

MURRAY on 'MORALITY' OF DUTCH BLITZKRIEG AGAINST INDONESIANS

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THE MILITANT

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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.

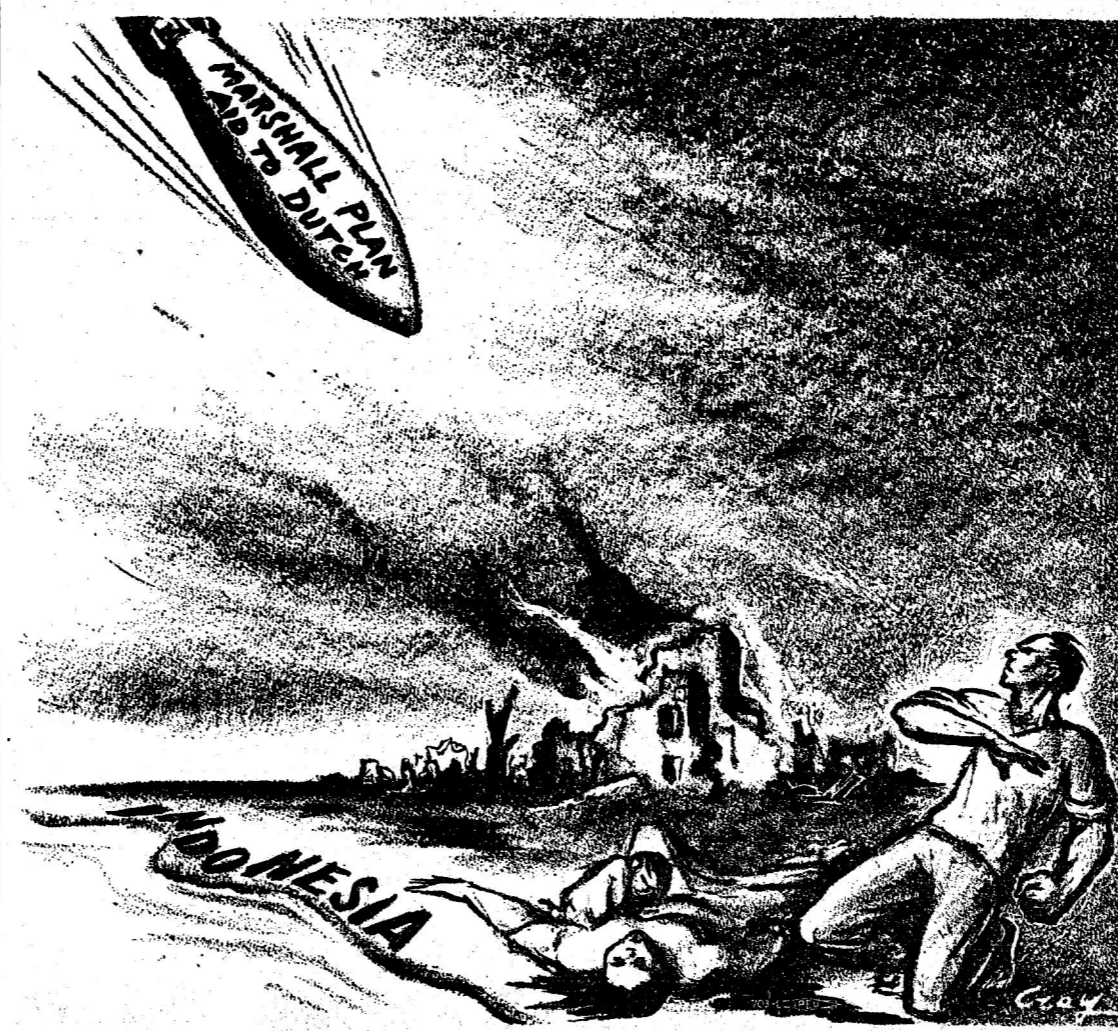
The trial was strongly reminiscent of the technique perfected by the Stalinists in dealing with union opponents during their period in office. It was a mass trial in which diverse elements were lumped together in a group and voted on as a whole. Included with the Stalinists were individuals charged with 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 railroaded 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

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

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



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.

JAMES KUTCHER INVITED TO ADDRESS CONN. CIO

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.

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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."

