

## LETTER TO TROTSKYISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

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267

Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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## SWP Sees New Opportunities for Socialism in U.S.

The new political situation in the United States was discussed by the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the Socialist Workers Party held Nov. 2-3 in New York City. The Plenum (full meeting of the National Committee) analyzed the significant signs of rising mass dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower administration revealed by the recent election returns. A rounded program of party activity geared to stepped-up preparations for the 1954 election was adopted. A vigorous campaign to press the SWP proposal for the formation of an independent Labor Party for the 1954 elections was launched.

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, reported on "The New Political Situation and the Party-Building Outlook." Dobbs is well known in the American labor movement for his outstanding work as an organizer in the famous Minneapolis truck drivers strike of 1934. Later he led the drive to organize 250,000 over-the-road drivers in the mid-west. 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 President in 1948 and 1952.

### NEW TRENDS

In his report to the Plenum, Dobbs noted the growing mass political antagonism to the Big Business administration in Washington, the spreading movement for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, the reaction of the farmers to price declines, the increased frequency of so-called

wildcat strikes and the effectiveness of the SWP's recent electoral activity.

In 1953 the party conducted municipal campaigns in Oakland, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit and San Francisco. The total vote given to the SWP candidates in these elections was 29,335. The campaigns were conducted on a hard-hitting program of opposition to Wall Street's drive toward World War III.

"The transition to a general upsurge of labor may be a prolonged process," Dobbs said. "But we must be alert to all signs of shift in the mood and action of the workers and take full advantage of all favorable developments for advancing our proposal to form an independent Labor Party."

Tracing these shifts in the workers' mood, Dobbs said, "The workers already feel the effects of loss of overtime pay, reduced work week at reduced pay, mounting lay-offs, high taxes and high cost-of-living. . . These changes in the condition of the workers are expressed in the swing of voters away from the Republican party and Eisenhower."

Dobbs declared that "these sensitive mass reactions to the first signs of depression actually manifest loss of faith in capitalism although the workers have not yet become conscious of this. Our job is to help the toiling masses develop political class-consciousness."

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## WRIGHT WORKERS VOICE ANGER AT CUT-BACKS

By Tom Denver

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 job six months. They must have hired five or six thousand in that time."

"Yeah," said another veteran, "it's just like the army. When there are 5000 casualties in a battle they tell you there were only 2000."

The two vets were part of a group of 13 employees of one department of the Wright Aeronautical Co. who had just been handed slips stating very simply that because they were excess they were being laid off, effective two days from the date of notification.

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

"Wait'll I go home and tell my old lady," said a father of ten 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. 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 to worry about because they won't touch this department."

"What the heck does the foreman know? He might be back running a machine himself before this is over. When the word comes down from the top, you go — period!"

### "WHAT ABOUT HOUSE?"

An ex-navy man's mind was on the future. "If I can't get another job in Jersey soon, I'll go back to my old job in New York."

"What about the house you just bought?" asked an old timer, touching a sore spot.

"I'll sell the damn thing. I should get back more than I put in it."

"What about the mortgage?"

"I'll sell that too, what do you think?"

"Yeah, you better get rid of it quick," said the old timer relentlessly. "The way things are going the bottom is going to drop out of houses."

"What're you talking about?" snapped the ex-navy man. "What do you think they're going to do if you can't meet a payment?"

"Foreclose. What do you think they're going to do?"

"You're crazy," said the ex-navy man contemptuously. "Do you think they'll foreclose on a million ex-GI's? I'd like to see that!"

The old timer looked around the group. "You didn't see the last depression," he said slowly.

"GET USED TO IT"

"Say, close that damn window, it's cold in here," said a newcomer walking into the washroom. "Do you think I'm one of those bums that's used to hanging around the corner in blizzard and all?"

"Well, you better get used to it," said two or three workers simultaneously.

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## GOP Uses "Spy" Frame-Up To Smear Democratic Rivals

### Layoffs, Political Action Are Key Issues for CIO

#### Many Unions Ask Thirty-Hour Week At 40 Hours' Pay

By Joseph Keller

CIO Steelworkers in Canton, O., have made the first unemployment demonstration in this country since World War II. "A scene reminiscent of depression days" is how the Associated Press described the Oct. 29 Canton protest against recent layoffs that have idled up to 9,000 workers in this one small industrial area alone.

There were only 20 banner-bearing paraders. They marched before the main office of the Timken Roller Bearing Co. for about 10 minutes. But if the present national rate of layoffs continues for another year, this first little demonstration may be the advance guard of millions who will be forced to march for jobs end bread.

In the first years of the 1929-40 depression, the workers were largely unorganized. The unions then emerged, themselves little with the plight of the unemployed. Today, the workers are powerfully organized and look to their unions immediately when layoffs hit them. It is symbolic that the Canton workers paraded to the plant gates directly from their union meeting, after John E. Johns, district steel union director, told them "something must be done about unemployment."

Yes, something must be done about unemployment. It is one of the most pressing problems on which the members will expect the CIO convention on Nov. 16 to act.

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 unemployment.

Although almost daily layoffs are being reported from major industries and industrial areas,

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#### PROPOSAL FOR LABOR PARTY WIDELY DISCUSSED IN UNIONS

By Art Preis

The most crucial question facing the CIO national convention opening Nov. 16 in Cleveland is: What kind of political action shall labor take in the coming period of rising unemployment, anti-union witch hunts and threat of war and specifically in the 1954 elections?

Along with this question goes another: Shall American labor break with the policy of supporting the candidates and parties of the capitalists and build its own independent labor party — a party based on the unions and devoted to putting labor into political power?

This is being considered ever more widely in the unions. Within recent weeks, for instance, two influential and conservative leaders of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany and Dave Beck, have raised this question.

Unlike the completely hostile statements of many union leaders in the past, Meany and Beck now say they are not opposed in principle to American labor building its own party sometime in the future, although they still propose to cling for the present to the old discredited, corrupt, Big Business political machines, particularly the Democrats. Thus, AFL Pres. George Meany stated on a recent NBC-TV program:

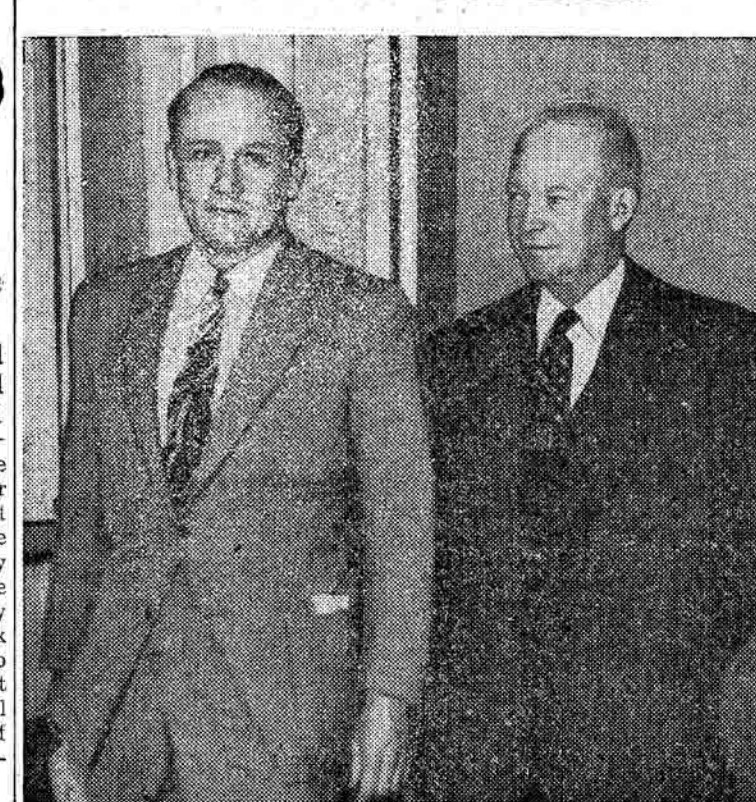
"It is true that union leaders like Meany and Beck oppose the formation of such a party now. But it is significant that they now admit a labor party is a realistic alternative to the old policy of tying the unions to the capitalist political machines. Undoubtedly, they are reflecting an even more immediate and urgent desire for a labor party in the ranks."

What other road can labor take, if it does not want to face total reaction in the not distant future and complete destruction? Only a year ago, the Democratic Party was repudiated, its promises having turned out false. The Republican Party has already disappointed many who voted for it in 1952. Before the CIO convention — as before every major section of organized labor — history poses the great task and grand possibility for setting in motion now a dynamic crusade for a mighty American labor party.

