

LETTER TO TROTSKYISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

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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.

Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the SWP, reported on "The New Political Situation and the Party-Building Outlook."

In his report to the Plenum, Dobbs noted the growing mass political antagonism to the Big Business administration in Washington.

WRIGHT WORKERS VOICE ANGER AT CUT-BACKS

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."

"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."

"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."

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

CIO Steelworkers in Canton, O., have made the first unemployment demonstration in this country since World War II.

There were only 20 banner-bearing paraders. They marched before the main office of the Timken Roller Bearing Co. for about 10 minutes.

In the first years of the 1920-40 depression, the workers were largely unorganized. The unions then re-created themselves.

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. 15 to act.

The union ranks want their leaders, first of all, to stop repeating the silly nonsense about "talking our way" into a depression.

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.

PROPOSAL FOR LABOR PARTY WIDELY DISCUSSED IN UNIONS

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?

Similarly, AFL Teamsters President Dave Beck diverged so far from the traditional AFL leadership's hostility to even the thought of a labor party as to state on Oct. 20 that those "who seek to put the chain of the Taft-Hartley Act" around labor "will be to see the day when American labor will follow England's [example] and tie progress to political action."

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.

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.

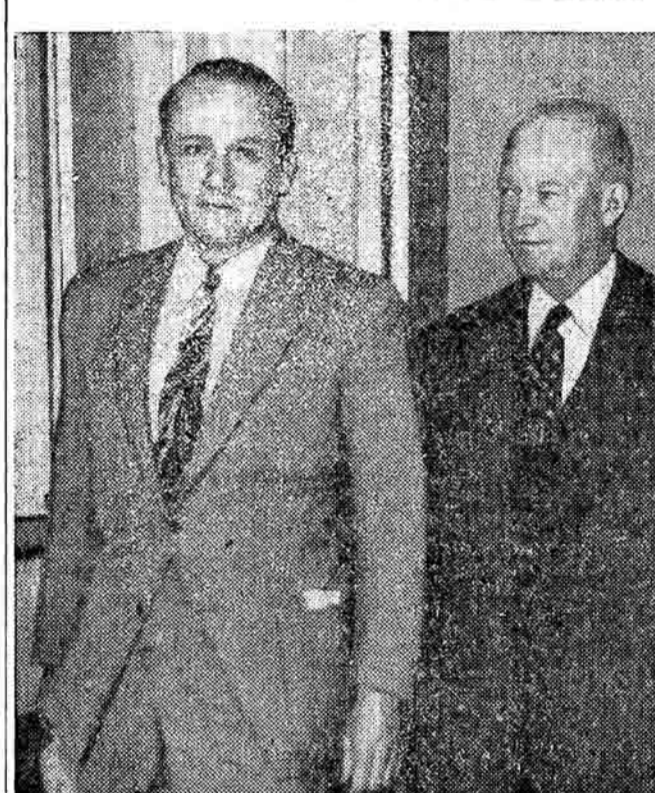
The SWP vote represents an increase over the last comparable election, the 1949 mayoralty contest, and over the vote obtained in New York City in last year's campaign.

WALTER REUTHER

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 buses; of police brutality in every city and town.

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.

Worried Over GOP Losses



Pres. Eisenhower and Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland of California at a recent White House conference.

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, 2335.

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.

Witch Hunt Now Turns On Truman

NOV. 11 — Two facts stand out from the sensational charges lodged against ex-President Truman by Attorney General Brownell last week: 1. The Democrats are today prime targets of the witch hunt that they themselves started.

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 for a campaign to go all-out in unrestrained red-baiting smears and "spy" frameups against the Democrats as a means of staving off defeat in the 1954 elections.

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.

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.

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.

Jim Crow System in South Is Still Riding High

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

reaping the rewards of their bold independent policy. Eisenhower wooed 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 struggle in defense of the program of Trotskyism.

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, rankable 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 revolution that give birth to nothing but "deformed," that is, Stalin-type workers states which are to 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 holding to the main course 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

in Russia, only later, as it betrays their confidence, to hurl them either into the arms of the Social Democracy, 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.

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 "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 unforced 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?

when we remind ourselves that the strike as genuine revolutionaries. 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 PCI (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 by leaders levelled at them by the Stalinists.

