

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILTANT

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The new political situation in the United States was Workers Party held Nov. 2-3 in New York City. The Plenum (full meeting of the Na-O tional Committee) analyzed the significant signs of rising mass of the SWP's month tweness of the SWP's month Plenum (full meeting of the Na-O-

tional Committee) analyzed the significant signs of rising mass dissatisfaction with the Eisen-hower billionaire communication.

hower billionaire government re-vealed by the recent election municipal campaigns in Oakland, returns. A rounded program of Los Angeles, New York, Detroit party activity geared to stepped-up preparations for the 1954 elec-tion was adopted. A vigorous cam-these elections was 29,335. The Many Unions Ask PROPOSAL FOR LABOR' PARTY party activity geared to stepped- and San Francisco. The total vote tion was adopted. A vigorous cam- these elections was 29,335. The paign to press the SWP proposal campaigns were conducted on a for the formation of an inde- hard-hitting program of opposipendent Labor Party for the 1954 tion to Wall Street's drive toward World War III. elections was launched.

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, reported on "The New Political Situation and prolonged process," Dobbs said. retary of the SWP, reported on the Party - Building Outlook." Dobbs is well known in the American labor movement for his of the workers and take full adoutstanding work as an organizer vantage of all favorable developin the famous Minneapolis truck drivers strike of 1934. Later he led the drive to organize 250,000 Party." over-the-road drivers in the midwest. He was jailed by the Roosevelt administration during World War II, along with 17 other leaders of the SWP and CIO-Teamsters, for his uncompromising opposition to capitalist war. He was the party's candidate for P esident in 1948 and 1952.

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NEW TRENDS

Dobbs declared that "these sen-In his report to the Plenum, sitive mass reactions to the first Dobbs noted the growing mass signs of depression actually manpolitical antagonism to the Big ifest loss of faith in capitalism Business administration in Washington, the spreading movement although the workers have not for the 30-hour week with no yet become conscious of this. Our reduction in may, the reaction of job is to help the toiling masses the farmers to price-declines, the develop political class-consciousthe farmers to price-declines, the increased frequency of so-called (Continued on page 3)

SWP Sees New Opportunities for Socialism in U.S. GOP Uses "Spy" Frame-Up To Smear Democratic Rivals

Are Key Issues for CIO Thirty-Hour Week WIDELY DISCUSSED IN UNIONS

World War III. "The transition to a general At 40 Hours' Pay By Joseph Keller "But we must be alert to all signs

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O., have made the first unemploy- of rising unemployment, antiof shift in the mood and action reminiscent of depression days" is elections? ments for advancing our proposal how the Associated Press desto form an independent Labor

Tracing these shifts in the workers' mood, Dobbs said, "The There were only 20 banner- own independent labor party - a that American labor will go workers already feel the effects bearing paraders. They marched party based on the unions and right down that road as far as it of loss of overtime pay, reduced work week at reduced pay, mounting lay-offs, high taxes and high before the main office of the Timken Roller Bearing Co. for political power? cost-of-living. . . These changes in the condition of the workers about 10 minutes. But if the are expressed in the swing of presert national rate of layoffs voters' away from the Republican continues for another year, this first little demonstration may be

the advance guard of millions who will be forced to march for Dave Back have poised this jobs and bread. auestion. In the first years of the 1929-

40 depression, the workers were statements of many union leaders argely unorganized. The unions in the past, Meany and Beck hen cercerned thanselves little new say they are not opposed in with the plight of the unemploy-ed. Today, the workers are building its own party sometime

owerfully organized and look to in the future, although they still heir unions immediately when propose to cling for the present ayoffs hit them. It is symbolic to the old discredited, corrupt, hat the Canton workers paraded Big Business political machines, to the plant gates directly from particularly the Democrats. Thus, their union meeting, after John AFL Pres. George Meany stated E. Johns, district steel union on a recent NBC-TV

convention opening Nov. 16 in Cleveland is: What kind CIO Steelworkers in Canton, of political action shall labor take in the coming period ment demonstration in this coun- union witch hunts and threat of "I say this, that if, at some try since World War II. "A scene war and specifically in the 1954 future date, the American labor movement feels that it cannot Along with this question goes carry out its objective, that the cribed the Oct. 29 Canton protest another: Shall American labor pressure is too strong politically against recent layoffs that have break with the policy of sup- in the legislative halls of the idled up to 9,000 workers in this porting the candidates and parties nation, that it would be necessary one small industrial area alone. of the capitalists and build its for a new political party. I think

By Art Preis

The most crucial question facing the CIO national

devoted to putting labor into is necessary and form a political political power? now and do not think it is neces-This is being considered eversary, as of now." more widely in the unions. Within

recent weeks, for instance, two Similarly, AFL Teamsters influential and conservative lead-President Dave Beck diverged so ers of the American Federation far from the traditional AFL leadership's hostility to even the Dave Beck, have raised this thought of a labor party as to state on Oct. 20 that those "who

Unlike the completely hostile seek to put the chain of the Taft-Hartley Act" around labor "will live to see the day when Amer-ican labor will follow England's [example] and tie progress to political action." And he had no loubt that American labor could be successful in this endeavor. "Don't tell me," said Beck, "that a labor movement of 16,000,000

workers can't develop a political machine. program



Pres. Eisenhower and Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland of California at a recent White House conference. Seeking to reverse anti-Republican trend shown in recent elections, the Administration and Congressional Republicans have launched dirty "communist spy" frame-up campaign.

Socialist Workers Message **Reached Wide N.Y. Audience**

NEW YORK — A preliminary count by the Police Department gives the Socialist Workers Party the following vote in the Nov. 3 municipal elections: for Mayor, and perjured witnesses - any-

Witch Hunt **Now Turns On Truman**

NOV. 11 - Two facts stand out from the sensational charges lodged against ex-President Truman by Attorney General Brownell last week: 1. The Democrats are today prime targets of the witch hunt that they themselves started. 2. The anti-Republican trend shown in the Nov. 3 elections has won strong support in the Eisenhower administration for a campaign to go all-out in unrestrained redbaiting smears and "spy" frameups against the Democrats as a means of staving off defeat in the 1954 elections. The spectacle of Truman getting subpoena from the House Un-American Activities Committee fully confirms The Militant's 1947 prediction that the witch hunt launched against radicals by the Democrats would eventually be used to victimize the Democrats too. It was the Democrats who introduced the Smith Act, the "loyalty" purges, the "subversive" list and jail sentences. for "perjury" and "conspiracy." It was the Democrats who created the political atmosphere in which McCarthyism thrives.

Brownell and McCarthy can thank the Democrats for setting he precedents for the present attack on Truman. Guilt by association, trial by headline, the assumption that the accused was guilty if he couldn't prove himself innocent, the use of vindictive

ANGER AT CUT-BACKS

By Tom Denver

WRIGHT WORKERS VOICE

PATERSON, N.J. — "Who are they kidding?" said a young veteran. "The notice said 1400 were getting the ax and now they're laying off men who've been on the which the members will expect job six months. They must have the CIO convention on Nov. 16 "Foreclose. What do you think hired five or six thousand in that to act. they're going to do?' time.

"You're crazy," said the ex-"Yeah," said another veteran, navy man contemptuously. "Do "it's just like the army. When there are 5000 casualties in a you think they'll foreclose on a battle they tell you there were million ex-GI's? I'd like to see that!" only 2000.'

The old timer looked around The two vets were part of a the group. "You didn't see the group of 13 employees of one delast depression," he said slowly. partment of the Wright Aero-

nautical Co. who had just been "GET USED TO IT" handed slips stating very simply "Say, close that damn window that because they were excess it's cold in here." said a newcomer they were being laid off, effective walking into the washroom. "Do two days from the date of you think I'm one of those bums notification. that's used to hanging around the

"Two days notice," said a worker bitterly. "You try quitting without giving them at least two week's notice and they'll never simultaneously. hire you back again."

"Wait'll I go home and tell my old lady." said a father of ten off. I already told her when the notice went up I might not get laid off. Then I spoke to the foreman and he said I had nothing Dixie - that things have basically proof of this has just come from have been taken, the sinister walls

to worry about because they wont touch this department.'

"What the heck does the walls have tumbled or are the upper South covering ap-tumbling down automatically? proximately 105,000 jobs of which foreman know? He might be back running a machine himself before this is over. When the word Not by a long shot. Some gains comes down from the top, you go have been made - by fighting. groes. The outstanding conclusion city and town. In Baltimore The situation holds promise if the of the report is the permanence Marian Anderson, the famous - period!"

"WHAT ABOUT HOUSE?"

But as yet there has been no An ex-navy man's mind was fundamental change in the poli- sion, war and cold war." on the future. "If I can't get tical, economic or social position another job in Jersey soon, I'll of the Negro people in the land go back to my old job in New of Jim Crow. York." Illusions to the contrary flow

"What about the house you from two sources. First, some labor shortages no Negroes bejust bought?" asked an old timer, sincere believers in equal rights touching a sore spot. are victims of wishful thinking

"I'll sell the damn thing. I nd believe that Jim Crow barriers in it.

"What about the mortgage?" enemies of full equality are "I'll sell that too, what do you spreading the idea that enough think? has been won by struggle and all

"Yeah, you better get rid of that is now required is to sit back it quick," said the old timer and wait while changes autorelentlessly. "The way things are matically and gradually come going the bottom is going to drop about. To correct these illusions and out of houses."

"What're you talking about?" show that the battle is far from South as well. snapped the ex-navy man. "What over, a look at the facts is sufdo you think they're going to do ficient. if you can't meet a payment?"

director, told them "something

must be done about unemploy-Yes, something must be done about unemployment. It is one of the most pressing problems on

The union ranks want their leaders, first of all, to stop repeating the silly nonsense about "talking our way" into a depression. Depressions are a "built-in" feature of capitalism. You can't talk your way into them - or out of them.

DOCTORED STATISTICS It is important to realize how extensive the layoffs already are. Government statistics are being crudely doctored to conceal the true extent of growing mass un-

about 17,000 were held by Ne- busses; of police brutality in every

of Jim Crow in employment soprano, is prevented from singing

"through fifteen years of depres- in the Lyric Theatre. In Memphis

Negroes were found to be prevent white members of Jackie

jobs in all but Negro-owned from playing exhibition games

businesses. Despite all war-time with their Negro teammates.

corner in blizzard and all?" Although almost daily layoffs "Well, you better get used to are being reported from major it," said two or three workers industries and industrial areas, (Continued on page 3)

changed there; that you wouldn't the National Planning Associa- still remain unbreached. Weekly

came filing clerks or stenograph-

ers in white-operated concerns

covered by this study. In only

holds Negro workers down.

employment.

