

LEON TROTSKY'S IDEAS A LIVING FORCE TODAY

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French Ruling Class Panicky Over Morocco

By George Lavan

French imperialism in Morocco is frantically racing against an August 20 deadline for a general strike fraught with revolutionary possibilities. The day of the general strike has also been proclaimed a day of national mourning by the outlawed Istiqlal (Independence) Party, since it is the second anniversary of the French ruler's ousting of the pro-Istiqlal Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef.

Unless French imperialism finds some means of allaying the mass anger of the Moroccan people, the huge numbers of police and troops now holding the country down will not suffice to prevent tremendous independence demonstrations and street fighting throughout the French Protectorate on Aug. 20.

EXILED SULTAN

Sultan Ben Youssef, nominally the ruler of Morocco, was thrown off his throne on Aug. 20, 1953 by the French "protectors" who forcibly took over the country in 1912 and usurped all the power. Ben Youssef declared himself for the Istiqlal Party after World War II. He also called for liberal constitutional government, labor unions, free education, etc.

When the French rulers re-

placed him with a puppet Sultan, he became the symbol of the Moroccan people's fight for independence. There has been a reign of terror in Morocco since his deposition as the French tried to put down all protests by main force. Now the situation has reached a climax.

French preparations for Aug. 20 are twofold. First, more troops are being rushed into the colony. Infantry has been transferred from Algeria, where guerrilla warfare is raging, to Fez, important city in northern Morocco. Naval commando troops have been sent as reinforcements to Casablanca. Military preparations in the country may be gauged from reports from Marrakech. There round blocks have been set up around the city and inside the city security forces occupy strategic positions.

The other preparations of the French rulers are political. A last minute move to quiet the Moroccans down with minor con-

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Waiting for Review of Case



Eugene Landy, second highest man in his graduating class, was barred from receiving U.S. Merchant Marine Academy commission on charges that his mother (shown above) Mrs. Deborah Landy of Bradley Beach, N. J., was once a member of the Communist Party. Widespread protest compelled Navy Sec. Charles S. Thomas to grant the 21-year-old Landy a "full review" of this guilt by blood association with his mother.

Mine Mill Strike Won; Brownell Attacks Union

By Art Sharon

The six-week strike of the independent Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union came to an end this week with the signing of an agreement with the Kennecott Copper Corp. This corporation was the last

of the big four non ferrous producers to fall into line. Previously the union had signed an agreement ending the strike with American Smelting and Refining, and Phelps Dodge Corp. Anaconda Copper had signed in the beginning to avoid a strike.

The new agreement with Kennecott provides for a 15-cent "package" increase, and some pension improvements. The other agreements differed little from this.

GOVT. ATTACK ON UNION

The union having gained a respite on the economic front now turns its attention to a serious fight for its existence on the political front. Attorney General Brownell filed charges under the Brownell-Butler-Humphrey Communist Control Act of 1954 on July 28 in a move to deprive the MMSW of legal standing and opening the road to a government break up of the union.

Last October the Department of Justice indicted Maurice Travis, Secretary-Treasurer of the Union on six counts revolving around "Communist" activities and affiliations. Travis resigned his post but is now Northern California representative of the Union and was its chief negotiator with American Refining and Oct. 31.

Up to the present time the only unions announcing their support for Mine Mill Workers are the other independent unions who face similar government action at this time.

The AFL News Reporter reported the facts about the government action against the MMSW and took care in its story to remind its readers that the union busting Communist Control Act could not apply against the AFL or CIO. Actually, at the time of its passage it was conceded by the Senate debaters that if need be the bill could be used against an AFL or CIO union.

The story in the AFL News Reporter is slanted to reflect the official AFL and CIO viewpoint that the action against the Mine Mill Workers is none of their business. The action, or rather lack of action, and acquiescence of labor's top leaders in the face of these threatening anti-labor laws recalls the summary that John L. Lewis made of the position taken by these labor leaders in the face of the Taft-Hartley Act.

As readers of the Militant will recall he blasted the entire top leadership of the AFL as counsellors of retreat "who run like cravens before the Taft-Hartley law." They were, he said, "fat and stately asses."

Witch Hunt in Actors' Unions Boosted by Walter Hearings

Ranks Cool to Faction Fight in Steel Union

YOUNGSTOWN, Aug. 15 — The fight that broke out over filling the post of vice-president of the Steelworkers Union is increasing in intensity. Now the staff men, mostly

those who are supporting Joseph P. Moloney, the opponent of the Steelworkers' Union President David J. McDonald's choice, are organizing a union within the union — an organization that would give job security to the staff men. They fear that they will be "disciplined" because they have chosen to oppose McDonald's candidate, Howard Hague.

There is no doubt that this latest move to organize union employees is part of the greater power struggle that is going on for the control of the vice-president's job. Moloney heads the opposition group of district directors and has strong support from James Griffin, director of the Youngstown district. Hague has the support of President McDonald and a majority of the district directors in the international union.

POWER STRUGGLE

Because this is a power struggle within the bureaucracy, it is inevitable that one section of the machine will threaten those who are challenging them for power. And also it is to be expected that the opposing forces, to defend themselves against "disciplinary" action, will also use methods that will aid them in their struggle.

The threats and charges, etc. that are flying around in this kind of a fight are a part of the struggle for power and privileges that goes with holding office these days.

This formation of power caucuses seeps down into the ranks of the little bureaucrats on Local union levels. All the little job holders and job seekers within the locals join the caucus that holds out for them some future as bureaucrats, of whatever size.

In contrast to this, the workers have shown little interest in the election campaign. Neither side has indicated that it has a program to meet the problems that will be confronting the steelworkers. Neither side automates anything about automation, cutbacks, the tremendous debts that workers have to pay or the need for a greater share in the national wealth. No, the rank and file are being forgotten.

The Moloney forces may cry that the issue is democracy because they fear that the McDonald machine may do a bit of purging, but that cry is not consistent with the record of the Moloney group. The Moloney forces have not demonstrated in the past that they would lead a fight against bureaucratic ac-

Guardian Editor Deported; Free Press in Peril

Civil liberties, and freedom of the press in particular, was given another resounding blow in the face when the U.S. Department of Justice on Aug. 15 deported British-born editor Cedric Belfrage.

Belfrage, founder and editor of the weekly newspaper, National Guardian, which represents the viewpoint of the Progressive Party, has lived in this country for the past 19 years. Both his children were born here. The case against Belfrage, was built on an informer's allegation that 18 years ago he was a Communist.

REFUSED TO INFORM

In 1953 Belfrage refused to be a "cooperative witness" (read: stool pigeon) before the McCarthy Committee. Two days later he was arrested for deportation under the vicious McCarran-Walter Act. In the three months preceding his deportation, he was subjected to an especially vindictive persecution by the Department of Justice.

He was held in maximum confinement, part of the time in virtual solitary confinement, in a federal prison. Officials refused to transfer him to a deportation center for holding aliens on the grounds that he was an "agitator," i.e., editor of the National Guardian. While in prison he wrote a statement to the readers of his newspaper. Prison authorities refused to let him mail it out.

Infant Victim of Walter Law



Because her father, Sanford Jacobs of Philadelphia, was stationed at an Air Force base in England when she was born, 21½-year-old Leslie (between her parents) had to be taken out of the country for a day and returned in order to qualify as an "American" under the weird technicalities of the Walter McCarran Immigration law. This law, co-authored by the would-be successor to McCarthy, Francis Walter, is shot through with racist and witch-hunt provisions.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS SIGN 5-YEAR CONTRACT

One hundred thousand workers of the General Electric Company are being asked to accept a new contract negotiated by the leaders of the CIO International Union of

Electrical Workers. The terms of the new agreement announced last week are surprisingly poor in comparison with other agreements recently negotiated in leading industries.

Although the IUE had announced earlier its determination to secure the Guaranteed Annual Wage the new contract failed to secure even the unemployment insurance supplement the auto workers got. Instead the contract's main feature was a five year plan of wage increases.

Every year for five years there will be a 3% wage increase which this year will average 4½¢ to 10¢ for the highest paid workers. The contract contains a provision for a cost-of-living boost tied to the Labor Department's quarterly index. Some gains were made on pensions and sick benefits.

The contract contains no wage re-opener clause. However it provides for reopening in 1958

on "company security" clauses. This can be viewed as a safety valve for the considerable resentment that exists over speed-up in the GE plants.

CRITICIZED BY UE

The IUE's chief rival, the independent United Electrical Workers has publicly criticized the settlement as falling short of the concessions won by that union from other electrical firms.

In its public statement the UE said that the wage concession was five to ten cents less than what was gained in auto, steel and copper and it also attacked the five year feature of the contract as "retrogressive."

