

MURRAY on 'MORALITY' OF DUTCH BLITZKRIEG AGAINST INDONESIANS

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SWP Plenum Opens Offensive On Anti-Marxists

National Body Outlines Program to Defend Union Democracy, Labor Independence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CANNON'S REPORT

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

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

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

Dubinsky Deals Stab-in-Back To Labor in Taft-Hartley Fight

NMU Chiefs Copy CP Methods in Purge of Stalinists

By Ralph Bell

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

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

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

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

"THEIR OWN MEDICINE"

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



Who Will Do Planning Under U. S. Socialism?

By Farrell Dobbs

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

December 29, 1948

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

You want to know, "What basis 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 revolutionary socialism has nothing in common with the capitalist liberalism of Norman Thomas which he mis-calls "socialism." Genuine socialism will bring conscious aims and rational plans into the struggle to wrest from nature everything (Continued on page 2)

man needs and to erect a new culture not for an elite but for the mass of the people.

Socialism will abolish the capitalist system of causing artificial scarcities in order to coin huge corporation profits. Wealthy corporation owners will no longer live in fantastic luxury at the expense of the great mass of the people. The basic means of production 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 economic security during periods of disability and in their old age. As social wealth grows, luxuries (Continued on page 2)

that only the rich can now afford will be enjoyed by everybody. While collective ownership will prevail in the means of production, each person will retain private 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 Union.

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 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 that has promptly been dubbed the "Dubinsky-Taft-Hartley Bill."

ILGWU President David Dubinsky—whom the Big Business press has frequently praised as the "most responsible" and "statesmanlike" union leader in the country—is the chief author of this first "substitute" anti-labor bill 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 several weeks ago at which the AFL heads made far-reaching commitments on a new labor-control law.

Dubinsky's "substitute" law would 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 hamstringed the railroad workers since the first World War and driven them from first to 20th position in comparative wages with other industries. It would give the capitalist government exceptional powers to interfere in internal union affairs, regulate the unions, break strikes and otherwise fulfill the aims of 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 so-called "vital" industries through compulsory "cooling off" periods and "fact-finding" government boards. These are standard procedures now employed by the Truman Administration, under both (Continued on page 3)



DAVID DUBINSKY

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

This proposal is all the more treacherous coming at the very time one million members of 16 non-operating railroad unions are being stalled by a "cooling off" period after months of fruitless negotiations, climaxed by a dirty 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 40-hour week instead of the present 48-hour week, with premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, the board offered a 40-hour staggered work week, without premium pay on week-ends and holidays—to be put into effect (Continued on page 3)

Stalinist Legislator in Ceylon Joins Trotskyist Movement

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

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

The Bolshevik Samasamaja Party was formerly known as the Ceylon Unit of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India. This brings the number of Trotskyist members of parliament to seven. Stalinist representation has declined from five to three. In addition to Lakshmane Rajapakse, another Stalinist member of parliament resigned, but has not announced affiliation to any other party.

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

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

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

The State of the Union and Our Legislative Program

BY THE EDITORS

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 Truman will be toward militarism and war. We further predict that he will offer little or nothing toward the solution of the major problems confronting the American people.

Truman—as he has already indicated—is going to water down many of the promises he made in his election campaign. He will hedge on unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, his key promise to labor, and offer a substitute bill with many features of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Last week Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark revealed how 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-the-record 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, education, minimum wages, old age benefits, etc.—will boil down to not

more than a tiny fractional increase in federal expenditures compared to the \$15 billion minimum he plans for direct military 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 of war or peace. No secret diplomacy. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil.
2. Unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. No government interference in union affairs. No restrictions on the right to 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 minority parties. Extend the right of franchise to youth of military age.
5. Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with

real power to root out discriminatory practices and eliminate segregation wherever it exists, including the armed forces and government agencies.

6. Nationalize the basic industries, natural resources and banks, and operate them through democratically elected committees of workers and technicians.

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

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

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 the needs of the day and pay the teachers a living wage.

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 a 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 \$25,000 a year.