WALTER REUTHER

homes on Cairo Street in Atlanta;

TERROR CONTINUES

One case alone, that of Wil-

It is true that union leaders 2194; Comptrollor, 3124; and ike Meany and Beck oppose the Council President, 2336. The Weiss, Joyce Cowley and Cathother minor party on the ballot, erine Gratta - made 26 radio formation of such a party now. But it is significant that they the Socialist Labor Party, received and television appearances, more about half that number of votes than in any previous SWP now admit a labor party is a realistic alternative to the old for the same offices. The Com- municipal campaign. Moreover policy of tieing the unions to the munist Party leader running for the length of time on radio and capitalist political machines. Un-District Attorney in Manhattan TV was much greater than in any doubtedly, they are reflecting an under the label, Peoples Rights previous campaign. Several of the programs were national even more immediate and urgent Party, received 2,725 votes. hookups. desire for a labor party in the The SWP vote represents an Letters responding to

ranks. increase over the last comparable What other road can labor election, the 1949 mayoralty contake, if it does not want to face test, and over the vote obtained total reaction in the not distant in New York City in last year's future and complete destruction? campaign. Only a year ago, the Democratic The value of the campaign Party was repudiated, its promises however, cannot be measured by having turned out false. The the vote. Many who would other Republican Party has already wise have cast a "protest" vote disappointed many who voted for just stayed away from the polls. it in 1952. Before the CIO con- The New York Local considers SWP spokesmen found friendly accusations to the FBI. Bentley vention - as before every major the recent campaign the best in audiences at the many forums never even claimed she knew section of organized labor - his- its history. The message of revo- and street corner rallies at White; in fact, she admitted she tory poses the great task and lutionary socialism and the name which they appeared. At several had never seen him; but she grand possibility for setting in of the party were put before forums with other candidates, the said she was "sure" he was a motion now a dynamic crusade more New Yorkers than ever be for a mighty American labor fore. party.

The SWP candidates - David contacts.

thing went if it served the immediate political needs of the Democrats in power. Now they are getting a dose of their own medicine.

indicated the favorable

candidates.

th

THE ACCUSATION

Accusation against Truman was that he "knowingly" promoted a government official after learnng in December 1945, and early 1946 that he was a Soviet "spy." broadcasts as well as comments The accusation is false, slanderous at forcms, street meetings and and a frameup, for the following public meetings by workers reasons:

im-At that time the only "evidence" pression made by the SWP against the official, Harry Dexter White was the unsupported Despite the witch hunt at- testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, mosphere and the lack of interest a renegade Stalinist who has in the municipal election, the made a profitable career out of SWP spokesmen usually received member of a ring supplying her the most applause, questions and with government data.

This was the only adverse "information" then in the hands of the FBI, and this was all that the FPI report allegedly sent to the White House could have contained.

In an effort to confirm Bentley's claims, the FBI put 500 different agents on White's tail during the next year, and Bentley, acting on FBI orders, tried to resume contact with her former associates with the aim of trapping White.

But evidently nothing more was prought to light. Because in 1948, the case was taken to a grand jury, which heard both Bentley and White, and then refused to indict him. This was the same grand jury that indicted 12 Stalinists under the Smith

motto of the racists in the South, White died of a heart attack in now that they have a deal with 1948, after a grilling before the leaders of both the Republican House Un-American Committee, at which the chairman repeatedly lament from a Southern liberal Supreme Court dares rule against refused his requests for hourly recesses because of his heart condition. Two years later Whittaker

Chambers, another renegade Stalinist, tried to implicate White as a "source" of material for a spy

be done yet.

Thus while some gains in the ring, but admitted he knew White never belonged to the Communist South have been made, the Jim solidify relations between the Crow wall aren't tumbling down Party and was not under its dis-

Thus the facts in the case or crumble automatically and the flatly disprove the charge that process could be reversed. There's Truman "knew" White was a spy a lot of battering and fighting to when he promoted him. Tru-(Continued on page 4)

Those who might grant that the economic and social position recognize it today compared with tion. It has just completed a the press reports its shameful of the Negro in the South hasn't make out, point with certainty to sure, important victories have been won. The dogged work of crats. Conversely the Democratic Negro citizens committees and

> some unions has greatly increased the number of Negro voters in and Birmingham the authorities elections. In North Carolina for the first time since Reconstructotally excluded from white collar Robinson's All-Star baseball team tion, Negroes have been elected South. to some municipal offices. This is

one of the most promising developments in the South. But it is far from complete. Negro voting is still terribly low. In liam E. Fikes in Selma, Alabama, many districts it is worth his life

chain of command. The race families from nearby Marion their crops if they dare vote. madge of Georgia, arch foe of terfere.

Northern leaders of the Demo- of themselves. They won't tumble cipline. cratic Party and the Dixiecrat

elements — with the Negroes

days. "She'll meet me at the door with the baby in her arms and I'll say, well honey, I've been laid off. L already told her when the in the South hasn't changed in | Harry T. Moore. But only out- | burglary, which is a capital crime | reaping the rewards of their bold | This greatly strengthens the Is it true what they say about any important respect. A new posts of the Jim Crow fortress for Negroes in Alabama. independent policy. Eisenhower hand of Talmadge, Byrnes et al

woos them assiduously - for in the segregated school fight. instance the appointment of So far they have attempted to Governor Byrnes of South Caro- intimidate the Supreme Court before the war; that Jim Crow survey on Negro employment in quota of bombings of Negro changed as much as propagandists lina to the UN - in the hope of against a ruling against Jim winning them over to the Repub- Crow education and have NO INDICTMENT proximately 105,000 jobs of which of Negroes arrested on Florida the political field. Here, to be lican Party or at least keeping threatened to evade such a ruling them independent of the Demo- if it is made.

Old-time slaveholder Andrew national leaders are trying to win Jackson once sneered when the them back with even bigger Supreme Court handed down an promises. This means junking opinion disliked by the aggreswhatever "liberalism" exists in sive staveocracy: "The Supreme the Democratic Party in the Court has made its decision, now let it enforce it." This will be the Act.

APPEASE TALMADGE

The Nov. 9 issue of the liberal New Republic carries a full-page and Democratic Parties. If the over the treason of Adlai Steven- Jim Crow schools the rulers of

should get back more than I put have been breached more than three of the 108 companies shows that the Scottsboro era has for a Negro to attempt to son and the top Democratic com- the South will simply ignore and studied were Negroes found in not ended in the South. Fikes, a register. In North Carolina itself, mand to Southern liberalism. On evade it, and Washington supervisory jobs, but in no case 24-year old father of four, was Negro sharecroppers fear losing Nov. 24 Stevenson will make a whether the Republicans or Demodid they work over whites in the accused of rape. Over 30 white contracts or being cheated of good-will visit to Governor Tal- crats are in power - won't in-

ceiling on job classifications still where Fikes lives and works, as Thus much organizing, sacrificing the Negro people and of labor. The visit is an obvious move to

This survey of Negro employ- ed that he was in Marion at the But aside from municipal poliment in the upper South is, of time of the crime. The all-white tics the Negro people have not

a filling station attendant, testifi- and fighting remains to be done.

course. a valid picture of the deep jury nevertheless sentenced him registered any notable political to 99 years in prison. And the gain. Indeed their enemies are Some social gains have been prosecution, bitter at this "light" more powerfully entrenched than and liberals in the Democratic

made - by dint of hard fighting sentence, sought to re-indict ever in the state capitols and in Party of the South being thrown Discrimination in employment and the blood of martyrs like Fikes on a charge of night-time Washington. The Dixiecrats are to the wolves.

By George Lavan

fight is intensified and extended.

they actually have. Second.

ment."

THE MILITANT

Monday, November 16, 1953

A Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World

From the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

To All Trotskyists: Dear Comrades:

Page Two

On the twenty-fifth anniversary Bourgeois Opposition headed by movement in the United States, the Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sends its revolutionary socialist greetings to orthodox Trotskyists throughout the world.

Although the Socialist Workers Party, because of undemocratic from choice but from necessity laws passed by the Democrats and Republicans, is no longer affiliated to the Fourth International -- the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky to carry on and fulfill the program betrayed by the Second International of the Social Democrats and the Third to uphold the banner of orthodox we take interest in the welfare war years. of the world-wide organization

created under the guidance of our martyred leader.

American Trotskyists 25 years organizational reconstitution of tion of the Stalinist regime take concessions to avoid more serious ago brought the program of the Fourth International. Since the form, Pablo asks, "of violent explosions in the immediate future Trotsky, suppressed by the we were barred from belonging interbureaucratic struggles be- and if possible to effect a transi-Kremlin, to the attention of world to the Fourth International by tween elements who will fight for tion 'in a cold fashion' from the public opinion. This act proved reactionary laws, we placed all the status quo, if not for turn- present situation to a situation decisive in breaching the isola- the greater hope in the emergence tion imposed by the Stalinist of a leadership capable of con- numerous elements drawn by the (Statement of the International bureaucracy on Trotsky and in tinuing the great tradition powerful pressure of the masses?" Secretariat of the Fourth Interlaying the foundation for the bequeathed to our world move-Fourth International. With his ment by Trotsky. We felt that April, 1953, p. 39.) exile shortly thereafter, Trotsky the young new leadership of the began an intimate and trusted Fourth International in Europe Trotskyist program of political drawal of Soviet troops - the collaboration with the leadership must be given full confidence and of the SWP that lasted to the day of his death.

tional in the past 13 years.

The collaboration included joint efforts to organize revolutionary selves, we felt that our course socialist parties in a number of was proving justified. countries. This culminated, as you However, we must now admit know, in the launching of the that the very freedom from sharp Fourth International in 1938. The criticism which we together with Transitional Program, which reothers accorded this leadership helped open the way for the conmains the keystone of today's program of the world Trotskyist solidation of an uncontrolled,

movement, was written by Trot- secret, personal faction in the adsky in collaboration with the ministration of the Fourth Inleaders of the SWP and at his ternational which has abandoned request was submitted by them the basic program of Trotskyism. for adoption at the founding This faction, centered around Pablo, is now working consciously Congress.