The UE statement said further that it "regards it as unfortunate that the IUE-CIO announced acceptance of this first company offer, which covers 60 pages, within minutes after the company tossed it on the table."

Clique of Blacklisters In Entertainment Field Assisted by Probers

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 19 — Holding to the ground rules laid down by McCarthy, a sub-committee of the House Un-American Activities Committee this afternoon concluded a four-day "investigation of subversion" in the theater.

Originally scheduled for five days, the hearings were cut short and wound up this afternoon. Twenty-two witnesses defied the committee's effort to pry into their political beliefs and associations as well as the internal affairs of their unions. Only one

"cooperative" witness was on tap. The announcement of the cancellation of the fifth session was made last night by Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) who heads the committee. He referred vaguely to the "unavailability" of a number of scheduled witnesses.

During the grilling of the actors and actresses each of them was questioned specifically about his membership in Actors Equity and the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists. (AFTRA) All of the questions were loaded to convey a picture of widespread "communist" activity in the two unions.

The hearings themselves had been announced one week after the membership of the AFTRA had delivered a setback to Aware, Inc., a privately organized McCarthyite outfit which has been sparking the current blacklisting drive in the entertainment industry.

The Aware outfit was organized after Red Channels and Counter-attack, privately published dope sheets on "subversives" in the entertainment world, had been discredited to the point of being knocked out of business. Vincent Hartnett, one of the co-authors of Red Channels, is executive director of Aware, Inc. As a sideline he provides the radio and video industry with political dossiers on prospective employees at five dollars a throw.

The McCarthyite supporters of Aware demonstrated their power in AFTRA last December when they defeated an opposition slate in the elections for the New York local executive board. Testing their newly-won strength, they immediately issued a smear sheet listing 13 of the defeated board candidates as having "what are considered significant public records in connection with Communist-front apparatus." This carefully-worded hint was sufficient to add the 13 to the industry's blacklist. At the same time it served to arouse the membership of the local to the danger of what was going on.

At the union's meeting on May 24 a resolution condemning Aware was carried 197-149. The McCarthyites immediately demanded a referendum of the entire local New York membership. On July 4 it was announced that the anti-Aware resolution had carried by

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Do You Now Or Have You Ever Had a Mother?

By Henry Gitano

Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, has rendered an important service to the cause of American civil liberties with his special report on "The Draftee and Internal Security."

It was this two-volume report on the army's smearing of draftees with "Undesirable" and "General" discharges with "disloyalty" notations on them, that Watts, Norman Thomas and Kenneth Birkhead, national director of the American Veterans Committee, recently took in protest to the Secretary of the Army.

The Watts report on the refusal of honorable discharges to GI's because of alleged pre-induction beliefs and/or associations is based on study of 110 cases. The material quoted below is from this report.

1. Disposition: still pending. "You were closely associated with your mother, a reported Communist Party member, and continue to correspond with her." Case 49. Disposition: still pending.

"You have a mother who was a member of the Communist Party. You have a grandmother who is a Russian-born Communist." Case 28. Disposition: undesirable discharge.

"You have a father who was reported to be a member of the Communist Party. You have a stepmother who was registered with the American Labor Party." Answer: "It is with the deepest moral indignity coupled with filial piety that I refuse to answer these questions concerning my father and my step-mother." Case 13. Disposition: undesirable discharge.

As the above cases indicate, the army demands that one be exceedingly careful in choosing one's parentage, unless one intends to squeal on them. The army's relevancy criteria

really stretches some. An Army Intelligence summary states: "Subject has a mother-in-law who was reported to have been 'lying low' as a Communist for a long time and was supposed to become active in the peace movement again." Case 33. Dis-

position: pending. This mother-in-law certainly was 'lying low'. She died in 1940, when the accused was ten years old, and ten years before he met the girl he married.

Other charges include: "Listed in your notebook the names of eight individuals all of whom have subversive backgrounds." Case 19. Disposition: pending. "You associated with an individual who was associated with known Communist sympathizers." Case 36. Hearing scheduled.

"Admitted you attended the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in Chicago in 1946. You knew that the Socialist Workers Party was an organization that had been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, at the time of your attendance of the National Convention." Case 10. Disposition: undesirable. The Attorney General's list was first promulgated in the fall of 1947. The mere fact that an allegation is patently impossible does not detract one whit from its "value."

"You were believed to be a Communist and were an ardent reader of Marx and Engels." Case 41. Disposition: undesirable.

"You subscribed to Labor Ac-

tion." Case 34. Disposition: undesirable. "Repeatedly, witnesses are asked: 'Does he read?' 'Does he do much reading?' 'What books does he read?' Music and Art also arouse suspicious concern, until we reach this stage:

"Q. 'What do you mean an intellectual? Does that mean you question our present way of living and our present Government? Is that what you mean by an intellectual?' In other words, you don't accept for face value. Is that what you mean?" "Q. 'Does it mean that you consider our form of Government open to question, and you're not too firm about defending our form of Government?'" Watts Report Vol. 1 pp 58-59.

Big Brother is watching over you, even when you sleep. "... the man's company commander in Basic training testified as a character witness at the hearing a year later. When asked, on cross examination, how he

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What Army Brass Wants

"The whole military training is based on instant obedience. A man is not allowed to think in the Army. He is expected to obey orders and obey them right or wrong, foolish or wise, drunk or sober." — Col. John H. Gray, American Legion, Senate Committee testimony.

"The Army forces every man to go backward. He's reduced to a boy of fifteen with a kind of strict parental control." — Major William Baker, Chief of Fort Wright Neuropsychiatric Service.

"The objective is a nervous system reconditioned to respond without the slightest hesitation. As one company commander told a new platoon in his indoctrination speech: 'If the drill instructor tells you to go out and get him a slice of the moon, you will immediately proceed outside and start jumping in that direction.'" — Gilbert Bailey in "The Marines Still Have the Situation in Hand," The New York Times Magazine, Jan. 16, 1949.

A Salute to a Fallen Comrade

[We print below the speech delivered by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the memorial meeting, August 14, for Calvin De Crescenzo. Calvin, an outstanding trade unionist and socialist militant, was tragically killed by a bolt of lightning on August 5, 1953. He was 30 years old. The memorial meeting, under the auspices of the New York SWP local, was chaired by Vincent Copeland, N. Y. Organizer. Other speakers were Sam Marcy, Buffalo SWP Organizer, and Art Sharon. — Ed.]

By Farrell Dobbs

All of us have felt very keenly the loss of Comrade Calvin. The shock of his sudden passing tapped the deepest wells of our love for him and brought home fully to us how much we cherished his comradeship.

His buoyant spirit helped to maintain our good morale. His faith in the movement reinforced our confidence in the great work we are doing. His persistence helped impel us to greater accomplishments.

We enjoyed and profited from his sense of humor which often helped to break tensions — a thing that is so important in struggle. His thoughtfulness of others warmed the heart of many a comrade. He was not a perfect man. He was just intensely human, strong and inspiring, a right guy who won the respect, confidence and love of his comrades.

It was not Calvin's personal qualities alone that aroused these feelings in others. He could inspire his comrades because the party he helped to build was also helping to build him.

PURPOSEFUL LIFE

He found in the party a purposeful life, founded on knowledge of the fundamental problems of human society and how to fight for a better life for all



CALVIN DE CRESCENZO

This knowledge shaped his whole development and brought out the very best there was in him. It gave him a full and rich existence, made him a wholly rounded person. As a revolutionary socialist Calvin lived more in thirty years than the average individual can live in a hundred.

Within the movement life for Calvin became creative and inspiring. He became an outward looking person who could rise above immersion in the small matters of individual daily life. He showed a great capacity to believe in the ability of the working class to fulfill its historic mission disdainful of sneering skeptics, he stood like a rock against all opponents and showed what a determined young worker can do when armed with revolutionary socialist consciousness.

Like all our young activists Calvin was a symbol of the vitality of our party. He demonstrated singleness of purpose in the big things and at all times gave without hesitation according to the requirements of the situation. He was loyal and devoted in his service to the party

and the working class. He never faltered in his big decision, to dedicate his life to the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind.

AN ORGANIZATION MAN

Calvin rose above the anarchy of individualism. He was an organization man, reflecting the best qualities of the activists who constitute the backbone of our party. In this he was a blood brother of the foot troops of all history, the great rank and file who have carried on their shoulders through struggle and strife every forward movement of human kind. In the end all great historic decisions rest with them, with their consciousness, courage, devotion and will to do battle.

Like all good activists he

never shirked a party task. He pitched all the time, in the party and in the union movement, whatever the job, whether dramatic or routine, big or small.

Calvin carried over into his mass work the splendid qualities he demonstrated in the party. He gave a good account of himself as a union organizer and strike leader. He passed the acid test as an able shop steward who knew the relation of small things to the large, who showed bull dog persistence day in and day out, and grew skilled in the daily cold war between the workers and the capitalists.

