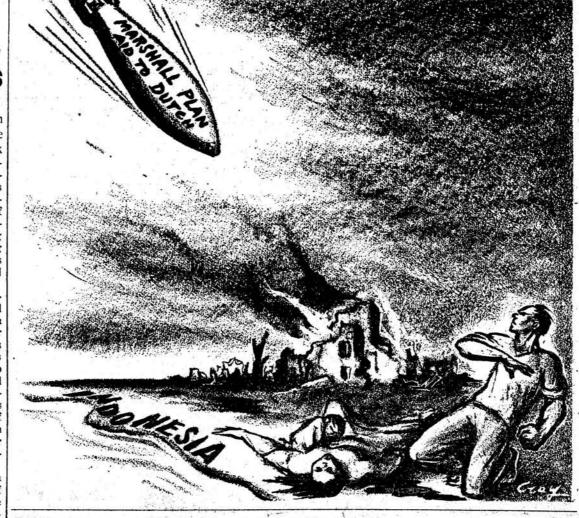
The trial was strongly reminiscent of the technique perfected by the Stalinists in dealing with opponents during their period in office. It was a mass trial in which diverse elements were lumped together in a group and voted on as a whole. Included with the Stalinists were individuals charged with such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

The trial committee was a "hanging committee" composed of administration adherents. The count was taken by administra-The early days of the movetion-appointed counters. A rement, Cannon recalled, were of quest by the accused that the necessity almost exclusively count be checked by their own devoted to theoretical exposition counters was rejected by the adand polemic, designed to combat ministration chairman. The acthe degeneration of Stalinism, to cused were required to speak work out the party's program first, with the last word reserved and to assemble the cadres of the for President Joseph Curran, the erganization. In recent years the

main architect of the purge. SWP devoted itself increasingly After Curran completed a to practical work of organization twenty minute attack on the ac the Trotskyist press, improving and general anti-capitalist agita- cused, discussion was immediately the direction and coordination of tion. The 1948 presidential cam- closed and a vote taken. Observers paign was the highest point of at the union meeting concede that In the next period, however, taken of the hand vote, the report of the trial committe would have Cannon warned, the party must been rejected. As it was, the official tally recorded was 1,172 to accept the trial committee re-Stalinist Legislator in Ceylon port with 667 opposed. The demand for a recount was summarily refused.

"THEIR OWN MEDICINE"

From the conduct of the meet- tion. ing it was apparent that the "dose of their own medicine." The member of the Ceylon Parlia- parliamentary seat for South practice of charging opponents Colombo, Bernard Soysa, the with "anti-union" activity, hand-Trotskyist candidate, made an picking a trial committee, rigging impressive showing. He came third in the field, polling 4,200 victims out of the union was known independent candidate (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.

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 invita-

You want to know, "What basis Stalinists were to be given a have I for believing socialism in practice, as opposed to socialism in theory, will cure the ills of the

American system?" First let me say that revolutionthe count and railroading the ary socialism has nothing in common with the capitalist liberalism introduced into the NMU by the of Norman Thomas which he mis-Stalinist machine. The "99 year calls "socialism." Genuine socialclub" composed of hundreds of ism will bring conscious aims and winning United National Party seamen expelled for 99 years by rational plans into the struggle disability and in their old age. to wrest from nature everything As social wealth grows, luxuries

December 29, 1948 man needs and to erect a new that only the rich can now afford culture not for an elite but for will be enjoyed by everybody. the mass of the people. Socialism will abolish the cap-

italist system of causing artificial corporation profits. Wealthy corporation owners will no longer ive in fantastic luxury at the expense of the great mass of the people. The basic means of proluction and distribution will be nationalized. The country's rich natural resources, vast industries, skilled labor force and advanced technology will be geared for all-out production - planned to

meet the needs of the people. The first goal will be to provide everybody with adequate food, clothing, housing, medical care, educational facilities, and eco-

While collective ownership will prevail in the means of production, each person will retain priscarcities in order to coin huge vate ownership of his fair share of the fruits of production.

You may object that this is mere "theory," not "practice." For you say in your column, "To date, no one has shown me how to avoid substituting the evils of state monopoly in our country for private corporation monopoly." I assume you have in mind present conditions within the Soviet

Life under Stalin's brutal police regime is not socialism in "practice," as the Stalinist liars falsely claim. It is anything but socialism. Why then - if the revolution nomic security during periods of of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky started Russia on the road to (Continued on page 2)

ILGWU Bureaucrats Peddle Own Anti-Strike 'Substitutes'

By Art Preis

While basking in the sunshine of swanky Miami Beach, Fla., the well-heeled bureaucrats on the general executive board of the AFL International Ladies

Garment Workers Union announced on Dec. 26 details of a proposed "substitute" for the Taft-Hartley Act hat has promptly been dubbed he "Dubinsky-Taft-Hartley Bill."

ILGWU President David Dubinsky-whom the Big Business press has frequently praised as the 'most responsible" and "statesnanlike" union leader in the ountry-is the chief author of his first "substitute" anti-labor oill put forward by any major union. But it is widely known that Dubinsky and other AFL top leaders held a secret meeting with Truman in the White House everal weeks ago at which the AFL heads made far-reaching commitments on a new laborontrol law.

