

SWP in Michigan Files Petitions For Fall Election

DETROIT, March 29 — The Socialist Workers Party this week successfully completed its petition campaign to secure a place on the Michigan ballot for the November elections. Nearly 16,000 signatures were filed after an intensive eight-week campaign, and the Secretary of State certified the party to appear on the November ballot. The SWP was the first of the minority parties to file this year.

The job of getting on the ballot this year was far more difficult than in 1952 because 50% more signatures were required. Yet the campaign was completed in less than half the previous time.

COURT VICTORY

Filing of the SWP petitions this year is proof that a successful campaign can be waged against the witch hunters. The thought-control Trucks Laws, passed by the Michigan legislature in 1952, was used in an attempt to bar the SWP from the ballot that year. Our appearance on the ballot in 1954 underscores the victory the SWP recently won in the courts against that reactionary law.

The success of the petition campaign was made possible only by hard work, enthusiasm, and receptivity among the workers. The election laws in Michigan are designed to make it very difficult for minority parties to appear on the state ballot. This year a minimum of 14,463 signatures had to be obtained throughout the state, the bulk of them during the difficult winter months.

The gathering of so many signatures required daily work, both by those who could devote full time to the campaign and by those who first had to put in a full day in the shop. Signatures were gathered everywhere, in shopping areas during the day, from people waiting in bus lines after work, and house to house when stormy weather made petitioning outdoors impossible.

WARM RESPONSE

Crews of petitioners traveled throughout the state. Best response was in industrial centers where increasing unemployment and continued high cost of living have caused widespread disillusionment with both the Democrats and Republicans. Most signatures were obtained in Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw, Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo. Even in smaller towns such as Monroe, Bay City, Ferndale, Jackson, Ann Arbor, and Ypsilanti, petitioners gathered

'Workers' Party? Sure, I'll Sign!'

The most common response when someone was asked to sign a petition to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Michigan was, "For a workers' party? Sure, I'll sign!"

Many people, still intimidated by the witch hunt, were afraid to put their names to any type of petition. But those who signed because the party was socialist balanced those who refused because it was socialist.

One man who wouldn't sign graphically formulated the reason motivating this whole grouping: "I'm afraid McCarthy is looking over my shoulder."

In contrast to this were many who insisted like one woman while signing: "Something's got to be done about this McCarthy. He's ruining our country!"

ed more signatures per hour than in any previous year.

The statewide average ran 30 signatures an hour. Top-notch signature-getters consistently got between 40-50 signatures an hour.

One of the high points of the campaign was the day one worker gathered 140 signatures in only two hours. That was over a signature a minute!

Such results were impossible in previous campaigns when the working class was silent under the attack of the witch hunters.

Our work in this petition campaign has clearly shown that the political climate is changing. We noticed this first hand, as a result of personally speaking to thousands upon thousands of people in all walks of life.

Almost everyone who spoke to us complained first of unemployment and second of McCarthyism. This reflects the growing concern over unemployment, war, and fascism, and a growing discontent with the ruling political parties. The working people are today searching for a solution to these problems.

The Socialist Workers Party has a solution and its election campaign in Michigan this fall will permit us to bring it to the attention of great numbers of people.

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

"Do a Frisco Job On Witch Hunt," Weiss Urges

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, March 27.—The militant work stoppage of San Francisco's longshoremen last December that chased Congressman Velde's witch-hunting committee out of town left a deep imprint on workers throughout the country, declared Murray Weiss at a meeting here last night.

"All over the country, in every city I have visited, thinking workers have pointed to the San Francisco method of fighting the witch hunt," said the Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, now on a nation-wide anti-McCarthy speaking tour. "Their action is regarded as a model to follow. The slogan of these politically conscious workers is 'Let's do a Frisco job on the witch hunters when they come to our town!'"

The speaker's contention that a full-scale economic crisis is one of the pre-conditions for fascism coming to power was underscored for his audience by the local press. On the day that Weiss arrived here the papers reported that steel production is now down to 66.8% of capacity. "This tremendous drop of a third of the productive capacity in the steel industry," he said, "underlines the capitalist class of this country today."

UNEMPLOYMENT GROWING

Denying any desire to be classified as a "gloom and doom prophet," the speaker said that he had witnessed the growth of unemployment all over the country.

"Not only is unemployment growing," he said, "but the government is trying to hide the true picture. Those who are not covered by social security, such as the millions of farm workers and domestics are not even counted. Nor do they take into account the cutting of the work

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G.O.P., Democrats Conspire To Bury Probe of McCarthy

Latest Atomic Weapons Can Destroy Mankind

By Joseph Keller

"This week, as atomic ash from a mid-Pacific explosion of over three weeks before drifted down on the Japanese islands . . ." is the way the March 27 Christian Science Monitor begins an article on "Portents of Atomic Age."

Only by such bits of information, almost casually slipped into the daily press, is the world catastrophic nature of the new U.S. H-bombs being unveiled to the American people.

This is not government information, incidentally. It is information, given out by Japanese scientists, that Washington was unable to suppress. Thus do we find out that the mass murder weapon, now being demonstratively "tested" just prior to the Geneva conference, can spread lethal radiations not only 1,600 miles in space but over weeks in time.

Nevertheless, the Wall Street Journal, in a March 29 editorial, describes the world-wide terror that has arisen from disclosure of the H-bomb menace as "Hydrogen Hysteria" and "not wholly rational reactions."

But the American people, along with the rest of the world, have every reason to quake in their boots at the thought of continuation of these "tests." This is indicated in the very press conference remarks of Eisenhower on March 24. He let slip "that something must have happened at the recent hydrogen explosion in the Pacific which surprised and astonished scientists." (Associated Press.)

From other sources we can piece together what "astonished" scientists. Representative Chet Holifield (D., Cal.) as part of an official report to a House-Senate committee disclosed that "the unexpected radiation exposure was a result of (a) a larger explosion than expected and (b) unpredictable wind shifts at high altitudes."

In short, we are face to face with a weapon whose power is no longer precisely predictable and whose deadliness can not be accurately directed.

RADIATION DANGER

We are no longer dealing with the first and "baby" H-bomb exploded at Eniwetok on Nov. 1, 1952, which merely "completely obliterated the test island" and "tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean — a crater a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth . . ." as revealed a year later by Congressman W. Sterling Cole, (R., N.Y.), chairman of the joint Congressional atomic energy committee.

The danger to the world at large from the latest bombs set off in the mid-Pacific is indicated by a March 30 Tokyo dispatch of the Associated Press. It reports that Japanese health officials "condemned as harmful" radioactive last night the 80,000-pound tuna catch of a fishing boat that was 200 miles away from the March 1 blast."

They were "still pondering whether to condemn" the catch of another boat showing evidence of radiation "although it was 780 miles away from the blast."

THE DUST OF DEATH

A Laborite member of Parliament, Harold Davies, describes in the March 26 Socialist Outlook the effect of a single H-bomb dropped off Britain's West Coast: "One such bomb as that exploded in the Pacific Ocean last week, if dropped off the West Coast of Britain, would take into account the ocean currents and the prevailing winds, make the entire West of the British Isles a danger spot. The winds would bring the dust of death. (Original emphasis.)

"In our tiny seas the Gulf Drift would carry the radioactive water all around our shores. All fish caught off Britain would be inedible! (Original emphasis.)