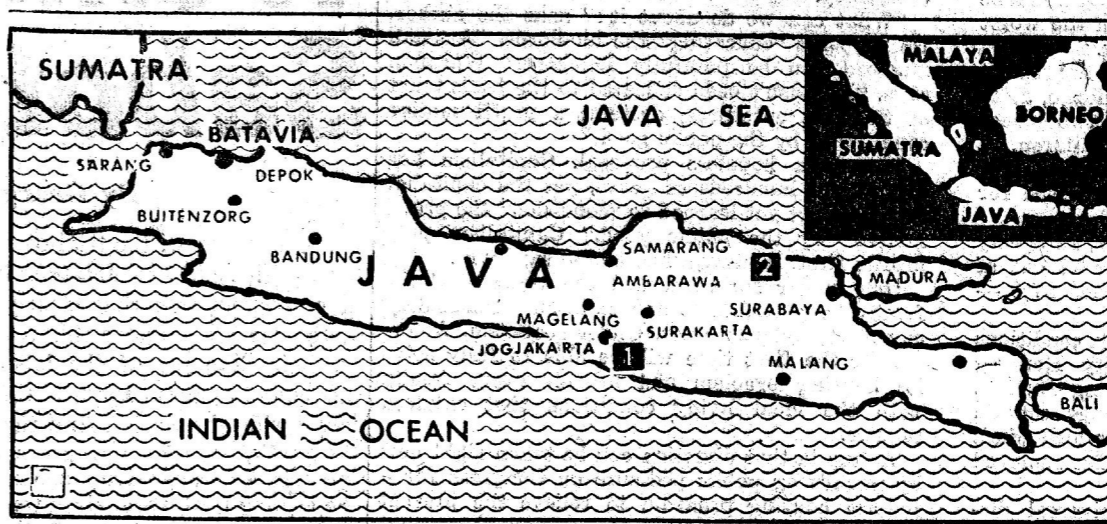
Are these declarations pure hypocrisy? No, not entirely. The Dutch imperialists must be credited with a certain amount of fervor. They probably feel the same kind of moral glow that the Southern Bourbons feel in instigating lynch murder.

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, Michigan, 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.

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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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"Children Not Wanted"

By Art Preis

"I never realized how unpopular children are — how discriminated against, even how hated — until I went across America in search of apartments to rent," Howard Whitman declares in the January Woman's Home Companion. "My mind still echoes with 'No Children,' 'Adults only,' 'No dogs or children.' Discrimination against children would be bad enough any time. It's fantastic in the worst housing shortage in American history."

From coast to coast Whitman found apartment house doors barred to children. "In Chicago, after dismal plodding, I was offered only two places to live — provided I boarded out the children. In a small Missouri town a professor's wife denied me even a trailer which she had advertised for 'adults only.'"

"Out of 43 ads in a Cincinnati paper, 22 openly barred children. In a Pittsburgh paper 17 out of 26. In Columbus, Ohio, the total reached 87% — 13 out of 15!"

In New York, the world's largest city, conditions are no better. "The New York City Housing Authority maintains a Vacancy Listing Bureau. In its sparse files 88% of the listings contain a ban against children. Many of those which admit children are either priced sky-high or far removed from working centers."

Whitman discovered that this universal discrimination against children embitters parents. "I was aghast at the number of couples who have apparently been convinced that somehow it is a crime to have children these days. One father walked into the Los Angeles Housing Authority and said, 'Every time I find a vacancy I know there is no use because I have two little children I shouldn't have had.'"

Why do landlords discriminate against children? The most common excuse is that "Children are destructive. However, that is not the real reason." "When stripped of masquerade," says Whitman, "the basis of child discrimination is largely a greedy axiom: 'Get the most money for the least occupancy.'"

"What can we do about it?" asks the author. He proposes "educating" the landlords. "A small landlord can be painfully ignorant," Whitman says. "He hasn't been educated to the basic tenet of the free enterprise system: a profit motive conditioned by the public good."

This is a hopeless proposal. Capitalism has existed for hundreds of years, yet the capitalist class has not yet learned to "condition" the profit motive "by the public good." Capitalism puts profits first. It always has and always will.

Only under socialism will the welfare of the family be placed first and children welcomed as our most precious asset. Under socialism, America for the first time will be able to fully solve its housing problem and provide every family with the ideal living conditions that children require.

A step in that direction can be taken right now by mobilizing public pressure on Congress for a federal housing program to relieve the present impossible conditions. If the money now spent in armaments were turned into the construction of homes it would not take long to break the back of the housing shortage.

With plenty of vacant apartments for rent, landlords would begin to think twice before putting up their cruel sign, "Dogs and children not wanted."

