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THE MILITANT

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TROTSKY

"Marx taught that no social system departs from the arena of history before exhausting its creative potentialities. The Communist Manifesto excoriates capitalism for retarding the development of the productive forces. During that period, however, as well as in the following decades, this retardation was only relative in nature. . . Only in the last twenty years, despite the most modern conquests of science and technology, has the epoch begun of out-and-out stagnation and even decline of world economy. Mankind is beginning to expend its accumulated capital, while the next war threatens to destroy the very foundations of civilization for many years to come."

—L. Trotsky, Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto, 1938



LENIN

Another Service for Imperialism

The provision for admitting the Christian (Roman Catholic) unions into the new "non-Communist" world trade union organization being set up in London is sufficient to indicate the kind of "free unionism" the CIO and AFL leaders are sponsoring in competition with the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. . . .

The action of Dubinsky and Reuther in opposing their own political co-thinkers and supporting the admission of Catholic unions was not dictated by any considerations of principle, least of all independent trade unionism. They acted to carry out a line laid down by the U. S. State Department. . . .

They Will Rearm Germany

Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense, and Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, both issued public assurances in the city of Frankfurt to the effect that there is "no intention" to rearm Germany. . . .

original denials that the Marshall "aid" plan was a prelude to the arms pact. The arming of Germany is the unavoidable supplement to the rearmament of Western Europe. It must follow not after a "thousand years" nor in the course of eternity, but when the first favorable opportunity presents itself or is deliberately manufactured. . . .

Handy Weapon for Bureaucrats

No one raved and ranted more loudly against "communism" at the recent CIO convention than Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union president. We can understand his eagerness to direct attention to a scapegoat when we examine what he has to offer the workers in his union. . . .

how a fighting policy that wins gains can hurt an organizing campaign is something we can't fathom. Every excuse is used for not fighting for the workers. But they skip over the two big reasons why they should fight: 1. Wages of textile workers are among the lowest in any industry. 2. The textile manufacturers are making handsome profits and can afford to pay higher wages and pensions. . . .

Future of the Socialist Party

By George Breitman

The Socialist Party leadership's proposal that the party discontinue its independent electoral activity was long overdue. It will merely confirm in a formal sense what had already become a fact several years ago—namely, that the SP no longer plays any kind of independent, let alone socialist, role in American politics. . . .

From the viewpoint of the SP leadership the proposal is logical and consistent in every respect. They have been complaining for quite some time that the capitalist parties have "stolen the socialist program," by which they mean the reform measures on social security, housing, etc., incorporated in the Fair Deal platform. . . .

Whether or not the name of the Socialist Party is retained after the merger with the SDF, it is clear that the organization is in the process of assuming a new role on the political scene. The new policy signifies the transformation of the SP into a propaganda and educational group and its renunciation of the role of a party, that is, of a distinctive political organization competing with all other political organiza-

tions on every possible field for the support of the masses. In this respect, the SP proposal parallels "the most striking decision" of this year's convention of the Shachtmanites, which consisted of changing their name from Workers Party to Independent Socialist League. . . .

Five of the 13 members of the SP National Executive Committee voted against the majority proposal and for the continuation of the existing policy. But the minority lacks the political arguments as well as the influence to carry their position at the convention. Their own resolution mildly points out that socialists who go into the Democratic Party, "will give up their own socialism rather than convert others" and that efforts to win control of the Democratic machine and use it as a vehicle of social change are bound to end in failure. . . .

To fight effectively in the SP against the new proposal requires a fundamental re-evaluation of and struggle against the over-all political premises of the leadership. There is no doubt that individuals and groups in the SP, and especially in the YPSL, will undertake such a fight because they really want a socialist party in fact as well as in name. In the course of this fight, they will be compelled to consider the question of program, which is at the bottom of the liquidationist move of the Thomas leadership. . . .

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deliberately set out to confuse the two as a cover for renouncing some more of their past ideas and for justifying their "neutrality" in the struggle between the revolutionary Marxist SWP and the reformist Socialist Democracy. . . .

For them the "supreme task" is the formation of a Labor Party which they are certain will be reformist in character and led by the labor lieutenants of capitalism, and in which they will operate as

to deceive themselves but to stand in the way of the formation of the real party of the American workers [a Labor Party] and to impede the progress of the ideas of socialism in such a party." In other words, the refusal of the SWP to change its name or concept of its role is impeding the formation of a Labor Party, while the Shachtmanites, by changing their name and abandoning the traditional Marxist concept of the party, are contributing in some mysterious fashion to the building of a Labor Party! . . .

But a party and a mass party are not the same thing and no one ever "pretended" that they were until the Shachtmanites

a left wing. With such a perspective it is perfectly natural that they should abandon the whole theory of the independent party as "sectarian" and "sterile" nonsense, just as it is natural that the perspective of the SP leaders should persuade them to abandon the practice of independent electoral activity. . . .