"As for the use of the navy? Well you see what they had to do with the Japanese fishing boat that was eighty miles away from the blast — destroy it because it was a death-trap for humans.

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TOTAL DEVASTATION

This vilest and most cold-blooded leader of the British imperialist ruling class could not contain his emotions because he realizes that an H-bomb war will mean "total devastation of the British Isles . . . one of the United States' principal air bases from which hydrogen and atomic bombs could be hurled against Russia," as the Tribune's London correspondent puts it.

Even the British capitalists are horrified at the thought that

there won't "always be an Eng-

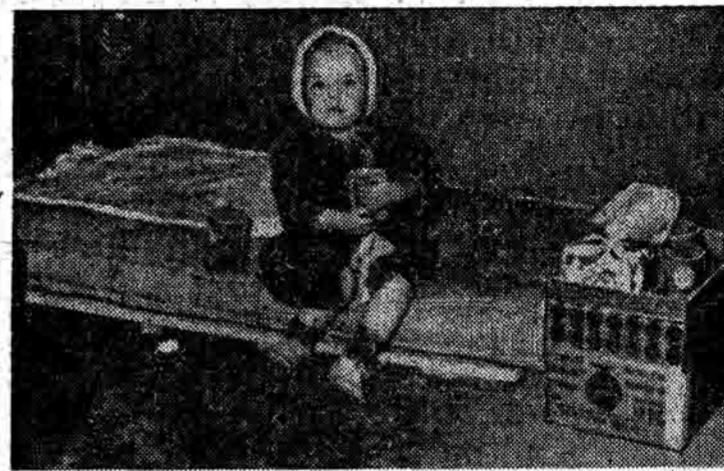
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Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Hunger in America



Give Cover As Fascist Retreats

By Joseph Hansen

MARCH 31—The Republican-Democratic opposition to McCarthy is deliberately abetting the fascist Senator in wriggling out of the reeking scandal over his brazen efforts to infiltrate the top brass of the armed forces. They want to bury the probe. This is the meaning of the assistance Wall Street's cynical political machines are obligingly giving the calculating American student of Hitler in prying open the jaws of an investigation which the liberals at first took to be a steel trap.

The McCarthy subcommittee voted March 16 to probe the sensational charges levelled by the Army about the special favors sought by McCarthy and his counsel Cohn for their cronies Schine. Today, more than two weeks later, the subcommittee has not even selected a lawyer to conduct the investigation!

That's the same committee that customarily flies across the country to stage one-man, one-day "probes" of alleged "communists" in which batches of victims are smeared, badgered, pilloried, fired from their jobs and converted into community pariahs. Now, when it comes to investigating the fascist Grand Inquisitor himself, the gears of the Senate's high-powered witch-hunting machine prove to be lubricated with sand and molasses.

The first assist the Democrats and Republicans gave the Wisconsin fascist was to put the official rubber-stamp of their approval on his brazen demand that his own committee conduct the "probe." That meant that control of the investigation was left in the capable hands of his own tested lieutenants.

Then while McCarthy flew to his home territory to reassure his mass base, mend his fences, and prepare the counter-attack, they lifted their hands helplessly about getting going with the "probe." After all, what could these gentlemen do about another member of the "gentlemen's club" officially known as the U.S. Senate, if he refused to cooperate by cancelling his \$1,500 speaking engagements? And after all, wasn't the gentleman on the run?

That was assist No. 2.

When McCarthy returned to Washington, Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R., So. Dak.), who is temporarily acting as chairman for McCarthy, expertly pinch-hitted for the star player while the Democratic and Republican opposition dropped flat on their faces and played dead.

"TOO CONTROVERSIAL"

At first Mundt tried to get William J. Jameson, head of the American Bar Association, to act as a distinguished substitute. It was not revealed until March 29, one week later, that the subcommittee was "throwing away all applications" of distinguished substitutes for the job turned down by Jameson. (N.Y. Times, March 30.) That was assist No. 3.

Mundt continued "desperately" and even "embarrassedly" to get a distinguished substitute. It was not revealed until March 29, one week later, that the subcommittee was "throwing away all applications" of distinguished substitutes for the job turned down by Jameson. (N.Y. Times, March 30.) That was assist No. 4.

In the same issue, the N.Y. Times saw fit to print the news that "The criteria drawn for a special counsel has been viewed widely in Congress as being so severe that it might be impossible to get a man to meet all of its qualifications . . ." But up to then, the 90 Democratic and Republican Senators and 435 Democratic and Republican Congressmen had publicly kept their mouths tightly buttoned about these "widely" held opinions. That was assist No. 5.

(Continued on page 2)

CAMPUS MOVEMENT OPPOSES M'CARTHYISM

The Green Feather movement, an expression of student opposition to McCarthyism, is spreading in the Midwest. The latest demonstration took place on the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on March 23.

The movement began at Indiana University after a member of State Textbook Commission denounced the story of Robin Hood as "pro-Communistic" and demanded that it be banned from schoolbooks.

This led to the formation of a group which called itself "Robin Hood's Merry Men" and began wearing and distributing green

feathers as a symbol of their resistance to thought-control.

The movement then spread to Purdue and Wisconsin universities, where green feathers were passed out to be worn by those who "are concerned about Senator McCarthy's threat to freedom" and "the growing trend to stabilize men's thinking in this country."

Both students and townpeople got together in Ann Arbor to collect feathers and dye them green.

The Michigan Daily's lead editorial backed the distribution. So did the majority of the Student Activities Committee.

Students and faculty members

flocked around booths at which

20 students handed out green

feathers and asbestos book markers.

The asbestos strips, bearing the words "Books burn at 451 degrees," were a symbol of opposition to book-burning. The stock of 4,000 feathers was gone by noon.

Another manifestation of anti-

McCarthyism that is catching hold on some campuses is the "We Believe Benton" movement. This started after McCarthy, afraid to go into court with his libel suit against former Senator Benton, announced that he was withdrawing it because his lawyers couldn't find anyone who believes Benton's charges against the Wisconsin fascist.

Six students at Indiana Uni-

versity "who have no partisan

political affiliations," set out to

ask people if they would be

willing to sign and contribute mon-

ey to the publication of a simple

"We Believe Benton" statement.

"Despite the much heralded

arrival of spring for its expected

upturn in (auto) sales, the rise

in sales has so far not been up

to the anticipations. Car produc-

tion may easily follow a 'now

up, now down' pattern for many

months."

As for the auto industry, which

consumes something like 20% of

the country's steel, it shows no

signs of improvement. Output for

the week, as reported on March

26, fell 3% from the previous

week and 15% below last year's

comparable figure. While pro-

duction for the quarter fell below

last year's 1953 and 1951, a March 24

Associated Press dispatch from

Detroit reminds us that while

this is "good," productionwise,

actual

Notebook of an Agitator

First Principles in the Struggle Against Fascism

The honorable Joseph McCarthy is not much of a thinker himself, but he has certainly stimulated a lot of thought, or what passes for it, in the minds of others.

His unbridled aggressiveness in recent months has stirred up quite a fluttering in the doves of so-called liberalism.

The pontifical pundits, who yesterday thought the specter could be exorcised by ridicule, or by pretending not to notice it, are now deep-thinking second thoughts about the Wisconsin demagogue and what he stands for.