Not So Few, But So Many

By Paul Abbott

It has come to be an axiom that the revolutionary socialist movement is a devourer of men. Yet as I looked around at the comrades during last Sunday's banquet celebrating 20 years of American Trotskyism, I was struck by the thought not of how many had fallen by the wayside, but how many have stood firm over the years.

Of the leaders of the party, most of them have to their credit 15 to 20 years of continuous service to the American revolutionary movement of our times, and none has less than a full decade. And among the ranks, I saw scores and scores at the banquet — and it was largely a New York City affair — who have staunchly fought the good fight for as many years. How remarkable, I thought, that we have not just a few veterans, but so many.

Sitting at the speakers' table were James P. Cannon, Arne Swabeck and Vincent R. Dunne, men who already were veterans of the struggle for more than 20 years when they took up the cudgels in 1928 to fight to rebuild the revolutionary movement from the ground up after the betrayals of Stalinism and the Second International "socialists." And they are not merely honorary figures, but dynamic, active leaders of our movement.

Not only individuals, but so many movements professing to be Marxist, have disappeared from the scene or degenerated in the past 20 years — movements far larger numerically and with greater material resources to begin with than Trotskyism. In the annals of revolutionary movements in

all countries, it is the rare party that has lasted as much as ten years and the rare individuals who has survived even as long.

It cannot be said that American Trotskyism has had an easy time of it or offered material rewards to its members and leaders. No advantages of good living or public acclaim have held the veteran Trotskyists to their posts for so long. On the contrary, they have all led lives of poverty and physical hardship. They have undergone ceaseless abuse and victimization from a host of powerful political enemies.

And rich American capitalism has tremendous resources for the corruption of revolutionary leaders, either to buy them off entirely or soften them. No one can say that of the American Trotskyists, who are recognized by their bitterest enemies as incorruptibles, who never yield an inch on principles.

Only one thing has held so many so long unwavering to their revolutionary duty — a great and true program, principles so powerful and enduring that those who absorb them become men and women of tougher moral fibre, armored against all adverse circumstance and inspired to utter selflessness.

These men and women do not come from the privileged sectors of society. Most of them are ordinary working people. They had no special educational advantages. Yet the cause and the program have molded them into revolutionary leaders, teachers and fighters, ever young and ever courageous.

These Eyes that Haunt...

In Indo-China and Indonesia, the French and Dutch imperialists are carrying out what they call the "pacification" of the local population. This is a time-worn term invented in the early days of colonial conquest, not to place a truthful and accurate label on what the troops abroad were doing but rather to help in the pacification of popular indignation at home.

That the process of "pacification" of a colonial people has not changed to this day can be seen from the following letter sent by a woman in the zone of Indo-China now occupied by the French imperialists. The letter was released by the Vietnam American Friendship Association.

Dear Friend,
I am writing to you at 1 A.M. from the martyred province of Quang-tri. I have been sitting up all night for the last two days, for as soon as I go to bed I see them appear in front of me, haggard, in tears, crying for vengeance. Oh these eyes that haunt... How can I forget them?

Two days ago, when I was following the Quang-tri-Dong-ho road to go to the village of Khai-phong, the noise of motors suddenly throbbed in my ears. There the enemy is coming. Save yourself who can.

All those who were on the road and in nearby villages disappeared in the bushes and forests

like poultry at the approach of a hawk. I crossed the rice field, dived into a wood and squatted in the middle of a thorny bush, my clothes torn and my body lacerated.

The rumbling of motors became louder. The noises of heavy boots on the road, oaths and jokes. Suddenly a cry of terror burst out, a feminine voice calling for help. A long and feeble groan of agony was followed by a squall of laughter. I trembled to think of the fate of this unfortunate woman, of that of thousands of others who are suffering from the French bestiality.

Time turned out horribly long to me. I kept on waiting, restraining my anger and indignation. I finally heard a death-rattle and the noise of boots and trucks slowly faded away.

I waited until complete calm had returned. Then leaving my hiding place, I went in the direction from which the cries of distress had come.

I found under the shade of a tree... guess it... the corpse of a girl of about twelve or thirteen. The blood was coagulating on the road. She was dead but her open eyes were fixed upon me.

Ah! how serene and ingenious these eyes were which moved me to the bottom of my heart. They cried out the hatred of the Vietnam women, the hatred of the whole Vietnam people. They craved for vengeance. How can I forget these eyes?

Notes from the News

FREE ENTERPRISE — John R. Franco, Michigan Democratic chairman, frankly admits he paid commissions as high as 45% to professional fund raisers in the recent election campaign and denies that the practice is either unusual or unethical. "I have won an election and the end justifies the means," he explained.