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WALTER REUTHER

### Worried Over GOP Losses



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, 2194; Comptroller, 3124; and Council President, 2336. The other minor party on the ballot, the Socialist Labor Party, received about half that number of votes for the same offices. The Communists: Party leader running for District Attorney in Manhattan under the label, Peoples Rights Party, received 2,725 votes.

The SWP vote represents an increase over the last comparable election, the 1949 mayoralty contest, and over the vote obtained in New York City in last year's campaign.

The value of the campaign, however, cannot be measured by the vote. Many who would otherwise have cast a "protest" vote just stayed away from the polls. The New York Local considers the recent campaign the best in its history. The message of revolutionary socialism and the name of the party were put before more New Yorkers than ever before.

The SWP candidates — David Weiss, Joyce Cowley and Catherine Gratta — made 26 radio and television appearances, more than in any previous SWP municipal campaign. Moreover the length of time on radio and TV was much greater than in any previous campaign. Several of the programs were national hookups.

Letters responding to the broadcasts as well as comments at forums, street meetings and public meetings by workers indicated the favorable impression made by the SWP candidates.

Despite the witch hunt atmosphere and the lack of interest in the municipal election, the SWP spokesmen found friendly audiences at the many forums and street corner rallies at which they appeared. At several forums with other candidates, the SWP spokesmen usually received the most applause, questions and contacts.

This greatly strengthens the hand of Talmadge, Byrnes et al in the segregated school fight. So far they have attempted to intimidate the Supreme Court against a ruling against Jim Crow education and have threatened to evade such a ruling if it is made.

Old-time slaveholder Andrew Jackson once sneered when the Supreme Court handed down an opinion disliked by the aggressive slaveocracy: "The Supreme Court has made its decision, now let it enforce it." This will be the motto of the racists in the South, now that they have a deal with leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. If the Supreme Court dares rule against Jim Crow schools the rulers of the South will simply ignore and evade it, and Washington — whether the Republicans or Democrats are in power — won't interfere.

Thus while some gains in the South have been made, the Jim Crow wall aren't tumbling down of themselves. They won't tumble or crumble automatically and the process could be reversed. There's a lot of battering and fighting to be done yet.

## Witch Hunt Now Turns On Truman

NOV. 11 — Two facts stand out from the sensational charges lodged against ex-President Truman by Attorney General Brown 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 a subpoena from the House Un-American Activities Committee fully confirms The Militant's 1947 prediction that the witch hunt launched against radicals by the Eisenhower administration 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 the 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 and perjured witnesses — anything went if it served the immediate political needs of the Democrats in power. Now they are getting a dose of their own medicine.

### THE ACCUSATION

Accusation against Truman was that he "knowingly" promoted a government official after learning in December 1945, and early 1946 that he was a Soviet "spy." The accusation is false, slanderous and a frameup, for the following reasons:

At that time the only "evidence" against the official, Harry Dexter White was the unsupported testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, a renegade Stalinist who has made a profitable career out of accusations to the FBI. Bentley never even claimed she knew White; in fact, she admitted she had never seen him; but she said she was "sure" he was a member of a ring supplying her with government data.

This was the only adverse "information" then in the hands of the FBI, and this was all that the FBI 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.

### NO INDICTMENT

But evidently nothing more was brought 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 Act.

White died of a heart attack in 1948, after a grilling before the House Un-American Committee, at which the chairman repeatedly 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 ring, but admitted he knew White never belonged to the Communist Party and was not under its discipline.

Thus the facts in the case flatly disprove the charge that Truman "knew" White was a spy when he promoted him. Truman

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## Jim Crow System in South Is Still Riding High

By George Lavan

Is it true what they say about Dixie — that things have basically changed there; that you wouldn't recognize it today compared with before the war; that Jim Crow walls have tumbled or are tumbling down automatically?

Not by a long shot. Some gains have been made — by fighting. The situation holds promise if the fight is intensified and extended. But as yet there has been no fundamental change in the political, economic or social position of the Negro people in the land of Jim Crow.

Illusions to the contrary flow from two sources. First, some sincere believers in equal rights are victims of wishful thinking and believe that Jim Crow barriers have been breached more than they actually have. Second, enemies of full equality are spreading the idea that enough has been won by struggle and all that is now required is to sit back and wait while changes automatically and gradually come about.

To correct these illusions and show that the battle is far from over, a look at the facts is sufficient.

Discrimination in employment

in the South hasn't changed in any important respect. A new proof of this has just come from the National Planning Association. It has just completed a survey on Negro employment in the upper South covering approximately 105,000 jobs of which about 17,000 were held by Negroes. The outstanding conclusion of the report is the permanence of Jim Crow in employment "through fifteen years of depression, war and cold war."

Negroes were found to be totally excluded from white collar jobs in all but Negro-owned businesses. Despite all war-time labor shortages no Negroes became filing clerks or stenographers in white-operated concerns covered by this study. In only three of the 108 companies studied were Negroes found in supervisory jobs, but in no case did they work over whites in the chain of command. The race ceiling on job classifications still holds Negro workers down.

This survey of Negro employment in the upper South is, of course, a valid picture of the deep South as well.

Some social gains have been made — by dint of hard fighting and the blood of martyrs like

Harry T. Moore. But only outposts of the Jim Crow fortress have been taken, the sinister walls still remain unbreached. Weekly the press reports its shameful quota of bombings of Negro homes on Cairo Street in Atlanta; of Negroes arrested on Florida busses; of police brutality in every city and town. In Baltimore Marian Anderson, the famous soprano, is prevented from singing in the Lyric Theatre. In Memphis and Birmingham the authorities prevent white members of Jackie Robinson's All-Star baseball team from playing exhibition games with their Negro teammates.

### TERROR CONTINUES

One case alone, that of William E. Fikes in Selma, Alabama, shows that the Scottsboro era has not ended in the South. Fikes, a 24-year old father of four, was accused of rape. Over 30 white families from nearby Marion where Fikes lives and works, as a filling station attendant, testified that he was in Marion at the time of the crime. The all-white jury nevertheless sentenced him to 99 years in prison. And the prosecution, bitter at this "light" sentence, sought to re-indict Fikes on a charge of night-time

burglary, which is a capital crime for Negroes in Alabama.

Those who might grant that the economic and social position of the Negro in the South hasn't changed as much as propagandists make out, point with certainty to the political field. Here, to be sure, important victories have been won. The dogged work of Negro citizens committees and some unions has greatly increased the number of Negro voters in elections. In North Carolina for the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes have been elected 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 many districts it is worth his life for a Negro to attempt to register. In North Carolina itself, Negro sharecroppers fear losing contracts or being cheated of their crops if they dare vote. Thus much organizing, sacrificing and fighting remains to be done.

But aside from municipal politics the Negro people have not registered any notable political gain. Indeed their enemies are more powerfully entrenched than ever in the state capitols and in Washington. The Dixiecrats are

reaping the rewards of their bold independent policy. Eisenhower woos them assiduously — for instance the appointment of Governor Byrnes of South Carolina to the UN — in the hope of winning them over to the Republican Party or at least keeping them independent of the Democrats. Conversely the Democratic national leaders are trying to win them back with even bigger promises. This means junking whatever "liberalism" exists in the Democratic Party in the South.

### APPEASE TALMADGE

The Nov. 9 issue of the liberal New Republic carries a full-page lament from a Southern liberal over the treason of Adlai Stevenson and the top Democratic command to Southern liberalism. On Nov. 24 Stevenson will make a good-will visit to Governor Talmadge of Georgia, arch foe of the Negro people and of labor. The visit is an obvious move to solidify relations between the Northern leaders of the Democratic Party and the Dixiecrat elements — with the Negroes and liberals in the Democratic Party of the South being thrown to the wolves.

This greatly strengthens the hand of Talmadge, Byrnes et al in the segregated school fight. So far they have attempted to intimidate the Supreme Court against a ruling against Jim Crow education and have threatened to evade such a ruling if it is made.

Old-time slaveholder Andrew Jackson once sneered when the Supreme Court handed down an opinion disliked by the aggressive slaveocracy: "The Supreme Court has made its decision, now let it enforce it." This will be the motto of the racists in the South, now that they have a deal with leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties. If the Supreme Court dares rule against Jim Crow schools the rulers of the South will simply ignore and evade it, and Washington — whether the Republicans or Democrats are in power — won't interfere.

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# 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:

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Trotskyist 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 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 International of the Stalinists — we take interest in the welfare of the world-wide organization created under the guidance of our martyred leader.

