

Subscriptions: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr.: \$2 for 6 mos.

THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People

Single Copies 10 c. each in U.S. 15 c. each in foreign countries.

Vol. XIV - No. 1 Monday, January 2, 1950



"A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime.



—Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1939.

The "Secret" that Was No Secret

The Atomic Energy Commission has for years held documentary proof that the Soviet Union has possessed all the basic theoretical knowledge about the "secret" of the atom-bomb since 1940.

light on the spy-scare and witch-hunt that the government has whipped up over the past three years to terrorize and silence all who oppose Truman's "cold war" policies.

Washington authorities — including Truman — knew all along that there was no real "secret" about the atomic bomb. In fact the very scientists who worked on the atomic project and were best informed on the matter repeatedly stated that there was no "secret."

But the witch-hunters in Washington took advantage of the average person's ignorance about the new atomic wonder. They drowned out the voices of the scientists with their Hollywood-like Congressional "investigations" of "spies" and "Communists."

But the only real "atomic spy plot" has turned out to be the plot of the warmongers and police-states in Washington to muzzle free opinion in America under the pretext of safeguarding atomic "secrets" which Russian scientists described in public prints nine years ago.

The Purge in the Plants

The Dec. 12 Militant pointed out that the Department of Defense has set up a four-man Industrial Employment Review Board to act as an "appeals body" for workers fired out of plants with government contracts on political, "moral" or other grounds.

We denounced this move as a fraud because the members of the board are appointed by the Department of Defense itself, and because the board will be bound by the Attorney General's arbitrarily-selected "subversive" list, which is used as the basis of the purge in the plants just as it is used in the purge of government employees.

Under the previous procedure a worker could be fired for "membership in or sympathetic association with" any of the organizations on this list. Under the new procedure exactly the same system will prevail. It will not help the worker any to point out to the "appeals" board that his organization is not "subversive" and that it was never even given a hearing at which it could examine or answer the charges against it; so far as the board is concerned, the illegal "subversive" list has the force of law.

All this is as well known to the CIO leaders as it is to us. Yet the CIO News writes of the new board as something

designed by the Department of Defense to avoid complaints of "military arbitrariness" in the future. And the United Automobile Worker says: "While the charter, procedure and criteria governing the actions of the new board do not go the whole way in meeting the standards of due process of law demanded in resolutions on loyalty and security investigations and dismissals adopted by the UAW-CIO and the 1949 CIO Convention, they do represent a long step in that direction."

The chief thing that seems to impress both these papers about the new board is that it permits purged workers to be represented by their unions in appeal hearings. But that fact does not alter the thoroughly anti-labor character of the whole purge proceedings any more than it would be altered by a new regulation requiring that the letter notifying a worker that he is being fired because of his political convictions must be typed on union-made paper by a member of an office workers union.

It is time for the labor movement to quit pussyfooting with the purge, to stop looking for "progressive" improvements in its operation, and to start fighting it in earnest and in its entirety. Either the labor movement will put an end to the witch-hunt or the witch-hunt will put an end to the labor movement.

New Status of Indonesia

After a rule of almost 350 years the Dutch colonialists found themselves unable to retain direct rule over the fabulously wealthy empire of Indonesia and its 77 million inhabitants. For four years they waged war with American munitions and funds to reimpose upon the insurgent masses their "model" colonial enslavement and finally had to agree to share power with the native Indonesian capitalists.

native bourgeoisies in the Far East. The pressure of American imperialism, which seeks to benefit from the break-up of the old colonial empires, played a significant but subordinate role in the developments. Wall Street, to be sure, prefers to see Indonesia, like the rest of the Far East, turned into an "independent" preserve open to its economic penetration like the Philippines. But what proved decisive in the case of Indonesia, as previously in India, was the weakness of respective imperialist bourgeoisies, on the one side, and the revolutionary upsurge of the native peoples, on the other. Faced with the prospect of losing everything, the Dutch grudgingly followed in the footsteps of the British and granted partnership to the Indonesian bourgeoisie.

While genuine independence has been far from achieved, the stranglehold of the Dutch has been broken beyond repair. The Indonesian people have taken a partial but nonetheless important step on the road of complete emancipation. History will show that the Sukarno and the Hattas, like the Nehrus, are chance and episodic figures; neither they nor their class have any future. The future in the Far East belongs to the workers who alone can carry out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in the colonies, including the achievement of complete national independence.