Some apprehension of the deadly seriousness of McCarthyism has even begun to dawn in the thick skulls of the official labor leaders, and that alone is testimony to its penetrating power. It is now widely recognized that if the Wisconsin demagogue is crazy, he is crazy like a fox, and has to be taken seriously.

It would also seem that the liberals, and the labor leaders who farm out their thinking to the liberals, are catching up with the SWP, as far as the definition of McCarthyism is concerned. Lately we see more and more references to McCarthy as an American Hitler. For example, Adlai Stevenson, who cannot justly be called an extremist, referred to McCarthy in his Miami speech as the apostle of a "malign totalitarianism."

Poles Apart

But we are still poles apart from the liberals and the labor leaders on the main question; that is, the analysis of the causes of this preliminary manifestation of a "malign totalitarianism" — the Stevensonian euphemism for fascism — and the program for struggle against it.

They all regard our revolutionary approach to the question as extreme and unrealistic. The unrealism, however, is on their side, because they separate McCarthyism from the social causes which have generated it, and which in fact, make such manifestations inevitable. If McCarthy did not exist American capitalism would have to invent him, or a reasonable facsimile.

In every great social struggle, those who understand its laws and foresee how it must develop according to those laws, have a big advantage over those who deal with surface manifestations. If the Socialist Workers Party has been the first and only group in American political life to state categorically that the rise of a fascist movement in the United States is an absolute certainty; and likewise the first to recognize McCarthyism as the preliminary manifestation of American fascism, and to call it by its right name — this was not guesswork in either case.

Main Point

Our approach to the question of American fascism, as to every other political issue, begins with and proceeds from a basic theory of American perspectives which is different from that of all other political parties and tendencies. That is not because we deny America's exceptional position in the world today. It is known, and has been said often enough, that American capitalism is in a different position from other sectors of the same

world system in other countries. I am even willing to repeat it once again if such reassurance will do anybody any good. But there are points of similarity as well as difference, and the former are more important than the latter. That is the main point.

The American capitalists are richer and stronger than their counterparts in other lands. They are also younger and more ignorant, and therefore more inclined to seek a rough settlement of difficulties without diplomatic subtlety and finesse. All that does not change the fact that American capitalism operates according to the same laws as the others, is confronted with the same fundamental problems, and is headed toward the same catastrophe.

Of all the mistakes that can be made, in judging the nature and prospects of the present social system in this country — and it is safe to predict that the American labor leaders, being what they are, will exhaust every possibility in this respect — the worst and most disorienting mistake is to regard American capitalism as fundamentally different; as immune from the operation of the same laws which determine the evolution and development of the same social system — through crisis, revolution and counter-revolution — in other countries.

This pernicious theory of "American exceptionalism," which seized the leadership of the American Communist Party in the latter days of the great boom of the Twenties, disoriented the party in the great crisis which exploded soon afterward. This same theory, which is today held by the entire labor officialdom, is what disarms the American workers at the present time more than anything else, and gives the preliminary movement of American fascism such an easy advantage in the beginning.

Our Concept

We Trotskyists never belonged to this school of "exceptionalism." In 1946, right at the time when the editorial spokesmen of American capitalism were proclaiming the advent of "The American Century," and the American labor leaders were adjusting their so-called thinking to this illusory prospect, the Socialist Workers Party outlined a different and more realistic perspective for this country. The "Theses on the American Revolution," adopted by the party Convention in that year, expressed its conception in the very first paragraph, as follows:

"The United States, the most powerful capitalist country in history, is a component part of the world capitalist system and is subject to the same general laws. It suffers from the same incurable diseases and is destined to share the same fate. The overwhelming preponderance of American imperialism does not exempt it from the decay of world capitalism, but, on the contrary, acts to involve it ever more deeply, inextricably and hopelessly. U.S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of world capitalist decay than the older European capitalist powers. The blind alley in which world capitalism has arrived, and the U.S. with it, excludes a new organic

— James P. Cannon

... Conspire to Bury Probe of Fascist Sen. McCarthy

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Among the qualifications demanded of the special counsel — get this! — were a lawyer who has never been a counsel or consultant in any previous Congressional inquiry, who is not and

has not been a member of Congress, who does not represent a company that sponsors "Left Wing" or "Right Wing" radio, television or press commentators or columnists. AND — last but not least — a lawyer who "would not be personally obnoxious to

the Army or Senator McCarthy." (N. Y. Times, March 30.)

In addition to all this, the National Board of the American Civil Liberties Union offered a helping hand by rallying in defense of McCarthy's right to cross-examine witnesses hostile to him, if and when McCarthy's committee gets going with their scheduled probe of their chief. (See editorial, page 3.)

SCHINE COMMENDED

This does not end the list of assist plays made in behalf of the man who would be führer of America. On March 27 Brig. Gen. F. E. Howard gave McCarthy's KP-avoiding crony Schine public commendation as "a good soldier." This favorable publicity for McCarthy, no doubt cooked up by the advertising agency hucksters swarming around the White House, got a good play in the press.

In Congress itself the GOP started another move to help McCarthy. House Republican leaders will try to take spotlight — and heat — off Sen. Joseph McCarthy next week. They plan to pass first bill on administration's anti-Communist program — to legalize use of wiretap evidence. Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., is calling it the "anti-traitor bill" and will build it up steam for quick approval." Those opening

A Slick Distortion about Trotsky and Lenin

By George Breitman

Isaac Deutscher, author of a new biography of Leon Trotsky (The Prophet Armed) wants to prove that he is more "objective" than Trotsky and has more to offer to students of Russian revolutionary history. To support this claim, he points to the controversies between Trotsky and Lenin between 1903 and 1917. He cannot accuse Trotsky of suppressing the facts about these controversies, so he accuses him of having "blurred" their sharp outlines and importance.

What are the facts?

Trotsky met Lenin in London in 1902 and worked closely with him until the 1903 congress of the Russian revolutionary party which ended in a split and the formation of the Bolshevik and Menshevik parties. Trotsky, not yet 24 years old, failed to understand the significance of the dispute and the necessity for the kind of party Lenin was trying to build. He went with the Mensheviks, and attacked Lenin vigorously.

THE 1903 SPLIT

The Mensheviks differed from the Bolsheviks not only over internal organizational principles but also, it began to be clear, over theoretical and political perspectives for the Russian revolution. When they started moving toward an alliance with the liberal-capitalists, Trotsky broke with them and began to move in the direction of the Bolsheviks, who were as hostile to such an alliance as he was.

But his return to Lenin's side was delayed by a number of complications. For one thing, Trotsky developed the theory of the permanent revolution, which forecast that a revolution against Czarism would quickly be turned into a workers revolution that would lead to the establishment of a working class government faced with socialist tasks. It took some years for even Lenin to grasp the correctness of this daring conception, although it was not a basic conflict with his own.

The same social crisis which poses the threat of revolution in each and every capitalist country without exception, likewise generates the attempt to head off such a revolution by means which ruthlessly break down all the old forms of democratic rule. An organized fascist movement is an imperative necessity to the ruling class in every modern capitalist state threatened with social revolution; and it is, in fact, a reflexive answer to it. In this view, the fascist movement is not something arbitrarily created by demagogues to be talked down by appeals to reason and an alliance of all men of good will. Fascism is organized counter-revolution.