The intimacy and thoroughness and deliberately to disrupt, split, of the collaboration between Trot- and break up the historically sky and the leadership of the created cadres of Trotskyism in Put in motion by the workers sharpest criticism they found SWP can be judged from the the various countries and to record of the struggle in defense liquidate the Fourth International

The Program of Trotskyism

To show precisely what is in- tion in Russia, only later, as it struggle for power. Besides the had no "lack" of policy. Their of years of perfidy and double pelled by Pablo. volved, let us restate the funda- betrays their confidence, to hurl workers, the farmers of France policy was to maintain the status dealing, it deliberately tried to mental principles on which the them either into the arms of the followed with demonstrations, in- quo in the interests of Kremlin head off the workers, to stifle ment ever before heard of such a opposition to American imperial-Trotskyist movement is Social Democracy, into apathy, dicating their strong dissatisfac- foreign policy and thereby to help their initiative, to prevent the world built

The death agony of the The penalty for these betrayals ment. capitalist system threatens the is paid by the working people in destruction of civilization through the form of consolidation of Social Democrats and Stalinists, the internal party education of betrayed. And it is this course of Stalinist betrayal? worsening depressions, world wars fascist and monarchist forces, and betrayed this movement, doing the French Trotskyists Pablo betrayal that Pablo calls "cor-

(6) The need for flexible

of orthodox Trotskyist principles | danger is to the existence of the | This was the first proletarian in 1939-40 against the Petty- Fourth International. mass uprising against Stalinism With the death of Stalin, the since it usurped and consolidated of the founding of the Trotskyist Burnham and Shachtman. That Kremlin announced a series of power in the Soviet Union. How record has had profound influence concessions in the USSR, none of did Pablo respond to this epocha

in shaping the Fourth Interna- them political in character. In event? place of characterizing these as Instead of clearly voicing the After the murder of Trotsky nothing but part of a maneuver revolutionary political aspirations by an agent of Stalin's secret aimed at further entrenchment of of the insurgent East German police, the SWP took the lead in the usurping bureaucracy and workers, Pablo covered up the counter - revolutionary Stalinis defending and advocating his part of the preparation for a teachings. We took the lead not leading bureaucrat to assume the satraps who mobilized Soviet mantle of Stalin, the Pabloite troops to put down the uprising - the second world war forced faction took the concessions as (". . . the Soviet leaders and the orthodox Trotskyists under- good coin, painted them up as those of the various 'People' ground in many countries, es- political concessions, and even Democracies' and the Communis pecially in Europe under the projected the possibility of the Parties could no longer falsify Nazis. Together with Trotskyists "sharing of power" by the Stal- or ignore the profound meaning in Latin America, Canada, Eng- inist bureaucracy with the work- of these events. They have been land, Ceylon, India, Australia and ers. (Fourth International, Jan- obliged to continue along the road elsewhere we did what we could uary-February, 1953, p. 13.) of still more ample and genuine The "sharing of power" con- concessions to avoid risking alien-Trotskyism through the difficult cept, promulgated most bluntly ating themselves forever from by Clarke, a high priest of the support by the masses and from

With the end of the war, we Pablo cult, was indirectly sanc- provoking still stronger egwere gratified at the appearance tioned as dogma by Pablo himself plosions. From now on they will in Europe of Trotskyists from the in an unanswered but obviously not be able to stop half way. As is well known, the pioneer underground who undertook the leading question: Will the liquida- They will be obliged to dole out ing back, and the more and more more tolerable for the masses." (Fourth International, March- national. Published in The Militant, July 6.) This line fills the orthodox

Instead of demanding the withrevolution against the Kremlin sole force upholding the Stalinist support. When self-corrections of bureaucracy with a new content: government — Pablo fostered the serious errors were made on the namely, the revisionist position illusion that "more ample and initiative of the comrades them- that the "ideas" and "program" genuine concessions" would be of Trotskyism will filter into and forthcoming from the Kremlin's permeate the bureaucracy, or a gauleiters. Could Moscow have decisive section of it, thus "over- asked for better assistance as i

throwing" Stalinism in an un- proceeded to monstrously falsify the profound meaning of those oreseen way.

rorkers rose against the Stal- revolt as "fascists" and "agents be inist-dominated government in of American imperialism," and slightest gesture from the Krem- pelled from the Fourth Internaone of the greatest demonstra- opening a wave of savage tions in the history of Germany. repression against them?

The French General Strike

In France in August the Pabloites covered up their begreatest general strike in the trayal. By that action they shared history of the country broke out. in the Stalinist betrayal. The themselves against the will of themselves capable of uttering leader of the Communist Party. International)." The reference to argued that the majority in contheir official leadership, it pre- against the counter-revolutionary

sented one of the most favorable course of the Stalinists, was to openings in working-class history accuse them of "lack" of policy. for the development of a real or back to illusions in capitalism. tion with the capitalist govern- bolster tottering French capital

Founder of 4th International



L'EON TROTSKY

when we remind ourselves that the strike as genuine revolu-In East Germany in June the events, branding the workers in the CGT leadership happens to tionists. It specifically names two highly political. At the comrades who have "been exlin, it is prepared to call the tional and its French Section for workers out on no matter what more than a year." It states that arena must be in America, the wild political adventure. Recall, this "group has been expelled for for instance, its role in the events reasons of indiscipline; and the of the mass production industries. initiated by the anti-Ridgway crientation which it has followed, demonstrations last year. These cspecially in the course of the Stalinist trade-union figures did last strike movement, is opposed sitional slogans and demands not hesitate to call for strikes to that actually defended by the which the SWP has used as a to protest the arrest of Duclos, a PCI (French Section of the Fourth bridge toward these workers and The fact is that the CGT leader- the "group" is actually to the tinuing this course was adapting ship revealed its highly political majority of the French Section itself to the backwardness of the character once again in the gen- of the Fourth International which workers. This was a lie. The Stalinists eral strikes. With all the skill was arbitrarily and unjustly ex-

workers' political demands from Trotskyist militants to Stalinists is ruled out. breaking through. The Stalinist and providing rationalizations to

It should be noted that the belief that the Stalinists "can no

hrough a victorious socialist ing purges in the USSR. They repeat all the Pabloite arguments revolution.

Cochranism is the substitution covering the counter-revolutionary of skepticism and theoretical role of Stalinism in the great improvisations and journalistic uprising of the East German peculation for this orthodox workers and the French general Frotskyist world outlook. It is strike. They even interpret the his that has made the struggle turn of American Stalinism toin the SWP irreconcilable in the ward the Democratic Party as a same sense that the struggle with mere "right oscillation" within a the Petty - Bourgeois Opposition "left turn."

n 1939-40 was irreconcilable. The Cochranites have manifested the following features in the course of the struggle: (1) Disrespect for party tradiion and the historic mission of the party. Hardly an opportunity

is lost by the Cochranites to denigrate, ridicule and preach contempt for the 25-year tradition of American Trotskyism. (2) A tendency to replace

principled Marxist politics with anprincipled combinations against the party "regime." Thus the Cochranite faction is composed of a bloc of contradictory elements. One group, centered mainly in New York, favors a kind of "entry" tactic in the American Stalinist movement.

Another group, composed of conservatized union elements. centered primarily in Detroit sees little to be gained by turning to the Stalinists. It bases its revisionist outlook on an overestimation of the stability and lasting power of the new labor bureaucracy.

Also attracted to Cochranism re individuals grown tired, who can no longer stand the pressures of the present adverse conditions and who are looking for a which to retire into inactivity. The cement binding this un

principled bloc is common hostility to orthodox Trotskyism. (3) A tendency to shift the party away from what our main politically unawakened workers Cochranites, in effect, The dropped the program of tran-

(4) A conviction that all possibility of the American working Has the world Trotskyist move- class coming forward in radical scandal as officially denouncing ism before the Third World War

(5) Gross experimental the that Stalinism

(7) Contempt for the traditions of Leninism in questions of organization. For a time they attempted to set up "dual power" in the party. When they were rebuffed by the overwhelming majority of the party at the May 1953 Plenum, they agreed in writing to abide by the rule of the majority and the political line as decided by the Plenum. Subsequently, they broke their agreement, renewing their factional sabotage of party activities on a more feverish and hysterical

basis than ever. Cochranism, whose main features we have indicated above, was never more than a weak minority in the party. It would never have amounted to more than the most feeble and sickly expression of pessimism had it not been for the aid and encouragement it received from Pablo behind the backs of the party leadership.

Pablo's secret encouragement and support was exposed soon after our May Plenum, and since then Pablo has been openly collaborating with the revisionist faction in our party and inspiring them in their campaign of plausible rationalization with sabotage of party finances, disruption of party work and preparations for a split.

> The Pablo - Cochran faction finally culminated this disloyal course with an organized boycott in New York of the Twentyfifth Anniversary Celebration of the party which was combined with a wind-up rally in the New York municipal election campaign

> This treacherous, strikebreaking action constituted, in effect, an organized demonstration against the 25-year struggle of American Trotskyism, and, at the same time, an act of objective aid to the Stalinists who expelled the initiating nucleus of American

Trotskyism in October 1928. The organized boycott of this meeting was, in effect, a demonstration against the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in the New York municipal election.

All who participated in this treacherous, anti-party action obviously consummated the split hich they had long

and barbaric manifestations like atomic weapons today underlines the danger in the gravest possible tasks the revolutionary overway.

(2) The descent into the abyss outside the USSR. can be avoided only by replacing capitalism with the planned tactics facing many sections of economy of socialism on a world the Fourth International, and scale and thus resuming the spiral parties or groups sympathetic to of progress opened up by capitalism in its early days.

(3) This can be accomplished how to fight imperialism and all negotiating with the government only under the leadership of the working class as the one truly (such as nationalist formations inists. This betrayal, however, revolutionary class in society. But crisis in leadership although the world relationship of social forces fight Stalinism (which in the was never so favorable as today final analysis is a petty-bourgeois for the workers to take the road agency of imperialism) withou to power.

capitulating to imperialism. (4) To organize itself for car-These fundamental principle rying out this world-historic aim established by Leon Trotsky retain the working class in each country full validity in the increasingly must construct a revolutionary complex and fluid politics of the world today. In fact the revolusocialist party in the pattern developed by Lenin; that is, a tionary situations opening up on combat party capable of dialecevery hand as Trotsky foresaw, tically combining democracy and have only now brought full concentralism - democracy in arriv- creteness to what at one time ing at decisions, centralism in may have appeared to be some carrying them out; a leadership what remote abstractions not incontrolled by the ranks, ranks timately bound up with the living able to carry forward under fire reality of the time. The truth is in disciplined fashion. that these principles now hold

(5) The main obstacle to this with increasing force both in is Stalinism, which attracts work- political analysis and in the ers through exploiting the pres- determination of the course of tige of the October 1917 Revolu- practical action.

