

CP Challenges McCarran Act In High Court

The U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on Nov. 17 against the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. This measure, the Smith Act of 1940, the Attorney General's "Subversive" list and the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1954 are the four main props upon which the witch-hunt rests.

Attorneys for the Communist Party are carrying an appeal from a decision of the Subversive Activities Control Board, ordering the party to register as a "Communist-action organization." Under the terms of the act the party must file the name and addresses of all its members with the SACB.

Members would then be deprived of the right to hold elective office, apply for or obtain passports or hold jobs in government or defense industries. Failure to register is punishable by imprisonment of up to five years and a fine of \$10,000. Each day of failure to register constitutes a separate offense.

The CP attorneys challenge the act as a gross infringement on the right of free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Should the Supreme Court rule in the party's favor, it would strike a solid blow at the witch-hunt.

O'CONNOR CASE

In another civil liberties test battle, Federal Judge Joseph C. McCarthy declared author Harvey O'Connor guilty of being in contempt of Congress and imposed a \$500 fine and a one year suspended sentence on him. In July 1953, O'Connor invoked the First Amendment when questioned about his political affiliations by the McCarthy Committee then investigating State Department overseas libraries. O'Connor plans to appeal. His is a test case, because he based his refusal to "testify" on the First rather than the Fifth Amendment.

Meanwhile last week the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights heard Dr. Linus Carl Pauling, Nobel Prize winner, tell how his passport had been lifted under the Truman Administration. In 1953, Pauling was finally handed a list of charges including one that he was a "concealed Communist."

This was based on the word of undisclosed informers. His real crime in the government's eyes, Dr. Pauling stated, was that he had publicly warned against use of atomic weapons because of their devastating after-effects.

Automation in Steel

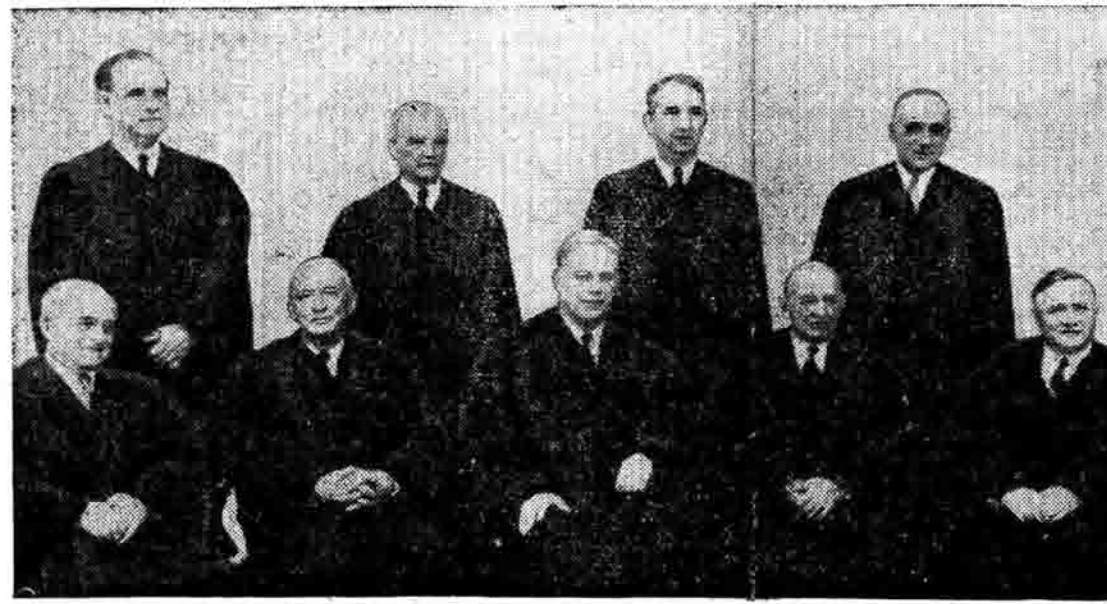
The Barium Steel Corporation has opened a new plant at Phoenixville, Pa., with a capacity of 100,000 tons of seamless tubes a year. The mill uses a new rotary forging process that permits the full use of automatic operations in all stages of manufacture. Only 42 men are required to handle all the operations.