There is no law which forbids such a counter-revolutionary movement to get under way before the prospect and threat of revolution is clearly evident to all. A social revolution is imminent in the present position of American capitalism, and so is the counter-revolution. McCarthyism, as the first definite preliminary manifestation of the counter-revolutionary movement, does not lose this basic characteristic simply because it is a preventive mobilization against a revolution which has not yet taken visible form.

McCarthyite fascism has its cause and origin in the crisis of a social system which is pregnant with a revolution; and, in fact, the preliminary formation of a preventive counter-revolution. A general hue and cry against McCarthyism won't amount to much until this is recognized.

When World War I began, Trotsky realized that it would



Leon Trotsky

be wrong in principle as well as impossible to unite the pro-war Bolsheviks and the anti-war Mensheviks. On his return to revolutionary Russia in 1917, he found himself and Lenin in complete agreement on the tasks of the permanent revolution; he also saw now that Lenin's ideas on revolutionary organization had been completely confirmed by the test of events, and that the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionary party in the country.

He then became a Bolshevik in heart, mind and soul, played a role in the Bolshevik leadership of the revolution second only to Lenin's, and defended Bolshevikism to his dying day.

TROTSKY'S ANSWER

After Lenin's death the Stalinists launched their big slander campaign by quoting Trotsky's pre-1917 polemics against Lenin to prove that he had never really been a Bolshevik. Trotsky's answer was not to "blow" the differences, as Deutscher claims, but to present them in their proper perspective.

Trotsky neither concealed nor denied his early differences with Lenin. He stated what they had been and explained them. Distinguishing between those of his differences with Lenin which had been serious and genuine and those which had been episodic and due partly to misunderstandings on both sides, he admitted where he had been wrong and why (such as in his criticism of Lenin's organizational principles in his efforts to reunite the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) and defended the positions on which he had been correct (such as his theory of the permanent revolution, which Lenin accepted in action in 1917).

That is, he examined his relations with Lenin in their totality, and assigned the different parts of their proper sphere and rank. Objectively viewed, the earlier disagreements were far outweighed by the later agreements. If this was not the case, the agreements could never have

taken place. The subordinate, transitory character of the disagreements was demonstrated by everything that happened later, including the close and loyal collaboration between Trotsky and Lenin from 1917 on. Lenin himself testified to this by observing that no one had been a better Bolshevik than Trotsky after he joined.

DEUTSCHER'S VIEW

Deutscher, however, is not satisfied with this method or this evaluation, although he does not challenge it directly and in places even pays lip-service to it. In the guise of objective historian he devotes a great deal of space to the early differences — as much space, or more, as he gives to the later agreements between Trotsky and Lenin. The result is to make the differences and the agreements assume an equal importance on the historical scale.

We all know that it is possible to tell a lie while using strictly truthful words, depending on the tone, the arrangement of the words, the words omitted, etc. In the same way Deutscher, even if everything he writes on the differences is factually correct, lends himself to what can only be called a historical distortion — the kind which the Stalinists, who dislike Deutscher on other grounds, can only welcome.

In part, as we have explained, Deutscher does this in an effort to establish his superior "objectivity" over Trotsky. But there is another and more important reason — a political reason — for the emphasis he puts on Trotsky's early differences with Bolshevism.

And that is the fact that he obviously half-sympathizes with the criticism of Bolshevism that Trotsky later rejected and attacked.

HIS OWN SYMPATHIES

Naturally Deutscher doesn't express his sympathies openly and honestly. No, he suggests indirectly to the reader what he finds inconvenient to state directly. But

the suggestions are unmistakable.

Trotsky's polemics against Bolshevism are evaluated by Deutscher as "Acute and venomous," as an "odd . . . assortment of great ideas and petty polemical tricks, of subtle historical insights and fustian flourishes," as "the faithful mirror of the future," etc. He says the 1903 controversy "at its more advanced stage will become one of the major motifs" of the book; in fact, it is the major theme.

Now let's examine that part of Trotsky's polemics against Lenin which Deutscher regards as acute, great, subtle, a faithful mirror and so on. It is all summed up in a single sentence, written by Trotsky in 1904 in a pamphlet, Our Political Tasks, which reads as follows:

"Lenin's methods lead to this: the party organization (the caucus) at first substitutes itself for the party as a whole; then the Central Committee substitutes itself for the organization; and finally a single 'dictator' substitutes himself for the Central Committee."

Out of the millions of words Trotsky wrote in 40 years of steady literary output, this is the favorite sentence of all the renegades and opponents of Bolshevism, and they naturally use it against Trotsky as well as Lenin. Deutscher too is so fond of this sentence that he recurs to it repeatedly and uses it for the climax and conclusion on his last page.

THE 1904 PREDICTION

The 24-year old Trotsky, he marvels, "predicted" the post-revolution degeneration of the Bolshevik party with "uncanny clear-sightedness," his chief error being that it was Stalin (unknown in 1904) and not Lenin who became dictator over the party. The obvious implication here is that Trotsky should have stuck by his 1904 prediction instead of turning around and becoming a Bolshevik himself.

The trouble with this prediction was that it too was guilty of a form of "substitutionism." It sought to foresee the development of the Bolshevik party solely in abstract terms of its internal organizational procedures, to the neglect of the much more decisive effects of the party of concrete social-political developments in the class struggles outside the party.

The Bolshevik party did not degenerate after the revolution taken place. The subordinate, transitory character of the disagreements was demonstrated by everything that happened later, including the close and loyal collaboration between Trotsky and Lenin from 1917 on. Lenin himself testified to this by observing that no one had been a better Bolshevik than Trotsky after he joined.

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The reality of the fascist threat has not diminished in the slightest because McCarthy beat a temporary tactical retreat. Anyone in the labor movement who thinks that McCarthy has been stopped is simply a victim of the most dangerous possible delusion. This is obvious to any thinking person who has studied the fascist movement of Europe or seen them first hand.

An obscure New Jersey Assemblyman, James C. Jamieson, who has just returned from a trip abroad, reports as the universal judgment across the Atlantic that McCarthy is "simply following the Hitler idea." The March 25 Washington (N. J.) Star reports him as saying:

"The Germans who remembered Hitler's start very well told me that that was just the way Hitler started out, and they can't understand how we are letting McCarthy get away with it."

The State Department announced March 30 that it had denied a passport to the noted American playwright, Arthur Miller. Miller had planned to attend the opening in Brussels of his powerful anti-witch hunt play, "The Crucible."

because Lenin had molded it into a highly disciplined organization — in fact, the revolution would never have taken place unless he had done that — but because the revolution, instead of being extended from Russia to the more industrially developed countries of Europe, was defeated in the years after World War I (with the aid of the treacherous Social Democrats) and confined to an economically and culturally weak and backward country.

If the revolution had been extended (and it would have been extended if the revolutionists in Germany and elsewhere had built in advance precisely the kind of party Lenin built in Russia), if the Soviet Union had been able to link its economy with that of more advanced countries, then the relation of forces inside the Bolshevik party would have been different, the party would have been able to escape or overcome the Stalinist degeneration, and it would have continued to function in the same healthy democratic-centralist fashion that it did in its best and most creative years.