As is well known, the pioneer American Trotskyists 25 years ago brought the program of Trotsky, suppressed by the Kremlin, to the attention of world public opinion. This act proved decisive in breaching the isolation imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracy on Trotsky and in laying the foundation for the Fourth International. With his exile shortly thereafter, Trotsky began an intimate and trusted collaboration with the leadership of the SWP that lasted to the day of his death.

The collaboration included joint efforts to organize revolutionary socialist parties in a number of countries. This culminated, as you know, in the launching of the Fourth International in 1938. The Transitional Program, which remains the keystone of today's program of the world Trotskyist movement, was written by Trotsky in collaboration with the leaders of the SWP and at his request was submitted by them for adoption at the founding Congress.

The intimacy and thoroughness of the collaboration between Trotsky and the leadership of the SWP can be judged from the record of the founding defense

### The Program of Trotskyism

To show precisely what is involved, let us restate the fundamental principles on which the world Trotskyist movement is built:

(1) The death agony of the capitalist system threatens the destruction of civilization through worsening depressions, world wars and barbaric manifestations like fascism. The development of atomic weapons today underlines the danger in the gravest possible way.

(2) The descent into the abyss can be avoided only by replacing capitalism with the planned economy of socialism on a world scale and thus resuming the spiral of progress opened up by capitalism in its early days.

(3) This can be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class as the one truly revolutionary class in society. But the working class itself faces a crisis in leadership although the world relationship of social forces was never so favorable as today for the workers to take the road to power.

(4) To organize itself for carrying out this world-historic aim the working class in each country must construct a revolutionary socialist party in the pattern developed by Lenin; that is, a combat party capable of dialectically combining democracy and centralism — democracy in arriving at decisions, centralism in carrying them out; a leadership controlled by the ranks, ranks able to carry forward under fire in disciplined fashion.

(5) The main obstacle to this is Stalinism, which attracts workers through exploiting the prestige of the October 1917 Revolution.

### Pablo's Revisionism

These principles have been abandoned by Pablo. In place of emphasizing the danger of a new barbarism, he sees the drive towards socialism as "irreversible"; yet he does not see socialism coming within our generation or some generations to come. Instead he has advanced the concept of an "engulfing" wave of revolutions that give birth to nothing but "deformed," that is, Stalin-type workers states which are at last for "centuries."

This reveals the utmost pessimism about the capacities of the working class, which is wholly in keeping with the ridicule he has lately voiced of the struggle to build independent revolutionary socialist parties. In place of building independent revolutionary socialist parties by all tactical means, he looks to the Stalinist bureaucracy, or a decisive section

of orthodox Trotskyist principles in 1939-40 against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition headed by Burnham and Shachtman. That record has had profound influence in shaping the Fourth International in the past 13 years.

After the murder of Trotsky by an agent of Stalin's secret police, the SWP took the lead in defending and advocating his teachings. We took the lead not from choice but from necessity — the second world war forced the orthodox Trotskyists underground in many countries, especially in Europe under the Nazis. Together with Trotskyists in Latin America, Canada, England, Ceylon, India, Australia and elsewhere we did what we could to uphold the banner of orthodox Trotskyism through the difficult war years.

With the end of the war, we were gratified at the appearance in Europe of Trotskyists from the underground who undertook the organizational reconstitution of the Fourth International. Since we were barred from belonging to the Fourth International by reactionary laws, we placed all the greater hope in the emergence of a leadership capable of continuing the great tradition bequeathed to our world movement by Trotsky. We felt that the young new leadership of the Fourth International in Europe must be given full confidence and support. When self-corrections of serious errors were made on the initiative of the comrades themselves, we felt that our course was proving justified.

However, we must now admit that the very freedom from sharp criticism which we together with others accorded this leadership helped open the way for the consolidation of an uncontrolled, secret, personal faction in the administration of the Fourth International which has abandoned the basic program of Trotskyism.

This faction, centered around Pablo, is now working consciously and deliberately to disrupt, split, and break up the historically created cadres of Trotskyism in the various countries and to liquidate the Fourth International

tion in Russia, only later, as it betrays their confidence, to hurl them either into the arms of the Social Democrats, into apathy, or back to illusions in capitalism. The penalty for these betrayals is paid by the working people in the form of consolidation of fascist and monarchist forces, and new outbreaks of wars fostered and prepared by capitalism. From its inception, the Fourth International set as one of its major tasks the revolutionary overthrow of Stalinism inside and outside the USSR.

(6) The need for flexible tactics facing many sections of the Fourth International, and parties or groups sympathetic to its program, makes it all the more imperative that they know how to fight imperialism and all of its petty-bourgeois agencies (such as nationalist formations or trade-union bureaucracies) without capitulation to Stalinism; and, conversely, know how to fight Stalinism (which in the final analysis is a petty-bourgeois agency of imperialism) without capitulating to imperialism.

These fundamental principles established by Leon Trotsky retain full validity in the increasingly complex and fluid politics of the world today. In fact the revolutionary situations opening up on every hand as Trotsky foresaw, have only now brought full concreteness to what at one time may have appeared to be somewhat remote abstractions not intimately bound up with the living reality of the time. The truth is that these principles now hold with increasing force both in political analysis and in the determination of the course of practical action.

of it, to so change itself under mass pressure as to accept the "ideas" and "program" of Trotskyism. Under guise of the diplomacy required in tactical maneuvers needed to approach workers in the camp of Stalinism in such countries as France, he now covers up the betrayals of Stalinism.

This course has already led to serious defections from the ranks of Trotskyism to the camp of Stalinism. The pro-Stalinist split in the Ceylon party is a warning to all Trotskyists everywhere of the tragic consequences of the illusions about Stalinism which Pabloism fosters.

In another document, we are submitting a detailed analysis of Pablo's revisionism. In this letter we will confine ourselves to some recent tests that show in the decisive field of action how far Pablo has gone in conciliationism to Stalinism and how grave the

danger is to the existence of the Fourth International.

With the death of Stalin, the Kremlin announced a series of concessions in the USSR, none of them political in character. In place of characterizing these as nothing but part of a maneuver aimed at further entrenchment of the usurping bureaucracy and part of the preparation for a leading bureaucrat to assume the mantle of Stalin, the Pabloite faction took the concessions as good coin, painted them up as political concessions, and even projected the possibility of the "sharing of power" by the Stalinist bureaucracy with the workers. (Fourth International, January-February, 1953, p. 13.)

The "sharing of power" concept, promulgated most bluntly by Clarke, a high priest of the Pablo cult, was indirectly sanctioned as dogma by Pablo himself in an unanswered but obviously leading question: Will the liquidation of the Stalinist regime take the form, Pablo asks, "of violent interbureaucratic struggles between elements who will fight for the status quo, if not for turning back, and the more and more numerous elements drawn by the powerful pressure of the masses?" (Fourth International, March-April, 1953, p. 39.)

This line fills the orthodox Trotskyist program of political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy with a new content; namely, the revisionist position that the "ideas" and "program" of Trotskyism will filter into and permeate the bureaucracy, or a decisive section of it, thus "overthrowing" Stalinism in an unforeseen way.

In East Germany in June the workers rose against the Stalinist-dominated government in one of the greatest demonstrations in the history of Germany.

### The French General Strike

In France in August the greatest general strike in the history of the country broke out. Put in motion by the workers themselves against the will of their official leadership, it presented one of the most favorable openings in working-class history for the development of a real struggle for power. Besides the workers, the farmers of France followed with demonstrations, indicating their strong dissatisfaction with the capitalist government.

The official leadership, both Social Democrats and Stalinists, betrayed this movement, doing their utmost to restrain it and avert the danger to French capitalism. In the history of betrayals it would be difficult to find a more abominable one if it is measured against the opportunity that was present.

How did the Pablo faction respond to this colossal event? They labelled the action of the Social Democrats a betrayal — but for the wrong reasons. The betrayal, they said, consisted of negotiating with the government behind the backs of the Stalinists. This betrayal, however, was a secondary one, deriving from their main crime, the refusal to set out on the road to taking power.

As for the Stalinists, the

### An Infamous Leaflet

A leaflet of his followers addressed to the workers at the Renault plant in Paris declared that in the general strike the Stalinist leadership of the CGT (main French trade-union federation) "was correct in not introducing demands other than those wanted by the workers." This in face of the fact that the workers by their actions were demanding a Workers and Farmers Government!