Pablo's Revisionism

These principles have been of it, to so change itself under abandoned by Pablo. In place of mass pressure as to accept the "ideas" and "program" of Trotemphasizing the danger of a new skyism. Under guise of the barbarism, he sees the drive to- diplomacy required in tactical wards socialism as "irreversible"; maneuvers needed to approach to make on this point does not strike ever seen in France, Pablo privileged layer was recruited in Loss of corfidence in the peryet he does not see socialism workers in the camp of Stalinism coming within our generation or in such countries as France, he trade union organization, which French version of Gompers' some generations to come. Instead now covers up the betrayals of must first and foremost act as he has advanced the concept of Stalinism. an "engulfing" wave of revolu-This course has already led to tions that give birth to nothing serious defections from the ranks political significance of this

but "deformed," that is, Stalin- of Trotskyism to the camp of type workers states which are to Stalinism. The pro-Stalinist split (Leaflet "To the Workers' Organlast for "centuries." This reveals the utmost pessim-

ism about the capacities of the working class, which is wholly illusions about Stalinism which Privas.) in keeping with the ridicule he Pabloism fosters.

has lately voiced of the struggle to build independent revolutionary submitting a detailed analysis of thing Trotsky taught us about ment that they organize a Labor prosperity and the sweep of reac-humanity depends on what they socialist parties. In place of hold- Pablo's revisionism. In this letter the role and the responsibilities Party? A Labor Party that tion such as has been bearing do, the firm belief that whatever ing to the main course of build- we will confine ourselves to some of the trade unions in the epoch would aim at putting a Workers down upon us in the United the momentary circumstances may ing independent revolutionary so- recent tests that show in the of the death agony of capitalism. and Farmers Government in States. But the factor that be, the main line of historic cialist parties by all tactical decisive field of action how far Then the Pabloite leaflet "criti- power in the United States? means, he looks to the Stalinist Pablo has gone in conciliationism cizes" the French Communist bureaucracy, or a decisive section to Stalinism and how grave the Party for its "absence of line," pears in a still stranger light burning conviction of the theore- will resolve the crisis of humanity ing for either discussion or a (Continued from page 2)

new outbreaks of wars fostered their utmost to restrain it and refused to characterize fascism. The development of and prepared by capitalism. From avert the danger to French Stalinist role as a betrayal. He its inception, the Fourth Interna- capitalism. In the history of be- noted "the role of brake played. tional set as one of its major travals it would be difficult to to one degree or another, by the find a more abominable one if leadership of the traditional orthrow of Stalinism inside and it is measured against the op-ganizations" — a betrayal is a

portunity that was present. mere "brake"! - "but also their How did the Pablo faction capacity - especially of the Stalrespond to this colossal event? inist leadership - to yield to the They labelled the action of the pressure of the masses when this pressure becomes powerful as Social Democrats a betrayal its program, makes it all the but for the wrong reasons. The was the case during these more imperative that they know betrayal, they said, consisted of strikes." ("Political Note No.

One might expect this to be of its petty-bourgeois agencies behind the backs of the Stalsufficient conciliation to Stalinism or trade-union bureaucracies) was a secondary one, deriving from a leader who has abandoned the working class itself faces a without capitulation to Stalinism; from their main crime, the orthodox Trotskyism but still and, conversely, know how to refusal to set out on the road to seeks the cover of the Fourth International. However, Pablo

As for the Stalinists. the went still further.

An Infamous Leaflet

taking power.

tion)

A leaflet of his followers ad- for simply placing itself "on the dressed to the workers at the level of the trade union movement Renault plant in Paris declared instead of explaining to the that in the general strike the workers that this strike was an Stalinist leadership of the CGT important stage (!) in the crisis (main French trade-union federa- of French society, the prelude (!) "was correct in not in- to a vast class struggle, where troducing demands other than the problem of workers' power those wanted by the workers." would be posed in order to save This in face of the fact that the the country from capitalist workers by their actions were swindling and open the way to demanding a Workers and Farmsocialism.'

If the Renault workers were ers Government! to believe the Pabloites, all that Arbitrarily separating the Stalinist-headed unions from the the perfidious French Stalinist Communist Party - evidence of bureaucrats were guilty of was a the most mechanical thinking or trace of syndicalism instead of a evidence of deliberate design in deliberate betrayal of the biggest

covering up the Stalinists? general strike in the history of the Pabloites declared in their France leaflet that so far as the signi-

Pablo's approval of the policy of the CGT leadership seems ficance of the strike and its perscarcely credible, yet there is the spectives were concerned "this point only concerned the trade inescapable fact staring one in the face. In the biggest general union secondarily. The criticism blandly puts as "correct," a apply to the CGT which is a bourgeois policy of keeping the such, but to the parties whose unions out of politics. And this in 1953! role it was to point out the deep

If it is incorrect for the CGT movement and its consequences," leadership to advance political demands in consonance with obin the Ceylon party is a warning izations and to the Workers of jective needs, including formation to all Trotskyists everywhere of Renault," dated Sept. 3, 1953. of a Workers and Farmers Govthe tragic consequences of the Signed by Frank, Mestre, and ernment, then why is the So cialist Workers Party demanding

rect"! Pabloite denunciation But even this does not com- comrades before the Stalinists includes a revolutionary side plete the account. One of the follows the verdict of a workers' principal aims of the Pabloite tribunal acquitting the Trot- Stalinists to lead a revolution in leaflet is to denounce French skyists in the Renault plant of the United States, in the process Trotskyists who conducted them- slanders levelled at them by the of which they would absorb Trotselves in the Renault plant during Stalinists.

The American Pabloites

The test of these world events stability of their living conditions have temporarily paralyzed is sufficient, in our opinion, to the initiative and fighting spirit indicate the depth of Pabloite conof those workers who previously ciliationism toward Stalinism. But were in the forefront of all mil we would like to submit for tant class actions. nublic inspection of the world Trotskyist movement some adtion of the pressure of this new ditional facts. labor aristcracy, with its petty-

For over a year and half the Socialist Workers Party has been Cochran and Clarke. The struggle with this tendency has been one transmitting alien pressures into But there is a tradition to which of the most severe in the history

of our party. At bottom it is of the Cochranites, "Junk the Old devices. used by the Kremlin, over the same fundamental questions that divided us from the Burnham - Shachtman group and the powerful revolutionary poten- Many of us had personal exthe Morrow-Goldman group at tial of the American working perience with all this in the 1923the beginning and end of World class as some far-off prospect. 28 period. War II. It is another attempt to They denounce as "sectarian" the revise and abandon our basic pro- Marxist analysis which reveals that this way of operating is not gram. It has involved the perspective, of the American revolution, the character and role of American proletariat.

the revolutionary party and its Insofar as there are any pro methods of organization, and the gressive tendencies within the perspectives for the world Trot- working class of the United States skvist movement. they see them only in the ranks

During the post-war period a or periphery of Stalinism and powerful bureaucracy consolidat- among "sophisticated" union polied itself in the American labor ticians - the rest of the class movement. This bureaucracy rests they consider so hopelessly World Congress the majority line on a large layer of privileged, dormant that they can be awakenconservative workers who have ed only by the impact of atomic been "softened" by the conditions war.

Briefly, their position reveals: of war prosperity. This new large measure from the rank's of spective of the American revoluformer militant sectors of the tion; loss of confidence in the working class, from the same role of the revolutionary party in label he places on himself and generation that founded the CIO. general and the Socialist Work- the small minority hypnotized by The relative security and ers Party in particular.

Features of Cochranism

As all the sections of 'the tical correctness of our movement the knowledge that, they are the world movement well know from living means for advancing the their own hard and difficult exhistor'c mission of the working In these statements we see the of the present-day Gompers' of periences, pressures exist far class, the understanding that to In another document, we are complete abandonment of every the American trade-union move greater than prolonged war one degree or another the fate of official line of the Fourth Inter-

sustains cadres under the most development demands the creation revisionist views on the world- bidden to exercise its rights to

these betray, which makes it possible for the

itself."

apparent.

obeved.

national

prisals if his orders were not

ng, and forfeited all right to membership in our party. Formally recording this fact,

the 'Twenty-fifth Anniversary Plenum of the SWP suspended skyist "ideas" so that the revoluthe National Committee members tion would eventually "right who organized the boycott and declared that all members of the

(6) Adaptation to Stalinism Pablo-Cochran faction who particinated in this treacherous. in the face of new events. They strikebreaking action or who support and defend the conciliation to Stalinism found in Pablo's refuse to disavow it have by that interpretation of the downfall of fact placed themselves outside Beria and the subsequent sweep- the ranks of the SWP.

Cochranism is the manifesta- Methods of the Comintern

Pablo's duplicity in presenting | vote. We already have enough inbourgeois ideology, upon the one face to the leadership of the formation to state that the proletarian vanguard. The moods SWP while secretly collaborating Fourth International is certain to engaged in a struggle against a and tendencies of the passive, with the revisionist Cochranite reject Pablo's line by an overrevisionist tendency headed by relatively satisfied layer of work- tendency is a method that is alien whelming majority.

ers act as a powerful mechanism to the tradition of Trotskvism. Pablo's autocratic demand to a leader of a section of the Fourth our own movement. The slogan it does belong - Stalinism. Such International to refrain from criticizing Pablo's revisionist poli-Trotskyism," expresses this mood. were instrumental in corrupting tical line is bad enough. But The Cochranite tendency sees the Communist International. Pablo did not stop there. While trying to gag this leader and prevent him from participating in a free discussion in which the

rank and file might benefit from The evidence is now decisive his experience, knowledge and the molecular processes creating an isolated aberration on the part insight, Pablo proceeded to innew fighting regiments in the of Pablo. A consistent pattern is tervene organizationally, attempting to crystallize a minority revisionist faction to conduct war For instance, in one of the leadon the leadership of the section. ng European sections of the

This procedure is out of the Fourth International, an outstandfoul tradition of the Comintern ing party leader recently received as it underwent degeneration an order from Pablo, directing under the influence of Stalinism. him to conduct himself as one "who defends until the Fourth If there were no other issue than this, it would be necessary to fight Pabloism to a finish to save and the discipline of the Interthe Fourth International from national." Along with the ulinternal corruption. timatum Pablo threatened re-

Such tactics have an obvious purpose. They are part of the

preparation for a coup by the The "majority" to which Pablo Pabloite minority. Utilizing efers here is simply the modest Pablo's administrative control, they hope to impose his revisionist line on the Fourth Internahis revisionist novelties. Pablo's tional and wherever it is resisted new line is in violent contradicto reply by splits and expulsions. tion to the basic program of This Stalinist organizational Trotskvism. It is only beginning course began, as is now quite to be discussed in many parts of clear, with Pablo's brutal abuse the world Trotskvist movement of administrative control in his Not having been backed by a disruptive campaign against the single Trotskyist organization, it majority of the French section does not constitute the approved of the Fourth International more than a year and a half ago.