THE DIFFERENCES

Thanks to his growing mastery of the Marxist method of analysis and to his own enlightening experience with the Bolsheviks, Trotsky came to see the inadequacy, narrowness and abracadabra of his 1904 prediction. He rejected it totally and fought untriringly against all the opponents of Marxism who sought to explain the degeneration of the Bolshevik party by its adoption of Lenin's correct organizational principles rather than by the complex historical process that unfolded and crushed the party in the years of reaction after the revolution.

But Deutscher, in his own style, tries to patch up one of the main crutches in the arsenal of anti-Bolshevism. The difference between the writings of Trotsky and Deutscher is not only that Trotsky acts openly while Deutscher operates by innuendo, but that Trotsky defends Bolshevism while Deutscher seeks to discredit it. Further proof will be supplied in future articles.

A bill to force all veterans, present and future, to sign a loyalty oath or forfeit all veterans' benefits except paid insurance, was introduced in the Senate March 30 by Senator Saltonstall, Massachusetts' Republican.

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Detroit	\$ 500	\$ 339	68
Newark	400	236	59
Buffalo	1,500	850	57
Pittsburgh	150	80	53
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	475	40
Milwaukee	250	95	38
Youngstown	150	50	33
Chicago	1,500	473	32
St. Louis	75		

Subscriptions: \$5 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundles: Orders: 5 or more copies \$6 each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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Monday, April 5, 1954

Eisenhower OK's a New Korea

Secretary of State Dulles, speaking before the Overseas Press Club in New York on March 29, clearly confirmed the warning that the Militant has been sounding for several months: The Eisenhower administration is preparing to make another Korea out of Indo-China, up to and including the sending of U.S. troops to fight and die in Indo-China to make that French colony safe for imperialism.

The key statement in Dulles' speech was his declaration that "the imposition on Southeast Asia of the political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese Communist ally, by whatever means, would be a grave threat to the whole free community. The United States feels that this possibility should not be passively accepted, but should be met by united action. This might have serious risks, but these risks are far less than would face us a few years from now if we dare not be resolute today."

Translated into plain English, this means: The Eisenhower administration will not permit what it calls "communism" to be established in Southeast Asia "by whatever means" — that is, in any way. At present a civil war is going on in Indo-China in which the overwhelming majority of the people are trying to drive out foreign imperialists and their puppets, and establish a system of their own choice. Dulles serves notice that U.S. capitalism will not tolerate their victory. At the same time he serves notice that it will not tolerate the establishment of such a system "by whatever means" — including peaceful means — not only in Indo-China but in all of Southeast Asia. Not even Hitler dared to make more brutal declarations of imperialist domination to colonial countries.

What Dulles means by "united action" was spelled out by the Washington reporter of the Wall Street Journal, obviously briefed by the State Department.

It means, he wrote, first that "The Americans will throw in whatever planes and supplies are deemed needed" to win the battle of Dien Bien Phu. Second, "no concessions shall be made to the Reds at Geneva." Third, "the U.S. intends, if necessary, to recruit the aid of the United Nations — or part of the United Nations — to bolster the units now fighting in Indo-China." Fourth, "State Department officials are considering still another move — an appeal to the United Nations for quick, indirect action, like a naval blockade of Red China. This might be tried, if the Reds are recalcitrant at Geneva."

What are the "serious risks" that the Eisenhower administration has decided to take? "The decision," continues the report in the March 30 Journal, "is that if the French give up and decide to pull out that the U.S. must then call on the United Nations to send troops to Indo-China and enforce a blockade." If this provocation should produce retaliatory action by China, then "the U.S. would either bomb Red China or throw U.S. troops into Indo-China, or do both."

"The U.S. would be winning, in this case, to risk World War III."

"Would the U.S. be willing to throw in U.S. troops as a last resort if the Red Chinese didn't intervene — but if the native Reds grew so strong that Indo-China were on the verge of falling?" The answer already made in Washington is Yes. "It is understood the U.S. would, if necessary, throw in U.S. troops."

Thus the Dulles speech, approved in advance by Eisenhower, tells the whole world — the

Kremlin, its allies and puppets on one side; the allies and puppets of Washington on the other — that the U.S. government is determined to dictate the fate of Southeast Asia at any cost, including a new world war.

It wasn't only for foreign consumption that Dulles voiced these threats. It was also, and perhaps primarily, intended for another victim of the policy of "serious risks" — that is, the American people.

Dulles' speech, wrote Washington correspondent James Reston in the March 30 N. Y. Times, "reflected the apprehension that has been felt in official quarters here about the Geneva conference on Korea and Indo-China; the present status of French politics; and the present state of public opinion in this country."

What is this "apprehension" about U.S. public opinion? "The feeling has been growing here," says Reston, "that the French and the Associated States will not win the war by themselves, and that, while they might very well need the help of the United States, public opinion in this country is not prepared for armed intervention by the United States. This has alarmed officials at the State and Defense departments."

Another way of saying that U.S. public opinion is "not prepared" for war in Indo-China is that the American people are resolutely opposed to being dragged or driven into such a war, just as they were to the reactionary intervention in the Korean civil war. And that is one of the most hopeful signs in the whole situation.

The war plans and timetables of U.S. imperialism have been shaken up and readjusted many times since the end of World War II by the revolutionary resistance of the colonial people and the European working class, and for this the whole world owes them a deep debt of gratitude. In fighting for their own interests, they also fought against and postponed the war of atomic annihilation projected in Washington.

But this is not the whole story. U.S. capitalism has had to cope with the resistance of the American people too, and with their strong reluctance to serve as troops in a general counter-revolutionary war. Their pressure made itself felt throughout the entire Korean war, and contributed considerably to the truce reached there. If Eisenhower, Dulles and Co. are now alarmed about U.S. public opinion on Indo-China, it is because they understand how effectively the American people can disrupt and paralyze the best laid war plans.

Dulles tried to bludgeon the American people into line by creating the impression that the decision on Indo-China has been made and that there is nothing that can be done about it. This is a lie. If the American people intervene at home, they will be able to prevent military intervention abroad in Indo-China. What they need to do is to deepen their distrust of the capitalist politicians, express unalterable opposition to another Korea in Southeast Asia, and organize independently of the capitalist parties for political action to kick out of office all the supporters of the Dulles doctrine, Republican and Democratic alike.

It will be easier, cheaper and less risky for the American people to get rid of the imperialists at home than to be dragged by them into a world war that may mean the end of civilization.

McCarthy's Rights in Jeopardy?

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union on March 24 backed McCarthy's right to cross-examine witnesses in the "probe" that the fascist Senator's own subcommittee is scheduled to make of the scandal in his relations with the Army Brass. The ACLU has been smeared by McCarthy as a "communist front organization."

In the abstract, the right to confront an accused is, of course, an indisputable norm of democracy. But we would like to remind the ACLU that it is not exactly McCarthy's democratic rights that are in jeopardy. He wants to be prosecutor, judge, and jury in his own trial.