SAND RUNNING OUT — Allan L. Swim, CIO News editor, writes that the Democrats must "do their utmost to carry out their campaign pledges" if "the nation is to avoid the creation of a real third party."

FED UP WITH RENEGADES? — The New Jersey Labor Herald, a local AFL paper, didn't like Max Eastman's speech at the recent AFL national convention and complains editorially that it is "fed up with the horde of ex-Communists who, in recent years, have had the unmitigated gall to assume the ridiculous pose of prophets, lecturing (at so much per) those of us who never tolerated the Commies, on our behavior." But of course the top AFL leaders know how useful the renegades from Marxism can be.

STALINIST DEFEAT — The Stalinists suffered a severe setback in the UE-CIO last week when the members of Local 601 in Pittsburgh, representing 16,500 members, voted them out of control by a vote of almost two-to-one.

DEATH FROM THE SKIES — Peacetime uses of atomic energy still remain a dim prospect, but its wartime uses have apparently unlimited horizons. Defense Secretary Forrestal's annual report envisages a project for a man-made satellite or platform, hanging beyond the earth's gravity pull. From this "earth satellite vehicle" atomic rockets and bombs could be launched by radio. Scientists are now busy at work on this project as part of the central guided missiles program.

POPULATION STATISTICS — U. S. population stood at 148 million at the end of the year — an increase of 3 million in the last year, and almost 17 million since 1940. The number of households exceeded 40 million, making the average family about 3 1/2 persons. More than 3 million families were living "doubled-up" with other families. There are over 14 million women workers out of a total civilian labor force of 63 million.

COMPETITION — The House Committee on Un-American Activities is competing with the Justice Department to see which can propose more savage laws against radical parties and militant labor. Recently Attorney General Clark informed reporters that the Truman administration will present a bill to Congress tightening up on "subversive" organizations. This week the House Committee advocated passage of "Communist-control legislation" along the lines of the notorious catch-all Mundt Bill. The House Committee also advocated its own continuance.

VOLUME XIII

Weinstock Letters Show CP Sabotaged Fight on Smith Act

By George Breitman

On the eve of the trial of 12 Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act, *The Militant* has come into possession of a file of correspondence that clearly proves: 1. That the indictment of the Stalinists under this reactionary law is due in great part

to their sabotage of the labor movement's fight against this law during the war. 2. And that the Stalinists, who now are advocating labor solidarity against the coming trial, themselves were the grossest violators of this fundamental principle, materially contributing by their example to the workers' present lack of response to the appeals for united protest against the government's persecution of the CP.

This file of correspondence consists of letters from and to Louis Weinstock in the months of May and June, 1944. They were written by him in his capacity as secretary-treasurer of New York District Council 9 of the AFL Brotherhood of Painters. At the same time Weinstock was a member of the National Board of the Communist Party, which means that he was carrying out the Stalinist line.

At the beginning of 1944, the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Union Local 544-CIO were imprisoned because they exercised free speech in opposing the 2nd world war and fought for democracy inside the union movement. The indictment against them was based on the Smith "Gag" Act—the first time this witch-hunt legislation was used. The U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the case.

THE CRDC CAMPAIGN

The Minneapolis case was the most flagrant attack on American political liberties in World War II, and as such aroused a storm of protest from most sections of the labor and liberal movements. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which was organized to aid the defendants, carried on an aggressive campaign for the pardon of the defendants and against the Smith Act. In the course of time it asked the Painters District Council 9 for formal support of its objectives.

A number of delegates to the Council from locals which had already endorsed the CRDC's campaign urged the Council to do likewise. The Stalinists, who then controlled the Council, opposed this action and set up a committee to "investigate" the matter. Weinstock took the lead in securing the "evidence" on the case.

On May 11, 1944 he sent off three letters, copies of which *The Militant* now has. The first was to Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, at whose request Roosevelt had instructed the Department of Justice to prepare the indictment of the Trotskyists. In this letter Weinstock complains about some

SCABBY LETTERS

The first was to Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, at whose request Roosevelt had instructed the Department of Justice to prepare the indictment of the Trotskyists. In this letter Weinstock complains about some

of the Council delegates who "were almost ready to give these people a helping hand" and urges Tobin to send him "a brief history of the case" that could be used to prevent aid to the CRDC.

The second letter was to Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, falsely charging the CRDC with using the name of the PAC and asking for a prompt reply that would accuse the CRDC of misrepresenting facts.