By fiat of the International The first reports we have Scoretariat, the elected, majority eceived indicate outrage at his high-handed attempt to foist his of the French section was for-



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The Aims of the Witch Hunt

The Republican frame-up smear of former President Truman has probably done more to open the American people's eyes to the real nature and purpose of the witch hunt than any other single incident since it was launched by the Democrats at the beginning of the cold war.

It has shown that the witch hunt is deeply rooted in partisan capitalist politics. Plant layoffs, reduced take-home pay and falling farm prices produced questioning and dissatisfaction with the party in power, and defeats for its candidates at the polls. The immediate answer of the party in power was to launch a scandal designed to distract and confuse the people.

It has shown that the methods of the witch hunt are crooked from beginning to end, in flagrant violation of logic and all the facts known to everyone. No one has been a more aggressive foe of communism at home and abroad than Truman. He proved this over and over again by his counter-revolutionary interventions all over the world, from Greece to Korea, and by his savage purges, blacklists, arrests, Smith Act trials, deportations and construction of concentration camps. Yet the witchhunters did not hesitate to publicly condemn even him as the "knowing" protector and promoter of a "spy."

It has shown that "communism" is a pretext and smokescreen for the witch-hunters, under cover of which they aim to discredit and intimidate every political opponent to the left of McCarthy and everything that stands as an obstacle to transforming America into a fullblown police state. Like a deadly contagion, the attack has spread from radicals to liberals to Democrats — and the end is not in sight. If Eisenhower shows a slight hesitation about

There is a popular superstition among capitalists that "gloomy talk can bring on a depression." The same voodoo-like principle leads them to think that cheerful and idiotic optimism help maintain eternal prosperity. A prize example of this "cheerful" type is Lcon H. Keyserling, economic advisor to the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

On Nov. 8, Keyserling predicted that the United States would not have "any more big depressions." If we were to follow the same method as the voodoo-economists we would

going all-out along the McCarthy road, it is because he knows that he is vulnerable too; after all, it can be shown that he too "consorted with the Russians" during the war, that As soon as we heard about it, we he owes his career to the Democrats who are being exposed as "soft on communism," etc.

The smear of Truman also shows that the taking more vigorous action. This Democrats cannot be depended on to provide error was due to insufficient apa genuine alternative to McCarthyism. Tru- preciation on our part of the man himself set the pattern that the Republicans are now extending. Truman sees eye to the French section were tactical eye with McCarthy and Brownell in their and this led us to side with Pablo, fraudulent claim that "communism" is the despite our misgivings about his main danger in this country, differing with after months of disruptive facthem only on the tactics to be employed in tional struggle, the majority was wiping it out. And Truman played right into expelled.

their hands when he forced the resignation of Harry Dexter White on grounds so insubstantial that not even a McCarthyite federal grand jury would indict White a year later.

Looking back at the whole experience of the we did. The Eighth Congress of witch hunt, many Americans previously conbe unable to offer successful resistance against the capitalist drive toward war and intensified

exploitation. It is necessary to free, clear and reinstate all the victims of the witch hunt, no

mobilize and lead the fight in defense of our

liberties. It is not only the ultimate target of the McCarthyite drive, it is the only force powerful enough to successfully combat reaction. Let its slogan be: Destroy McCarthyism before McCarthyism destroys us.

Voodoo Economics

war preparations, "cold-war" and "police actions.

'I know him and I know his tribe. It is a fact that the equilibrium of U.S Recently Beck threatened the ineconomy rests on war expenditures and huge dustrialists with a Labor Party. I know he is bluffing. He is trying capital investment in war production. Eisenhower admitted this when he was campaigning to frighten the bosses but he may succeed in frightening himself for office. On Oct. 2, 1952, he said, "I propose Beck's 'boldness' reflects the to show you tonight that whatever economic pressure of the workers. But at gains have been made since 1932 have been the same time it feeds rank-anddue . . . to war or the threat of war." file sentiment for genuine independent political action."

But Keyserling, who has now endorsed the economic policies of the Eisenhower administration, cannot face facts. The N. Y. Times of Nov. 8, says, "In answer to a question, Mr. Keyserling denied that the national pendent revolutionary party rootprosperity was due to 'a war economy.' He ed in the mainstream of the termed such assertions 'pernicious doctrine' and remains the central task. that was being spread by enemies of this There is no conflict between this the pro-Stalinist faction within country." That is the logic of voodooism in economics. First, it is dangerous and even subversive to independent politics. Or the movetalk about a depression because it may bring ment may break through all the one on. Next, we must talk cheerfully because obstacles imposed by the labor that will keep the wheels of production rolling. Finally, we must ignore the fact that our "prosperity" is based on war production. Why? Because it is an unpleasant fact. And whether the kind of Labor Party we adit is true or false, it is spread by "enemies of this country." But as the saying goes, "facts are stubborn things." Magical incantations will not dispel the class struggle."

Letter to World Trotskyists

(Continued from page 2) ork of the party. Instead, the Political Bureau and the press were put under the control of a installation of a system of perminority through the Comintern-

A

ist device of a "parity commission. At the time, we deeply disap-

program and abandonment of the proved this arbitrary action by Marxist method." (La Verite, which a minority was used to Sept. 18, 1952.) arbitrarily overturn a majority. The whole French situation nust be re-examined in the light communicated our protest to

of subsequent developments. The Pablo. However, we must admit role the majority of the French that we made an error in not section played in the recent general strike demonstrated in the most decisive way that they know how to uphold the fundamental real issues involved. We thought principles of orthodox Trotskyism. the differences between Pablo and The French section of the Fourth International was unjustly expelled. The French majority, grouped around the paper La Verite, are the real Trotskyists of France and are so openly recognized by the SWP. Particularly revolting is the

But at bottom the differences slanderous misrepresentation vere programmatic in character. Pablo has fostered of the political piecemeal and likewise in piece- by removing Pablo and his agents The fact is that the French composition of the Chinese section of rades of the majority saw what the Fourth International. They come to see what is happening with cadres who have proved in was happening more clearly than have been pictured by the Pablo and raise objections. That is the action that they know how to faction as "sectarians."

taction as "sectarians," as explanation for the strange uphold orthodox Trotskyism and "fugitives from a revolution." their party declared that "a grave danger menaces the future Contrary to the impression fused by it should now be able to see it for and even the existence of the deliberately created by the Pablo matic evasions. what it really is: a gigantic hoax designed to Fourth International. . . Revision- faction, the Chinese Trotskyists regiment and gag the people so that they will ist conceptions, born of cowar- acted as genuine revolutionary has had a certain success with ings, dice and petty-bourgeois im- representatives of the Chinese this unprincipled and Machiavelpressionism have appeared within proletariat. Through no fault of lian maneuverism. But the quali-

reinstate all the victims of the witch hunt, no matter what party they belong to, and to organize a powerful united front of all labor and liberal organizations to end the witch hunt altogether. Organized labor especially has the duty to mobilize and lead the fight in defense of our

(Continued from page 1) sequences of Stalinist and Social ness by explaining the fatal con- Democratic betrayals. Because of its outstanding importance The tradictions of capitalism and hammering on the question of the Militant is publishing in full a letter of the 25th Anniversary need to form a Labor Party."

Plenum to the Trotskyists of the LABOR PARTY TALK world. (See page 2.) The Plenum also adopted a document, "Against Dobbs showed how awakening Pabloist Revisionism, A Criticism political consciousness in the working class is reflected in the of the Resolution on the 'Rise and labor bureaucracy. Referring Decline of Stalinism."

ironically to "my former col-league, Dave Beck," Dobbs said, document was submitted for world-wide discussion in the Trotskyist movement and will appear in a forthcoming issue of Fourth International magazine.

The Plenum saluted the Ceylonese Trotskyists who led a 24hour general strike last August and mobilized the whole working class of the country in a broad struggle against capitalism and imperialism. It also hailed the valiant struggle of the Bolivian

Dobbs discussed the tactical Trotskyists for a workers and problems of fighting for a Labor farmers government in their Party in relation to building the country. It condemned the brutal persecution of the Chinese The building of an inde skyists by the Mao regime. The achievement of the Cey Trotskyists was parlonese organized working class has been ticularly noteworthy in view of task and the struggle for a Labor their party which sabotaged the Party. The bureaucrats may conmass struggle. The conference of (Trotskyists), held in October, defeated the traitors so decisively that they bolted the party with a officials. In any case the only demoralized minority faction. answer to capitalist reaction is a DISCIPLINARY ACTION mass revolutionary socialist party The first session of the Plenum He showed the relation of the decided by the Plenum. of the American workers. That's took disciplinary action against a problem of leadership of the minority faction in the Socialist working class to the problem of vocate. The SWP is the basic Workers Party. This faction had leadership of the party. A high nucleus of such a party. That's

its leadership. The still great theirs they have been singled out Liebknechts of the 1918 revolu weakness of the International, cut as victims by the Mao regime in tion for execution. But Pablo's off from the life of the sections, the way that Stalin singled out line of conciliationism toward has momentarily facilitated the for execution the entire genera- Stalinism leads him inexorably to tion of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the touch up the Mao regime couleur sonal rule, basing itself and its USSR, emulating the Noskes and de rose while putting gray tints Scheidemanns of Germany who on the firm, principled stand of anti-democratic methods on revisionism of the Trotskyist singled out the Luxemburgs and our Chinese comrades.

policy They are determined to of the Fourth International to

their Stalinist conciliationism affairs of the Fourth International

meal fashion, get rid of those who from office and replacing them

What to Do

reached. The political issues have

If we may offer advice to the

sections of the Fourth Interna

tional from our enforced position

time has come to act and to act

decisively. The time has come for

the orthodox Trotskyist majority

assert their will against Pablo'

They should in addition safe

guard the administration of the

usurpation of authority.

To sum up: The lines of tative point of change has been

leavage between Pablo's revision-

ism and orthodox Trotskyism are

so deep that no compromise is

possible either politically or or-

ganizationally. The Pablo fac-

tion has demonstrated that it will

not permit democratic decisions

truly reflecting majority opinion

to be reached. They demand com-

plete submission to their criminal

drive all orthodox Trotskyists out

of the Fourth International or to

Their scheme has been to inject

muzzle and handcuff them.