Arbitrarily separating the Stalinist-headed unions from the Communist Party — evidence of the most mechanical thinking or evidence of deliberate design in covering up the Stalinists? — the Pabloites declared in their leaflet that so far as the significance of the strike and its perspectives were concerned "this point only concerned the trade union secondarily. The criticism to make on this point does not apply to the CGT which is a trade union organization, which must first and foremost act as such, but to the parties whose role it was to point out the deep political significance of this movement and its consequences." (Leaflet "To the Workers' Organizations and to the Workers of Renault," dated Sept. 3, 1953. Signed by Frank, Mestre, and Privas.)

In these statements we see the complete abandonment of everything Trotsky taught us about the role and the responsibilities of the trade unions in the epoch of the death agony of capitalism. Then the Pabloite leaflet "criticizes" the French Communist Party for its "absence of line,"

This was the first proletarian mass uprising against Stalinism since it usurped and consolidated power in the Soviet Union. How did Pablo respond to this epochal event?

Instead of clearly voicing the revolutionary political aspirations of the insurgent East German workers, Pablo covered up the counter-revolutionary Stalinist satraps who mobilized Soviet troops to put down the uprising. ("... the Soviet leaders and those of the various 'People's Democracies' and the Communist Parties could no longer falsify or ignore the profound meaning of these events. They have been obliged to continue along the road of still more ample and genuine concessions to avoid risking alienating themselves forever from support by the masses and from provoking still stronger explosions. From now on they will not be able to stop half way. They will be obliged to dole out concessions to avoid more serious explosions in the immediate future and if possible to effect a transition 'in a cold fashion' from the present situation to a situation more tolerable for the masses.") (Statement of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, Published in The Militant, July 6.)

Instead of demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops — the sole force upholding the Stalinist government — Pablo fostered the illusion that "more ample and genuine concessions" would be forthcoming from the Kremlin's gaudieries. Could Moscow have asked for better assistance as it proceeded to monstrously falsify the profound meaning of these events, branding the workers in revolt as "fascists" and "agents of American imperialism," and opening a wave of savage repression against them?

Pabloites covered up their betrayal. By that action they shared in the Stalinist betrayal. The sharpest criticism they found themselves capable of uttering against the counter-revolutionary course of the Stalinists, was to accuse them of "lack" of policy.

This was a lie. The Stalinists had no "lack" of policy. Their policy was to maintain the status quo in the interests of Kremlin foreign policy and thereby to help bolster tottering French capitalism.

But this was not all. Even for the internal party education of the French Trotskyists Pablo refused to characterize the Stalinist role as a betrayal. He noted "the role of brake played, to one degree or another, by the leadership of the traditional organizations" — a betrayal is a mere "brake!" — "but also their capacity — especially of the Stalinist leadership — to yield to the pressure of the masses when this pressure becomes powerful as was the case during these strikes." ("Political Note No. 1.")

One might expect this to be sufficient conciliation to Stalinism from a leader who has abandoned orthodox Trotskyism but still seeks the cover of the Fourth International. However, Pablo went still further.

For simply placing itself "on the level of the trade union movement instead of explaining to the workers that this strike was an important stage (!) in the crisis of French society, the prelude (!) to a vast class struggle, where the problem of workers' power would be posed in order to save the country from capitalist swindling and open the way to socialism."

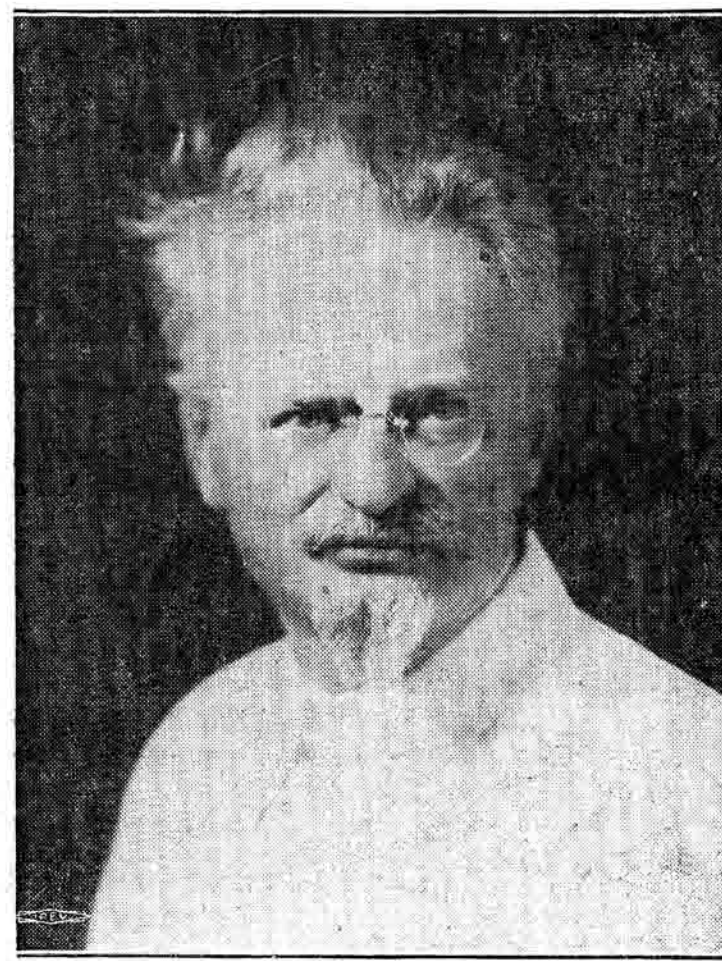
If the Renault workers were to believe the Pabloites, all that the perfidious French Stalinist bureaucrats were guilty of was a trace of syndicalism instead of a deliberate betrayal of the biggest general strike in the history of France.

Pablo's approval of the policy of the CGT leadership seems scarcely credible, yet there is the inescapable fact staring one in the face. In the biggest general strike ever seen in France, Pablo blandly puts as "correct," a French version of Gompers' bourgeois policy of keeping the unions out of politics. And this in 1953!

If it is incorrect for the CGT leadership to advance political demands in consonance with objective needs, including formation of a Workers and Farmers Government, then why is the Socialist Workers Party demanding of the present-day Gompers' of the American trade-union movement that they organize a Labor Party? A Labor Party that would aim at putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power in the United States?

Pablo's rubber-stamp OK appears in a still stranger light

### Founder of 4th International



LEON TROTSKY

when we remind ourselves that the CGT leadership happens to be highly political. At the slightest gesture from the Kremlin, it is prepared to call the workers out on no matter what wild political adventure. Recall, for instance, its role in the events initiated by the anti-Ridgway demonstrations last year. These Stalinist trade-union figures did not hesitate to call for strikes to protest the arrest of Dulles, a leader of the Communist Party.

The fact is that the CGT leadership revealed its highly political character once again in the general strikes. With all the skill of years of perfidy and double dealing, it deliberately tried to head off the workers, to stifle their initiative, to prevent the workers' political demands from breaking through. The Stalinist trade-union leadership consciously betrayed. And it is this course of betrayal that Pablo calls "correct!"

But even this does not complete the account. One of the principal aims of the Pabloite leaflet is to denounce French Trotskyists who conducted themselves in the Renault plant during

### The American Pabloites

The test of these world events is sufficient, in our opinion, to indicate the depth of Pabloite conciliationism toward Stalinism. But we would like to submit for public inspection of the world Trotskyist movement some additional facts.

For over a year and half the Socialist Workers Party has been engaged in a struggle against a revisionist tendency headed by Cochran and Clarke. The struggle with this tendency has been one of the most severe in the history of our party. At bottom it is over the same fundamental questions that divided us from the Burnham-Shachtman group and the Morrow-Goldman group at the beginning and end of World War II. It is another attempt to revise and abandon our basic program. It has involved the perspective of the American revolution, the character and role of the revolutionary party and its methods of organization, and the perspectives for the world Trotskyist movement.

During the post-war period a powerful bureaucracy consolidated itself in the American labor movement. This bureaucracy rests on a large layer of privileged, conservative workers who have been "softened" by the conditions of war prosperity. This new privileged layer was recruited in large measure from the ranks of former militant sectors of the working class, from the same generation that founded the CIO.