Calvin's shop mates paid him the highest tribute when they closed down the shop and came in a body to his funeral. This was not merely an act of friendship, although they clearly had

deep personal regard for him, a feeling that he aroused in all who really knew him.

The closing of the shop was a conscious act by the workers in tribute to a fighter. It marked the depth of his influence among them. In that act they pledged to keep the faith, to carry on the union struggle in the best tradition of Calvin's teaching and example. The workers didn't ask permission from the boss to close down the shop. They simply told him there would be no work on the day of the funeral.

In the most fundamental sense Calvin himself organized that demonstration. The totality of his relationship with the workers helped give consciousness to the act. It was a formal notice to the boss that, although

Calvin could no longer be present in the shop, part of him and his fighting spirit would remain there in the person of every worker militant.

CALVIN'S MESSAGE

Through that demonstration by his shop mates Calvin left a profound message to his party comrades: "Fear not the adverse pressures of the day," he was saying to us. "Be not deceived by a passing lull in the militancy of the workers. Stand by the great cause to which you have dedicated your life. Work persistently to advance the socialist program. Be confident that your labors will in the end bear fruit and even now you accomplish more than you realize."

Calvin gave that message by drawing his union mates to his funeral and in doing so he said to his party comrades: "Take this demonstration as a pledge that in days to come, when social crisis begins to transform the mass movement, the workers will rally to your leadership. They will remember how you stood like a rock in the days of reaction. They will trust and support you as their leader when the social crisis comes."

Today, in our own hall and in our own way, we say farewell to our beloved Comrade Calvin. We say this last goodbye not in a spirit of despair, for in that we would not be true to him. He was made of much sterner stuff and we must be worthy of him as he was of the party.

It is only human for us to feel sorrow at this parting. Yet we say farewell with a sense of pride, pride that he was a soldier in our ranks.

We say our final respects to him with renewed determination to carry forward the great work to which he dedicated his life. In that way alone can we offer revolutionary tribute to Comrade Calvin's memory.

Plans Man-Made Moon



Dr. Joseph Caplan, with globe and blackboard sketches, outlines plan for launching satellite ten times larger than the "flying basketball" now projected. Dr. Caplan, chairman of the U.S. Natl. Comm. for the Intl. Geophysical Year and head of the satellite project, could not predict when the man-made moon could be rocketed into space.

... Morocco Crisis

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sessions is being tried. The recently appointed French Resident General, Gilbert Grandval, who made a month's tour of the colony and everywhere was greeted with mass demonstrations demanding the return of the exiled Sultan, has been authorized by the French cabinet to try to head off the revolt by offering minor concessions.

This scheme has already begun with a move to get rid of the puppet Sultan, Ben Arafa, who is despised by all Moroccans save a handful of quislings. The puppet ruler has been ordered by Grandval to form a broad cabinet representing all tendencies, including the nationalists, by Aug. 18.

Since very few Moroccans would touch him with a ten-foot pole, the possibilities of his forming such a government on four days notice is nil. Thereupon, the French rulers are expected to depose him and announce that a Regency Council will be set up.

This plan of getting the hated puppet off the scene does not provide for the return of Sultan Ben Youssef, a French prisoner on the island of Madagascar. For that reason, the first public statements of Istiqlal leaders to the plan has been of bitter rejection.

Nonetheless the French are going ahead with their plan and it is likely they count on winning over a section of the nationalist

leaders by offering them posts on the Regency Council.

Whether even such steps can avert the clashes expected Aug. 20 remains to be seen. First, the wealthy French residents (colons) in Morocco have a colonial-fascist organization which bitterly opposes the slightest concessions to the native people. The police and army officers obey this organization's order more readily than they do Resident General Grandval's. They may well try to precipitate bloodshed Aug. 20.

Secondly, the nationalist movement has been differentiating itself more and more on class lines. The Moroccan proletariat has emerged as the most militant fighter against the French. It inclines to demand full and immediate independence rather than window-dressing concessions. It has formed its own illegal trade unions and a National Resistance Movement.

It is noteworthy that the New York Times dispatches have begun referring to "urban nationalists" and represent them as the most militant of the Istiqlal leaders. The Christian Science Monitor of Aug. 12 reports that many French in Morocco believe the greatest immediate danger "is the tendency among frustrated young Moroccans, who feel themselves forced to leave even the nationalistic Istiqlal Party, to move into clandestine groups of fanatics."

... Have You Ever Had a Mother?

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remembered so well this particular man... he said he had been ordered to observe him, so he had assigned his squad leader and the men who went to the right and left of him, to report everything he said and did. (He found no disloyalty). Watts Report Vol. 1 p 24.

"The individual had two interviews with Army security officers. . . In the course of the interview one of them asked him, 'did you know that there were many Jews at the University of — ?' Another question was: 'Why did you, a white person, belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?'" Case 8.

Rowland Watts summarizes his findings: "A careful study of the Army Military Personnel Security program and its application to inducted men makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the ideal draftee is an

only child of spontaneous generation, who, despite a hermit childhood, has miraculously acquired the ability to read and write English but has never made use of these skills." Watts Report Vol. 1 p 6.

The present phase of the Army Security program began in 1950 with the application of Truman's loyalty order to draftees. Those considered politically suspect were barred from service or ousted with an honorable discharge, as was the case with Dr. Peress. Thus, no lifetime stigma was plastered against the man.

"The traditional policy of the Army has been that the discharge given should reflect the service rendered . . . not understanding what his conduct may have been prior to entering service," testified Army Secretary Stevens, March 18, 1954. But the army capitulated to the witch-hunt furor over Peress, as Stevens adds: "I recently changed it and directed that where a man is discharged from the service because he is found to be disloyal or subversive, his separation . . . should be under other than honorable conditions, regardless of the actual character of the service rendered."

Thus the army exercises "political and social control over every young man subject to the Selective Service law from the dawn of his mature understanding, until he approaches 30. Through the threat of an 'Undesirable' discharge, it says 'Conform, not only in active service but for the full term (including six years of reserve time) of your developing maturity.'" Watts Report Vol. 1 p 9.

Consequences of an undesirable discharge, include loss of mustering out pay, veterans' benefits, and what is crucial, an undesirable or general discharge is a serious and permanent threat to employment. "Seven jobs in three months is one fantastic fact." Watts Report Vol. 1 p 8.

Spira Defends Soldier's Right To Free Thought

CLEVELAND, Aug. 6 — A hearing was held before the Army Discharge Review Board in Washington, D. C., Aug. 4, on the appeal of former Pvt. Edward L. Spira of this city, who, in October, 1953, was given a "General Discharge Under Honorable Conditions," authorizing by Army Regulation 615-370, which provides for the discharge of enlisted personnel found to be, in the Army's opinion "disloyal or subversive."

Spira was charged by the Army with past membership in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which is cited by the Attorney General as advocating unconstitutional means to change the United States government.

The allegations also charged Spira with attendance at meetings of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and "contact" with the Labor Youth League (LYL), both organizations being cited by the Attorney General as "subversive and communist."

NO APOLOGIES

An admitted socialist, Spira contested the charges on the grounds that he was exercising his legal, legitimate, constitutional rights, and stated that he had no apologies for so doing.

He further charged that the Army's derogatory action against him constituted a clear case of political discrimination and persecution which could not go by unchallenged.

Former Pvt. Spira freely admitted past active membership in the IWW, attendance at a few public meetings of the SWP, and that he had once requested information about the LYL by mailing in a stub, provided for this purpose on a publicly distributed LYL leaflet.

DENIES "SUBVERSION"

He denied any illegal or subversive activity on his part and contended that a discharge should reflect only an individual's service record and not his prior activities.

Spira further pointed out that the Attorney General's "citations" are only the unsupported and unproved opinions of the Department of Justice and that the basis for these is a well-guarded secret.

Spira, having served only 14 months of a two-year draft period, demanded either honorable reinstatement into, or Honorable Discharge from, the Army. The Board's decision is expected within a few weeks.

Mr. Spira was legally represented at his hearing before the Board by Thomas H. Stone of Richmond, Va.

... Hearings

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the even greater margin of 982-514. It was hard on the heels of this action that Congressman Walter announced his committee was coming to town.

As one sat in the small, crowded Foley Square courtroom watching the Walter Committee trying to put the witnesses through the wringer it became increasingly apparent that reliance on the protective clauses of the U.S. Constitution is essential to avoid getting trapped in the committee's crudely loaded "are you at present a member of the Communist conspiracy" line of questioning.