THE MILITANT

Page Three

terpretation." For one thing, the Federal broken through the maneuvers Reserve index of production has and the fight is now a showdown. fallen 7% since last March, from a peak of 243 to between 225 and 227 for November. Such a drop should account for an increase of outside the ranks, we think the not less than two to three million unemployed.

wants both examination and in-

In addition, from 11/4 to 13/4 nillion new persons enter the labor market each year from the rapidly expanding population. As oseph A. Loftus wrote in the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times, even "static employment over an extended period means bad times' because new candidates for jobs are coming into the market all the time . . . the labor force in the past year has not grown. In fact,

Pabloite formulations and diplo- course both politically and or ganizationally

Up to now the Pablo faction With fraternal Trotskyist greet National Committee

of the SWP





Mrs. Joanne Hyatt carries a picket sign and her son Bobby, with other CIO United Auto

it has declined a trifle. . ." How much of a "trifle" the government is deliberately concealing. NOT COUNTED The government's favorite device for a statistical cover-up of inemployment is indicated by Loftus, who reports that "more and more women, older men and een-age boys, finding jobs harder to get, are withdrawing from the abor market ... so they are not ounted as unemployed," although

still "means a cut in the family ncome," he admits. Another gimmick is that "any

rorker laid off with the definite promise that he will be recalled within 30 days is counted by the Census Bureau as employed," reports Business Week. Workers who might be laid off nine months out of the year, by being recalled for a few days after each 30-day layoff would always be listed as 'employed" under this method.

It is in such times as these, and in the worse period approaching, that the program of the reduced work-week with no cuts in weekly income becomes a natural and has great appeal for the workers. That is why many unions. local, state and national, have begun pressing for the 30hour week at 40 hours' pay.

The last AFL convention called for the 35-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay. The Illinois Federation of Labor went further to demand the 30-hour week with 40 hour's pay. In the CIO, numerous General Motors locals, as well as Ford Local 600, are pressing this program, while the CIO Oil Workers union is

conclude from this that we are headed for the biggest depression of all time, and without much delay either. The evidence shows that every depression is preceded by magic incantations (predictions) of capitalist economists that the depression will never take place.

But since we are scientific socialists we cannot agree that either gloom or cheer produces the economic ups and downs of capitalism. Magic cannot prevent a depression. Nor can it produce one. Depressions arise from the anarchy and planlessness of the capitalist methods of production.

A Marxist analysis of the economy at the present stage shows that American capitalism is heading for either depression or war. As capitalism staggers toward these grim alternatives any let-up in the war pressure immediately produces all the signs of a catastrophic depression. The resulting reflex of capitalism has been to plunge ever deeper into

the "evil spirits" of the laws governing the FIELDS OF WORK anarchy of the capitalist method of produc-The Plenum discussed the

tion. The alternative capitalism offers remains analysis and party-building prothe Hydrogen Bomb or depression.

Salute to E. German Revolt from India

The East German workers uprising last June against the Stalinist rulers continues to reverberate around the world. This magnificent struggle stands like a gigantic beacon of hope for the oppressed masses everywhere. It defies all attempts to cover it with mud and frameup lies. The Stalinists have done everything in their power to represent the East German workers as "tools of capitalism" and "fascist agents." But they have failed, and failed dismally.

No one believes the Stalinist liars.

The Socialist Party of India published a resolution, "We Salute the Workers of Eastern Europe," in the September issue of their paper, Socialist Appeal. In answer to the Stalinist lies about the East German workers they say:

"The allegation that the general strike of these workers is an act of imperialist provocation is not the first slander against the working class that has come out of present-day Russia, nor will it be the last. The Socialist Party rejects the suggestion that mass movements of any considerable significance can be the work of provocateurs and spies. There would be some sense in these allegations if we were dealing with individual terrorist acts.

"Where, however, workers risk their lives against a tyrannical regime, fight with their traditional class weapon of the general strike and pay for their courageousness with hundreds of executions and thousands of arrests and follows: imprisonments, to say that they have been the victims of agents and provocateurs tant and party pamphlets. (2) representing the class enemy, only shows that those who make these allegations possess Crow, police brutality, and for full neither understanding nor loyalty to the work- social, political and economic ing class.'

We are in full accord with the Indian socialists in their clear stand in defense of the the working-class youth. (5) The East German workers. It is proof of the fact struggle against the witch hunt that the advanced workers in all countries are the SWP. (6) Preparations of assimilating the significance of the great new campaigns and the financial political revolution opened by the East German problem of the party. workers on June 17. It shows that they understand this movement is part of the world-wide pearance of James Kutcher's struggle against capitalism.

The revolution against capitalism has col- contribution to the fight for civil of the party, and a large audience lided time and again with the monstrous liberties. It recommended that the treachery of Stalinism. The workers carry the party vigorously support this book situation to the point of victory in one country liberties organizations to do likeafter another. And the Stalinists betray them wise.

in the interests of Kremlin diplomacy. But the East German workers have shown how an anticapitalist working class can rise against the Stalinist traitors. That is why the struggle they opened has such profound significance. for recruitment to the party. The East German workers told their class brothers throughout the world: "Free your-

selves from the Stalinist bureaucrats!"

Soviet domain but wherever workers find their struggle blocked by Stalinism.

been conducting a struggle for degree of consciousness is requirwhy we must build the SWP and its views for over a year within ed to build a revolutionary party. recruit workers in every field of the party. It displayed marked By the same token the building

tendencies toward conciliation of a party leadership which with Stalinism and a deep democratically represents the antagonism toward the basic party ranks and knows how to lead requires an even higher Trotskvist conceptions of Stalinism. It broke with the Trotskyist degree of consciousness.

This

posals of the reporter. Dobbs' Cannon traced the history of proposals were adopted by a position on the role and character of the revolutionary party. internal struggle in the SWP. By unanimous vote. The fields of The faction was accorded all comparing the similarities and work discussed by the National democratic rights during a full differences between the various Committee members under this year of discussion. But when the struggles he illuminated the quespoint on the agenda were as eaders of the minority faction tion: by what conscious methods organized a boycott against the can the working class create the (1) The circulation of The Mili-

party's combined 25th Anniversary indispensable instrument of viccelebration and election rally on tory over capitalism - the mass The fight for 30-40 in the trade Oct. 30 in New York, they conunions. (3) The fight against Jim summated a long-prepared disloyal split with the party. The

evening with enthusiasm over its leaders of the boycott were equality for the Negro people suspended. All members of the and all minorities. (4) Party work minority faction were called upon on the college campus and among to disavow the split attack on the

party or be excluded from its ranks. and in defense of the legality of

CANNON'S SUMMARY

The Plenum hailed the apaddress by the founder and Chairautobiography, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," as a major Plenum was open to all members

and called on all labor and civil-

The Plenum announced the early publication of James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "America's Road to Socialism." This pamphlet will be a new powerful weapo

INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION The first day of the Plenum was devoted to the international They meant this to apply not only to the situation. The discussion centered around the question of building revolutionary parties throughout the world to overcome the con-

outside the North American Aviation Co. plant in Los Angeles, one of the company's several strike-bound plants. Here, on June 9, 1941, by order of the late President Roosevelt, 3,500 regular army troops drove strikers back to work at bayonet-point

seeking a reduced work-week in its negotiations. If the CIO now makes "30 for 40" a fighting lemand, it will undoubtedly get a hearty welcome from the ranks

heard Cannon sum up the lessons | achievements and the perspectives tinue to thwart the movement for the Lanka Samasamaja Party of 25 years' struggle for a facing the SWP. The members of proletarian party in the United the Committee from the West that Masons be banned from the Coast to New England returned States. Cannon's main theme was the to their districts determined to that country, the Nov. 7 Nation problem of working-class leadership. He traced the various forms SWP and carry into life the of the Fascist and the Catholic of leadership of workers parties.

The U.S. Ambassador to Spain has bowed to Franco's ultimatum personnel of U.S. missions sent to redouble their efforts to build the magazine reports. To the minds ambitious program of action hierarchy, Free Masons are dangerous "subversives."

Just Published THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN by JAMES KUTCHER

"The much argued case of Kutcher is summed up in this impressive volume." - Newark Evening News.

* * *

"The book gives a remarkable insight into the witch hunt which is today ravaging American democracy." -Socialist Outlook. London.

* * *

"The book includes a letter from the late Philip Murray, expressing his deep interest in the case; a statement by Carl Holderman explaining the issues involved; and a resolution by the N. J. State CIO Convention endorsing the work of the Kutcher committee and pledging continued support until the case is won." - New Jersey CIO News.

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The final point on the agenda of the Plenum was an inspiring



revolutionary party?

The Plenum closed Sunday

CHICAGO

man of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon. The

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City State

The Negro Struggle -**New Senator -- Part II**

By Jean Blake

Recently in this column we pointed out hat Cleveland's Mayor Burke, appointed Senator from Ohio by Governor Lausche, was far from the flawless character the local press and others made him out to be. We informed our readers that in a near-riot situation in the city which boasts it is "the best location in the nation," the mayor played a disgraceful role. Instead of taking firm action against persons who threatened and incited violence against a Negro family moving into a "white" neighborhood, he expressed sympathy for the fears of the residents of the neighborhood that their property values would deteriorate, and advised them to make private agreements not to sell to "undesirables."

Now, in the last weeks of his administration, this phony liberal has again been exposed for the unprincipled capitalist politician that he is.

On Oct. 21, Richard V. Hopkins, city urban development director appointed by Burke, made a speech in the Shaker-Lee area which has been a hotbed of anti-Negro agitation. According to all local newspapers and some radio reports, Hopkins said: *

"To calm your fears, we won't move into your neighborhood any family that would upset the normal character of living of the neighborhood. Do you all understand what I mean?"

The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People immediately sent a wire to Mayor Burke signed by Dr. James E. Levy, president, who said:

"It means that he does believe in and will support segregation in Cleveland that even the South is breaking away from.

"It means that Hopkins believes 'the best location in the nation' is only for those who Hopkins conceives to be the 'best' people - whites only."

Dr. Levy warned that the \$7,000,000 urban slum-clearance bond issue would be defeated in the Nov. 3 election if Hopkins were retained.

Upset over the danger to the bond issue Burke called a meeting with representatives of the NAACP to try to make peace but when the NAACP committee could not be pacified by pressure and trickery, or was chalked up in the world's Hopkins' claim that he was "misquoted" or "misunderstood," the Mayor said he eral Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo was accepting his appointee's resignation.

Four days later the Cleveland Press re- against Patrolman John A. Brullvealed that Burke had kept Hopkins on man for violating the civil rights the city payroll at approximately the same of Francis Galatis, a subway salary, merely switching his title to "chief city planner"!

When this was exposed, Burke reportedly told the Cleveland News he was ordering Hopkins removed from the payroll because of "the attendant publicity given his retention.'