### Features of Cochranism

As all the sections of the world movement well know from their own hard and difficult experiences, pressures exist far greater than prolonged war prosperity and the sweep of reaction such as has been bearing down upon us in the United States. But the factor that sustains cadres under the most difficult circumstances is the burning conviction of the theo-

retical correctness of our movement, the knowledge that, they are the living means for advancing the historic mission of the working class, the understanding that to one degree or another the fate of humanity depends on what they do, the firm belief that whatever the momentary circumstances may be, the main line of historic development demands the creation of Leninist combat parties that will resolve the crisis of humanity

the strike as genuine revolutionists. It specifically names two comrades who have "been expelled from the Fourth International and its French Section for more than a year." It states that this "group has been expelled for reasons of indiscipline; and the orientation which it has followed, especially in the course of the last strike movement, is opposed to that actually defended by the POI (French Section of the Fourth International)." The reference to the "group" is actually to the majority of the French Section of the Fourth International which was arbitrarily and unjustly expelled by Pablo.

Has the world Trotskyist movement ever before heard of such a scandal as officially denouncing Trotskyist militants to Stalinists and providing rationalizations to the workers for an abominable Stalinist betrayal?

It should be noted that the Pabloite denunciation of these comrades before the Stalinists follows the verdict of a workers' tribunal acquitting the Trotskyists in the Renault plant of slanders levelled at them by the Stalinists.

stability of their living conditions have temporarily paralyzed the initiative and fighting spirit of those workers who previously were in the forefront of all militant class actions.

Cochranism is the manifestation of the pressure of this new labor aristocracy, with its petty-bourgeois ideology, upon the proletarian vanguard. The moods and tendencies of the passive, relatively satisfied layer of workers act as a powerful mechanism transmitting alien pressures into our own movement. The slogan of the Cochranites, "Junk the Old Trotskyism," expresses this mood.

The Cochranite tendency sees the powerful revolutionary potential of the American working class as some far-off prospect. They denounce as "sectarian" the Marxist analysis which reveals the molecular processes creating new fighting regiments in the American proletariat.

Inssofar as there are any progressive tendencies within the working class of the United States they see them only in the ranks or periphery of Stalinism and among "sophisticated" union politicians — the rest of the class they consider so hopelessly dormant that they can be awakened only by the impact of atomic war.

Briefly, their position reveals:

through a victorious socialist revolution.

Cochranism is the substitution of skepticism and theoretical improvisations and journalistic speculation for this orthodox Trotskyist world outlook. It is this that has made the struggle in the SWP irreconcilable in the same sense that the struggle with the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in 1939-40 was irreconcilable.

The Cochranites have manifested the following features in the course of the struggle:

(1) Disrespect for party tradition 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 unprincipled 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 over-estimation of the stability and lasting power of the new labor bureaucracy.

Also attracted to Cochranism are individuals grown tired, who can no longer stand the pressures of the present adverse conditions and who are looking for a plausible rationalization with which to retire into inactivity.

The cement binding this unprincipled bloc is common hostility to orthodox Trotskyism.

(3) A tendency to shift the party away from what our main arena must be in America, the politically unawakened workers of the mass production industries. The Cochranites, in effect, dropped the program of "transitional" slogans and demands that the SWP has used as a bridge toward these workers and argued that the majority in continuing this course was adapting itself to the backwardness of the workers.

(4) A conviction that all possibility of the American working class coming forward in radical opposition to American imperialism before the Third World War is ruled out.

(5) Gross experimental theorizing with "left" Stalinism that boils down to the extravagant belief that the Stalinists "can no longer betray." That Stalinism includes a revolutionary side which makes it possible for the Stalinists to lead a revolution in the United States, in the process of which they would absorb Trotskyist "ideas" so that the revolution would eventually "right itself."

(6) Adaptation to Stalinism in the face of new events. They support and defend the conciliation to Stalinism found in Pablo's interpretation of the downfall of Beria and the subsequent sweep-

### Methods of the Comintern

Pablo's duplicity in presenting one face to the leadership of the SWP while secretly collaborating with the revisionist Cochranite tendency is a method that is alien to the tradition of Trotskyism. But there is a tradition to which it does belong — Stalinism. Such devices, used by the Kremlin, were instrumental in corrupting the Communist International.

Many of us had personal experience with all this in the 1923-28 period.

The evidence is now decisive that this way of operating is not an isolated aberration on the part of Pablo. A consistent pattern is apparent.

For instance, in one of the leading European sections of the Fourth International, an outstanding party leader recently received an order from Pablo, directing him to conduct himself as one "who defends until the Fourth World Congress the majority line and the discipline of the International." Along with the ultimatum Pablo threatened reprisals if his orders were not obeyed.

The "majority" to which Pablo refers here is simply the modest label he places on himself and the small minority hypnotized by his revisionist novelties. Pablo's new line is in violent contradiction to the basic program of Trotskyism. It is only beginning to be discussed in many parts of the world Trotskyist movement. Not having been backed by a single Trotskyist organization, it does not constitute the approved official line of the Fourth International.

The first reports we have received indicate outrage at his high-handed attempt to foist his revisionist views on the world-wide organization without waiting for either discussion or a

ing purges in the USSR. They repeat all the Pabloite arguments covering the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism in the great uprising of the East German workers and the French general strike. They even interpret the turn of American Stalinism toward the Democratic Party as a mere "right oscillation" within a "left turn."

(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 in 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 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 Twenty-fifth 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 Trotskyists 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 which they had long been preparing, and forfeited all right to membership in our party.

Formally recording this fact, the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Plenum of the SWP suspended the National Committee members who organized the boycott and declared that all members of the Pablo-Cochran faction who participated in this treacherous, strikebreaking action or who refuse to disavow it have by that fact placed themselves outside the ranks of the SWP.

vote. We already have enough information to state that the Fourth International is certain to reject Pablo's line by an overwhelming majority.

Pablo's autocratic demand to a leader of a section of the Fourth International to refrain from criticizing Pablo's revisionist political line is bad enough. But 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 his experience, knowledge and insight, Pablo proceeded to intervene organizationally, attempting to crystallize a minority revisionist faction to conduct war on the leadership of the section.

This procedure is out of the foul tradition of the Comintern as it underwent degeneration under the influence of Stalinism. If there were no other issue than this, it would be necessary to fight Pabloism to a finish to save the Fourth International from internal corruption.

Such tactics have an obvious purpose. They are part of the preparation for a coup by the Pabloite minority. Utilizing Pablo's administrative control, they hope to impose his revisionist line on the Fourth International and wherever it is resisted to reply by splits and expulsions.

This Stalinist organizational course began, as is now quite clear, with Pablo's brutal abuse of administrative control in his disruptive campaign against the majority of the French section of the Fourth International more than a year and a half ago.

By fiat of the International Secretariat, the elected majority of the French section was forbidden to exercise its rights to lead the political and propaganda

(Continued from page 2)



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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 witch-hunters 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 full-blown 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

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 he owes his career to the Democrats who are being exposed as "soft on communism," etc.

The smear of Truman also shows that the Democrats cannot be depended on to provide a genuine alternative to McCarthyism. Truman himself set the pattern that the Republicans are now extending. Truman sees eye to eye with McCarthy and Brownell in their fraudulent claim that "communism" is the main danger in this country, differing with them only on the tactics to be employed in wiping it out. And Truman played right into 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 witch hunt, many Americans previously confused by it should now be able to see it for what it really is: a gigantic hoax designed to regiment and gag the people so that they will be 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 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 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

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 Leon 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 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

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

It is a fact that the equilibrium of U.S. economy rests on war expenditures and huge capital investment in war production. Eisenhower admitted this when he was campaigning for office. On Oct. 2, 1952, he said, "I propose to show you tonight that whatever economic gains have been made since 1932 have been due . . . to war or the threat of war."

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 prosperity was due to 'a war economy.' He termed such assertions 'pernicious doctrine' that was being spread by enemies of this country."

That is the logic of voodooism in economics. First, it is dangerous and even subversive to talk about a depression because it may bring one on. Next, we must talk cheerfully because 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 it 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 "evil spirits" of the laws governing the anarchy of the capitalist method of production. The alternative capitalism offers remains the 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 imprisonments, to say that they have been the victims of agents and provocateurs representing the class enemy, only shows that those who make these allegations possess neither understanding nor loyalty to the working class."

We are in full accord with the Indian socialists in their clear stand in defense of the East German workers. It is proof of the fact that the advanced workers in all countries are assimilating the significance of the great political revolution opened by the East German workers on June 17. It shows that they understand this movement is part of the world-wide struggle against capitalism.

The revolution against capitalism has collided time and again with the monstrous treachery of Stalinism. The workers carry the situation to the point of victory in one country after another. And the Stalinists betray them in the interests of Kremlin diplomacy. But the East German workers have shown how an anti-capitalist working class can rise against the Stalinist traitors. That is why the struggle they opened has such profound significance. The East German workers told their class brothers throughout the world: "Free yourselves from the Stalinist bureaucrats!"