Dubinsky's "substitute" law ould go beyond even what Truman is reported to be seeking in the way of union-curbing legislation. It would foist on all American labor a law modeled on the notorious Railway Labor Act that has hamstrung the railroad workers since the first World War and driven them from first militant union struggle. to 20th position in comparative wages with other industries. It treacherous coming at the very would give the capitalist govern- time one million members of 16 ment exceptional powers to interfere in internal union affairs. regulate the unions, break strikes period after months of fruitless and otherwise fulfill the aims of negotiations, climaxed by a dirty the Taft-Hartley Act itself.

MAJOR FEATURES

The major feature of Dubinsky's proposed stab-in-the-back at American labor is the provisions for blocking strikes in soman Administration, under both



DAVID DUBINSKY

the Taft-Hartley Act and the Railway Labor Act, for stalling off union demands and halting

This proposal is all the more non-operating railroad unions are ing stalled by a deal handed them by the government's "fact-finding" board. This board rejected all the unions' basic demands. For instance. when the unions asked for a 40hour instead of the present 48hour week, with premium pay called "vital" industries through for Saturdays, Sundays and holicompulsory "cooling off" periods days, the board offered a 40-hour and "fact - finding" government staggered work week, without boards. These are standard proce- premium pay on week-ends and dures now employed by the Tru- holidays-to be put into effect (Continued on page 3)

JAMES KUTCHER INVITED

The executive board of the Connecticut State Industrial Union Council, CIO, has endorsed the fight to help lames Kutcher, legless veteran fired from his VA job because he belongs

> to the Socialist Workers Party. In addition, it has invited Kutcher as a guest speaker to present his own story to the state CIO convention on Jan. 15.

John J. Driscoll, Connecticut CIO secretary-treasurer, also informed the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee that the CIO executive board intended to send letters to all its affiliates, urging them to give support to the

In California, Carey McWilliams, noted author and lecturer, has joined the movement to restore Kutcher to his job and regain his civil rights.

The Dec. 16 Newsletter, issued by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, reports that the Wayne University SLID has voted to support the position taken by the Kutcher Civil Rights Com-

"Again Wayne SLID has asserted itself in a matter of civil liberties which is creditable," says the Newsletter. "Acting chairman John Houston and the chapter are to be praised for their alertness to this vital cause."

The Kutcher case was scheduled to come up for discussion at the national convention of the SLID, held in New York over the Christmas weekend.

in conformity with those of the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party, The State of the Union and Our Legislative Program Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, than the Stalinists. Therefore, he has decided to skyist fraction in the Ceylon

BY THE ED!TORS

Congress and the American people are eagerly awaiting the President's annual "State of the Union" message, which Truman will deliver on Jan. 5.

We predict in advance that the main direction pointed by Tru-Trotskyist members of parliaman will be toward militarism and war. We further predict that he ment to seven, Stalinist represenwill offer little or nothing toward the solution of the major problems tation has declined from five to confronting the American people. three. In addition to Lakshmone .Truman-as he has already indicated-is going to water down

many of the promises he made in his election campaign. He will ber of parliament resigned, but has not announced affiliation to hedge on unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, his key promise to labor, and offer a substitute bill with many features of The so-called "left turn" of the the Taft-Hartley Act. Last week Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark revealed how bers of the Communist Party in

the Administration intends to carry out its promise to defend civil rights. It will continue its Gestapo-like "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist and will seek to amend the Espionage Act to legalize many of the illegal practices now carried out in star-chamber sessions of Truman's "loyalty" boards.

The most Truman will offer as a housing program is a for-therecord endorsement of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill calling for only 5 million government-financed, privately-built housing units in 10 years. Housing experts say there is an immediate urgent need for 25 million new units.

On the high cost of living, Truman will repeat his proposal for limited stand-by price controls coupled with power to freeze wages, after prices have soared 'way beyond wages, and with the object of maintaining this gap between living costs and the pay-envelope.

All Truman's campaign promises on social welfare-health, edugaining in influence in Ceylon, cation, minimum wages, old age benefits, etc.-will boil down to not

spending, including the atom bomb.

During the election campaign, the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, predicted that few of Truman's promises would be kept if he were elected. His "State of the Union" message next week will confirm this prediction to the hilt.

The following election campaign program of the SWP remains the only sound legislative program to meet the urgent needs of the people as the 81st Congress prepares to convene:

1. Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress. Let the people vote through nation-wide referendum on the question pay and unemployment and disability compensation. of war or peace. No secret diplomacy. Withdraw all troops from

2. Unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. No government interference in union affairs. No restrictions on the right to the needs of the day and pay the teachers a living wage. organize, strike and picket. No compulsory arbitration. Outlaw government-by-injunction.

3. End red-baiting, witch-hunts and political persecution. Tear up the anti-democratic "subversive" blacklists. Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. 4. Liberalize the election laws which discriminate against mi-

nority parties. Extend the right of franchise to youth of military

5. Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with \$25,000 a year.

more than a tiny fractional increase in federal expenditures com- | real power to root out discriminatory practices and eliminate segre pared to the \$15 billion minimum he plans for direct military gation wherever it exists, including the armed forces and government agencies.

> 6. Nationalize the basic industries, natural resources and Kutcher fight. banks, and operate them through democratically elected committees

7. Build 25 million permanent low-cost, low-rent housing units. Finance the housing program with the billions now spent for war

8. Federal benefits equal to union wages, automatically adjusted to meet rising prices, for veterans' allowances, old-age retirement

9. A government program to provide complete medical care for all working people and their families, financed entirely through a tax on the monopoly corporations. Expand school facilities to meet

10. Establish price control to be regulated and enforced by mass consumers committees of housewives, unionists, working farmers and small shopkeepers.