The point was vividly demonstrated this morning as actor Tony Kraber who has been blacklisted on TV since 1951, refused to answer a long series of questions regarding his political beliefs and associations, as is his right under the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

After almost an hour of steady pounding the actor was asked if he knew singer Paul Robeson. He wearily replied that he did and that during the war he had appeared at Red Cross benefits with him. The Committee's counsel immediately repeated the questions he had previously refused to answer on constitutional grounds.

When Kraber again declined to answer them, Congressman Walter promptly informed him that by answering the Robeson questions he had waived his constitutional privileges and was subject to contempt proceedings for refusing to answer other questions about his associations. Kraber was then dismissed as he angrily declared, "I loath the blacklist and I think this committee is largely responsible for it!"

The most explosive point in the hearings took place Wednesday morning as actress Madeline Lee, another blacklisted victim, blasted the committee for using the hearings as a means for "extending the blacklist." Despite heavy gaveling from Walter, Miss Lee also got into the record the charge that she had been "pressured by representatives of the committee to give false testimony." When she offered to give names, places and dates of attempts to coerce her, Walter sneeringly suggested she "go to the U.S. Attorney."

In response to a demand that she identify the photograph of a participant in a New York May Day parade, Miss Lee retorted, "You not only want to throw me out of work, but you want me to help throw other people out of jobs."

Miss Lee was abruptly dismissed when she responded to the "come clean" demand by telling them, "I'm miscast here. I'm a comedian, not Joan of Arc. The words recant and confess are not my dish!"

CANNON APPRAISES IWW IN F. I. SUMMER ISSUE

The I.W.W., by James P. Cannon, is the featured article in the Summer issue of the Marxist quarterly Magazine, Fourth International. Cannon's article, in reality a full-sized pamphlet answers a need expressed in 1919 by Floyd Dell, editor of the Liberator, a revolutionary magazine of the time.

A history of the IWW, Dell said, could "only be written by one who had a definite view as to the merits of the IWW as protagonist of the revolutionary proletariat. Such a historian would make no pretensions to academic impartiality, however much he might strive for historic truth . . . and he would necessarily address himself to the working-class, in order to show them by the history of the past what courses they should adopt in the future. . . It is high time that were written."

There's been a delay, but the history finally appears, written to Dell's specifications. The occasion is the Fiftieth Anniversary of the IWW's Founding Convention.

This momentous occasion — which "brought together on a common platform the three giants among our ancestors — Debs, Haywood and DeLeon" — really marked the start of the revolutionary working-class movement in the U.S. It was the "great anticipation" of revolutionary trade-unionism and a revolutionary party of the workers' vanguard.

"The CIO movement, at its present stage of development," says Cannon, "is only a small down payment on the demands presented to the future by the pioneers who assembled at the

1905 Convention to start the IWW on its way."

The Summer issue of Fourth International contains another contribution by James P. Cannon on the history of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. The Year 1923 consists of three more Letters to a Historian on the early years of the U.S. Communist Party, in which Cannon was a leading participant up to his expulsion for Trotskyism in 1928. Everything valuable for the instruction of the revolutionary vanguard is extracted from the internal struggles of the Communist Party in a decisive year when a new leadership was being reshaped.

From the Arsenal of Marxism contains Chapter III and IV of G. V. Plekhanov's essay on Belinski and Rational Reality. The first two chapters of the work of the great Russian Marxist were published in the Spring issue of the FI.

In the Gold Coast Revolution, George Lavan discusses what is the most advanced struggle today of Negroes in Africa against imperialism. "The Gold Coast appears close to that political independence . . . attained at the end of world War II by India, Pakistan and Ceylon," says Lavan, and he discusses the perspectives for full-fledged victory.

A lively book review section takes up the concluding pages of the magazine. Fourth International sells for 35c. There is no better buy for your money.

THE MILITANT ARMY

During the recent attempt of the witch hunters to deport Harry Bridges for the fifth time, the Militant carried a full account of the trial proceedings. The San Francisco contingent of Militant Builders reports as follows through Joan Jordan:

"Taking several issues featuring the Bridges case, we covered the Longshoremen's union meeting. With Paul Demos, Esther O'Malley and me selling (and Ralph Walker baby-sitting) we sold 47 papers. Of those who bought papers, we had one contribution of \$1.00, one of 25c and one of 5c above the cost of the papers. The response of the longshoremen is much more conscious and encouraging than it was six months ago to the sale of the Militant."

One of the methods used in the last subscription campaign was to visit a heavily concentrated area of population, going from door to door explaining the socialist ideas of the paper. This was one of the ways used in Philadelphia. George Clement says: "Elizabeth Nesser and Alma Seton have been returning to the project regularly since the campaign ended, and although they are working slowly, are always able to report two or three sales. So far they both feel well satisfied with the activity, and Alma is trying to get more people active in it."

Carl Feggans is enthusiastic about the growth of activity around the Militant. He writes: "We have begun Militant sales in earnest now in Los Angeles. We are attempting to set up regular sales each week at designated places. Some friends have volunteered to undertake such regular assignments. They plan to hit the Los Angeles City College and two street corners once each week at the same time and day so that they will get known there. In this way they will begin to make personal contacts of Militant readers."

"I have just received a phone call from the first sale that took place this morning. Lea Lehman and Betty Kealy covered one busy corner in a predominantly Negro neighborhood and sold 15 Militants in forty minutes. Another two, Rose Goodman and Della Rossa, covered another corner in a Jewish and Mexican neighborhood and sold 12 Militants in 45 minutes."

"These sales indicate that we can sell the paper if we plan our sales carefully and persistently. It also means that we must raise our bundle order; for we wouldn't have had enough if not for the special shipment of the issue containing the Einstein statement."

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, August 22, 1955

Assassin Couldn't Kill His Ideas

On August 20, 1940 an assassin acting on orders of Stalin drove a pick-axe into Leon Trotsky's brain. The tyrant in the Kremlin sought by these means to destroy the ideas of the great revolutionist, who with Lenin had stood at the helm of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

In the hopeless attempt to stamp out the program of international socialism, Stalin had previously destroyed by means of frame-up trials the entire generation of Bolshevik leaders who participated in the 1917 overthrow and the building of the Communist International.

In addition, tens of thousands of young workers and intellectuals were shot or sent to labor camps for opposing the system of bureaucratic privileges that Stalin's dictatorship protected.

But all these savage acts did not banish the specter which Stalin associated with Trotsky's name — the specter of victorious socialist revolution in other lands, especially the decisive industrial countries. The sweep of such a revolution Stalin knew would bring the working people of the Soviet Union to their feet and end the hated rule of the usurping bureaucracy.

The claim that Stalin stood for world revolution simply does not accord with the facts. He collaborated with imperialism to prevent working class revolutions. No where did he organize the working people for the overthrow of capitalism. On the contrary, parallel with his murders and frame-ups, he organized a long string of defeats and betrayals. Trotsky is dead. Stalin is dead. But the historic struggle associated with their respective names is not yet resolved.

On the one hand, the reactionary bureaucratic caste Stalin headed still rules the Soviet Union in the old high-handed way.

Stalin's successors have not changed this one iota, despite all noisy claims that they have broken with Stalinism. They still maneuver with the working class and seek to betray it to imperialism in order to bolster their rule at home.

On the other hand, the working class still fights its historic battle for the reorganization of society along socialist lines. Its power has grown during the last 15 years. Despite Stalinist misleadership it scored an epochal triumph in China.

In the Soviet Union the forces of production have also grown, and with it the strength of the proletariat and cultural forces of the nation. As Trotsky predicted, this brings the Soviet workers into headlong conflict with the parasitic bureaucratic caste.

The death agony of capitalism and the crisis of Stalinism push to the fore the ideas that Trotsky championed to the last day of his life.

These ideas, which will form the program of revolutionary parties in the course of gigantic class battles to come, will topple the bureaucratic apparatus associated with Stalin's name on the road to eliminating capitalism throughout the world.

It will be one more proof that a reactionary state apparatus no matter how seemingly all-powerful cannot stamp out by murder, frame-ups, savage repressions or any other means ideas that are in line with the needs of historic progress.

More Royalist than the King

In the last century when the pressure of Republicanism was forcing monarchs to make constitutional concessions, there emerged the phenomena of super-reactionary parties in the royalist camp. Claiming to defend the "king's prerogatives," these parties condemned the king whenever he was forced to make concessions to democracy. Thus they came to be known as "more royalist than the king."

AFL President George Meany falls into the same category. Mere labor bureaucrat he may be. But he never misses the chance to show he is more pro-capitalist than the capitalists; more war mongering than the war mongers.

When the current wave of exchange visits to the Soviet Union brought forth the suggestion that the labor movement send a delegation to Russia, super-patriot Meany and his AFL Executive Council stood up resolutely on their "free enterprise" legs and denounced the idea as "an invitation to treason."