They meant this to apply not only to the Soviet domain but wherever workers find their struggle blocked by Stalinism.

(Continued from page 2)

work of the party. Instead, the Political Bureau and the press were put under the control of a minority through the Cominternist device of a "parity commission."

At the time, we deeply disapproved this arbitrary action by which a minority was used to arbitrarily overturn a majority. As soon as we heard about it, we communicated our protest to Pablo. However, we must admit that we made an error in not taking more vigorous action. This error was due to insufficient appreciation on our part of the real issues involved. We thought the differences between Pablo and the French section were tactical and the French section were tactical and this led us to side with Pablo, despite our misgivings about his organizational procedure, when, after months of disruptive factional struggle, the majority was expelled.

But at bottom the differences were programmatic in character. The fact is that the French comrades of the majority saw what was happening more clearly than we did. The Eighth Congress of their party declared that "a grave danger menaces the future and even the existence of the Fourth International. . . Revisionist conceptions, born of cowardice and petty-bourgeois impressionism have appeared within

its leadership. The still great weakness of the International, cut off from the life of the sections, has momentarily facilitated the installation of a system of personal rule, basing itself and its anti-democratic methods on revisionism of the Trotskyist program and abandonment of the Marxist method." (La Verite, Sept. 18, 1952.)

The whole French situation must be re-examined in the light of subsequent developments. The role the majority of the French section played in the recent general strike demonstrated in the most decisive way that they know how to uphold the fundamental principles of orthodox Trotskyism. 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 slanderous misrepresentation Pablo has fostered of the political position of the Chinese section of the Fourth International. They have been pictured by the Pablo faction as "sectarians," as "fugitives from a revolution."

Contrary to the impression deliberately created by the Pablo faction, the Chinese Trotskyists acted as genuine revolutionary representatives of the Chinese proletariat. Through no fault of

theirs they have been singled out as victims by the Mao regime in the way that Stalin singled out for execution the entire generation of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the USSR, emulating the Noskes and Scheidemanns of Germany who singled out the Luxemburges and

Liebknechts of the 1918 revolution for execution. But Pablo's line of conciliationism toward Stalinism leads him inexorably to touch up the Mao regime couleur de rose while putting gray tints on the firm, principled stand of our Chinese comrades.

### What to Do

To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally. The Pablo faction has demonstrated that it will not permit democratic decisions truly reflecting majority opinion to be reached. They demand complete submission to their criminal policy. They are determined to drive all orthodox Trotskyists out of the Fourth International or to muzzle and handcuff them.

Their scheme has been to inject their Stalinist conciliationism piecemeal and likewise in piecemeal fashion, get rid of those who come to see what is happening and raise objections. That is the explanation for the strange ambiguity about many of the Pabloite formulations and diplomatic evasions.

Up to now the Pablo faction has had a certain success with this unprincipled and Machiavellian maneuverism. But the quali-

tative point of change has been reached. The political issues have broken through the maneuvers and the fight is now a showdown.

If we may offer advice to the sections of the Fourth International from our enforced position outside the ranks, we think the time has come to act and to act decisively. The time has come for the orthodox Trotskyist majority of the Fourth International to assert their will against Pablo's usurpation of authority.

They should in addition safeguard the administration of the affairs of the Fourth International by removing Pablo and his agents from office and replacing them with cadres who have proved in action that they know how to uphold orthodox Trotskyism and keep the movement on a correct course both politically and organizationally.

With fraternal Trotskyist greetings,

National Committee of the SWP

### Socialist Opportunities Seen by SWP Plenum

(Continued from page 1)

ness by explaining the fatal contradictions of capitalism and hammering on the question of the need to form a Labor Party."

#### LABOR PARTY TALK

Dobbs showed how awakening political consciousness in the working class is reflected in the labor bureaucracy. Referring ironically to "my former colleague, Dave Beck," Dobbs said, "I know him and I know his tribe. Recently Beck threatened the industrialists with a Labor Party. I know he is bluffing. He is trying to frighten the bosses but he may succeed in frightening himself. Beck's 'boldness' reflects the pressure of the workers. But at the same time it feeds rank-and-file sentiment for genuine independent political action."

Dobbs discussed the tactical problems of fighting for a Labor Party in relation to building the SWP. "The building of an independent revolutionary party rooted in the mainstream of the organized working class has been and remains the central task. There is no conflict between this task and the struggle for a Labor Party. The bureaucrats may continue to thwart the movement for independent politics. Or the movement may break through all the obstacles imposed by the labor officials. In any case the only answer to capitalist reaction is a mass revolutionary socialist party of the American workers. That's the kind of Labor Party we advocate. The SWP is the basic nucleus of such a party. That's why we must build the SWP and recruit workers in every field of the class struggle."

#### FIELDS OF WORK

The Plenum discussed the analysis and party-building proposals of the reporter. Dobbs' proposals were adopted by a unanimous vote. The fields of work discussed by the National Committee members under this point on the agenda were as follows:

(1) The circulation of The Militant and party pamphlets. (2) The fight for 30-40 in the trade unions. (3) The fight against Jim Crow, police brutality, and for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people and all minorities. (4) Party work on the college campus and among the working-class youth. (5) The struggle against the witch hunt and in defense of the legality of the SWP. (6) Preparations of new campaigns and the financial problem of the party.

The Plenum hailed the appearance of James Katcher's autobiography, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," as a major contribution to the fight for civil liberties. It recommended that the party vigorously support this book and called on all labor and civil-liberties organizations to do likewise.

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

#### INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION

The first day of the Plenum was devoted to the international situation. The discussion centered around the question of building revolutionary parties throughout the world to overcome the con-

sequences of Stalinist and Social Democratic betrayals. Because of its outstanding importance The Militant is publishing in full a letter of the 25th Anniversary Plenum to the Trotskyists of the world. (See page 2.) The Plenum also adopted a document, "Against Pabloist Revisionism, A Criticism of the Resolution on the 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism.'" This 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 24-hour 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 Trotskyists for a workers and farmers government in their country. It condemned the brutal persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists by the Mao regime.

The achievement of the Ceylonese Trotskyists was particularly noteworthy in view of the pro-Stalinist faction within their party which sabotaged the mass struggle. The conference of the Lanka Samasamaja Party (Trotskyists), held in October, defeated the traitors so decisively that they bolted the party with a demoralized minority faction.

#### DISCIPLINARY ACTION

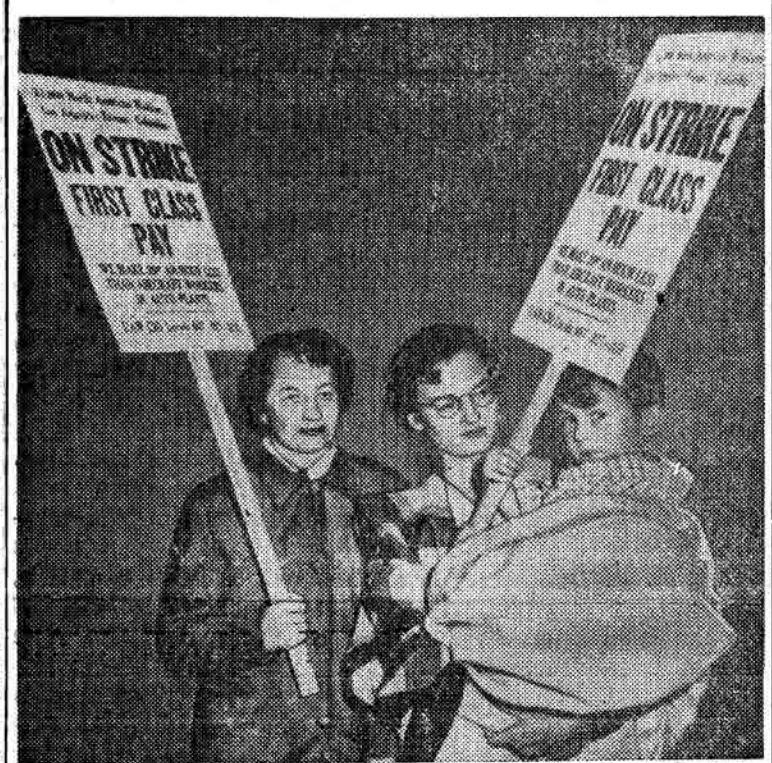
The first session of the Plenum took disciplinary action against a minority faction in the Socialist Workers Party. This faction had been conducting a struggle for its views for over a year within the party. It displayed marked tendencies toward conciliation with Stalinism and a deep antagonism toward the basic Trotskyist conceptions of Stalinism. It broke with the Trotskyist position on the role and character of the revolutionary party.