The American Pabloites

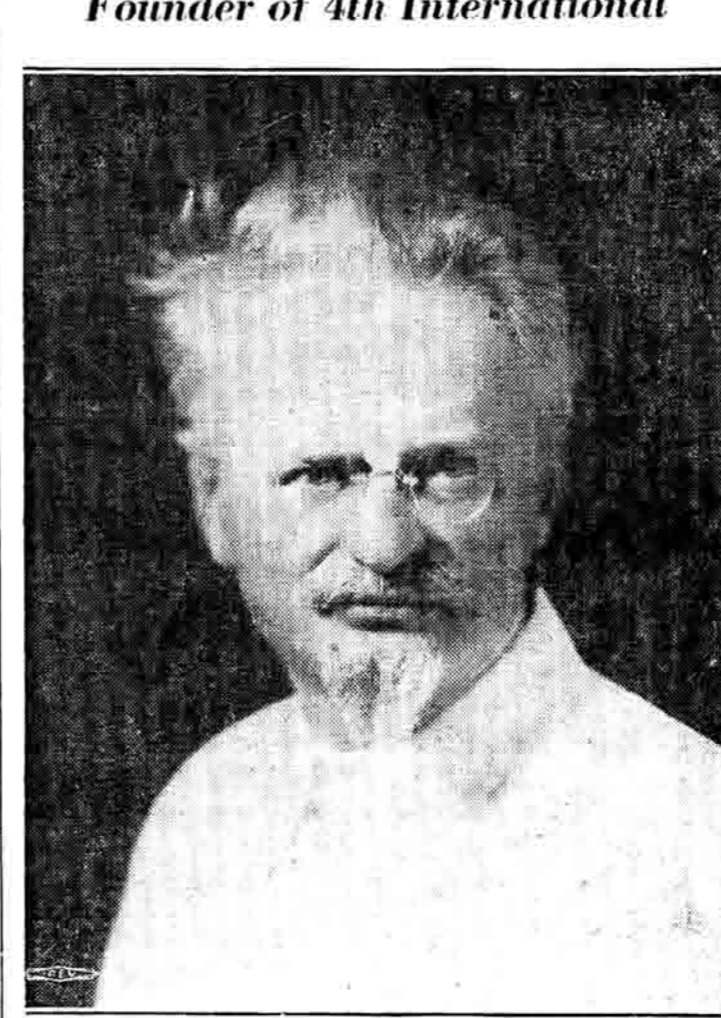
The test of these world events is sufficient, in our opinion, to indicate the depth of Pabloite conciliationism toward Stalinism. But we would like to submit for public inspection of the world Trotskyist movement some additional facts.

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.

The relative security and 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.

Founder of 4th International



LEON TROTSKY

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.
- (3) Another group, composed of conservative union elements, centered primarily in Detroit, sees little to be gained by turning to the Stalinists. It bases its revisionist outlook on an overestimation of the stability and lasting power of the new labor bureaucracy.
- (4) 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.
- (5) The cement binding this unprincipled bloc is common hostility to orthodox Trotskyism.
- (6) 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 which 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.
- (7) 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.
- (8) 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."
- (9) 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-

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 initiating nucleus of American Trotskyism in October 1928.

The organized boycott of this meeting was, in effect, a demonstration against the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in the New York municipal election. All who participated in this treacherous, anti-party action obviously consummated the split 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.

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

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 theoret-

ical 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

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 sulks 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.

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.

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.

A Letter to World Trotskyists

(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."

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.

Many Unions Seek Shorter Work Week

(Continued from page 1) the government's figures on October unemployment were placed at a peacetime low of 1,162,000. As the Nov. 7 Business Week blandly admits, this figure "wants both examination and interpretation."

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.

CHICAGO Socialist Workers Christmas Bazaar

Something for everyone! Dec. 5, 12 Noon SWP Hall 734 South Wabash Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments

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Just Published THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN by JAMES KUTCHER. "The much argued case of Kutcher is summed up in this impressive volume." - Newark Evening News.

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.

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.

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

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

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

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

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

Upset over the danger to the bond issue, Burke called a meeting with representatives of the NAACP to try to make peace, but when the NAACP committee could not be pacified by pressure and trickery, or 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 1/2c an hour in Colorado factories doing exactly the same work for which men are paid \$1.45.

Everybody is for equal pay these days. The Republicans and Democrats both spoke for it in the 1952 presidential campaign. Business and civic organizations of every type endorsed it. In spite of this, equal pay laws are in effect in only 13 states and Alaska. Not one of the nine equal pay bills introduced in state legislatures this year or the seven introduced in 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, "unavailable." They refused to accept the October issue for mailing and also applied a retroactive ban on four earlier issues. The magazine, formerly was named Soviet Russia Today. The law under which the political censorship was applied was passed during the 1917 war hysteria and extended today under terms of the "national emergency" which Truman proclaimed after entry into the undeclared Korean War.

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

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS at its 17th 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 kidnaping case would be foolish to notify the FBI because the finder would be subjected to intense grilling, treated like a criminal, hauled out of bed in the middle of the night. The editorial deprecates 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-wire-tapping 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."

THE MILITANT

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.

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

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 pressure group . . . 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 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 York radical vote for Roosevelt, Lehman, La Guardia and other capitalist candidates.

During the war period, the Dublin-Ky-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.

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 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.

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 hardship, true, 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

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 scoreboard 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."

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 presents A Series of Lectures (4) AFL-CIO Unity? Speaker: Tom Kerry Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles, Union organizer and labor editor, will discuss recent developments in the American labor movement. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 P. M. (5) Racial Discrimination Richard Fraser Writer, Lecturer Fri., Nov. 27, 8 P. M. FORUM HALL 1702 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953 Questions — Discussion Refreshments Subscription 35 cents