Behind McCarthy stands the fabulous wealth of the Texas oil and cattle barons. Powerful voices in the daily press, radio and TV champion his cause. He has strong support in both the Democratic and Republican parties. The government bureaucracy, including the FBI, is honey-combed with protagonists of his fascist cause. A sizeable middle-class grouping backs him to the hilt. Up to now this fascist demagogue has shown that he knows how to mobilize these forces in militant defense of his "rights." If the ACLU leadership were serious in its concern for a "fair hearing from which the full truth . . . can emerge," it would at least support unreservedly the demand that the investigation be transferred to another committee, although even a different Senate committee might prove to be loaded with McCarthy supporters. Instead the ACLU timidly proposes that only the "fact-finding" aspect be

relegated to another committee, leaving final determination of the charges to be made by McCarthy's own committee.

By thus straddling on even this issue, the ACLU leadership finds itself lined up with McCarthy on an important aspect of the conduct of the investigation.

"We do not demand privileged treatment," declared this mouthpiece of Franco, evidently eyeing others in Wall Street's stable like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, "merely equality with other nations pledged to the defense of the free world."

PRISONS FILLED WITH LABOR LEADERS were the Venezuelan background to the "human rights" document which representatives of Latin American dictatorship obligingly passed for Secretary of State Dulles at the Caracas Conference.

An up-to-date list of the victims of the Venezuelan dictatorship has been issued by the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. The list includes leaders of the Farm Workers Union, the National Printers Union, the National Association of Employees, the Oil Workers Federation, the Retail Stores Employees Union, the Textile Workers Union, the Cigar Workers, the Chauffeurs and Drivers, the Shoe Workers, the Iron Workers and the Construction Workers.

The ACLU Board tried to prove its "impartiality" by defending the powerfully protected rights of a dangerous fascist on the make. It tried to clear itself of McCarthy's smear of the ACLU by echoing his main premise that "communism" is a "conspiracy" and not a political view. And it thereby demonstratively breached the main principle of the ACLU — no quarter in the defense of civil rights and civil liberties in America.

THE MILITANT

Pabloism -- First Vote, Then Discuss

By Farrell Dobbs

One of the latest contributions toward the Pabloite intrigue to split the Fourth International is an article by M. Mestre in the March 1954 issue of *La Verite des Travailleurs*, a Pabloite paper.

Mestre's article makes the following claims: The Fourth International is now engaged in a democratic discussion preparatory to the Fourth World Congress scheduled by a recent plenum of the International Executive Committee. The discussion has already provided a correct analysis of the world situation in general and of Stalinism in particular.

The scheduled congress, she asserts, will determine the political line of the International and the method of applying the line. It will also elect the international leadership that will carry out the line. All members and sections will be subject to the discipline of this leadership representing the international majority as determined by the congress.

Mestre's claims are false from beginning to end. Her reference to a "correct analysis" obviously signifies the Pabloite line which the orthodox Trotskyists have challenged as a crass revision of Trotskyist fundamentals.

The Pabloites have projected the concept that an engulfing wave of mass pressure will make the proletarian revolution automatic and irreversible, compel the self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy, force the Stalinists to gradually accept the Trotskyist program and thus "objectively" solve the problem of leadership.

Leading Pabloites have put forward the notion of a "sharing of power" with the masses by the Soviet bureaucracy, thereby moving toward abandonment of the Trotskyist concept of the inevitability of the political revolution against the bureaucracy. Pablo himself sees the ideological breaking-up of Stalinism and assigns to the Communist parties a revolutionary vanguard role. Consequently he thinks the perspectives of the 1938 Transitional Program, which includes the perspective of building independent parties of the Fourth Interna-

tional, has been overturned from top to bottom.

"DEEP" ENTRY

The Pabloites prescribe a more or less prolonged and more or less total entry of the Trotskyists into the Stalinist milieu where they would become a sort of left opposition to speed the Stalinist reformation. Pablo's tactic of "deep" entry has been extended to include reformist parties, as in Britain, and mass organization under petty bourgeois leadership, as in Argentina.

The Pabloites abandon the Trotskyist concept of the entry tactic as a temporary detour in the building of an independent revolutionary party. They see everything solved for the Trotskyists by entrism maneuvers, provided the entries are "total" and "prolonged." They rule out as "sectarian" the perspective of building revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

This line signifies a loss of faith in the working class on the part of the Pabloites and the consequent conviction that the bureaucracies cannot be overthrown anywhere in the mass movement. As a result they begin to look for "progressive" manifestations in the various bureaucracies and develop a conciliatory attitude toward alien political tendencies in general.

THE TROTSKYIST POSITION

In opposition to this revisionist-liquidationist Pabloite line, the orthodox Trotskyists take the following general position: There is no question that the world revolutionary movement is experiencing a significant upsurge, but it is passing through an uneven and contradictory development, chiefly because of Stalinist betrayals.

The Kremlin bureaucracy does not aim to aid the world revolution or overthrow imperialism. It wants to contain both imperialist aggression and revolutionary expansion, hoping to maintain the general status quo and thereby become the balance of power

between the imperialist and the revolutionary forces. This guiding line of the Kremlin accounts for the Stalinist betrayal of the French General Strike.

Recent political events in France, East Germany and the Soviet Union confirm the Trotskyist program of the necessity of political revolution to overthrow Stalinism where it holds power and underline the need to isolate Stalinism everywhere in the revolutionary movement.

These events also confirm the perspectives of the 1938 Transitional Program, including the necessity to build independent parties of the Fourth International everywhere in the world.

It is sometimes necessary in building the independent Trotskyist parties to make a tactical entry into organizations dominated by hostile political tendencies where leftward currents are to be found in the ranks. Such entries are not made to effect reconciliation with alien tendencies.

The purpose of the entry is to facilitate the struggle against alien political tendencies and build the independent Trotskyist parties.

Discussion of the deep-going political differences between the orthodox Trotskyists and the Pabloites has from the outset been deliberately distorted and disrupted by the Pabloites. Instead of a forthright presentation of their full position, they have tried to put over their revisionist line in piecemeal fashion, seeking thereby to conceal its true revisionist character. The Pabloites further attempt to sow political confusion by falsifying the views of the orthodox Trotskyists whom they denounce as "sectarian" and "Stalinophobic" elements "capitalizing to imperialist pressure."

TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

When the orthodox Trotskyists formed the International Committee of the Fourth International (Trotskyist), the Pabloites immediately branded the formation of this committee a "split." They manufactured from the whole cloth the fraudulent accusation that the International Committee is organizing its own world congress. On the basis of this trumped-up charges, the Pabloites claim that the orthodox Trotskyists are not acting as a fraction.

The object of this frameup is to prohibit the organization of a faction in the International by anybody but Pablo. Those who desire to support the orthodox Trotskyist faction are warned by Pablo that such support means to "leave the International" and that "sanctions" will be taken against them because they have "split." Such are the "discussions" methods of the Pabloite regime which Mestre brazenly describes as "democratic."

Pablo organized minority oppositions behind the backs of the International leadership in leading sections of the International. He

despite this all-out campaign to stampede the sections into support of Pablo, the political facts of life began to break through.

Many who were at first tricked into supporting Pablo began to get the score on his revisionist-liquidationist line and later came out against Pablo in solidarity with the International Committee.

Such, for example, was the case with the Iceland section, about which R. Kani wrote: "My first reaction was one of loyalty to the International . . . I now completely grasp that . . . what is involved is a wide open fight to preserve the Lenin-Trotsky heritage . . . An important section of our party has already taken its stand in support of . . . the International Committee."

Confronted with this situation, Pablo modified his stamping

used these cliques to bring about minority splits, after which he "expelled" the majorities as "splitters" and gave "official" recognition to his minorities.