The faction was accorded all democratic rights during a full year of discussion. But when the leaders of the minority faction organized a boycott against the party's combined 25th Anniversary celebration and election rally on Oct. 30 in New York, they consummated a long-prepared disloyal split with the party. The leaders of the boycott were suspended. All members of the minority faction were called upon to disavow the split attack on the party or be excluded from its ranks.

#### CANNON'S SUMMARY

The final point on the agenda of the Plenum was an inspiring address by the founder and Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon. The Plenum was open to all members of the party, and a large audience

### Learning Unionism Young



Mrs. Joanne Hyatt carries a picket sign and her son Bobby, 5, as she marches with other CIO United Auto Workers strikers 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

heard Cannon sum up the lessons of 25 years' struggle for a proletarian party in the United States.

Cannon's main theme was the problem of working-class leadership. He traced the various forms of leadership of workers parties. He showed the relation of the problem of leadership of the working class to the problem of leadership of the party. A high degree of consciousness is required to build a revolutionary party. By the same token the building of a party leadership which democratically represents the party ranks and knows how to lead requires an even higher degree of consciousness.

Cannon traced the history of internal struggle in the SWP. By comparing the similarities and differences between the various struggles he illuminated the question: by what conscious methods can the working class create the indispensable instrument of victory over capitalism — the mass revolutionary party?

The Plenum closed Sunday evening with enthusiasm over its

achievements and the perspectives facing the SWP. The members of the Committee from the West Coast to New England returned to their districts determined to redouble their efforts to build the SWP and carry into life the ambitious program of action decided by the Plenum.

The U.S. Ambassador to Spain has bowed to Franco's ultimatum that Masons be banned from the personnel of U.S. missions sent to that country, the Nov. 7 Nation magazine reports. To the minds of the Fascist and the Catholic hierarchy, Free Masons are dangerous "subversives."

### Just Published

## THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN

by JAMES KUTCHER



"The much argued case of Katcher is summed up in this impressive volume." — New York 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 Katcher committee and pledging continued support until the case is won." — New Jersey CIO News.

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## New Senator -- Part II

By Jean Blake

Recently in this column we pointed out that 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 and 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 Hopkins' claim that he was "misquoted" or "misunderstood," the Mayor said he was accepting his appointee's resignation.

Four days later the Cleveland Press revealed that Burke had kept Hopkins on the city payroll at approximately the same 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 non-discrimination, attempts to whitewash a bigot who carries out Burke's Jim Crow 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!

## 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 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 97 1/2¢ 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 Congress was passed. According to this report "even in states that have equal pay laws the coverage is in most cases limited and legal loopholes exist which make it difficult to enforce them."

Capitalist politicians also give lip-service to the need for a housing program, schools, hospitals and child care centers — when they're running for office. They forget about these things, just as they forget about equal pay, as soon as the election is over. Only a labor administration that represents the millions of doubly exploited working women will pass and enforce national legislation which guarantees women the basic right to get paid for the work they do at the same rate as other workers.

## Notes from the News

**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 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 biennial convention, strongly assailed the witch 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."

**CORRUPTION OF THE BLOOD,** which is specifically forbidden by Article III, Section 3, of the U.S. Constitution, goes merrily on under the witch hunt. Another Radulovich case has come to light in the Air Force. This victim is Lieut. Thomas Shepard of Buffalo, a Korean 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 clearance" 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 Greenlee kidnapping 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 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 law-abiding citizens that it also abides by the law; that it respects constitutional rights of the individual; that it gets search warrants when it should have them; that it obeys the anti-wiretapping provisions of the Federal Communications Act. The local office of the FBI knows full well why it is the subject of criticism in the Greenlee case. It knows why some people are saying that they are afraid they might be routed out of bed at 1 a.m. if they turned in ransom money innocently received. It knows why some fear being held for long periods and possibly being subjected to wearing inquiry. . . . Dissatisfaction with the high-handed methods of some FBI agents should not be permitted to yield a benefit to crime. In this situation is a warning that Director Hoover should be the first to appraise for his obvious worth. No branch of the Federal Government can afford to ignore the public."

## Judge Frees Cop Indicted For Brutality

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 — Another shocking case of court leniency toward police brutality was chalked up in the world's largest city yesterday when Federal Judge Matthew T. Abruzzo set aside a verdict of guilty returned by a federal grand jury against Patrolman John A. Brullman for violating the civil rights of Francis Galatis, a subway motorman.

Voicing the indignation felt particularly in the Negro community over the judge's high-handed action, David L. Weiss, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in last week's municipal election, demanded that Mayor-elect Wagner "make known his stand on this shameful case."

Weiss reminded the public that during the campaign Wagner and the other major party candidates had kept silent about police brutality in New York. "Now, on the very next day after the election, Judge Abruzzo demonstrated that the courts continue to grind out class justice against working people when he arrogantly flouted the verdict of a jury that dared to find a club-happy cop guilty of brutality against a transport worker."

The facts of the case are as follows: Galatis, a subway motorman, tried to have Patrolman Brullman arrested March 7, 1952, for allegedly tampering with the subway door mechanism and spitting on the floor.

But Brullman arrested Galatis and then beat him in the subway station, according to the victim. In the police station Brullman beat him again while other cops looked on.

Dr. Mark Edward Fox testified

## Quits ALP



VITO MARCANTONIO

that Galatis suffered fracture of two ribs and bruises on the face and body, including a bruise over one kidney.

William Conlin, an organizer of the Transport Workers Union, reported that the membership were so angered by this attack upon a fellow worker that only with great difficulty were they restrained from engaging in a subway slowdown to protest this new case of police brutality.

The judge reversed the grand jury verdict because the prosecution had only one witness, the victim who was beaten, while the defense had five witnesses, all policemen. "It is hard for me to believe that an officer would be allowed to assault a man under arrest while in a station house within the sound and sight of superior officers," said Judge Abruzzo.

## ART QUEDNAU

1890-1953

**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 moments held.

But all of us, his comrades, know at least this: If Art Quednau awoke in the night when death came seeping in, he may have thought and known many things. But not a one of them was fear.

Art came to the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party eight years ago. He walked into a meeting carrying a copy of the Militant which had been given to him at a distribution, and soon afterward he joined the party.

For eight years Comrade Quednau was with us. For eight years we knew this old man, quiet, uncomplaining, genial, faithful and devoted to the revolutionary movement. Working as a warehouse elevator operator he earned little money, but every week he was punctilious in giving his financial contribution to the workers' cause. His health was failing, he was tired, but almost every week he found the strength to participate with his comrades in the branch meeting.

Art was born in Potsdam, Germany and spent most of his childhood on a farm near Havana, Cuba. As a young man he came to the United States, then shipped out as a coal passer to Liverpool and Glasgow and later to India, where he worked at the vast Tata Iron and Steel Works.

But Art Quednau had made the error of being born in Germany, so, at the outbreak of World War I, the British government flung him into prison as an enemy alien. For five years he stayed in that Indian prison, and when he came out there was much of his youth, much of his strength that was gone from him forever.

Shipped back to Germany, he worked at Krupp. Back later in the United States he sweated in the glare of the Homestead open hearths until his health could no longer bear the strain. Then he worked for years in foundries until his ruined body was fit only for the elevator operator's job that was his last.

Art Quednau had a dream, not 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 through the help of such as Art himself and not a dream. Art's dream was a personal one, and it went like this:

In Coudersport, Pennsylvania he had a farm where he spent his vacation each year, and some day. . . some day he would go there to live out the last years of his life. It was necessary to wait only until he was 65 when the gracious government would grant him his social security pittance.

This past summer some of us drove Art down to his place, a weather beaten little frame house hidden in the hills some three-quarters of a mile from the highway. We stopped the over-heated car and got out. Art looked about, his face eager and happy. He filled his lungs with the clean air of the woods and the hills. "It's good to be back," he said, and the love of the woods and the hills was in his voice.

He showed us his place, two walls of one room shelved from floor to ceiling with books. He told us how he intended to fix up the house, "if I live long enough." He had two years to go, two years before he would reach 65 and his pension, when, like a worked-out beast of burden, he might be let out to pasture.

But he couldn't make it. Perhaps he never really believed that he would make it. But that wouldn't have mattered. He'd have kept trying, kept planning. Like all of those who really love life he had no fear of death. When the end would come, it would come; but until then the dawn of tomorrow always glowed. While there was life there was work and struggle, but there was the good fight for a better world for all of mankind. There were books to be read, ideas to be grasped with that living, pulsing portion of youth that no prison, no disease, no steel works could kill. While there yet was life there was integrity, there was courage.