11. Guarantee the cost of production to working farmers through program to be operated by their own representatives. Abolish sharecropping and landlordism. Transfer title deeds of the land to those who work it. Ban commodity speculation.

12. Repeal all payroll taxes. Abolish all sales taxes. No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year. A 100% tax on incomes over

Post-Election Trends and Perspectives in U.S.

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

There were a number of significant featy since the LaFollette movement in 1924. A parties. second was the Dixiecrat split from the Democratic Party. A third was our own party's

working class as a class stands out like a mountain peak in the total picture. To be the working class had no party of its own. sure, it did not act through the instrumenta- The coalition then took the form of a deal lity of its own party and its own candidates. with the trade union bureaucracy on a com-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. | nue. This coalition broke up at the end of 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-Hartlevism. It was united in its confiwith contempt the Democrats and their can-

The working class, by its intervention in a coalition it did not seek. It imposed a policy even with some wage gains. of appeasement of labor it had discarded at

analyze why it happened, and what is even | unions for political strikes and too capitalist- | must now become our point of departure in | as their victory convention. They were treat- | tion promises and performance will come to more important, to understand what can result from it.

For it is the new class equilibrium established by the elections which represents the Tasks of the SWP," delivered at the 20th 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 tures which make the last elections a land- in its death agony could no longer rule in mark in American history. One was the emer- its own name and was compelled to resort to crisis. The 1948 coalition was forced on the gence of the Progressive Party - the first coalitions and "peoples' front" combinations such attempt to create a third capitalist par- with the powerful but treacherous workers'

Here in the United States we have seen the special American version of coalition politics entry on the national political arena for the under Roosevelt. That too, like its European counterpart, was imposed on the capitalist But the role played in the elections by the class by a devastating economic crisis. What gave it its peculiarity here was the fact that mon 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 reve-

POST-WAR CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

After the war the capitalist class - once sure of its power - bolstered by lush profits, dence of a Republican victory - and treated | felt cocky enough to launch a drive against | the working class, to deprive it of its acquired

The drive against the unions on the ecothe elections through the instrumentality of nomic front proved very costly. It resulted this minority capitalist party, upset the en- in bitter strikes out of which the unions tire picture. It imposed on the ruling class emerged with their organizations intact, and

Then came the political offensive, culminthe end of the war - and hoped it was done ating in the Taft-Hartley Law. Against this out our approval. It is our task though to cowardly to use the economic power of the It is this new consciousness of power which the CIO leaders held what they referred to

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 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 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 work- plosive force. ers' 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 condi-

THE POWER OF AMERICAN LABOR

American labor. We have talked about it. caught by surprise when we saw just how caught by surprise again and again unless namely, that the political power of the work-

What is most important from our point of view is that it is part of the consciousness | SIGNS OF DISCONTENT of the average workers. The worker in the

summoning the workers to greater and bolder

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 conjuncture than 1948. It had everything 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 dovelopment. But it is safe to say that the first real conflict between Truman and labor will bring up the Labor Party issue with ex-

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. We have been cognizant of the power of This sharpened class struggle, without the possibility of an immediate conclusion, re-We have written about it. But we were solved itself in a deadlock, Such a position can only be of brief duration. Truman must it expressed itself in life. And we will be seek to free himself from this deadlock, for he must do the bidding of his capitalist maswe take yet another factor into account, ters. The working class in its present frame of mind will on the other hand not be satising class is a demonstrated fact today and | fied with mere sops. The elements of conis part of the consciousness of all classes in flict are there and they are building up even

I get the impression that even the trade political offensive, the unions proved power- factory felt on the morning after the election union bureaucracy is beginning to show signs We, of course, do not condone class colla- less. They had no party, no spokesmen in that he put it over, that he is the man who of dissatisfaction with the treatment it is reboration politics, and the workers acted with- Congress. The trade union leaders were too can bring victory or defeat to a candidate. ceiving from Truman. Only a few weeks ago, of the country.

ed 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 o 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

CIO convention was only in part a maneuver | fought over again. The outcome of this fight against the Stalinist-controlled unions. In will depend on the maximum mobilization of the main, it is an attempt by the union leaders | the independent power of the working class to really strengthen the labor movement and and the Negro people in a Congress of Labor their own specific weight in the political life that would bring together and unify the

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

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 The organizing drive decided on by the proved inconclusive. This battle will now be exploited and the oppressed around a common The elements of conflict between the elec- program and a common course of action.

SWP Pioneers Honored At Anniversary Affair

niversary 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.

American Trotskyism, including James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, Arne Swabeck, Vincent R. Dunne, Rose Karsner, on the planet." He made a special bins, were honored for their 20year-long struggle for the regeneration of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Stalinism and has been the out- skyists had to wage in physical standing leader of American defense of their right to speak Trotskyism since its inception. He and circulate literature. climaxed the celebration with an inspiring speech in which he paign Manager in the SWP's first described the immeasurable com- presidential campaign, described pensation the revolutionary so- interesting experiences of the dividual in the privilege and in which the SWP for the first of human progress.

the fight," he said, "but we Clarke was the youngest of the consider these decorations of founding members of American merit." He added pointedly, "And Trotskyism. on these decorations something is Ted Selander and Jack Wilson written, 'Remember, your fight spoke as representatives of miliisn't finished yet."