He has instituted systematic disruption of the cadres, country by country, in an effort to drive out, or muzzle and handuff, all the foremost victims of this split-expulsion tactic were the French, British and New Zealand sections.

Mestre refers to a "recent plenum of the International Executive Committee." This so-called plenum represented nothing more than a handful of European Pabloites. None of the IEC members were present from Asia, Latin America, the Middle East or the other areas.

This rump gathering endorsed all of Pablo's splits and expulsions. It proclaimed new ghost sections and suspended all opponents of Pabloism, including then elected members of the IEC. It also ordered the suspension of leaders in the sections who gave support to the International Committee.

Having thus completed all "democratic" preparations, this rump plenum scheduled a rump world congress to put over the Pabloite line.

FIRST VOTE — THEN DISCUSS

When the orthodox Trotskyists challenged the Pabloites last November, the Pablo-rigged International Secretariat urged all the sections to denounce the Trotskyist faction and take a stand in support of the International. Swift action was demanded without any fooling around with discussion of the issues before making a decision.

Facts have since come to light proving that Pabloites holding leading positions put their organization on record in support of Pablo without bothering to consult the rank and file. That happened, for example, in Italy and Chile. In the case of Peru, a single Pabloite put the Central Committee on record in support of Pablo without even securing the permission of the Central Committee.

Despite this all-out campaign to stampede the sections into support of Pablo, the political facts of life began to break through. Many who were at first tricked into supporting Pablo began to get the score on his revisionist-liquidationist line and later came out against Pablo in solidarity with the International Committee.

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tactics and called for delay in making a political decision. "Take the time to know and discuss all the documents of the International on the crisis . . ." the IEC wrote to the Iceland section. "Adjour your final decision until you have heard the reports of your representatives to the world congress."

This seeming moderation on Pablo's part is merely a new trick. It is part of a scheme to paralyze political thought and decision in the sections. Pablo wants to keep his opposition parlayed until he is ready to impose the "discipline" of the international majority" to which Mestre made reference. This "discipline" he plans to put over through a fake majority he is rigging up for his rump congress.

Mestre herself has removed any doubt as to the reason for Pablo's demand that those who oppose him withhold making political decisions until his rump congress has been held. She says the rump congress will "determine the political line of the International" and the "method of applying the line." This same rump congress, she says, will "elect the International leadership" who will enforce the line.

Baldly stated, the Pablo-Mestre line means: If you can't make up your mind now to support Pablo, don't make any political decision at all until he has made it impossible for you to oppose him without being "expelled" under the "discipline" of his rump congress.

IC AIMS

In sharp contrast to this vicious pattern of Pabloite intrigue, the International Committee has given a forthright presentation of its political position and a frank declaration of its organizational aims. The International Committee describes itself as the coordinating body for the organization of an orthodox Trotskyist faction in the Fourth International. It has announced it will fight to conduct a full and democratic discussion of all issues in dispute, so that all the sections may familiarize themselves with the issues and take a political position, before decisions are made at a democratically-organized congress.

The International Committee has stated its basic aims to be: Defense of the Trotskyist program and organization against the Pabloite revisionist-liquidationist faction.

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World Events

By Paul Abbott

Perez Salinas, President of the Confederation of Labor.

A DISSIDENT GROUP in the periphery of the Mexican Stalinist movement, organized in the Partido Obrero-Campesino (Farmer-Labor Party), tried to do a model Trotskyist hatchet job on the new revolutionary socialist publication "Que Hacer?" In the Feb. 16 issue of their sheet, "November," these Stalinist dissidents claim that the backers of "Que Hacer?" were given to know they would "soon receive money in abundance in an attempt to increase their activities . . .

"This money was to come from where it has always come: from international imperialism whose seat is now the city of Washington and whose funds are located in Wall Street. The one charged with allocating it was James P. Cannon, who presents himself in the USA as chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, whose function, according to the text of its publications, is to applaud the Nazi-like steps of the Eisenhower government."

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Lester Granger's Profession

Negro youth who show special promise, intelligence and idealism in school are often advised to seek careers in the field of social work. But there is no longer room for intelligence, idealism and liberalism in that field, and young people should be warned to avoid it like the plague.

If Lester Granger, executive director of the National Urban League and probably the best known Negro leader in the field of social work, is an example and an authority — and we deny neither — only cynical, opportunistic careerists belong in it.

In a lecture to the annual meeting of the Neighborhood Settlement Association meeting in Cleveland recently, Granger laid down the Eisenhower-McCarthy line. Because social workers have hitched their wagon to a political star "with a liberal label on it," he said, they have failed to gain the whole-hearted support of the American people.

Which American people? — The Eisenhower administration. That is why social workers were not consulted when the new Department of Welfare, with Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby at its head, was formed, he pointed out.

"Too many of our profession have shown a lamentable tendency to join the screaming throngs of those who seek status by grabbing on to a cause with a liberal label on it," Granger charged.

"We are too prone to look for miracles which don't exist in reality — whether they are called new deal, fair deal or cleaning up the mess."

Chiding his audience on the gloom among social workers following Eisenhower's election, he said: "We seem to forget that social work is

Irvin Faces Death

By Harry Ring

Walter Lee Irvin, now the sole defendant in the notorious 1949 "Little Scottsboro" case of Groveland, Florida, is facing imminent death in the electric chair, a victim of murderous Southern Jim Crow "justice."

On March 23 the Florida Parole Board callously denied a final plea to save Irvin's life. Twice in January the Supreme Court turned a deaf ear to pleas for a retrial. Only the Governor of Florida can now save him from the chair by commuting his sentence to life imprisonment. The National Association for Advancement of Colored People reports that the Governor will shortly set the day and hour for Irvin to die.

Irvin, now 27, and three other Negro youths, Ernest Thomas, Charles Greenlee and Samuel Shepherd, were accused of "raping" a white farm housewife in Groveland on July 6, 1949. The accusation was made when local Ku Klux Klan-elements were being inspired to increased anti-Negro activities by local paper mill bosses, whose employees, largely Negro, were beginning to voice their discontent over miserably low pay and long working hours.

Ernest Thomas, one of the four accused, was shot down in a backwoods swamp by a Sheriff's posse for allegedly "resisting arrest." The remaining three were brought to trial in an atmosphere of uncontrolled Jim Crow terror so violent that the entire Negro community of 400 was forced to flee the town to escape being lynched. During the height of the anti-Negro pogrom, scores of Negroes were shot at and beaten. Three homes, including that of the parents of one of the defendants, were burned to the ground.

Within six weeks, during which the defendants were beaten and tortured by Sheriff Willis McCall, the three defendants were indicted,

a free enterprise activity, and no matter how much government supports welfare programs the future lies with voluntary groups."

Then, having pledged his allegiance to capitalist wars, depressions and insecurity, he ghoulishly painted a picture of a profitable future for social workers who play it smart:

There is always work to be done in settlement houses, he said, among juvenile delinquents, broken families, the handicapped, persons dependent on public assistance. A change of administration doesn't really affect such basic problems or needs. Social workers don't need to become frantic "liberals" or "bleeding hearts" to accomplish their jobs. Their primary needs are patience, understanding, tolerance, the ability to smooth out the rough edges.