Most Americans — after watching Democrats and Republicans drag the country into one war after another — have a pretty healthy suspicion that the Big Business government either doesn't want peace or doesn't know how to get it. They probably think that if only the people of one country could get together with the people of another, things could all be worked out quite reasonably.

This idea isn't wrong. The only catch is that the people aren't the government — not now at least. They don't make the decisions. In fact they aren't even consulted.

But Meany isn't bothered by all of these considerations. He's more worried that a reduction of war economy might shake up his precious capitalist system.

And besides, the bosses often look upon him, unjustifiably, as an opponent because he heads a part of the union movement. So Meany takes advantage of every opportunity he gets to prove he is a true-blue son of the profit system. For any workers who may be listening, he also shows he is a man of "principle." After denouncing the farmers for their visit — "They're just helping the Russian propagandists" — he said, "I'll consider a visit to Russia when there are free trade unions there."

Who does Meany think he's kidding? He isn't really concerned about the right of the Soviet workers to free trade unions. Like U.S. Big Business he wants capitalism to be restored in Russia.

None of the underground movements of the Soviet workers that have fought the Stalinist dictatorship want a return of capitalism. They want democracy, yes — but they want the democracy of the workers state. They don't want to substitute the billionaire Fords, Du Ponts and Rockefellers for Stalinist millionaire bureaucrats. They want to do away with all super-privileged, parasitic and tyrannical rulers.

Meany is a flesh and blood cousin to the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union. He has nothing in common with the Soviet workers.

Syngman Rhee Rattles the Saber

Last week, Syngman Rhee, South Korean dictator, instigated riots in Seoul and Inchon to protest the presence of Polish and Czechoslovak members of the United Nations truce inspection team.

This came after the South Korean chiefs of staff announced on Aug. 9 that they favored resuming the war with the North. Rhee recently denounced the Geneva negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet governments and warned against "concessions to Communism."

Last week, too, the South Vietnam dictator, Diem, rejected an offer by the North Vietnam government to discuss general elections to reunite the country. Under terms of last year's Geneva armistice an election is scheduled for not later than July 1956.

On Formosa, representatives of Chiang Kai-shek have been attacking the Geneva Conference as "appeasement of Communism."

These three dictators are puppets of the U.S. government. They are utterly corrupt. They are hated by the masses upon whom they have visited brutal repressions. They stay in power only by virtue of lavish sums they receive from Washington to finance their armies — public and private. For the time being the State Department has dropped its own bellicose line. It avows "non-violence" in international relations and favors negotiations with the Soviet Union and China. How is it that its hirelings in Asia follow a different course?

Does it mean that they are now out of favor with Washington?

No. Although Secretary of State Dulles has mildly reproved Rhee for the violence employed by his fascist-like hoodlums, and although the U.S. military is protecting the truce team members, the State Department uses Rhee's rantings and staged riots for bargaining pressure on the Soviet bloc. One of Rhee's objectives is to insure partition of Korea and his continued rule over the South. U.S. imperialism wants this, too, as well as division of Indo-China. That way it retains air bases and potential invasion routes virtually on China's borders.

Then, Rhee, Chiang and Diem keep war propaganda going in line with the long term objective of U.S. imperialism. The saber-rattling of Rhee and the other puppets are broadcast by the reactionary press in this country. War agitation is thus kept alive without implicating the U.S. government, which must conceal its war aims behind a pacifist-sounding stand.

Finally, Rhee's provocations, or Chiang's or Diem's might serve as pretext for starting World War III when Wall Street ditches its present coexistence policy. However unlike Big Business, the working people in this country genuinely want peaceful relations with the Soviet bloc. As a step towards achieving this they should demand an end of all financial and military support to Wall Street's hired dictators in Asia.

Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

By Myra Tanner

Leon Trotsky's main contribution to Marxism was his development of the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky explained that capitalism, as a world system in its final stage of decline, becomes an absolute brake on further social progress.

The liberation of oppressed nations from the grip of imperialism, the elimination of feudalism from backward and colonial countries — the tasks that had been accomplished by bringing the capitalist class to power in the early stages of the development of capitalism, can be fulfilled now only by the socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class.

Armed with this scientific appraisal of the decline of world capitalism and its effect on the class struggle, Trotsky was able to foresee that in backward Russia the workers could take power — even before the victory of the socialist revolution in an advanced capitalist country.

As early as 1905 he could see that the defeat of Czarism, the liberation of the peasants from semi-feudal exploitation and the development of the productive forces of Russia could be accomplished only when the working class came to power.

This prediction was born out by the victory of the workers' revolution in October, 1917, (November, according to the Western calendar) under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The first decisive defeat was inflicted on the capitalist system. The new social order was born.

STALINIST REACTION

After Lenin died in 1924 Stalin advanced his theory of socialism in one country. This theory ran counter to all thought in the science of Marxism. But it represented the interests of the growing bureaucracy which was busy grabbing privilege and power for itself while the Soviet workers bent to the task of lifting the Soviet Union out of economic backwardness.

On the international plane the theory of socialism in one country led to catastrophe. The Communist Parties became corrupted, bureaucratized and turned on to the road of reformism in the service of the Stalinist bureaucracy. By this means all revolutionary struggles between the two world wars were brought to defeat.

Once more the theory of permanent revolution oriented the new revolutionary forces that Trotsky assembled. The continuation of the October revolution took the form of the struggle against Stalinism and for a political revolution in the Soviet Union — as an integral part of the world revolutionary struggle of the working class.

In the 15 years since Trotsky's assassination by Stalin's secret police, the theory of permanent revolution has served as the most valuable theoretical weapon of the Marxist movement.

The revolutionary wave that followed World War II brought with it new and complex forms in the class struggle. Property relations were fundamentally changed in Eastern Europe by the military occupation of the Red Army — in Yugoslavia and in China, by victorious revolutions headed by Stalinist parties.

APPEARANCE AND REALITY

On the surface, these events seemed to contradict the counter-revolutionary character of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Stalinism was suddenly thrust to the fore in the new revolutionary tide.

Superficial observers and turncoats took these events as a refutation of the theories of Trotsky. Those who were blinded by their hatred of Stalinism flung themselves into the embrace of the imperialist masters with the false cry that the revolution belongs to Stalinism. Others, with the same false cry on their lips, capitulated to Stalinism. They closed their eyes to the real history of the events in Eastern Europe and Asia and the essential forces at work beneath the surface.

The economic transformation that took place in Eastern Europe resulted from the anti-capitalist nature of the Soviet economy, not a reversal of the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Kremlin marched into East Europe determined to crush the revolutionary aspirations of the people and rule through coalition with the bourgeoisie.

Neither Stalin nor his imperialist allies could understand that capitalism and a workers state, even a degenerated one, could not live together in the same house. But the permanent revolution asserted itself. The weak, reactionary capitalist forces in Eastern Europe didn't favor the prospect of investing their capital under the protective wing of the bureaucracy of a workers state. There was no

alternative to a planned economy. To the extent that capitalist property relations have been dealt a blow, thanks to the October revolution — and despite Stalinism — to that extent the permanent revolution is expressed in the need for a political revolution in Eastern Europe as in the Soviet Union.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The objective validity of this conception has already been demonstrated: (1) In the fact that the independent character

of the Yugoslav revolution forced a struggle with the Kremlin which ultimately gave Yugoslavia significant concessions. (2) In the uprising of the East German working class of June 1953 which raised the banner of full political democracy for the working class and the extension of the revolution to West Germany. These events in turn brought the political prisoners of the Soviet Union to their feet in the heroic strikes in Vorkuta and other Stalinist labor camps.

The events of Eastern Europe cannot be understood without the analysis made by Trotsky of the contradictory nature of the Soviet Union — the planned economy that was won by the October revolution with the inherent progress it holds for humanity, and the counter-revolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In China, too, the theory of permanent revolution has been fully confirmed. The Chinese Communist Party came to power through the class force of a peasant revolution. What did this signify? Had Stalinism changed its essentially counter-revolutionary nature?

The history of the Chinese revolution shows this didn't happen. The Chinese Stalinists did everything in their power to reconcile the revolution with the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship. They agreed time and again to accept the position of a loyal opposition in a coalition regime.

But the weak capitalist class of China and its imperialist backers proved incapable of accomplishing the bourgeois task of defeating the feudal forces and liberating the peasants. Over the formidable obstacles of the capitulatory policies of the Chinese Stalinists, the revolution forced the Communist Party into power. The only alternative was decimation by Chiang Kai-shek.