"It looks as if somebody is trying to crucify him so the only thing I can do is take him off the payroll," Burke said. That is what we can expect from our new Senator: Demagogic talk about nondiscrimination, attempts to whitewash a bigot who carries out Burke's Jim Crow tion, Judge Abruzzo demonstrated one kidney. policies, then the purging of his "fall-guy" when public protest makes it necessary. ---No principled position either against segregation or in defense of employees who

merely carry out his policies. The NAACP should have demanded the removal of Burke as Senator, not just the firing of Hopkins!

VOLUME XVII

motorman.

worker."

Judge Frees For Brutality

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 - An other shocking case of court leniency toward police brutality largest city yesterday when Fed-1. set aside a verdict of guilty returned by a federal grand jury

Voicing the indignation felt particularly in the Negro community over the judge's highhanded action. David L. Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in last week's municipal

election, demanded that Mayorelect Wagner "make known his stand on this shameful case." Weiss reminded the public that

during the campaign Wagner and the other major party candidates that Galatis suffered fracture of had kept silent about police two ribs and bruises on the face brutality in New York. "Now, on and body, including a bruise over the very next day after the elec-William Conlin, an organizen that the courts continue to grind out class justice against working of the Transport Workers Union people when he arrogantly flouted reported that the membership were so angered by this attack the verdict of a jury that dared

to find a club-happy cop guilty upon a fellow worker that only of brutality against a transport with great difficulty were they restrained from engaging in a subway slowdown to protest this The facts of the case are as new case of police brutality.

follows. Galatis, a subway motor-The judge reversed the grand man, tried to have Patrolman Brullman arrested March 7, 1952, jury verdict because the prosecufor allegedly tampering with the tion had only one witness, the subway door mechanism and victim who was beaten, while the spitting on the floor. defense had five witnesses, all But Brullman arrested Galatis policemen. "It is hard for me to and then beat him in the subway believe than an officer would be station, according to the victim, allowed to assault a man under In the police station Brullman arrest while in a station house beat him again while other cops within the sound and sight of looked on. superior officers," said Judge

Dr. Mark Edward Fox testified Abruzzo.



BUFFALO - An old man died in the dark of night He died alone in a boarding house with no friend at his side, and so no man can tell of the things that his last noments held.

But all of us, his comrades, weather beaten little frame hous know at least this: If Art Qued- hidden in the hills some three nau awoke in the night when quarters of a mile from the high Congress was passed. According to this death same seeping in, he may way. We stopped the over-heated report "even in states that have equal pay have thought and known many car and got out. Art looked about, things. But not a one of them his face eager and happy. He filled his lungs with the clean

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1953

THE MILITANT

Marcantonio Quits ALP, Says It Has No Future

Former Representative Vito | with the Stalinists which has been | Marcantonio has resigned as more than a year in the making. ican Labor Party is a complete He announced his resignation on state chairman of New York's American Labor Party and has quit the ALP. This is the culmination of a break

Clifford T. McAvoy. In 1950, the ALP candidate for mayor got 147,578 votes; and in 1949, running for the same office, Marcantonio himself rolled up 356,-626 votes. During the campaign Marcan

tonio accused the Daily Worker, paper of the Communist Party of giving support to Wagner, th Tammany Democrat, while it that he was not ready to throw continued to pay lip service to

DOES NOT NAME CP In his resignation statement Marcantonio did not name the Communist Party as the source of the conflict in the ALP that against White proved so flimsy led to his resignation. He spoke that even a redbaiting grand jury only of "the minority" in the ALP which "were trying to force group" and which continued its

deception. It is not "American" Nov. 4, the day after the ALP in the sense of a nation-wide got the lowest New York City party. It has always been confined vote in its history, only 54 372 to New York State, principally votes for mayoralty candidate to N.Y. City. And to call itself a "labor" party is an even more gross deception. It lacks the support of a single union. It is still formally a wing of the almostdefunct Progressive Party, which was organized in 1948 as a third capitalist party to run Henry Wallace for President.

The very name of the Amer-

NUMBER 46

BEGAN WITH UNION BASE

Originally, the ALP was a genuine labor party. It was ormed in 1936 by leading unions n New York state, including the International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and numerous others. The party was used by its coalition of Social Democratic, New Deal and Stalinist leaders to corral the large New York radical vote for Roosevelt, Lehman, La upon us the role of a pressure Guardia and other capitalist candidates.

During the war period, the Dubinsky-Rose group, representing the ILGWU and Hatmakers, came into increasing conflict with the Hillman-Stalinist bloc. He argued that because the The former finally split in 1944 non-Stalinist union leaders. When backed the Wallace campaign in the CIO clothing, steel, auto, cantonio began to fall out with maritime and transport workers, walked out of the ALP. By 1952, it was completely divorced from

the union movement

SUPPORT CAPITALISM

Programmatically, the ALP has we speak for the majority," when been a proponent of "progressive" he figured it could no longer capitalism, described as "FDR's

serve his own interests as a self- 12-point economic program." Its so-called anti-war program has nothing in common with a genuine class struggle anti-war policy. It supports the UN, the current counterpart of the League of Na-

Women's Incomes

By Joyce Cowley

Talk to any man about women, and he'll insist they practically run this country. They certainly haven't got anything to kick about now. Why even Eisenhower, in recognition of the importance of women's votes, appointed one to a cabinet post and a couple as ambassadors.

These interesting political developments are discussed in "The Status of Women in the U.S. - 1953," just published by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. But a more significant section of this report takes up the position of women in U.S. economy:

"The median income of woman has risen only slightly in the postwar period, from \$901 in 1945 to \$1,045 in 1951 while that of men rose from \$1,800 in 1945 to \$3,000 in 1951 (the latest year recorded)."

The average paycheck of a woman worker today is less than half -44% - of that received by a man. 81% of women who work make less than \$2,500. Exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% make as much as \$100 a week. It seems elementary to say that women go to work because they need money. But the way some people talk about this problem, you'd think we were all career girls. The 16,000,000 women who are making less than \$2,500 a year are probably not much excited about the appointment of Mrs. Hobby or Mrs. Luce. The main things these appointments prove is that putting a woman in an important post won't change anything as long as she's part

of the big business political machine. The fact that a couple of women ambassadors are representing U.S. imperialism is not much comfort to women in Colorado who, according to the Women's Bureau report, make 971/2c an hour in Colorado factories doing exactly the same work for which men are paid \$1.45.

Everybody is for equal pay these days. The Republicans and Democrats both spoke for it in the 1952 presidential campaign. Business and civic organizations of every type endorsed it. In spite of this, equal pay laws are in effect in only 13 states and Alaska. Not one of the nine equal pay bills introduced in state legislatures this year or the seven introduced in laws the coverage is in most cases limited was fear. and legal loopholes exist which make it Art came to the Buffalo branch air of the woods and the hills

VITO MARCANTONIO

Ouits ALP

REPUBLICANS **ATTEMPT 'SPY'** FRAME-UP

> (Continued from page 1) man's real "crime," at most, was White to the dogs the minute an the ALP.

charge was made inproved against him. And Truman wasn't even guilty of that particular crime for very long, because he got rid of White in 1947 — a year before the FBI's "case" refused to indict him.

POLITICAL AIM

The whole affairs is a frameup, obstruction "until the eve of the and its aim is given away by its election and even on election day." timing. On Nov. 3 the Repub- For this reason, he complained, icans took a sound licking at the the ALP was "never able to polls. On Nov. 4 McCarthy laid launch an effective campaign." down the line that they lost because they failed to make "com- ALP remains "a 'house divided'" and formed the Liberal Party. munist infiltration of government" it will be unable to muster the The ALP, minus one important

their chief issue. On Nov. 6 necessary 50,000 votes for gov- section of unions, continued to Brownell threw his stink bomb at ernor in 1954 to remain on the support capitalist candidates, in-Truman, claiming he had Eisen- ballot. He said that henceforth cluding O'Dwyer for mayor in hower's prior approval. On Nov. the ALP will become "more and 1945. With the onset of the "cold 10 the Republicans won a Con- more a pressure group . . . more war," a struggle began between gressional election in California and more a mimeograph machine the Stalinists and the remaining that had had them worried, and rather than a political party." Brownell promised a "continuing The degeneration of the ALP, the Stalinist - dominated ALP program" of such smears. however, is inherent in its com-On Nov. 11 Eisenhower told a position and program and was al- 1948, most of the unions, like press conference that he didn't ready far advanced before Mar-

believe Truman knowingly appointed a spy; that he hadn't disthe Stalinists. He still has voiced no basic cussed this aspect of the affair with Brownell; that he didn't political differences with the

doubt Truman's loyalty; and that Stalinists, whose line he followed he didn't believe Brownell had for almost two decades. He quit publicly impugned Truman's the ALP, "despite the fact that

loyalty. Liberals will probably point to Eisenhower's straddling statements as signs of some "basic" seeking political opportunist. distinction between the President

NOT A LABOR PARTY on one side and Brownell and Mc-With the defection of its sole Carthy on the other. They couldn't be wronger if they tried. remaining figure of any promi-

WHAT THEY AGREE ON

Furthermore, Eisenhower ad

mitted that he fully endorsed

Brownell's request to attack the

the man "knowingly." The essence

of the matter is that Eisen-

hower, Brownell and McCarthy

alike want to smear the Demo-

crats on the "communist spy"

issue, although they may differ

somewhat on secondary matters

Despite Eisenhower's pretense

of a "middle of the road" straddle,

the Brownell - Truman affairs

serves warning that the McCarthy

more influential every day, and

American people away from their

growing discontent with the

present administration, or, fail-

ing that, to intimidate them with

the fear that they too will be

dubbed "communist" if they dare

Any illusions about what to

expect from the Republicans on

this score will be very costly.

But the same applies to the

Democrats. They think the best

way to defend themselves against

Republican redbaiting is by in-

tensifying Democratic redbait-

ing, and they show they cannot

be relied on to fight McCarthyism

from a progressive standpoint be-

cause they accept and embrace

have never been in such danger

to save the Bill of Rights.

(See editorial, Page 3.)

its basic premises.

to voice their grievances.

of timing and tactics.

If Eisenhower really disapnence, the ALP is unlikely to tions, which Lenin described as proved of what Brownell had done, play any further electoral role of the "thieves' kitchen." It proposes he wouldn't have restated his significance. The CP has indicated, to achieve "peace" through a deal however that it may continue to for the division and subjugation confidence in his Attorney General, and he wouldn't have waited play around with the ALP for of the world between Moscow five days until he had the chance its own propaganda purposes and and Washington. It is in this sense to see that Brownell had gone a for such electoral purposes as do that the ALP has been for many little too fast and the smear was not cut across its main line of years - with Marcantonio's full to

difficult to enforce them."