Rose Karsner, first woman the Trotskyists in the Thirties. member of the official Trotskyist | Selander, Ohio SWP organizer, movement founded in New York, told of the way in which the SWP described with pride how she was integrated the worker-members the first person in America to of the old American Workers only a small percentage of indusread the famous suppressed Party on the road to building the trial workers. Before socialism lease the country's tremendous Farmers Government. There will document, by Leo Trotsky to genuine revolutionary party. Wil- could be established there, it was the 6th World Congress of the son, a militant steel worker, who necessary for highly industrial-Comintern, which Cannon had joined the Trotskyists from the ized countries like Germany and smuggled out of the Soviet Union left-wing of the Socialist Party the United States to take the and which laid the programmatic in 1937, told of how "it was like socialist road and come to the aid basis for the American party.

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where 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 Founders and pioneers of the things we are proudest of is that we have established here one of the finest examples of revolutionary party-building anywhere Trotskvist movement.

Harold Robbins, introduced as a "veteran of three wars-the Second World War, the class Special tribute was paid to struggle and the struggle to build Comrade Cannon, who launched American Trotskyism," described the fight against degenerate the bitter battle the early Trot-

George Clarke, National Camcialist movement gives the in- recent Dobbs-Carlson campaign, satisfaction of serving the cause time won wide recognition "as the banner bearer of the revolu-"True, we got a few wounds in tionary left of American politics."

tant groups which had fused with

Six Months

Arne Swabeck, beloved veteran room into the fresh air." of more than 40 years of socialist | Two SWP leaders who had been struggle, who founded the Trot- in Europe and Asia in the late

☐ \$4 one year of The Militant

and 12 monthly issues of

Fourth International

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 - | skyist movement in Chicago, told | twenties and early thirties em-Tonight was a gala occasion of the early experiences and phasized the world influence of hardships. "Today we have a American Trotskyism, whose for the Socialist Workers Party, party with solid ranks and ex-literature penetrated the "farthest perienced cadres." Describing the corners of the earth" and inspired upheaval of the workers every- 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 cutstanding civil rights struggle in the country today. Comrade Kutcher praised the SWP and its leaders for their all-out support

Grace Carlson, first vice-presi-George Clarke and Harold Robthe 20 candles on the beautiful SWP birthday cake, symbolizing the 20 years of struggle of American Trotskyism. The master of ceremonies, Wil-

in his defense.

liam 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



Mine Tragedy

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

emancipation.

silent tribute to the memory of "International," everyone was all the Trotskyist fighters the urged to join a picket line at the world over who have given their Dutch consulate here next Thurslives in the cause of socialist day to demonstrate international solidarity with the Indonesian Just before the singing of the 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 induswalking from a smoky, dusty 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 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 Government. That government of advancing toward socialism, will be composed of democratical-

BASIC DIFFERENCES

world would follow the American workers unto the socialist road.

The great mass of the workers, trially backward country, with into the struggle for socialism. execution of economic plans under Once in motion, they would reeliminate 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 social-

We come now to your question, Will the economic planning be by me or will it be for me?" Will from battle hungry and tired, cut 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. Contruction of the socialist order will begin under the leadership of the Workers and Farmers

all segments of the working pop-Unlike Russia of 1917, the white collar workers, sharecrop-United States is the most ad- pers, working farmers, housevanced industrial nation in the wives, professional people, negroworking class. Instead of foreign and sailors. Unions will be prethe working people of the entire injurious government policy.

ically constituted committees representing every field of producsupported by the farmers and all tion and distribution will be the little poeple, would be drawn drawn into the preparation and the guidance of the workers and productive capacity to quickly be full freedom of criticism. Initiative will be encouraged everywhere. The working people will decide all questions and build

> Differing opinions over policies and methods in building the socialist society will no doubt lead to great debates. Political parties will crystalize in support of various points of view and contend for government office. There will be genuine freedom of elections with universal suffrage in these contests and free access to all mediums of expression now controlled by the monopolists.

their own life.

The youth will be guaranteed complete education in their chosen calling. They will receive every opportunity to criticize, make mistakes and grow up free from regimentation or restraint.

Neither an arbitrary plan nor a shadow of compulsion will be imposed in personal relations or the Soviet Union has degenerated. ly elected representatives from in science or art. The degree to which creativeness is individual ulation - industrial workers, or collective will be decided en-

tirely by the creators. Socialism will free all mankind from the beast-like search for world, with the most powerful es, students, rank and file soldiers food, from the madman's dream of profits and empire. Oppressed powers launching military as- served as a means for the workers humanity will be released from saults on a socialist America, as to defend themselves, by strike the shackles of superstition and they did against the Soviet Union, action if necessary, against any prejudice. Civilization will rise to delt mainly with the new prob- The Militant's business office in forced to raise sub prices beginundreamed of heights.