"I know that this is not the case," wrote Weinstock, "but a lot of other people are misled by this subterfuge. We know that the Political Action Committee of the CIO is doing everything for the re-election of President Roosevelt. We also know that these eighteen (18) Trotskyites convicted in Minneapolis were everything but supporters of our President..."

It is true that the Trotskyists had serious political differences with those elements in the labor movement who were supporting Roosevelt. But Weinstock's point was that since such differences existed, the pro-Roosevelt unionists should not give any support to the Trotskyists in their resistance to persecution. It is precisely this approach which many labor leaders today use in opposing support to the Stalinist victims of the witch-hunt!

There is no evidence in the file to show that Hillman ever answered this letter. He knew that although the PAC had never acted on the Minneapolis case, most of the important CIO leaders had expressed support for the 18 defendants. Hillman's own paper, *The Advance*, did the same.

IRONICAL ASPECTS

The third of Weinstock's letters dated May 11 was addressed to Attorney General Francis Biddle, whose department had engineered the trial and conviction of the 18. Weinstock told Biddle he was anxious to get information demonstrating that the 18 were convicted for "sedition" rather than "activities in behalf of the labor movement."

The first reply Weinstock got to these letters was from Biddle's office on May 17. "You may be assured," it said, "that the basis of the prosecution in this case had nothing to do with activities on behalf of the labor movement."

An ironical aspect of this letter was that it was written for Biddle and signed by an assistant attorney general—Tom C. Clark, who is now attorney general and spearheading the persecution of the Stalinists under the same Smith Act.

Jim Crow Puts Liberals on Spot

By J. Meyer

The left wing of the Democratic Party finds itself on the spot on the Negro question. It is far easier to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act than it is to make any serious attempt to grant civil rights to the Negro people. Discrimination against Negroes is part of the life-blood of American capitalism and as far as this system is concerned, Negroes are going to have to stay "in their place."

This is the dilemma in which Senator Humphrey, Governor Chester Bowles, Leon Henderson and other liberals of this group find themselves. They were very prodigal with promises before the election. They know that this is one question about which they have to do something. But they also know that this is one question which can ruin their careers and the fine, fat and rosy futures they see for themselves as pioneers of the new liberalism. What therefore is their tactic? To maintain a tremendous racket about Negro grievances and to tackle such modest problems as seem to offer some prospect of solution without touching fundamental industrial and political interests.

A TYPICAL CASE

A case in point is the decision by the Appellate Division of the Court of New York supporting discrimination against Negroes in the Stuyvesant Housing project, which is controlled by Metropolitan Life Insurance. Bartley Crum is another of these liberals and his paper, the *New York Star*, very often expresses the views of this particular wing of the Democratic party. On Dec. 23 it printed an editorial on the decision, bursting with righteousness, good will and a desire for Negro emancipation. Housing, it said, was a public problem. Stuyvesant Town, it said, had been granted tax exemption by the municipality of New York for 25 years. Restrictive covenants, it said, had been barred by a decision of the Supreme Court in May. Therefore, argued the *Star*, the Negro petitioners should take their case to the Supreme Court in Washington with a good chance of winning a victory. It was "pretty sure," it said, that the adverse decision would be "knocked down." It gave bland encouragement to the NAACP and all others who are fighting the case.

and the labor movement set out on a systematic campaign thoroughly to expose this fraud. First of all, who gave Metropolitan this Jim Crow contract? Nobody but the New York municipality itself. The municipality, mind you, of New York, which is supposed to be the center of freedom for the Negro people above the Mason and Dixon line.

Who was the person directly responsible for this infamous transaction? Nobody but that great liberal, the late Fiorella La Guardia, the Little Flower himself. Was La Guardia unaware of what he was doing? The Negro people in particular protested vigorously to him on the injustice and the inevitable consequences of his signing such a contract for the city. In vain. La Guardia insisted.

So that in New York, La Guardia, the great liberal, on behalf of the municipality, signs this Jim Crow contract with one of the largest capitalist concerns in the country over the protest of the Negroes. Then a New York judge, Justice Benvenga, decides in favor of Metropolitan. The Appellate Division supports Benvenga's decision. And then, the *Star*, breathing battle, proposes: "On, Boys! to Washington!"

A POWERFUL OBSTACLE

We are for using the law courts to the utmost limit that is possible. But any kind of champion of Negro rights who does not lay the responsibility for this and

No Justice Here



Army court martial procedure will continue under the dictatorial sway of commanding officers, since the new "reform" law which goes into effect in February makes no basic changes. Above is scene of a court martial in session.

