

LETTER TO TROTSKYISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

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

By Tom Denver

PATERSON, N.J. — "Who are they kidding?" said a young veteran. "The notice said 1400 were getting the ax and now they're laying off men who've been on the job six months. They must have hired five or six thousand in that time."

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

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

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

"Wait'll I go home and tell my old lady," said a father of ten days. "She'll meet me at the door with the baby in her arms and I'll say, well honey, I've been laid off. I already told her when the notice went up I might not get laid off. Then I spoke to the foreman and he said I had nothing to worry about because they want touch this department."

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

WHAT ABOUT HOUSE?"

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

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

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

"What about the mortgage?"

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

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

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

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

Layoffs, Political Action Are Key Issues for CIO

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

By Joseph Keller

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

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 1929-40 depression, the workers were largely unorganized. The unions then emerged themselves with the plight of the unemployed.

Today, the workers are powerfully organized and look to their unions immediately when layoffs hit them. It is symbolic that the Canton workers paraded to the plant gates directly from their union meeting.

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

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

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

By Art Preis

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

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

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."

Unlike the completely hostile statements of many union leaders in the past, Meany and Beck now say they are not opposed in principle to American labor building its own party sometime in the future, although they still propose to cling for the present to the old discredited, corrupt, Big Business political machines, particularly the Democrats.

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 Republican Party has already disappointed many who voted for it in 1952.



WALTER REUTHER

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

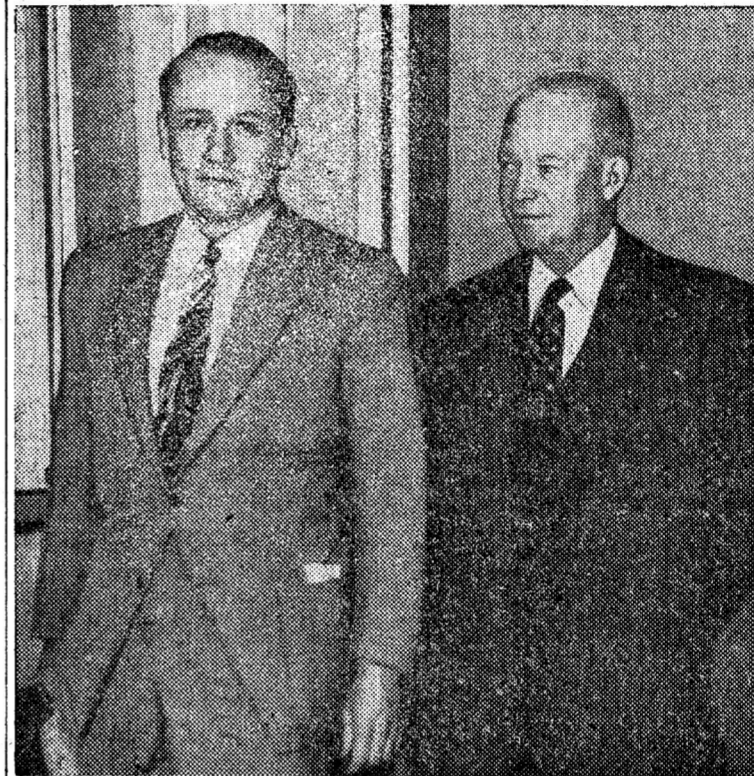
In 1953 the party conducted municipal campaigns in Oakland, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit and San Francisco. The total vote given to the SWP candidates in these elections was 29,335.

Tracing these shifts in the workers' mood, Dobbs said, "The workers already feel the effects of loss of overtime pay, reduced work week at reduced pay, mounting lay-offs, high taxes and high cost-of-living."

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

(Continued on page 3)

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, 2336.

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.

Weiss, Joyce Cowley and Catherine Gratta — made 26 radio and television appearances, more than in any previous SWP municipal campaign.

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

Despite the witch hunt atmosphere and the lack of interest in the municipal election, the SWP spokesmen found friendly audiences at the many forums and street corner rallies at which they appeared.

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.

THE ACCUSATION

Accusation against Truman was that he "knowingly" promoted a government official after learning in December 1945, and early 1946 that he was a Soviet "spy."

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

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

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

NO INDICTMENT

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

White died of a heart attack in 1948, after a grilling before the House Un-American Committee, at which the chairman repeatedly refused his requests for hourly recesses because of his heart condition.

Two years later Whittaker Chambers, another renegade Stalinist, tried to implicate White as a "source" of material for a spy ring, but admitted he knew White never belonged to the Communist Party and was not under its discipline.