Against Anti-Marxists other mass movements. The report | emphasis on the shortcomings, (Continued from page 1) nore properly balance its agita- and resolution were both adopted. difficulties and errors in the tion and propaganda, with special Extracts from the report are campaign. This included shortemphasis on polemical struggle printed on Page 2 of this issue, comings over which the party against opponent tendencies and and the resolution will be printed as yet unfortunately had little organizations in the more politic- in the next issue of Fourth In- or no control, such as its finan-

ally conscious sections of the ternational. The party cannot grow and tration was the struggle against recognize and correct, such as prosper by simple anti-capitalist the government's persecution of inadequate planning and preparaagitation and good works alone, the SWP. A report by William tion, the setting of unrealistic Cannon continued. It must defeat F. Warde dealt with the case of goals and faulty propaganda

demoralized and disrupted by the defense movement, and through propaganda and agitational offensive of the anti-Marxists. this case to step up the party's methods which it has employed was adopted unanimously liberties. 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 Philadelphia Got the pre-war New Deal coalition. And then he carefully delineated 79 Subs in December mailed direct to this office last the elements of conflict that are at work in the present coalition between them and the Democratic more subs this week, 22 of them or more. Three were for two-

contradictions of capitalism set national, monthly theoretical scribers for their friends. specific limits to the reformism magazine of American Trotskyof the new administration and 18m. pave the way for its discreditment. The inability of the ad- of the branch's last 1948 mobiliza- week in the recent period, mostly ministration to fulfill the promises tion to visit readers whose subs the work of Bebe Patch in calling it made the masses will surely had expired or will expire soon. Eack for renewals. lead to new political explosions, Stein predicted.

Even before Truman's in-Congress of Labor is winning new troduction to The Militant was support in the labor movement, the 25c. special election sub. Five proving that the workers did not new subs were also obtained. The give Truman a blank check and rest were renewals by readers of that the prospects are good for longer standing. successful combat against classcalled for special attention to it was particularly welcome here. rates. the Negro movement, the Wallace Philadelphia already has a record A dozen renewals and new subs movement as fertile sources for 49 in November.

recruitment to the SWP.

Singled out for special concenevery attempt to smuggle James Kutcher and the response orientation. bourgeois ideology into the labor which his fight against the black-

ELECTION REPORT

A high point of the plenum was the report by George Clarke, SWP National Campaign Manpolitical scene in the 1948 elec- plenum.

increased morale; in the acquisi- July, 1948. tion of new techniques and The first day of the plenum methods of propaganda; in publicity that reached the biggest bration of the party's 20th anaudience the party has ever had niversary, held under the auspices and helped to establish it in the of the New York Local. When the minds of millions as the extreme plenum itself ended tonight, left wing of American politics; in experience and training of the were of the opinion that it had party members in the many fields been one of the most fruitful that are indispensable for the sessions of the National Comgrowth of the revolutionary party. mittee in the history of the move-Clarke's report placed equal ment.

cial handicaps. It also included mistakes which the party must

Clarke urged that the whole movement under the guise of a list has already won in broad sec- rarty should study these problems workers' program. Otherwise, the tions of the labor and liberal and lessons in preparations for agitation will be wasted and movements. It was decided to give future campaigns, and that it the workers' vanguard will be increased backing to the Kutcher learn to use and extend the The general line of Cannon's fight in defense of its political 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 ager, on the lessons to be drawn took steps to insure the collecfrom the party's highly success- tion of sufficient funds to carry ful entrance onto the national out the decisions made at the

> It also voted to continue until The campaign, he showed, was the next plenum the discussion a magnificent achievement for a by the party of the draft resoluparty as small as the SWP, bring- tion on Negro work introduced ing benefits in many ways - in at the last SWP convention in

was followed by a spirited celemany of the vold-timers present

THE MILITANT ARMY

off this column by turning in 34 Fourth International for a year for a full year and eight combi- year renewals. The new subs Stein pointed out that the world nations including Fourth Inter- were mostly sent in by old sub-

This was their last opportunity to renew at 1948 rates.

Ten renewals were obtained

The 34 Philadelphia subs collaborationist politics. Stein brought in \$43 at a time when year-end will be entered at 1948

lems and trends in the unions and recent sub-getting. In response ning this year.

to notices of rising rates in 1949, 45 renewals and new subs were Philadelphia continues to lead week. These included 14 subs for

Boston has kept up a steady This was partially the result flow of renewals, five or six a

Newark held a mobilization which obtained 18 subs last week. auguration, the demand for a from readers whose first in- 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

voters and the awakening student of 79 subs for December, after came in at 1949 rates, which we appreciate. The old rates don't quite half pay the costs of The discussion of this report Not even Philadelphia equals publication. That is why we were

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7. 1944 at the Post Office at New York, S. 1879."

THE MILITAN

each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3. N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9830) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Vol. XIII - No. 1

Monday, January 3, 1949

Bundle Orders & or more des): 80 each in U.S., 40



"In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism 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."

LENIN

-Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929,

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

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, Ukraine, 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

Up to now 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 leigslative 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

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 again 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 witchhunt 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

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 antilabor 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

Where Philip Murray Stands in Struggle Against Dutch Imperialism

By Joseph Hansen

In his Dec. 23 letter to Secre-

tary of State Marshall, CIO

President Philip Murray de-

clares that the attack of the

Netherlands government on the

neither to the morality of our

civilization nor to the practical

political needs of the people of

Western Europe and the United

The Dutch imperialists take a

different view. They believe that

practical political needs demanded

their Nazi-style blitzkrieg attack

against Indonesia; and they con-

sider their action morally justi-

fied, as can be seen from the

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 ob-

jective - to bring peace to In-

And on Dec. 25, in her Christ-

mas Day broadcast, Queen Juliana

declared that the Dutch armies

were merely carrying out the

promise during World War II

of assuring the Four Freedoms

Are these declarations pure

hypocrisy? No, not entirely. The

Dutch imperialists must be credit-

ed with a certain amount of

fervor. They probably feel the

same kind of moral glow that

the Southern Bourbons feel in

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 atten-

tion. Their actions accord with

This is confirmed by the fact

that the British, French, Belgian

and American capitalists are aid-

ing the Dutch' in their war of

imperialist conquest instead of

calling them to account for their

(Continued from page 1)

rule out of existence a militant

union or even a disguised com-

pany 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 dur-

ing a strike of a sister union.