That's the role of social workers today. If their work brings them in contact with young veterans, crippled for life mentally or physically; with starving, cold, frightened people; with children embarked on the dead-end road of criminal careers without a chance to know any other life; with people whose lives are blighted by racial discrimination — if they come in contact with any of the senseless misery and injustice of capitalist society, social workers must not become "bleeding hearts," must not become indignant, must not use their intelligence to try to find the cause and the cure.

Youth should be told the truth: If you are prepared to crush every decent human impulse you have, give up your right to think scientifically, and resign yourself to mental and moral wage slavery in the interests of the parasitic capitalist class, join Lester Granger's profession.

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Chiding his audience on the gloom among social workers following Eisenhower's election, he said: "We seem to forget that social work is

Notes from the News

MORE THAN 1,000 MEN lined up in New York March 29 to apply for 500 summer jobs policing city parks. The jobs pay \$7.80 a day. The scramble on the first of three application days equalled last year's total three-day turnout.

Celebration" in Union Square. The "loyalty" demonstration is sponsored by business men in the area to establish a monopoly of Union Square by patriotic Americans citizens, thus making this historic site unavailable for the rabble-rousing elements."

"PITEOUSLY INADEQUATE," the phrase used by CIO Vice Pres. James G. Thimmes before the Senate Banking Committee to describe Eisenhower's housing program, was something of an understatement. According to the March 26 newsletter of the National Housing Conference, "Now we have the unequivocal word of the House Appropriation Committee that when existing contracts (which provide for only 35,000 housing units — Ed.) have been honored, the public housing program will be dead." The newsletter adds, "That will be the final chapter unless friends of housing wherever they are, rise up and fight once more for this program."

COLLECTION AGENCIES BOOMING. On the basis of a 13-city survey, the March 24 Wall Street Journal reports that the number of people unable to keep up with loan and installment plan payments is far above last year's level and still rising. A spokesman for a Chicago collection agency said: "In the last 30 to 60 days there has been a terrific increase in the number of accounts turned over to us for collection. In 27 years in the business I've never seen anything like it."

N. Y. POLICE TO BAN MAY DAY PARADE. Police Commissioner Adams will refuse to issue a permit for a May Day parade, reports the March 12 World-Telegram. Last year a parade permit was denied but one was issued for a meeting in Union Square, traditional wind-up point of past May Day parades. However, the N. Y. Times of March 14 reports that the Police Dept. will issue a permit for a "Loyalty Day

THE MILITANT

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Dock Strikers Confront Unholy Alliance

By Art Sharon

Back-to-Work Move Flops



New York's Mayor Wagner (top, light hat) inspects strike-bound Brooklyn dock after his back-to-work demand to International Longshoremen's Association members was spurned. Below, strikers shout at mayor: "Give us a contract and we'll go back to work. We're not racketeers."

Reuther Strikes Low Blow at "30 for 40"

On March 18 the Pennsylvania CIO convention unanimously urged its affiliated unions to fight this year for contracts granting the 30-hour week "with no reduction in pay." This is the latest in a series of actions by labor bodies looking for an effective program to combat spreading unemployment.

But the program for the 30-hour week 40 hours pay, which won the formal support of the AFL at its last national convention, is bitterly opposed by the top leadership of the CIO, and was publicly condemned in New York on March 23 by CIO President Walter Reuther after a two-day meeting of the CIO Executive Board.

Reuther, as reported in the March 24 N.Y. Times, "said a cut in the basic 40-hour standard would simply mean 'sharing the scarcity' when the country's real need was for more purchasing power, not more leisure."

This is dishonest because it misrepresents the demand for the 30-hour week as one that would violate a corresponding reduction in pay. With few exceptions of a local and temporary character, nobody in the labor movement is asking for a 30-hour week at 30 hours pay. The demand is for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. Reuther is lying when he says a reduced work week would mean "sharing the scarcity." He is consciously distorting when he implies that the motive behind this demand is "more leisure."

On the contrary, it is Reuther's own policy which leads to and strengthens "sharing the scarcity." By opposing the 30-for-40 demand at a time when many plants are working four or less days a week, he blocks the only program that can maintain the workers' wages and living standards in a period of recession.

Moreover, as previous articles in this paper have demonstrated, the goal of Reuther's guaranteed annual wage plan, which is his alternative to the 30-for-40 demand, is to win for a PART of the auto workers the guarantee of work and pay for only PART of the present 40-hour work week. In practice, his GAW plan will be lucky to achieve even the 30-hour week at 30 hours pay if it goes into effect in a period of economic crisis.

The dangers in Reuther's GAW plan are recognized by everyone familiar with its details. Rank and File, published by the Rank and File Caucus of UAW Local 216, South Gate, Calif., writes: "We predict that unless (Reuther's GAW) plan covers all the workers on the basis of 52 weeks at a wage commensurate with the high cost of living, it will only add to the ever increasing list of unemployed. This means that we must wage a fight for

organized by the State in collusion with the AFL leaders.

These dockers are now getting a real dose of force and violence, fraud and corruption, deceit and treachery, to say nothing of the capitalist press propaganda barrage slandering them as "gangsters" and "racketeers." This comes after the dockers have been harassed, deceived, betrayed and violently abused over long years. No other section of American labor has suffered as much.

The present waterfront crisis was precipitated by the intervention of the AFL leaders, who are seeking to supplant the ILA. The AFL expelled the ILA with the pious declaration that the ILA had failed to "clean its house."

The potentially great lucrative prize was then turned over to an AFL committee dominated by Hall and Beck, well-known as aggressive expansionists interested primarily in increasing their own power and prestige.

Both are particularly notorious for ruthless smashing of weaker unions. Beck was once barred from the Washington State Federation of Labor following his attempt to smash other AFL unions in that state. Hall led an attack against the Canadian Seamen's Union during its strike six years ago and smashed that body, with disastrous consequences which have never been overcome in the Canadian merchant marine.

DOCKERS SMELL GRAB

The AFL's "new look" did not impress the New York dockers. These workers smelled the new grab for power by the Hall and Beck machines. In fact, their intentions were so suspect that both Hall and Beck had to take a back seat while the AFL sent in a new figure, Ace Keenan, as front man in its dis-organizing drive. Nevertheless, the Hall and Beck machines stand to gain most with AFL success.

Waterfront workers are not impressed with Hall's denunciation of gangsters and racketeers. Hall tried for years to break into the inner circle of ex-ILA President Joseph "King" Ryan, but never got beyond the waiting room. He did talk the old ILA officials into formation of a Maritime Trades Council, set up primarily for mutual defense of their vested interests and aggression against the CIO maritime unions. But the ILA officials never took much interest in Hall's schemes — they had their own troubles just sitting tight and maintaining control over their empire.

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AFL, a majority stayed with the old ILA. A major reason was the dockers' hostility to the new state-controlled and regimented hiring set up which had initial AFL support.

SUPERB DEMONSTRATION

The present combative of the New York longshoremen against every agency trying to beat them down is a superb demonstration. These dockers fought the gangsters on their backs for years, when the present unholy alliance defended the parasites. Today the gangster elements inside the old ILA are fighting their competitors, and thus must go along with the militant rank-and-file upsurge. But the gangsters' days are numbered. The rank and file can only come out of this present great fight with new confidence in their strength.

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