The revolutionary victory in China is far from secure. Nor can it be as long as Stalinism holds the power. The preservation, let alone the extension of the revolutionary gains, is menaced by the readiness of Stalinism to conciliate with the capitalist world. To fortify and deepen the revolution, the struggle against Stalinism is vitally necessary. There is a great danger that the Kremlin will open the door to the penetration of imperialist capital. The Kremlin already cooperates with the imperialists in the attempt to prevent the Chinese revolution

from spreading to the rest of Asia. The theory of permanent revolution has its fullest meaning when applied to the United States. Trotsky was able to see — as long ago as the First World War — that the United States would concentrate the capitalist power of the world in its hands. In so doing, he pointed out, the U.S. would also concentrate all the contradictions of the dying capitalist system.

The massive economic power of the United States steadily undermined the rest of the capitalist world. At the very time when U.S. Big Business needed strong allies most, the rest of the capitalist world began to crumble under the heavy competitive weight of U. S. imperialism. This in turn opened the sluice gates of the revolutionary anti-capitalist tide.

Wall Street reacted with desperation. It drove its allies into the mass slaughter of the Korean people. It financed and directed the attempt to save French imperialism in Indo-China. It became the prime mover in the preparation for a Third World War.

However, nothing can save American capitalism from becoming engulfed in the revolutionary whirlpool that is spinning capitalism to its destruction. Already it is evident that all moves to settle matters with the anti-capitalist world through force must be postponed; every offensive gesture to crush the forces that are working to end capitalism concludes with a feeble retreat.

All this is working to bring closer the day when the social crisis of world capitalism will erupt with all its force within the United States itself. And when the American working class is torn out of its political quiescence by the coming crisis it will strike the decisive blow at capitalism throughout the world.

Leon Trotsky — 1879-1940



Highlights of Trotsky's Life

- 1879 Nov. 7 — Born in small village in southern Russia.
1897 — Organizes illegal union — South Russian Workers Union — in city of Nicolaiev.
1898 — Arrested; 2 1/2 years in prison then exiled to Siberia.
1902 — Escapes to England; works with Lenin on socialist newspaper, Iskra.
1905 — Returns secretly to Russia; 1905 Revolution; elected chairman of the first St. Petersburg Soviet. Counter-revolution; all Soviet leaders arrested. Trotsky (now 26 years old) spends 1 1/2 years in prison then sent to Siberia for life. Has developed theory of Permanent Revolution.
1907 — Escapes to Austria; publishes revolutionary newspaper which is smuggled into Russia.
1914 — World War I breaks out; Trotsky flees Austria to avoid concentration camp. In Switzerland takes up fight against opportunism and chauvinism which caused parties of Socialist International to support the imperialist war.
1915 — German court tries and sentences Trotsky in absentia for his anti-war writings. Now in France, Trotsky publishes a Russian anti-war newspaper.
1916 — Czarist Ambassador prevails on French government to expel Trotsky from France; put across Spanish border; arrested by Spanish monarchist government and deported to U.S.
1917 — Works on Russian socialist paper published in New York; active in American Socialist Party; friendly with Eugene V. Debs.
1917 March — Revolution against Czarism breaks out in Russia; Trotsky and family sail for Russia; stopped by British navy off Nova Scotia. Trotsky put in British concentration camp filled with captured German seamen; organized German seamen for support of Karl Liebknecht and Socialist revolution in Germany; protests from workers' organizations in Russia forces Kerensky government to demand Trotsky's release; British government, anxious to keep Russia in the war as an ally, reluctantly frees him.
1917 May — Arrives in Russia; immediately begins political partnership with Lenin to win majority of Bolshevik Party and Russian people to perspective of socialist revolution and ending war.
1917 July — Kerensky government launches repressions; frame-up charges that Lenin and Trotsky are German agents and that their anti-war position is German propaganda. Lenin goes into hiding; Trotsky goes to prison.
1917 August — Repression of workers emboldens reactionaries; Czarist General Kornilov marches on Petrograd to establish dictatorship. Kerensky frees Trotsky to stop Kornilov; workers led by Bolsheviks bring about Kornilov's defeat.
1917 November 7 — Bolsheviks win majority in the Soviets; Trotsky organizes and directs the Bolshevik Revolution.
1917 Nov. 8 — Lenin heads Soviet government; Trotsky appointed Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs with task of ending war with German imperialists.
1918 Jan. — Trotsky arrives at Brest-Litovsk to negotiate peace because exhausted Russia can't fight revolutionary war against imperialist Germany. Trotsky utilizes armistice and negotiations to spread revolutionary propaganda in German army and to show world Soviet Union is being coerced to sign Germany's robber peace treaty; shows that Soviet government is not, as Allied propaganda claims, a German puppet.
1918 March — Peace concluded, Trotsky assigned next most pressing job: to organize a revolutionary army to defend the young workers' state against the attacking White Guard and foreign interventionist armies.
1918-1925 — Is Peoples Commissar for War; organizes model revolutionary army despite lack of everything; for three years is personally at the different fronts; by 1922 the last of the enemy armies are defeated.
1923 — Lenin an invalid; bureaucracy and right wing, which has grown up on basis of privileges in war-torn, blockaded country, becomes bolder. Fight begins in Communist movement between Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, representing the workers and internationalism and the Stalinists representing the bureaucracy and nationalism.
1923-1927 — Failure of revolution in other countries strengthens Stalin; he extends police-state repressions against Left Opposition and workers.
1927 — Trotsky expelled from Communist Party of USSR.
1928 — Exiled to Alma Ata in Central Asia.
1929 — Deported forcibly from Soviet Union to Turkey; writes monumental 3-volume History of Russian Revolution.
1930-1933 — Trotsky warns workers of danger fascism will take power in Germany; writes articles and books on need for united front of all workers' organizations to stop Hitler; tries in vain to awaken German Communist Party to the danger.
1933 — Trotsky allowed to live in France.

- 1934 — Fascist and Stalinist agitation in France pressures government to order Trotsky out of country.
1935 — Labor Party, which has just won elections, gives Trotsky asylum in Norway.
1936 August — "Confession" trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev staged in Moscow; this frame-up accuses Trotsky of being agent of Hitler and Japanese militarists against USSR. Soviet government threatens Norway with severe economic reprisals unless it expels Trotsky.
1937 Jan. — Trotsky arrives in Mexico, which under President Cardenas, is the only country in world to offer him asylum.
1937 April — An International Commission of Inquiry, composed of labor, socialist and liberal figures, to find out the truth about the Moscow Trial charges against Trotsky, sends a sub-commission headed by philosopher John Dewey to Mexico to hear Trotsky and cross-examine him. After hearings of witnesses in other countries and examination of all the evidence, this commission declares Trotsky "not guilty" and the Moscow Trials frame-ups.
1938 Feb. — Trotsky's son, L. Sedov, organizer of Trotskyist groups in Europe, dies suddenly and under mysterious circumstances at age of 32 in Paris; believed murdered by Stalinist secret agents. His death follows by a few months machine-gun assassination in Switzerland of Ignace Reiss, Soviet official who declared himself a Trotskyist.
1938 Sept. — Delegates from revolutionary Socialist parties and groups all over the world meet in Switzerland for Founding Congress of 4th International. Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Fourth is kidnaped by Stalinist agents; French police find his butchered body.
1939 — Second imperialist war begins. Trotsky formulates proletarian military policy for defeat of Fascism by means of Socialist revolution. Says Allies' true war aim not eradication of Hitlerism but destruction of imperialist competitor's power. Upholds program of defense of Soviet Union against capitalist attack and for working class overthrow of Stalinism. Supports movements for national liberation in colonial countries, whether directed against Axis or Anglo-American imperialism.
1940 May 24 — Stalinist agents make machine-gun attack on Trotsky's home in dead of night; they murder Robert Sheldon Harte, an American guard, but fail to kill Trotsky.
1940 Aug. 21 — Trotsky dies after Stalinist agent drives pickaxe into his brain; his dying words voice confidence in the victory of world socialism.

Just Out — Summer Issue Of the Marxist Quarterly FOURTH INTERNATIONAL Contents

- The L.W.W. by James P. Cannon
Belinski and Rational Reality by G. V. Plekhanov
The Gold Coast Revolution by George Lavan
The Year 1923 The Reshaping of the Leadership The Pepper Regime Overthrow of the Pepper Regime by James P. Cannon

- Books: Lippmann Displays His Statesmanship by David Miller
A Revolutionary Novel by Trent Hutter
DuBois's Early Study of the Slave Trade by George Lavan
Soviet Policies in China 1917-1924 by Joseph Hansen
An Objection — In Reply

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Cat and Mouse Game

Willard S. Townsend, the Negro labor leader, who writes a column for Pittsburgh Courier, has a very interesting political parable in the August 6 issue. It goes this way:

"Once upon a time the mice got worried because so many of them were being eaten by cats. So they held a conference. One wise old mouse said:

"We have got to use our voting strength. I suggest that at the next election we cast our votes 100% for the Black Cats." His suggestion made sense — it was carried out — and the Black Cats won by a landslide.