Such a provision in the Taft-

Hartley Act has blocked efforts

of the ILGWU itself to organize

The "Dubinsky - Taft - Hartley

Bill" would go even beyond the

scab clothing contractors.

YELLOW-DOG OATH

September 1, 1949!

all the unions.

crimes against humanity.

apitalist morality.

MORAL PRACTICES

nstigating lynch murder.

donesia.'

to Indonesia."

Dutch Invaders Overrun Indonesia

'Morality" in Indonesia War



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 independe 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 sequently, Philip Murray is inner twinge! morality. The British are waging wrong and the Dutch despots are similar action on their ownaccount | right in the dispute over whether | Indo-China. The Belgian capitalists are notorious for their colonial brutality. And Wall pines and Latin America, backs all the other colonial rulers with The actions of the capitalists do

guns and dollars. The truth is that capitalist profess. morality is the very opposite of what most working people conof the capitalist class a war of Mass murder is "pacification."

They do this because they sym- their real morality.

DUBINSKY STABS WORKERS IN BACK

From this point of view, con- this delusion despite an occasional grain of truth in what he says. not conform to the morality they

moral views. First of all, they sider upright. In the moral world must pay lip service to the the only one. morality which the working peoconquest is a crusade for "peace." pie observe in their daily lives; otherwise they could not long view that "The CIO has always Plunder and rape and the smash- remain in power. Secondly, aling of an independence move- though the capitalists actually live ment is "police action." Broken by cold calculation and a mercipromises, violated truces, the less drive for profits, they inlies, deceit and treachery lead- dulge in rationalization to salve ing up to a Pearl Harbor attack their conscience. Many of them are viewed by the capitalists as find the feeling of guilt resultjustifiable means "to save lives." ing from their actions painful to Everything is turned upside bear. So they picture themselves down in their morality-that is, as guardians of morality, in many cases actually coming to believ

want full and unqualified smash-

No Substitutes!"

measures.

ing of the Taft-Hartley Act. And

This is true not only of the capitalists but of their agents in in Malaya; and the French in or not a ruthless colonial war the labor movement, as can be conforms to the morality of seen in the case of Philip Murray. capitalist civilization. However, He no doubt is convinced that he it must be at once added that is a paragon of virtue. Yet if Street, besides its own criminal Murray is not completely off his actions be compared with his record in Puerto Rico, the Philip- base in his statement. There is a professed beliefs, some unpleasant discrepancies emerge. The contrast between his

declamations on democracy and his actions in building a dicta-They hate to admit their real torial bureaucracy in the CIO is the most glaring instance but not

In his letter to Marshall, Murthe greatest possible assistance conform with his actions.

developing free, democratic

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, practising 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, facesaving 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 ray proclaims the lofty moral guilt for what is happening in Indonesia. Like the Dutch imfelt that the peoples of the perialists, Philip Murray procolonial countries should be given fesses a morality that does not

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-

oust the Taft-Hartley Congress- fireworks in Michigan over the cutting each other's throats at ts power. It does not have to go doing to the minor parties? Anybegging hat in hand. Mobilized way, here are just a few samples

"George D. Stevens, Flint independent organized strength, have lost his bid for the sixth law. Having already yielded so labor can compel Congress to congressional seat, announced Frigrant its demands on Taft- day he would petition Congress Hartley repeal, housing, civil for a recount within 30 days." rights and all other progressive Stevens' attorney, Stanley E. Beattie of Detroit, "contended What is needed is a National that there were disturbing errors United Congress of Labor, such in the count."

And on Nov. 8: "Democratic as the AFL International Typographical Union proposed and the party leaders in five counties National Maritime Union and were searching today for evidence many local union bodies have of reported irregularities in endorsed. This Congress of Labor | 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 chalfighting mad and I would like to larities. "One of the more serious lengers reported numerous irreguirregularities reported . . an instance at one precinct in Lansing where a machine was There have really been some reported out of order. The Chairman of the precinct election board men and Senators. The workers vote count. And the point to tested the machine, pulling down remember is that it has been be- the lever over the Republican tween the Democrats and Repu- presidential candidate's name at their further slogan is: "Accept blicans. So if they are busy least 11 times and each time recorded it on the machine." Labor has just demonstrated the ballot box, what must they be (There are many other charges that I won't go into.)

The Detroit Free Press reported of one precinct that "Progressive, Socialist and Prohibition the Taft-Hartley Act restrictions capitalist politician, using its own Democrat, declared officially to 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.