Capitalist politicians also give lip-ser- eight years ago. He walked into vice to the need for a housing program, a meeting carrying a copy of the schools, hospitals and child care centers - when they're running for office. They afterward he joined the party. forget about these things, just as they forget about equal pay, as soon as the election is over. Only a labor administra- complaining, genial, faithful and tion that represents the millions of doubly devoted to the revolutionary reach 65 and his pension, when, exploited working women will pass and en- movement. Working as a wareforce national legislation which guarantees women the basic right to get paid for the work they do at the same rate as other ancial contribution to the workworkers.

eginning "It's good to be back," he said, of the Socialist Workers Party authors and the love of the woods and the

a meeting carrying a copy of the hills was in his voice. He showed us his place, two to him at a distribution, and soon walls of one room shelved from floor to ceiling with books. He told us how he intended to fix Truman administration for hiring For eight years Comrade Quedup the house, "if I live long a "spy" - a charge that will be nau was with us. For eight years we knew this old man, guiet, unenough." He had two years to go, two years before he would like a worked-out beast of burhouse elevator operator he earned | den, he might be let out to paslittle money, but every week he ture.

was punctilious in giving his finers' cause. His health was failing, he was tired, but almost every week he found the strength to have kept trying, kept planning. participate with his comrades in Like all of those who really love

many and spent most of his childhood on a farm near Havana.

This past summer some of us

drove Art down to his place, a

But he couldn't make it. Perhaps he never really believed that he would make it. But that wouldn't have mattered. He'd

the branch meeting. life he had no fear of death. When Art was born in Potsdam, Ger- the end would come, it would come; but until then the dawn of

tomorrow always glowed. While Cuba. As a young man he came there was life there was hardto the United States, then shipship, true, there was work and struggle, but there was the good mankind. There were books to hunt. The political motivation will vast Tata Iron and Steel Works. be read, ideas to be grasped with But Art Quednau had made that living, pulsing portion of the error of being born in Geryouth that no prison, no disease, many, so, at the outbreak or no steel works could kill. While there yet was life there was inment flung him into prison as an tegrity, there was courage. enemy alien. For five years he

Comrade Arthur Quednau stayed in that Indian prison, and Trotskyist fighter, revolutionary when he came out there was much internationalist, we, your comof his youth, much of his strength rades, salute you. that was gone from him forever.

Shipped back to Germany, he worked at Krupp. Back later in PHILADELPHIA the United States he sweated in the glare of the Homestead open 25th Anniversary hearths until his health could no **Celebration** of longer bear the strain. Then he worked for years in foundries The SWP and The Militant until his ruined body was fit only Buffet Dinner from 6:30 P.M. for the elevator operator's job Special Program at 8:30 P.M.

> ST 4-5820 **Militant Labor Hall** 1303 West Girard Avenue

Newark Fri. Night presents a talk on The Huckster

Speaker: Mark Burns at 52 Market Street supporting the pro-Democratic knowledge and support - a pres political policies of the union sure group for the Kremlin's leaders. foreign policy.



remembered, and that McCarthy The series of mobilizations to t Philadelphia Literature Agen will make big capital of, incelebrate the 25th anniversary of Clara Raymond writes, "Our plan dependently of the other issue of The Militant are now well under is to work three different areas whether or not Truman appointed

way in many areas. of the city, allowing two weeks Results are not yet in each one, thereby permitting us in from the first of to test where we can obtain the these except for best results for future work. On Philadelphia and Los our first sale last week eight com-Angeles where the rades were able to sell 26 Milicomrades began a tants. We are awarding a prize few weeks early and of a specially inscribed copy of will hold their con- 'The Case of the Legless Vetcluding sale early eran' to the comrade who spends also. San Francisco the greatest number of hours and New York will selling in the campaign.' C. D. of Youngstown writes, "I get off to a late start

paper each week will be asked to

An important part of the cam-

paign, in addition to door to door

work. will be sales by trade

unionists to the workers in their

plants. The new pamphlet by

as soon as it is published to

Before beginning the campaign

Tom reports, test sales were con-

ducted in several neighborhoods:

"The first Sunday four comrades

went out and sold 25 copies of the

paper in about an hour. The

second Sunday five comrades sold

60 copies. In this sale the people

who bought the paper the previous

week were revisited and many

Subs were sold during the week

Fourth International."

"On our first 25th Anniversary

of them bought a second copy.

take a subscription.

American democratic liberties ave never heen in such danger Road to Socialism," will be used

as they are today. To defend and as soon as it is public ideas

wing of the GOP is becoming due to pressure of other work recently read a copy of your around the fall elections. A score- paper and I am pleased with your board will be printed in next views on racial matters. Please week's Militant and will appear send me a six months subscription throughout the campaign to show to The Militant." be to divert the attention of the results of sales.

Many thanks to M. V. of St. Louis who writes, "Enclosed is \$5. Tom Carey sends in an outline Please continue my subscription of Los Angeles' plans for a systematic sale of Militants and without loss of any issues. \$3 is for the sub and the remaining \$2 other socialist literature tied in is a contribution. Wish I could with lectures, classes and social affairs. He writes that Militant give more but I didn't work much this year. Best wishes for the salesmen have divided into teams future.' of two, each team to be respon-

Our sincere thanks also to C. S. sible for developing a route of 20 of Cleveland, Ohio who sends in regular readers. At the end of the six weeks' period readers \$10, "\$3 for my renewal and the who have been receiving the other \$7 is a contribution."

> LOS ANGELES **Friday Night Forum** presents **A** Series of Lectures (4) AFL-CIO Unity? Speaker: Tom Kerry Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Union organizer and labor editor. will discuss recent developments in the American labor

movement. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 P. M. (5) Racial Discrimination **Richard** Fraser Writer, Lecturer Fri., Nov. 27, 8 P. M. FORUM HALL 1702 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953

Questions - Discussion Refreshments Subscription 35 cents

Notes from the News CORRUPTION OF THE BLOOD, which **REVOLT BREWS IN CHILE.** The regime of President Ibanez of Chile is in serious difficulties.

The Nov. 7 Christian Science Monitor reports, "The government of President Ibanez is much less popular today than a year ago when it came to power. ... As a result of his failure to carry out this (anti-inflation and anti-graft) program, the country has become increasingly dissatisfied with the regime." Chile borders revolutionary Bolivia. Ibanez appears to be pinning his hopes for survival on U.S. imperialism. He has announced he will tolerate no "Communist" labor activities in the U.S -owned copper and nitrate mines. * * *

POST OFFICE political censors have declared the monthly magazine, New World Review, "unmailable." They refused to accept the October issue for mailing and also applied a retroactive ban on four earlier issues. The magazine, formerly was named Soviet Russia Today. The law under which the political censorship was applied was passed during the 1917 war hysteria and extended today under terms of the "national emergency" which Truman proclaimed after entry into the undeclared Korean War.

* * *

"AUTO DEALERS TELL DETROIT: Put Brakes On Production," is the headline of a story in the Nov. 8 N. Y. Times. In Missouri, for example, spokesmen for 1,100 dealers complain that the auto barons are using "coercive methods" - threatening cancellation of dealers' franchises - unless they take "unwanted merchandise and motor vehicles without regard to the volume the buying public will absorb."

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS at its 17th biennal convention_strongly assailed the vitch hunt. J. R. Wiggins, editor of the Washington Post, told the delegates that in some Congressional committees, "we have found the combination of executive, legislative and judicial functions which President Madison aptly described as the very definition of tyranny.'

* * *

specifically forbidden by Article III, Section 3, of the U.S. Constitution, goes merrily on under ped out as a coal passer to Liverthe witch hunt. Another Radulovich case has pool and Glasgow and later to fight for a better world for all of be counted on to expand the witch come to light in the Air Force. This victim is India, where he worked at the Lieut. Thomas Shepard of Buffalo, a Kore: combat pilot veteran. He is being kicked out because his brother Paul is suspected of Communist ideas or connections. After returning from Korea, Lieut. Shepard was unable to get a "security World War I, the British governclearance" because he is related to his brother

* * *

UNPOPULARITY OF THE FBI in St. Louis called forth an editorial in the Oct. 29 Post-Dispatch, the city's leading newspaper. It remarks that it was widely felt in the city that a person finding himself in possession of one of the missing \$10 or \$20 bills in the Greenlease kidnaping case would be foolish to notify the FBI because the finder would be subjected to intense grilling, treated like a criminal, hauled out of bed in the middle of the night. The editorial deplores this attitude and states: "For the plain fact is that the FBI needs to improve its public relations. By this we do not mean that was his last. hiring more public relations agents and sending out releases to the newspapers about the achievements of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover. What we mean is that the FBI needs to reassure lawabiding citizens that it also abides by the law; that it respects constitutional rights of the in dividual; that it gets search warrants when it should have them; that it obeys the anti-wire- through the help of such as Art tapping provisions of the Federal Communications Act. The local office of the FBI knows full well dream was a personal one, and why it is the subject of criticism in the Greenlease it went like this: case. It knows why some people are saying that they are afraid they might be routed out of bed he had a farm where he spent at 1 a.m. if they turned in ransom money in- his vacation each year, and some nocently received. It knows why some fear being day. . . some day he would go held for long periods and possibly being subjected there to live out the last years to wearing inquiry. . . Dissatisfaction with the of his life. It was necessary to high-handed methods of some FBI agents should wait only until he was 65 when

this situation is a warning that Director Hoover grant him his social security pitshould be the first to appraise for its obvious tance. worth. No branch of the Federal Government can afford to ignore the public."

not be permitted to yield a benefit to crime. Ir the gracious government would

Art Quednau had a dream, not Saturday, Nov. 21 the dream of a better world to come when the workers rise to bring order out of the capitalist chaos - that was no dream for Art the realist. That was a fact that would come into being himself and not a dream. Art's In Coudersport, Pennsylvania

Socialist Forum

and the Politician Friday, Nov. 20, at 8:30

reportedly making overtures to house to house. One sub was sold Harry Bridges, head of the inde- in the process of the canvassing. pendent West Coast longshoremen's union, to come into the also to both The Militant and

Dave Beck, president of the powerful AFL Teamsters, is Mobilization 160 copies were sold

AFL.

parties must be resisted and to Militant readers. removed from political power. United mass action against the witch hunt points inevitably to

the need for a new party, an independent labor party, uniting those elements of the population who really believe in and want