Equally ironical is the fact that Weinstock himself would now be among the 12 CP National Board members under indictment except for the fact that in 1946 the painters revolted against Stalinist domination and kicked him out of office, which led to his demotion from the National Board.

On June 2 Weinstock got his answer from Tobin, who offered "information" that he hoped would be helpful to Weinstock, including a letter Tobin had solicited from Victor E. Anderson, prosecuting attorney in the Minneapolis trial. In this letter, dated May 21, Anderson tried to justify the persecution of the 18 by asserting that the Supreme Court while refusing to review the case had found the Smith Act was "not unconstitutional."

GOVT. INTERPRETATION

Anderson's letter to Tobin interested Weinstock so much that he entered into direct correspondence with Anderson. In a letter dated June 5, he praised Tobin for supplying him with "a proper and satisfactory explanation concerning these defendants" and asked Anderson for additional help to "satisfy some of these doubting Thomases whom we have around here."

On June 7 Anderson replied with an offer to supply any additional information "if it is within our power to do so." Again he referred to the Supreme Court's refusal to act on the defendants' appeal because "the law under which the prosecution was had was not unconstitutional in violating free speech or for being indefinite."

With this "evidence" the Stalin-

ists was not at all an isolated phenomenon. All the other Stalinists in leading union positions did the same, and issue after issue of the *Daily Worker* read like a summons to the workers to lynch the Trotskyists and other of their political opponents who did anything that might in any way interfere with "national unity."

UNDERMINED SOLIDARITY

Thus the campaign to mobilize the labor movement to smash the Smith Act was undermined in part by the Stalinists in collaboration with reactionary union bureaucrats like Tobin and Department of Justice officials like Biddle and Clark. Although the CRDC won the support of organizations representing millions of people, it was unsuccessful in its challenge to this gag law, and it remained on the books where the Department of Justice last year picked it up again, this time for use against the Stalinists.

It used to be a recognized principle in the labor movement that all sections must unite in defense of any individual or section within its ranks that was subjected to reactionary attack by the employers or government. The Stalinists, by their behavior in the Minneapolis case as in many others, did more than any other group to disrupt and destroy the practice of labor solidarity.

By withholding support from victims of reactionary persecution merely because they had political differences with these victims, the Stalinists helped to create a new approach to the problem and a precedent which the labor leaders are today employing with full force against the Stalinists themselves.

(See Page 3 for editorial on *The Stalinists and the Smith Act.*)

NMU PURGE COPIES CP

(Continued from page 1)

The Stalinists on trumped-up charges, became a notorious scandal on the waterfront.

The memory of this ferocious bureaucratic persecution so embittered many members that they are ready to condone any method to rid the union of the hated Stalinist clique. The Curran leadership has cleverly exploited this sentiment. At each stage in the purge Curran has been able to point to the Stalinist record and the bureaucratic precedents they established to justify their use against them.

CP ADVENTURISM

In addition, since their defeat in the last election, the Stalinists embarked on a reckless course of irresponsible adventurism and disruption. Their mimeograph machines churned out a steam of unsupported accusations and ineffective against the elected officials. Membership meetings were broken up and rump meetings held at which the Stalinists

gave vent to hysterical outbursts calculated to invite reprisals.

In opposition, the Stalinists acted like people bereft of their senses and permitted themselves to be repeatedly provoked into committing acts of disruption against them. Thus, they provided the leadership with abundant pretexts for moving against them. The most ominous development is the tendency of the Curran administration to seek short cuts to eliminate their Stalinist opponents. This manifested itself first in the publication of a purge list and the announced intention of jerking union books without trial.

The administration was compelled to abandon this practice when the Stalinists went to court to seek an injunction against the leadership for violating the union's constitution. In recent weeks there have appeared a number of inspired resolutions adopted by various branches calling for a referendum to amend the constitution to outlaw "communists" from the union.

The great danger is that under cover of the fierce faction fight against the discredited Stalinists the leadership will move to curb the democratic rights of all members and reintroduce those bureaucratic practices against which the membership rebelled when they ousted the Stalinist gang from office. Ironically enough, the prime movers against the Stalinists were long-time collaborators and ex-members of the Communist Party. In view of this fact the membership has good reason to feel apprehensive about any tendency to stifle the hard-won and dearly-bought internal union democracy without which there can be no talk of militant and progressive unionism.

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