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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 tually like certain features of the 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.

nounced 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 an additional \$275,000 for Tru-

The ILGWU president an-

With these proposals, Dubin- the most reliable agents of U. S. sky has now assumed the dubious imperialism inside the unions. It is with this type of procedure honor of spearheading the drive Dubinsky's move to split and that Dubinsky wants to shackle of the AFL moguls for revision betray the fight for unconditional of the Wagner Act along anti- repeal of the Taft-Hatley Act labor and anti-industrial union comes as a direct repudiation of reports that have put me in this

Dubinsky also wants to give the lines. Dubinsky has spelled out the workers' demands, expressed frame of mind. government power to settle the text of the law implied, but in their overwhelming vote to 'jurisdictional" disputes through not specified, in the AFL cona board nominated by the Departvention resolution adopted in ment of Labor. This board could

union in favor of a conservative | 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 in united action, placing no of what went on in Michigan: Congress to retain as much of reliance on Truman or any other as possible in any "substitute" 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.

present law in requiring noncommunist affidavits and financial The treachery of Dubinsky and statements. It would require a others of his stripe is all the more yellow-dog oath not only from vile because he and the other all elected officers of a union, Trumanite labor leaders called on but from all paid functionaries of the workers to vote for Truman the union. To make this restric- with the assurance that "Intion on labor more "equitable," junction Harry" would work for Dubinsky wants it extended to all unconditional repeal of the Taftemployers - a pretty tough Hartley Act if elected. Since the restraint on the capitalists, to elections, Truman has made clear make them swear they're not 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 unqualified repeal of the Slave Labor Law. They ac-Taft-Hartley Act! They find the yellow-dog oath procedure a veapon in their raids on noncomplying unions. They welcome the red-tape of "cooling off" and "fact-finding" as a means of curbing the militancy of their

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 treasury intact while squeezing against the Soviet Union. He is one of the ambitious Social man's campaign out of "volun- Democratic-type liberals in the tary contributions" from the labor movement who are playing for government recognition as

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should be convened in Washing-

ton, with rank and file representa

tion of all unions, to confront the

81st Congress with labor's

demands and labor's mighty

power on the day the new session

Economic Balance Sreet of 1948 .. By John G. Wright The Marshall Plan and European Recovery

By Louis T. Gordon

The Position of the American Working Class -100 Years After the Communist Manifesto By C. Curtis

A Suppressed Chapter in the History of American Capitalism By Wm. F. Warde Stalinism and Communism in Albania

Report on the 4th Int'l. Since the Outbreak of War, 1939-48

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 Pittsburg 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 two little children

Why do landlords discriminate against chilren? 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 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 preicous 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

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

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

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 has 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

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 martyrized 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 throbbed 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 fainted 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

Ah! how serene and ingenuous 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.

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."

"I have won an election and

the end justifies the means,"

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

POPULATION STATISTICS - U. S. population stood at 148 million at the end of the yearan 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 31/2 persons. More than 3 the fine, fat and rosy futures they million families were living "doubled-up" with see for themselves as pioneers of other families. There are over 14 million women the new liberalism. What thereworkers out of a total civilian labor force of fore is their tactic? To maintain a

COMPETITION - The House Committee on Un-American Activities is competing with the Justice Department to see which can propose touching fundamental industrial 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 "Com- Court of New York supporting in the history of Connecticut). All to the utmost limit that is pos- these liberals and their circle are munist-control legislation" along the lines of the discrimination against Negroes in this is supposed to be fighting the sible. But any kind of champion a powerful obstacle in the road of notorious catch-all Mundt Bill. The House Committee also advocated its own continuance.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1949 VOLUME XIII

Weinstock Letters Show CP 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." Sabottaged 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: I. 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 of the Council delegates who law during the war. 2. And that were almost ready to give these the Stalinists, who now are adrocating labor solidarity against the coming trial, themselves were tory of the case" that could be the grossest violators of this used to prevent aid to the CRDC. fundamental principle, materially contributing by their example to the workers' present lack of Political Action Committee, 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

At the beginning of 1944, the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Feamsters Union Local 544-CIO ercised 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 Minneapolis case was the aid the defendants, carried on an same. 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 "investigate" the matter. Weinstock took the lead in secur-

ing 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. Weinstock complains about some Smith Act.

is far easier to repeal the Taft-

Hartley Act than it is to make

rights to the Negro people. Dis-

crimination against Negroes is

part of tthe life-blood of Amer-

people a helping hand" and urges Tobin to send him "a brief his-

The second letter was to Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO 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 were imprisoned because they ex- Roosevelt. But Weinstock's point movement who were supporting 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 opposing support to the Stalinist victims of the witch-hunt!

There is no evidence in the file to show that Hillman ever most flagrant attack on American answered this letter. He knew political liberties in World War that although the PAC had never including a letter Tobin had at that time demonstrates that II. and as such aroused a storm acted on the Minneapolis case, solicited from Victor E. Anderof protest from most sections of most of the important CIO lead- son, prosecuting attorney in the the labor and liberal movements, ers had expressed support for the Minneapolis trial. In this letter, The Civil Rights Defense Com- 18 defendants. Hillman's own mittee, which was organized to paper, The Advance, did the

IRONICAL ASPECTS

The third of Weinstock's letters was "not unconstitutional." dated May 11 was addressed to Attorney General Francis Biddle, GOVT. INTERPRETATION whose department had engineered labor movement."

effice on May 17, "You may be assured," it said, "that the basis we have around here." of the prosecution in this case had nothing to do with activities on behalf of the labor move-

structed the Department of who is now attorney general and of the Trotskyists. In this letter the Stalinists under the same indefinite."