"Not a National Issue"



Democratic Nat'l. Chairman Paul M. Butler pointing to Republican campaign poster said strong pressure was being put on Eisenhower to run again. Butler said last week that segregation, brutally enforced by Southern Democratic machines, "is not a national issue. . . I don't believe it will become a matter of contention at the convention."

The Nine Who Will Decide



The nine members of the U.S. Supreme Court are considering a crucial decision involving the constitutionality of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, one of the basic props of the witch hunt. Seated l to r: Associate Justices Felix Frankfurter, Hugo L. Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and Associate Justices Stanley F. Reed and William O. Douglas. In the rear, l to r: Associate Justices Sherman Minton, Harold H. Burton, Tom C. Clark and John Marshall Harlan.

Morocco Independence Fighters Score Victory

By Carl Goodman

Nov. 21 — The return of Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef to the Moroccan throne marks a signal victory for the national independence movement in North Africa. The Arab masses in Rabat and other Moroccan cities are pressing the struggle for liberation from French imperialist rule with renewed fervor.

In 1953 ben Youssef was ousted by the French government because of his sympathies for Istiqlal (Moroccan independence party) and replaced by a French puppet. This high-handed action unleashed a mass struggle in Morocco. The central demand has been the return of ben Youssef to the throne.

It reached a crest last August when a general strike went into effect in the Moroccan section of the cities and partisan warfare was stepped up in the mountains. To meet the determined resistance of the Moroccan people, the French imperialists carried their repressions to brutal extremes. The French armed forces — equipped with U.S.-made weapons — were increased to 100,000. The police, under control of the fascist-minded French settlers, gave free vent to their sadism as they periodically rounded up thousands of militants and worked them over in batches.

But repression could not stop the heroic independence fighters, and the French government was finally compelled to grant concessions. This was capped by the restoration of ben Youssef, after the leading pro-French pashas — including the notorious quishing, el Glaoui, pasha of Marrakesh — swung over to the deposed Sultan.

Over 200,000 Moroccans turned out to greet ben Youssef on his return to the capital city of Rabat. These included, according to the Nov. 17 N.Y. Times, "groups of girls in white skirts and turtle-neck sweaters which marked them as part of Morocco's emancipated feminine minority."

Following the mass welcome,

Arab anger turned against the most hated of quislings. A number of them were killed. Scores of Arabs have been wounded in clashes.

LIKE PARIS IN '45

"It is a situation similar to the liberation of Paris in 1945," a French official is quoted as saying in the Nov. 21 N.Y. Times. "Then there was chaos . . . Resistance fighters hunted down Vichy sympathizers who had collaborated with the Germans. Here the political parties are operating in place of the French police and people known to be pro-French or against the Sultan are being killed."

In other cities there were clashes between the Moroccan masses and French police. Both Istiqlal and the Moroccan Union of Workers have demanded the elimination of all pashas and kais (religious leaders) who backed the French puppet Sultan.

On reassuming his throne ben

Youssef announced that his aim was to end the French "protectorate" and create a representative Moroccan government. However, he accepts the French formula of "independence within interdependence" which gives French imperialism control over Moroccan foreign affairs and over the disposition of armed forces within the country. This is still a far cry from political independence let alone from an end to French economic subjugation. The French government counts on ben Youssef to become another Bourguiba — the Tunisian nationalist leader who accepted a measure of reforms that keeps imperialism in essential control of Tunisia.

But this does not accord with the will of the Arab working masses. Their actions in the streets during the last few days indicate that they want nothing less than complete Moroccan independence.

(See page three for story on Algeria.)

Philadelphia Strikers' Wives Picket

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 17 — From 50 to 75 wives of striking Westinghouse workers took over the picket line here for about two hours to demonstrate to the company that they were solidly with their husbands in the union's fight against the 20% wage cut. The strikers belong to Local 107 of the Independent United Electrical Workers.

Despite the cold and wintry blasts these wives and mothers with children bundled up tight for protection against the cold, came out and marched with banners that declared their solidarity with the strike.