"But the cats still ate mice, and another conference was called.

"A hot-headed young mouse got up and complained they had been double-crossed by the Black Cats and said it was time for a change. He carried the day and under the slogan: 'Throw the Rascals Out,' they delivered their voting strength to the White Cats who won by a landslide.

"The cats still ate mice under the White Cat regime, and the mice were desperate. At the next conference, after long debate, they decided upon a strict non-partisan policy of 'reward your friends and punish your enemies.'

"If a White Cat promised to be their friend, they voted for him; a Black Cat could also get their votes if he promised to be a friend.

"The new policy didn't work. The Cats continued to devour the mice. At the next conference a mouse who had done a lot of thinking, said: 'Why don't we elect mice?'

"It was such a simple idea that it shocked the mice, because all simple ideas are shocking. But the more they thought about it the better it sounded.

"So they adopted a policy of voting for mice. Since they outnumbered the Cats

they won easily — and that's the end of the story because the Cats stopped eating the mice."

Now that's a very happy ending but Townsend realizes it doesn't correspond to present-day reality, if you identify (as Townsend does) the Negro people and the labor movement as the mice and the Democratic and Republican Parties of Big Business as the White and Black Cats.

In a let-down ending, Townsend concludes, "We mice have elected many of our fellow-mice here in Chicago, yet the cats keep eating us up by ignoring the appalling conditions existing in our community. I guess the local mice will be forced to throw the rascals out. Then whom will we elect? Such is the way of politics."

But it's not only in Chicago that the fat Cats are still eating the mice, it's a nationwide phenomenon. To round out the parable the following ending should be added:

The mice called a national convention at which reports from all over the country showed the same thing. Cats who claimed to be friends of mice turned out to be enemies when the chips were down. Moreover, even the election of a few mice on one of the Cat tickets did no good. These mice had no control over the Cat party they had joined. They were either intimidated or bought off by the Cat party machine.

There was only one thing left to do. The mice organized their own party with mice candidates. These candidates were kicked out of the party if they showed cowardice before the Cats or sold out to them. Since the mice were the great majority they were soon able to pass laws forbidding Cats from eating mice. Since they had put mice in office these laws were enforced.

But in accomplishing all this they saw they were men, not mice, and that their party was a Labor Party.

Is Prosperity Eternal?

"If Rip Van Winkle had gone to sleep in 1928 and woke up today and read the financial journals, there would be no reason for him to believe that he'd had more than a pleasant nap," said Frank Barbaria, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco. He was speaking over Radio Station KPFA - FM Aug. 2 on the condition of U.S. economy today.

This was his answer to the endless stream of newspaper stories which marvel at what they call the "unprecedented boom." These stories tell of the cash people have and how they are spending it; how the stock market zooms to new highs; how business surges forward; about the 64 million jobs and the almost unnoticed pools of unemployment. And most of the stories like to say that nothing has ever been seen quite like it before.

"Actually, something quite like it has been seen before," said Barbaria, "the boom of the Twenties just before the great crash of 1929."

He went on to show why it was inevitable that the crash should follow the boom again:

"That peculiar feature of capitalism, never found in any previous form of society, and which always threatens to bring the economy to a deadening halt, is again making its appearance. I'm referring to the general condition of over-production, which you might justifiably also call under-consumption. Under-consumption, not because people don't need what is produced but because they haven't the means to purchase it all," he said.

Dealing with the so-called built-in stabilizers which are supposed to rule out another economic bust, he said: "The fact is the stabilizers function as a stimulus to the market like dope to a hopeless addict. More stabilizers and in greater dosages become necessary until the victim is suffering from the over-dosage itself.

Capitalism, as a world system, is in a state of chronic crisis. And it depends for its existence upon the survival of its strongest sector — the United States. In turn the U.S. must constantly drain itself to rehabilitate and keep alive the weakest sectors. Upon rehabilitation, these sectors become competitors in the sale of goods."

In addition, large areas of the world have slipped out of capitalism's orbit. The Soviet Union since 1917; Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe and China since the Second World War. Then too, the whole colonial world is in revolt against imperialism and no one knows when the next chunk of real estate will slip from the ailing hands of an outmoded system. "The world for capitalist expansion grows smaller and this is an important factor in its chronic crisis," Barbaria said.

For those papers which report that "nothing like it (the present boom) has ever been seen before, Barbaria retorted that "not only has something like the present boom been seen before, but we have also seen something like the crash that will follow."

Barbaria will speak over Station KPFA-FM on Tuesday, 7:35 P.M. every two weeks.

Notes from the News

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has demanded that the merged AFL-CIO ban unions that practice racial and other discrimination. This was taken under advisement by the AFL Executive Council which is considering changes in the proposed constitution of the merged organization. The New York Herald Tribune reporter, Aug. 13, says that an AFL spokesman indicated "that Randolph's request . . . is not likely to be granted."

KOHLER NEGOTIATIONS to settle the bitter 16-month UAW strike against the Wisconsin plumbing company snagged over the company's refusal to rehire all the strikers. The company offered to rehire only the 15-year or more seniority men, which would amount to only 540 of the 3,060 members on strike.

FARM POPULATION DROPPED three million since 1950, government sources estimate. The present farm population of 22,158,000 represents about 13.5% of the country's population. This continues the downward trend from 1940 when the farm population was 29,047,000.

"SUBSIDIZED INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION" is the title of an AFL study of the problem of runaway industries. It lists all the major means used by Southern cities to lure industries into the South. The report also presents a program to combat the practice. Some of the proposals are: a \$1.25 minimum wage law; a national system of unemployment compensation; repeal of state "right to work" laws; and changes in the internal

revenue laws to eliminate the local government subsidies to factories through tax exemptions.

THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION has backed down on two resolutions denying teaching licenses to those favoring desegregation or to persons belonging to the NAACP, the New York Post reports. Both the NAACP and the American Federation of Teachers opened an attack upon the rulings, while the NAACP was preparing to file suit in the courts.

A **"SUBVERSIVE" LABEL** was put on Alfred Aresco, a candidate for the New York Police Force, because his father signed a nominating petition for Peter V. Cacchione, Communist Party candidate for City Council in 1939. His father claimed, in a New York Post interview, that he signed it "because his foreman asked him to." Aresco, at that time, was nine years old.

A **FLAMING CROSS** on his front lawn has failed to frighten Oliver W. Hill, an attorney, who is fighting against school segregation in Virginia. "This is an obvious attempt to intimidate me, but it won't succeed," Hill stated. Instead he is keeping the cross "as a souvenir."

HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST, a publication of the U.S. Army, which was cancelled after widespread criticism and ridicule from many organizations and newspapers, is now available again. The August issue of Economic Intelligence, published by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, gleefully announced the pamphlet can be obtained from a private publisher.

She Survived Hiroshima



Hiroko Tomita (with schoolbag) is said to be the only child living today who was born in Hiroshima the day the atomic bomb exploded over the city. Here, she smiles with her mother and sister, Keiko, as the children start for school. Hiroko was born just 20 minutes after the dread bomb exploded Aug. 6, 1945, less than a mile away. City has become symbol of 20th century capitalist barbarism.

UAW SPIKES SKILLED WORKERS SPLIT MOVES

By Carl Stall

With the resignation of three leaders of the newly organized Society of Industrial Trades of North America, the movement of skilled men to disaffiliate from the UAW-CIO seems to be temporarily halted.

The rump body was condemned by the UAW as an "undemocratic, company dominated movement aimed at the destruction of our union."

The group had climaxed an organizing drive in Flint with a mass meeting of 1,500 skilled auto workers on July 17. It was announced there that 5,000 Flint and 1,500 Detroit skilled-tradesmen had already signed cards in the new organization.

SYMPTOM OF CRISIS

While this movement seems likely to fold up now, its rapid growth underlines a grave situation within the UAW today. Another symptom of the same crisis occurred in the Ford Rouge area recently. There, for the first time in the history of Local 600, the UAW lost a jurisdictional election. The wood patternmakers (about 400 were affected) voted to disaffiliate from the UAW and choose an AFL union as their bargaining agent.

How such a problem arose, after 20 years of industrial unionism can only be understood by examining the whole picture of the UAW.

Due to disillusionment with the UAW leadership and the general lack of confidence in Reuther's winning a genuine guaranteed annual wage, the hopes of many UAW workers in the 1955 negotiations became centered around what are ordinarily secondary issues; the problems of special groups within the industrial union.

Take Local 600 for example. While plant operations at the Rouge are larger and more diversified than average, the workers' problems there are typical. Foundry workers wanted a special wage increase to compensate for their particularly dangerous and uncomfortable working conditions. Steel workers demanded an end to seven-day operations. Maintenance workers, attempting to halt the decimation of their unit, asked for an end to outside contractors doing their work.