Jim Crow Puts Liberals on

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 ist majority in the District Weinstock himself would now be Council voted down the motion among the 12 CP National Board to support the 18. Weinstock on members under indictment ex- June 12 then issued a press statecept for the fact that in 1946 the ment denouncing the Trotskyists painters revolted against Stalin- as "fascist minded disrupters ist domination and kicked him out | . . . who are trying to break up many labor leaders today use in of office, which led to his demo- the unity that exists today in tion from the National Board.

answer from Tobin, who offered "information" that he hoped would be helpful to Weinstock, 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

Anderson's letter to Tobin inthe trial and conviction of the terested Weinstock so much that bittered many members that they 18. Weinstock told Biddle he was he entered into direct corre- are ready to condone any method anxious to get information spondence with Anderson In s demonstrating that the 18 were letter dated June 5, he praised Stalinist clique. The Curran convicted for "sedition" rather Tobin for supplying him with "a leadership has cleverly exploited than "activities in behalf of the proper and satisfactory explana- this sentiment. At each stage in tion concerning these defendants" The first reply Weinstock got and asked Anderson for addi- to point to the Stalinist record to these letters was from Biddle's tional help to "satisfy some of and the bureaucratic precedents these doubting Thomases whom

On June 7 Anderson replied with an offer to supply any additional information "if it is within our power to do so." Again he An ironical aspect to this letter referred to the Supreme Court's Tobin, czar of the International was that it was written for refusal to act on the defendants' Brotherhood of Teamsters, at Biddle and signed by an assistant appeal because "the law under whose request Roosevelt had in- attorney general-Tom C. Clark, which the prosecution was had was not unconstitutional in Justice to prepare the indictment spearheading the persecution of violating free speech or for being

the American nation." In sub-On June 2 Weinstock got his stantiation, he reprinted in full Anderson's remarks on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. An examination of the press Weinstock's frenzied activity against support to the Trotsky- | Act.)

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."

NUMBER 1

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

the Stalinists on trumped-up calculated to invite reprisals. charges, became a notorious scan-

dal on the waterfront. The memory of this ferocious bureaucratic persecution so emthe purge Curran has been able 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 unsupprted accusations and invective against the elected officials. Membership meetings were broken up and rump meet-With this "evidence" the Stalin- ings held at which the Stalinists

gave vent to hysterical outbursts

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 o rid the union of the hated against them. Thus, they provided texts 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" rom 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 hardwon and dearly-bought internal union democracy without which there can be no talk of militant

and progressive unionism.

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READ

Fourth Internationa

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

tremendous racket about Negro grievances and to tackle such modest problems as seem to offer some prospect of solution without and political interests.

A TYPICAL CASE

A case in point is the decision by the Appellate Division of the

itan Life Insurance.

cratic Party finds itself on the New York Star, very often ex- of all, who gave Metropolitan this spot on the Negro question. It presses the views of this particu- Jim Crow contract? Nobody but lar wing of the Democratic party. the New York municipality itself. On Dec. 23 it printed an editorial The municipality, mind you, of any serious attempt to grant civil on the decision, bursting with New York, which is supposed to righteousness, good will and a be the center of freedom for the desire for Negro emancipation.

Housing, it said, was a public and Dixon line. ican capitalism and as far as this problem. Stuyvesant Town, it said, had been granted tax exempsystem is concerned, Negroes are tion by the municipality of New action? Nobody but that great going to have to stay "in their York for 25 years. Restrictive liberal, the late Fiorello La covenants, it said, had been barred Guardia, the Little Flower himby a decision of the Supreme Court in May. Therefore, argued the Star, the Negro petitioners should take their case to the Su- vigorously to him on the injustice preme Court in Washington with a good chance of winning a vic- of his signing such a contract for tory. It was "pretty sure," it said, the city. In vain. La Guardia that the adverse decision would be insisted. "knocked down." It gave bland encouragement to the American dia, the great liberal, on behalf Negroes. Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and all others who are fighting Jim Crow contract with one of the the case.

The whole method of approach and line of argument are familiar. Chester Bowles would dress it up Justice Benvenga, decides in favor out that not only La Guardia in one way, Leon Henderson would dress it up another, and Hubert Division supports Benvenga's de-Humphrey would be very noisy indeed. Bowles, speaking on this ing battle, proposes: "On, Boys! most active practitioner and exsubject, would probably have on to Washington!' the platform with him the young Negro whom he has appointed as A POWERFUL OBSTACLE one of his military aides (the first | We are for using the law courts | ous politics affecting the people,

and the labor movement set out other cases upon the New York Bartley Crum is another of on a systematic campaign thor-Negro people above the Mason

> Who was the person directly resposible for this infamous transself. Was La Guardia unaware of what he was doing? The Negro people in particular protested and the inevitable consequences

> So that in New York, La Guarof the municipality, signs this largest capitalist concerns in the country over the protest of the Negroes. Then a New York judge, of Metropolitan. The Appellate cision. And then, the Star, breath-

the Stuyvesant Housing project, Negro issue.

which is controlled by Metropol
It is time that the Negro people the responsibility for this and emancipation. of Negro rights who does not lay Negro and all other types of

municipality and upon liberals The left wing of the Demo- these liberals and his paper, the oughly to expose this fraud. First like Fiorello La Guardia—all such people are hypocrites and fakers who are playing politics with the Negro question. We single out this editorial be-

cause 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

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 New York but their own Democratic Party, ruler of the country for sixteen years, has been the emplar of Jim Crow in the country, we shall continue to insist that on this, as on all other seri-

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