Titoism and Internationalism

On Dec. 1 the International Secretariat of the Fourth International issued an open letter to the leadership and members of the Yugoslav Communist Party in reply to official statements made by Veljko Vlahovitch, a member of the Central Committee of that organization, on the question of working-class internationalism and Trotskyism.

objectively a "tendency to capitulate before the double pressure of imperialism and the Kremlin." It then goes on to brand as "poor opportunist excuses borrowed from Stalinism" those considerations of "tactics" and "maneuvering" contrived to avoid unnecessarily provoking world imperialism or the Kremlin. They do not fool the proletariat — or anyone else.

WHAT IS THEIR PROGRAM? The IS demands of the Tito leadership: "What is your program for the world proletariat?" Defense of Yugoslavia against the Kremlin and the demand for equal rights "does not constitute a program which can reorganize and re-orient the working class and the colonial masses who have been demoralized by the practices of the Kremlin."

Nor does this constitute an adequate program for the defense of Yugoslavia. The workers of other countries desire to defend the Yugoslav movement but only "as part" of the world revolutionary movement. What will the Tito group say to these workers when they ask: "What should we do to carry on the class struggle in our own country? Obey Thorez, Togliatti, et al, or create a new revolutionary party, a new revolutionary international?"

COMINTERN DISSOLUTION The International Secretariat rejects the "theoretical" arguments used to justify "the capitulatory and opportunist" dissolution of the Third International as "unworthy of a moment's consideration by those who claim to adhere to Marxism-Leninism." It points out that both the Moscow bureaucracy and world imperialism, with whom it was allied during the war, feared the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the colonial masses.

FLINGING MUD The International Secretariat does not question the right of the Titoist leaders to oppose the ideas of the Fourth International or even struggle against them. But, it says, "it is completely inadmissible to fling mud and suspicion at our movement instead of engaging in an ideological discussion." The poison-pen smears of Vlahovitch, it continues, are variations on the slanders of the Kremlin and its agents.

THE SAME METHODS Precisely such amalgams were directed by the Kremlin in its Hungarian and Bulgarian fights against the Yugoslavs. It was on that occasion that Piyade, one of the Yugoslav leaders, declared that those trials were staged by the same men who organized the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38 during which the cream of the Russ'ish Bolshevik Party and the Communist International were exterminated after being slandered as spies, assassins, etc. Piyade pointed out that the degeneration of the Communist parties began with the official proclamation that "Trotskyism had ceased to be a tendency in the international workers movement and had become an agency of fascism."

But all these truths were ignored by Vlahovitch. The IS states that "you give the painful impression that the prejudices and the rotten practices of the Kremlin are gaining the upper hand in your organization and that you are prepared to utilize

PRO-TITO OPPOSITION INSIDE THE FRENCH CP

An organized opposition, backed by the Yugoslavs, now exists in the Communist Party of France. A bulletin entitled 'La Lutte' (The Struggle) is now being circulated among the membership. The bulletin gives the impression that it is put out by a politically educated group, experienced in the underground methods necessary for oppositional activity in the French Stalinist party.

Another article tries sharply to differentiate the opposition from the French Trotskyists: "Our movement has nothing in common with the maneuvers of the small Trotskyist groups, even though one of them dares present itself as a defender of the Yugoslav people. We know that they have never ceased to oppose the building of socialism. While claiming to lend their aid to the Yugoslav people — who have no need of it — they continue to serve as the conscious or unconscious tools of capitalism and to play the game of the leaders of the Soviet Union."

But the most significant section of the bulletin is the resolution of the opposition committees of the North and of Pas-de-Calais. It is significant because an attempt is made to review the past policy of the party and to reject it as false. Here, whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not, the French Titoists are compelled to restate many of the criticisms raised long ago by the French Trotskyists.

"Do not underestimate the critical faculties of the elements of the world revolutionary movement whose support you are asking. They will judge you by your actions, by your entire line and not only the correct part of your struggle against the Kremlin. 'You yourself say that the truth must triumph and that it will triumph. Yes, it will triumph.'"

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