Thus the facts in the case flatly disprove the charge that Truman "knew" White was a spy when he promoted him. Truman (Continued on page 4)

Jim Crow System in South Is Still Riding High

By George Lavan

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

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

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

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

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

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

This survey of Negro employment in the upper South is, of course, a valid picture of the deep South as well. Some social gains have been made — by dint of hard fighting and the blood of martyrs like

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

TERROR CONTINUES

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

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

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

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

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

APPEASE TALMADGE

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

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

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

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.

# 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.

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

tion in Russia, only later, as it betrays their confidence, to hurl them either into the arms of the Social 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 orthodox Trotskyist principles in 1939-40 against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition headed by Burnham and Shachtman. That record has had profound influence in shaping the Fourth International in the past 13 years.

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

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

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

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

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

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 unforeseen way.

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

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

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

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

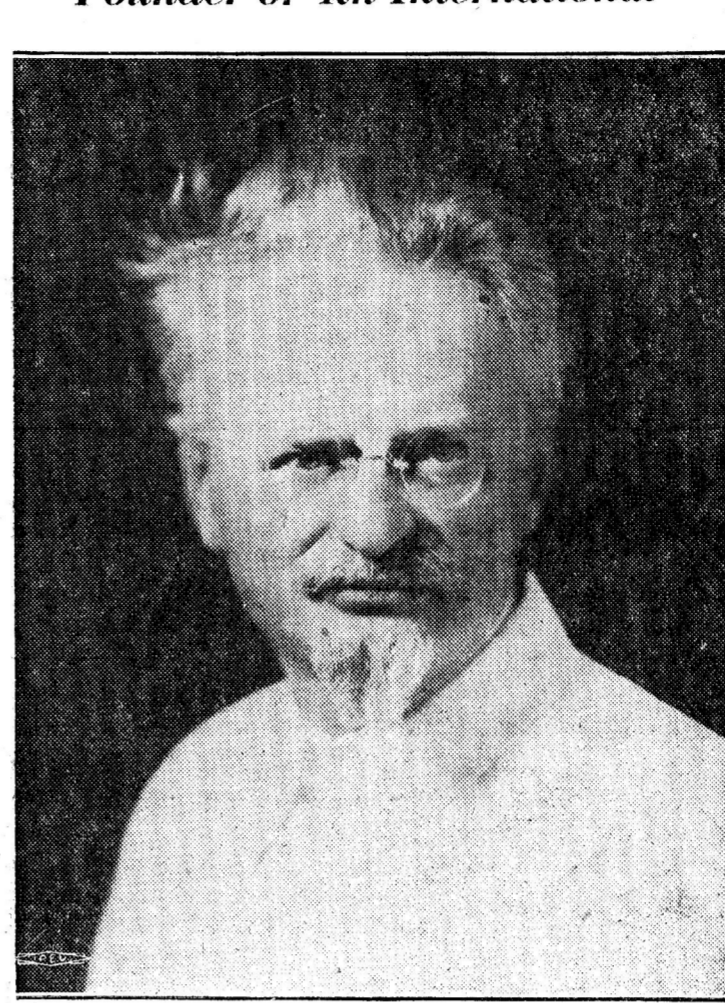
But even this does not complete the account. One of the principal aims of the Pabloite leaflet is to denounce French Trotskyists who conducted themselves in the Renault plant during

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

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

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

### Founder of 4th International



LEON TROTSKY

the strike as genuine revolutionists. It specifically names two comrades who have "been expelled from the Fourth International and its French Section for more than a year." It states that this "group has been expelled for reasons of indiscipline; and the orientation which it has followed, especially in the course of the last strike movement, is opposed to that actually defended by the 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 heard of such a scandal as officially denouncing Trotskyist militants to Stalinists and providing rationalizations to the workers for an abominable Stalinist betrayal?

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

### The American Pabloites

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

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

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

### Features of Cochranism

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

through a victorious socialist revolution.

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

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

(1) Disrespect for party tradition and the historic mission of the party. Hardly an opportunity is lost by the Cochranites to denigrate, ridicule and preach contempt for the 25-year tradition of American Trotskyism.

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

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

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

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

(3) A tendency to shift the party away from what our main arena must be in America, the politically unawakened workers of the mass production industries. The Cochranites, in effect, dropped the program of "transitional" slogans and demands 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.

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

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 on a more feverish and hysterical basis than ever.

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

Pablo's secret encouragement and support was exposed soon after our May Plenum, and since then Pablo has been openly collaborating with the revisionist faction in our party and inspiring them in their campaign of 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

(Continued from page 2)