Tool and die men, transportation workers, automatic screw machine operators, inspectors, crane operators, and numerous others were asking for wage increases which would bring their rates closer to prevailing rates outside the plant for similar work. As a matter of fact, practically every group of workers in the plant had some special demand.

DISAPPOINTED

Not expecting much from the GAW, these workers banked all their hopes on winning these special improvements. When the contract settlements were announced with virtually none of the demands granted, groups all over the Ford and GM set ups walked out.

The workers grudgingly returned to work or were forced

From Detroit

Quillico Quits Union to Take Job in Govt.

DETROIT, Aug. 6 — Walter Quillico, prominent member of the "opposition to Reuther" forces within Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, resigned from the union this week to take a job with the Michigan State Labor Board. Quillico was chairman of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit of the local.

For the past ten years he has been one of the more militant of the UAW local leaders. He was a strong advocate of the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay and is said to have been one of those who urged Carl Stellato to run for the International Executive Board in opposition to Reuther's candidate at the last UAW convention.

As chairman of the assembly plant he represented workers who suffer acutely from the continuing speed-up drive. He was on the hot-seat between the disgruntled rank-and-file of the assembly lines and the do-nothing policy of the International Union toward speed-up.

The complete failure of the so-called opposition, of which Quillico was a part, to implement their more militant proposals in the recent period didn't make that seat any cooler.

Talk around Local 600 is that Quillico tried to avoid bucking to either the International union or the company by taking the state mediation job. But in doing so, he has left the labor movement and participation in the fight on the side of the workers — and becomes a functionary of the capitalist-controlled government.

Quillico had a reputation for being a fairly principled and militant fighter on straight trade union issues, but he lacked the working class political perspective to understand and withstand the pressures of the struggle and to carry the fight to its conclusion. It is an old story.

For many years advocates of the open shop in the Detroit area have put forward the Burroughs Corporation as a model of "enlightened management." By maintaining union conditions with a non-union shop the company has found itself comparatively free of "labor troubles." On a number of occasions they have been able to repulse organizing attempts by the UAW-CIO.

On Tuesday, Aug. 19, an intensive speed-up program was introduced in Burroughs' Detroit plant under the guise of a new "incentive pay system." Almost immediately a strike swept the plant. It began with a sit-down by 100 women production workers who were soon joined by an estimated 1,300 other employees.

By Friday of the same week, management "reconsidered" the question and decided to junk the new system. At the same time it announced a six-cent an hour pay raise for all workers.

However, the company warned that some way will have to be found to "increase productivity" because of the necessity of "protecting our competitive position." It seems we've heard that phrase before.

Detroit led all other major manufacturing centers in average wages paid during the past fiscal year according to figures released recently by the Detroit Board of Commerce. Manufacturing employees in the Detroit area earned an average yearly wage of \$4,600.

The \$3 billion factory payroll in Wayne County, of which Detroit constitutes a major part, stood second only to Cook County, Ill. Los Angeles County was third.

DETROIT

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

Fri., Aug. 26, at 8 P.M.

Speaker
George Breitman

At 3000 Grand River

Alien Threat

Immigration authorities want to deport two-year-old Lesley Jacobs of Philadelphia for entering the U.S. illegally. Her American-born father is married to an English war bride.

In another McCarran Act case, four-year-old Jane Thomas of Dayton, Ohio, is threatened with deportation. She has been under technical arrest since she was two.

Drive Launched To Remove L.A. Racist Fire Chief

By Thelma Clyde

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 10 — Seeking to bolster its legal fight to end segregation in this city's Fire Department, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

this week launched a campaign to secure 50,000 signatures to a petition demanding that Fire Chief John H. Alderson be removed from his post.

The petition charges that Alderson, although "he has been specifically instructed by the Fire Commission to proceed with integrating firemen, has consistently failed to comply with this directive, and has demonstrated by his attitude that as long as he heads the department segregation will continue."

Attorney Thomas Neusom, President of the NAACP branch, announced that the petition will go to labor, church and community organizations. There is no doubt that 50,000 and more residents of Los Angeles will gladly join the NAACP in its demand that Alderson be removed as Fire Chief.

Ever since June 1954, the Mayor, City Council and Board of Fire Commissioners have been thrown in crisis over the issue of integrating the fire department. They have tried to satisfy the legitimate demands of the NAACP and Negro community without offending Alderson and the supporters of his Jim Crow policy.

MAYOR WAVERS

Thus John J. Irwin, former deputy Mayor, charged in the May 13 Los Angeles Examiner that "one of the major causes that contributed to my resignation was the Mayor's wavering on the segregation problem in the Fire Department. . . . The record is clear that peace under the law will not be restored to the Fire Department as long as Alderson is chief."

Alderson, unhampered by conflicting commitments, took the offensive from the beginning of the controversy under the slogan

PLIGHT OF PUERTO RICAN FARM WORKERS PROBED

By Antonio Torres

The hopes and illusions of Puerto Rican workers living on the U.S. mainland that an investigating committee of Representatives of the House of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico would alleviate their conditions are rapidly dissipating.

The first disappointment came when the Island legislators made it plain that they would not look into the conditions of workers that did not come up under contracts approved by the Island government, contracts made in order to provide agricultural help for the Middle Eastern seaboard.

The recent investigation, which lasted approximately a week, was supposed to look into the conditions of agricultural workers; (estimated at 10,000 for the current season). The committee has returned to Puerto Rico to report to the Island House of Representatives and to make recommendations for improvements in the contracts.

CONDITIONS OF WORK

In its reports to the press the committee admitted that some improvements were desirable. Some of the conditions revealed were as follows:

Workers are earning about \$40 a week for a 65-to-70-hour week. The contracts make no provisions for overtime pay. The boss, not satisfied with these conditions, chisel the workers by giving them poor food and inadequate sanitary facilities.

They overcharge workers for anything bought at the employe commissaries and they hold back money the workers have earned. The workers are handicapped by their lack of knowledge of English and by the fact that at present there is only one inspector to investigate their complaints.

A group of workers in Keyport, New Jersey, interviewed by the committee from Puerto Rico, pointed out that the intensity of their work and the sanitation facilities available depended on how lucky they were in finding an employer with some humane feelings. The employers told the com-

"Integration will destroy the morale of the men and efficiency of the department."

Fire Department brass stirred up ill will and fanned dormant racial prejudices among white firemen. Assistant chiefs "solicited" \$2 per month from each fireman for a war chest to uphold segregation. Petitions against integration were circulated. Those refusing to support Alderson's hate campaign were subject to abuse by more rabid fellow workers and victimized by superiors.

For example, Fireman Keith Kenworthy was transferred last April from Engine Co. 46 and later suspended for entering in the official log that his transfer and that of two other firemen came about because of "our failure to comply with the policy on non-communication with the firemen from Engine 14." (These were Negro firemen transferred from Jim Crow stations as a token of compliance with the integration order.)

The Aug. 5 L. A. Tribune, local Negro weekly reports that Reynaldo Lopez, after 15 weeks of vilification at Station 46 — including a "WHITE ONLY" sign on the dining hall door — has been transferred to the Coldwater Canyon Station. This is now the only integrated station in the Los Angeles area. All the white firemen were sent there who openly opposed Alderson's Jim Crow policies.

The labor movement has a particular responsibility to insure the success of the NAACP's petition campaign, which should go well over the top of the 50,000 mark with endorsement by the CIO Council and AFL-Central Labor Council. Several CIO local unions have already pledged cooperation in this effort.

mittee they were pleased with the Puerto Rican workers, though they complained that some of them left before the end of the season. The reason why workers leave is not too hard to find — they are overworked, underpaid and subjected to the traditional race-supremacy attitude of the big farmers. In Glassport, New Jersey, for example, Mr. Garfola, manager of a camp where 6,000 workers are registered, constantly referred to fathers of families as "boys." Miguel Rodriguez, one of the workers at this camp, showed a week's pay envelope crediting him with \$20.29.

According to the Puerto Rican legislators no effort will be made to curtail the emigration of these farm laborers but on the contrary the program will be expanded and attempts will be made to place these workers in areas where Puerto Ricans have not been used before.

Arclio Alvarado, spokesman for the majority party in the House of Representatives in Puerto Rico told a New York Spanish daily newspaper reporter, "Emigration is a great help to the economy of the Island and to the nation's economy." Mr. Alvarado would be more correct if he said that emigration is a great help to the mainland employers and also provides the Puerto Rican government with a safety valve for Island problems that it will not solve.

No Sweat — Just 'Know How'

When General Motors announced its recent stock split, GM shares rose almost 15 points in Wall Street. GM director Charles S. Mott, who owns 800,000 shares, thus "earned" \$11 1/2 million in one day without even raising a sweat.