By demonstrating that the Shachtmanites have no greater aim than serving as the left wing of a reformist labor party, the ISL convention decision has already helped to clear up the question that bothered many workers — which is the Trotskyist party, the SWP or the Shachtmanites? Similarly, the SP proposal to enter the capitalist parties and support capitalist candidates will clarify the question — which is the real socialist party, the SWP or the SP? And clarity is always a good thing. . . .

ITALY CP LEADERS FEAR GROWTH OF DISSIDENTS

ROME — For the last few months the Italian Communist Party has been in the throes of a crisis precipitated by the bankruptcy of the policies imposed by the leadership — a mixture of opportunism and

adventurism — and by the repercussions of the Yugoslav events. Among the latest manifestations of this crisis two may be singled out as especially noteworthy: 1. There has been a split virtually from top to bottom in the Terni federation of the Italian CP. This federation, located some 100 kilometers north of Rome, comprises one of the principal industrial regions of Italy. . . .

VEILED ALLUSION Frightened by the rise of the spirit of criticism, more and more pronounced each day, this bureaucrat goes on as follows: "All the comrades and all the organizations must be more vigilant than ever before. It is necessary to unmask and denounce the activities of Titoist agents, who with their work of disorganization and provocation are lending a firm hand to the Anglo-American agents. . . .

These last remarks are a thinly veiled allusion to the discussions which appear to have broken out among the leadership of the Italian CP itself. . . .

A Factual Account of Japan Under U. S. Rule

By Charles Hanley

T. A. Bisson, a specialist on Japanese questions, is not a revolutionist. However, his recent book "Prospects for Democracy in Japan" (Macmillan Co., New York, 1949), dealing with the evolution of that country under American occupation, confirms what we Trotskyists have said about the effects of imperialist policy after World War II. . . .

The proclaimed aims of American imperialism after Japan's surrender in August 1945, were the destruction of the big family trusts ("Zaibatsu"), of the extreme concentrations of capital and power, of the military, political and economic machine which had been the most dangerous competitor of American imperialism in Asia. . . .

The strikes were partly defeated because of adventurist Stalinist tactics. The ruling class gained new courage and abolished the liberal election law of 1946 so that the conservative parties would find it easier to keep control of the government without the aid of the Social Democratic leaders who had collaborated with them up to that point. . . .

of his former generals were being hanged by his new American friends. "Purges" had to be carried out, the constitution was "democratized" in 1946; but the big capitalists and landowners and the old state bureaucracy remained in command. The Zaibatsu did not disappear; they went "underground" and continued to determine the policy of the bourgeois parties. . . .

A consistent anti-red policy being impossible without giving firmer support to Japanese capitalism, the 1945 policy of destroying the Zaibatsu was rendered obsolete. The era of timid reforms was closed. In 1948, the U. S. "Draper Mission" recommended a new policy which has in practice been adopted by MacArthur and the State Department. . . .

In their struggle for a better standard of living and for a free labor movement, against the police state of their Zaibatsu exploiters and the semi-feudal landlords, the Japanese workers and peasants cannot be successful while the occupation troops remain in their country. Occupation spells active American support for the Japanese reactionaries against labor and the peasantry. . . .

collaborating with the Japanese bourgeoisie, and seeking — not too successfully — to transform Japan into the anti-communist bulwark of Asia (a policy which has been considerably intensified since the collapse of nationalist China). . . .

"REFORM" ERA ENDS A consistent anti-red policy being impossible without giving firmer support to Japanese capitalism, the 1945 policy of destroying the Zaibatsu was rendered obsolete. The era of timid reforms was closed. In 1948, the U. S. "Draper Mission" recommended a new policy which has in practice been adopted by MacArthur and the State Department. . . .

Bisson does not ask for the withdrawal of American troops from Japan — at least not in his book. But there can be no other logical conclusion from his analysis of developments in post-war Japan. . . .

Hear the Legless Veteran JAMES KUTCHER Tell the Dramatic Story of His Fight for Justice OTHER PROMINENT SPEAKERS I. F. STONE Noted Author and Columnist ROGER BALDWIN Director, American Civil Liberties Union NORMAN THOMAS Socialist Party Leader CARL HOLDERMAN President, New Jersey State CIO BENJAMIN F. McLAURIN Int. Org., Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL PROF. THOMAS I. EMERSON Yale University Law School Chairman: GEORGE NOVACK National Secretary, Kutchler Civil Rights Committee THURSDAY EVENING - DEC. 15 - 8:00 P. M. 158th Anniversary of The Bill of Rights CAPITOL HOTEL 51st STREET & 8th AVENUE - NEW YORK Donation 50c Auspices: Kutchler Civil Rights Committee