The struggle has been on for five weeks. The deprivations these women have been forced to suffer are considerable. Yet they were determined to let the company know in no uncertain terms that they could not be used to weaken their husbands' fight. They are determined to maintain united ranks until the company is beaten.

The pickets marched to music played from the strikers' sound truck. People passing by smiled encouragement to the women, and motormen on the trolleys waved and cheered the marching pickets.

Meanwhile, negotiations are still deadlocked in the nationwide strike that involves the 10,500 members of the Independent U.E. and 44,500 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO. The Company moved negotiations from Pittsburgh to New York in the hope of escaping the pressure of the militancy of the workers in East Pittsburgh, where a company-wide strike was touched off last August against company time-study plans.

THREE WITNESSES

The Senate panel heard three witnesses. One of them, private Harley L. Ross, who is slated for a security risk discharge, testified that he was accused of "close and continuing association" with a man he had never seen until the army assigned him as a roommate at the Fort Ord, Calif. barracks.

The other two witnesses, Barry Miller and William Wittholt, had been students at the University of Chicago where they belonged to a recognized campus organization, the Socialist Youth League. Miller's discharge clearance record had "excellent" character and efficiency ratings. Only one day later, with his character and efficiency ratings reduced to

(Continued on page 4)

Pentagon Retreats As Security Rules Come Under Fire

By Henry Gitano

The Defense Department, in the face of mounting popular pressure, has decided to beat a tactical retreat by modifying its thought-control machinery; it will investigate suspected "security-risks" before instead of after they are inducted into the armed forces. Under the new regulation, a draftee will be rejected if his induction would be "inconsistent with the interests of national security," but the army will not stigmatize him.

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson's order was announced after witnesses testified before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee. The witnesses charged that the army was blacklisting them out of jobs and careers because the current program damaged their reputation through discharges with "security" notations.

The background for the Senate hearing was laid by Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, who, basing himself on 110 cases, recently issued a two-volume re-

NOV. 22 — Federal Judge David N. Edelstein denied a government motion to dismiss the suit of eight Fort Dix soldiers who sued their commanding officer for honorable discharges. He held that the army violates civil rights in giving less than honorable discharges to inductees because of membership in "subversive" organizations before induction.

port on "The Draftee and Internal Security." The report argued for discharges based solely on the character of service rendered. It documented the smearing of draftees through refusal of honorable discharges because of alleged pre-induction beliefs and/or associations.

The company is trying to get this extra work done without hiring more help. To the trim workers this means a worsening of job conditions in the form of adding to the already intolerable speed-up, which is the real disease in the auto industry.

Another example of the growing rank-and-file resistance to speed-up is the recent action of the workers in Department 25 of the Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac assembly plant in Linden, N.J. Management's efforts to get these chassis and final line workers to absorb the extra work on the new models without hiring new help resulted in a department-wide protest.

The workers resented the effort to saddle them with more difficult job operations. From past experience they know that if they make this concession, the com-

pany's next step will be to speed up the line which is presently running at nearly a car a minute.

As a result of their united expression of dissatisfaction, local union officials were forced to call a special meeting to take up the problem.

DEPT ACTION NEEDED

Although there is a grievance procedure whereby individual workers can protest through the union when they are loaded down with more work, very few of them resort to it. They have learned either from their own or other rank-and-file workers' experiences that it doesn't pay.

Militants who file individual grievances against the speed-up invariably wind up getting transferred to a worse job or find themselves reprimanded or suspended with loss of pay for some petty offense. Eventually many of them are railroaded out of the plant.

There is no doubt that the "sick" Metuchen workers and the Linden workers have absorbed the lesson that individual protests — even through the official grievance machinery — cannot cope with the problem of speed-up. That is why they decided to tackle the problem on a department-wide basis.

Some experienced workers say the one effective way to conduct the struggle on that basis would be to file a department-wide grievance. Since everyone in the same department suffers from the same "sickness," they could call a special union meeting, list their demands and confront the company with a united demand on what job conditions should be.