Comrade Arthur Quednau, Trotskyist fighter, revolutionary internationalist, we, your comrades, salute you.

## PHILADELPHIA

25th Anniversary Celebration of The SWP and The Militant  
Buffet Dinner from 6:30 P.M.  
Special Program at 8:30 P.M.  
Saturday, Nov. 21  
ST 4-5820  
Militant Labor Hall  
1303 West Girard Avenue

## Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on  
The Huckster and the Politician  
Speaker:  
Mark Burns  
Friday, Nov. 20, at 8:30  
at 52 Market Street

## Marcantonio Quits ALP, Says It Has No Future

Former Representative Vito Marcantonio has resigned as state chairman of New York's American Labor Party and has quit the ALP. This is the culmination of a break

## REPUBLICANS ATTEMPT 'SPY' FRAME-UP

(Continued from page 1)

man's real "crime," at most, was that he was not ready to throw White to the dogs the minute an unproved charge was made 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" against White proved so flimsy that even a red-baiting grand jury refused to indict him.

## POLITICAL AIM

The whole affair is a frameup, and its aim is given away by its timing. On Nov. 3 the Republicans took a sound licking at the polls. On Nov. 4 McCarthy laid down the line that they lost because they failed to make "communist infiltration of government" their chief issue. On Nov. 6 Brownell threw his stink bomb at Truman, claiming he had Eisenhower's prior approval. On Nov. 10 the Republicans won a Congressional election in California that had had them worried, and Brownell promised a "continuing program" of such smears.

On Nov. 11 Eisenhower told a press conference that he didn't believe Truman knowingly appointed a spy; that he hadn't discussed this aspect of the affair with Brownell; that he didn't doubt Truman's loyalty; and that he didn't believe Brownell had publicly impugned Truman's loyalty.

Liberals will probably point to Eisenhower's straddling statements as signs of some "basic" distinction between the President on one side and Brownell and McCarthy on the other. They tried. They couldn't be wrong if they tried.

If Eisenhower really disapproved of what Brownell had done, he wouldn't have restated his confidence in his Attorney General, and he wouldn't have waited five days until he had the chance to see that Brownell had gone a little too fast and the smear was beginning to boomerang on its authors.

## WHAT THEY AGREE ON

Furthermore, Eisenhower admitted that he fully endorsed Brownell's request to attack the Truman administration for hiring a "spy" — a charge that will be remembered, and that McCarthy will make big capital of, independently of the other issue of whether or not Truman appointed the man "knowingly." The essence of the matter is that Eisenhower, Brownell and McCarthy alike want to smear the Democrats on the "communist spy" issue, although they may differ somewhat on secondary matters of timing and tactics.

Despite Eisenhower's pretense of a "middle of the road" straddle, the Brownell-Truman affair serves warning that the McCarthy wing of the GOP is becoming more influential every day, and that all wings of the party can be counted on to expand the witch hunt. The political motivation will be to divert the attention of the American people away from their growing discontent with the present administration, or, failing that, to intimidate them with the fear that they too will be dubbed "communist" if they dare to voice their grievances.

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 red-baiting is by intensifying Democratic red-baiting, and they show they cannot be relied on to fight McCarthyism from a progressive standpoint because they accept and embrace its basic premises.

American democratic liberties have never been in such danger as they are today. To defend and extend them, both capitalist parties must be resisted and 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 to save the Bill of Rights.

(See editorial, Page 3.)

Dave Beck, president of the powerful AFL Teamsters, is reportedly making "overtures" to Harry Bridges, head of the independent West Coast Longshoremen's union, to come into the AFL.

with the Stalinists which has been more than a year in the making. He announced his resignation on Nov. 4, the day after the ALP got the lowest New York City vote in its history, only 54,372 votes for mayoralty candidate 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 Marcantonio accused the Daily Worker, paper of the Communist Party, of giving support to Wagner, the Tammany Democrat, while it continued to pay lip service to the ALP.

## 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 led to his resignation. He spoke only of "the minority" in the ALP which "were trying to force upon us the role of a pressure group" and which continued its obstruction "until the eve of the election and even on election day." For this reason, he complained, the ALP was "never able to launch an effective campaign."

He argued that because the ALP remains "a house divided" it will be unable to muster the necessary 50,000 votes for governor in 1954 to remain on the ballot. He said that henceforth the ALP will become "more and more a mimeograph machine rather than a political party." The degeneration of the ALP, however, is inherent in its composition and program and was already far advanced before Marcantonio began to fall out with the Stalinists.

He still has voiced no basic political differences with the Stalinists, whose line he followed for almost two decades. He quit the ALP, "despite the fact that we speak for the majority," when he figured it could no longer serve his own interests as a self-seeking political opportunist.

## NOT A LABOR PARTY

With the defection of its sole remaining figure of any prominence, the ALP is unlikely to play any further electoral role of significance. The CP has indicated, however, that it may continue to play around with the ALP for its own propaganda purposes and for such electoral purposes as do not cut across its main line of supporting the pro-Democratic political policies of the union leaders.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The series of mobilizations to celebrate the 25th anniversary of The Militant are now well under way in many areas. Results are not yet in from the first of these except for Philadelphia and Los Angeles where the comrades began a few weeks early and will hold their concluding sale early also. San Francisco and New York will get off to a late start due to pressure of other work around the fall elections. A score-board will be printed in next week's Militant and will appear throughout the campaign to show results of sales.

Tom Carey sends in an outline of Los Angeles' plans for a systematic sale of Militants and other socialist literature tied in with lectures, classes and social affairs. He writes that Militant salesmen have divided into teams of two, each team to be responsible for developing a route of 20 regular readers. At the end of the six weeks' period readers who have been receiving the paper each week will be asked to take a subscription.

An important part of the campaign, in addition to door to door work, will be sales by trade unionists to the workers in their plants. The new pamphlet by James P. Cannon, "America's Road to Socialism," will be used as soon as it is published to further introduce socialist ideas to Militant readers.

Before beginning the campaign, Tom reports, test sales were conducted 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 of them bought a second copy."

"On our first 25th Anniversary Mobilization 160 copies were sold house to house. One sub was sold in the process of the canvassing. Subs were sold during the week also to both The Militant and Fourth International."

The very name of the American Labor Party is a complete deception. It is not "American" in the sense of a nation-wide party. It has always been confined to New York State, principally 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 almost-defunct Progressive Party, which was organized in 1948 as a third capitalist party to run Henry Wallace for President.

## BEGAN WITH UNION BASE

Originally, the ALP was a genuine labor party. It was formed in 1936 by leading unions in 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 radical vote for Roosevelt, Lehman, La 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. The former finally split in 1944 and formed the Liberal Party. The ALP, minus one important section of unions, continued to support capitalist candidates, including O'Dwyer for mayor in 1945. With the onset of the "cold war," a struggle began between the Stalinists and the remaining non-Stalinist union leaders. When the Stalinist-dominated ALP backed the Wallace campaign in 1948, most of the unions, like the CIO clothing, steel, auto, 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 been a proponent of "progressive" capitalism, described as "FDR's 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 Nations, which Lenin described as the "thieves' kitchen." It proposes to achieve "peace" through a deal for the division and subjugation of the world between Moscow and Washington. It is in this sense that the ALP has been for many years — with Marcantonio's full knowledge and support — a pressure group for the Kremlin's foreign policy.

Philadelphia Literature Agent Clara Raymond writes, "Our plan is to work three different areas of the city, allowing two weeks in each one, thereby permitting us to test where we can obtain the best results for future work. On our first sale last week eight comrades were able to sell 26 Militants. We are awarding a prize of a specially inscribed copy of 'The Case of the Legless Veteran' to the comrade who spends the greatest number of hours selling in the campaign."

C. D. of Youngstown writes, "I recently read a copy of your paper and I am pleased with your views on racial matters. Please send me a six months subscription to The Militant."

Many thanks to M. V. of St. Louis who writes, "Enclosed is \$5. Please continue my subscription without loss of any issues. \$3 is for the sub and the remaining \$2 is a contribution. Wish I could give more but I didn't work much this year. Best wishes for the future."

Our sincere thanks also to C. S. of Cleveland, Ohio who sends in \$10, "\$3 for my renewal and the other \$7 is a contribution."

## LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

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  
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Questions — Discussion  
Refreshments  
Subscription 35 cents