The executive board of the Connecticut State Industrial Union Council, CIO, has endorsed the fight to help James 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 Kutcher fight.

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 Committee.

"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.

Post-Election Trends and Perspectives in U.S.

By M. Stein

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POST-WAR CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE POWER OF AMERICAN LABOR

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

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

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

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

WHAT FUTURE DEPENDS ON

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

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

SIGNS OF DISCONTENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The elements of conflict between the elec-

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

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

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

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

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

SWP Pioneers Honored At Anniversary Affair

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

Founders and pioneers of American Trotskyism, including James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, Arne Swabeck, Vincent R. Dunne, Rose Karsner, George Clarke and Harold Robbins, were honored for their 20-year-long struggle for the regeneration of the revolutionary socialist movement. Special tribute was paid to Comrade Cannon, who launched the fight against degenerate Stalinism and has been the outstanding leader of American Trotskyism since its inception. He climaxed the celebration with an inspiring speech in which he described the immeasurable compensation the revolutionary socialist movement gives the individual in the privilege and satisfaction of serving the cause of human progress.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The audience paused in their celebration to pay a standing



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

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

Mine Tragedy

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

WHO WILL PLAN UNDER US SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1) socialism, as it did — was Stalin able to take power and betray the entire world working class?

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

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

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

BASIC DIFFERENCES

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

world would follow the American workers under the socialist road.

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

We come now to your question, "Will the economic planning be by me or will it be for me?" Will it ignore or underestimate the human element? Socialism will give full freedom to the creative capacity of the entire population. For the first time in history, the central instruments of production will be controlled by the majority. Democracy will come into full bloom.

Construction of the socialist order will begin under the leadership of the Workers and Farmers Government. That government will be composed of democratically elected representatives from all segments of the working population — industrial workers, white collar workers, sharecroppers, working farmers, housewives, professional people, negroes, students, rank and file soldiers and sailors. Unions will be preserved as a means for the workers to defend themselves, by strike action if necessary, against any injurious government policy.

A giant network of democratically constituted committees representing every field of production and distribution will be drawn into the preparation and execution of economic plans under the guidance of the workers and Farmers Government. There will be full freedom of criticism. Initiative will be encouraged everywhere. The working people will decide all questions and build their own life.

Differing opinions over policies and methods in building the socialist society will no doubt lead to great debates. Political parties will crystallize 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.

The youth will be guaranteed a 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 in science or art. The degree to which creativeness is individual or collective will be decided entirely by the creators.

Socialism will free all mankind from the beast-like search for food, from the madman's dream of profits and empire. Oppressed humanity will be released from the shackles of superstition and prejudice. Civilization will rise to undreamed of heights.

SWP Opens Offensive Against Anti-Marxists

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

THE PARTY'S TASKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELECTION REPORT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Clarke's report placed equal

THE MILITANT ARMY

Philadelphia Got 79 Subs in December

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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TROTSKY

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

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



LENIN

The UN and Indonesia

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

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

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

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

Forrestal Asks for More Power

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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

The Stalinists and the Smith Act

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Morality" in Indonesia War

Where Philip Murray Stands in Struggle Against Dutch Imperialism

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORAL PRACTICES

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

Dutch Invaders Overrun Indonesia



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

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

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

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

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

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

this delusion despite an occasional inner twinge!

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

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

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

in developing free, democratic governments."

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

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

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

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

Workers Forum

Proposes United Action Against Election Fraud

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K. N. Lansing, Mich.

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

(Continued from page 1)

September 1, 1949!

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

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

YELLOW-DOG OATH

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

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

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

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

HELPS REACTION

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

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

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

FOR WALL STREET WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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- PHILADELPHIA — 1105 P. O. Box 1331, Oakliff 4.
- PHILADELPHIA — 1205 P. W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5220. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
- PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues. Wed. Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. Forum, Sun., 4 p. m.
- SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl., Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
- SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington, Phone Main 4278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.
- ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forums, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. Tues. Wed. Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. Phone Garland 1157. Open daily. Bookstore.
- TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kapps Hall, 415 Summit, Rm. 5.
- YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 2-1235. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