However, these conditions are so prevalent throughout the auto industry from coast to coast that an effective answer will have to be found through joint efforts of the militants nationally. During the formative years of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, speed-up was kept under control by the militant activity and solidarity of the unionists in the plants. And they had the backing of their union organizations. In recent years this has changed. A self-satisfied union officialdom often acts in collusion with the company to prevent actions against speed-up. A return to the militancy of the Thirties is bound to come spearheaded by the formation of a national left wing within the union.

Ford workers at the Linden-Mercury plant at Metuchen, N. J. shown as they picketed last June to put pressure on the company during UAW contract negotiations. Last week the plant was shut down when speed-up caused 150 workers in the trim department to stay away from work. (See story above.)

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Sick Calls Close N.J. Ford Plant In Speedup Fight

By Ben Haines

NOV. 21 — Proof that the issues that gave rise to the wave of "unauthorized" strikes in the auto industry last June continue to agitate the workers is revealed by an incident last week in the Ford plant at Metuchen, N. J.

In the trim department of the Lincoln-Mercury Assembly Plant, 150 workers called in to say they were sick and failed to report for work. As a result the company was forced to halt production and send the remaining 1,150 workers home. The "sick" workers are members of Local 980 of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), which was the first Ford local to walk off the job during contract negotiations last June.

The Nov. 15 N.Y. Post quotes a union official as saying, "It's just a question of excessive absenteeism. There was no grievance acute enough to cause a wildcat 'sick' strike."

The exact opposite is true. The majority of rank-and-file auto workers have one outstanding grievance — the speed-up. Every auto worker knows that out of thousands of grievances that are filed, only a tiny percentage ever reach the stage of arbitration and only a few of these are settled in a manner satisfactory to the workers. This is especially true about grievances filed over speed-up.

This is the sickness that the Metuchen trim department workers are suffering from — and it is genuine!

One of the principal changes in the 1956 models is the addition of more chrome on the outside of the cars. Most of the work in this category is performed by the trim department, which means that there is a definite increase in the work allotted to that department.

The company is trying to get this extra work done without hiring more help. To the trim workers this means a worsening of job conditions in the form of adding to the already intolerable speed-up, which is the real disease in the auto industry.

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However, these conditions are so prevalent throughout the auto industry from coast to coast that an effective answer will have to be found through joint efforts of the militants nationally. During the formative years of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, speed-up was kept under control by the militant activity and solidarity of the unionists in the plants. And they had the backing of their union organizations. In recent years this has changed. A self-satisfied union officialdom often acts in collusion with the company to prevent actions against speed-up. A return to the militancy of the Thirties is bound to come spearheaded by the formation of a national left wing within the union.

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Auto Workers Seeking Ways to Combat Killing Pace of Assembly Line

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What Next in Auto Production?

By A. Ritchie

More and more workers are asking, "What's going to happen in auto production?"

A few months ago an answer was offered by U.S. News & World Report (Aug. 12). "The automobile industry is in one of the stiffest tests of its spectacular, but often troubled career," said this voice of Big Business.

In the second half of this year, dealers started out with 675,000 cars on hand. They are expected to get 2,822,000 cars from the manufacturers, bringing the total to 3,497,000.

But for a stable automobile market, dealers must begin 1956 with no more than 362,000 cars in inventory.

On Oct. 15, International News Service reported that "the dealers will have an inventory of at least a million new cars at the close of the year. . . . But if the dealers are weighted down with a million cars the first of the year — watch out!"

The dealers to keep their franchises are forced to offer all sorts of fabulous sales induc-

ments, thereby cutting their profit margin to the bone.

A Mercury dealer in Portland, Ore., gives free trips to Hawaii in addition to regular discounts. In Buffalo, on the purchase of a new car, dealers offer radio, heater, undercoating and other expensive extras for one cent each.

A Chrysler dealer in New York City advertised that with each 1955 Chrysler (the highest-priced model), the buyer would receive a 1953 Plymouth absolutely free.

Despite such offers, which are widespread, and despite the biggest market the industry has ever known, the percentage of dealer bankruptcies is at an all-time high. Also, for failure to sell enough cars, many franchises have been revoked by the manufacturers.

But the problems of the industry include cars which have already been sold. In September auto credit had risen to \$12.8 billion. That happens to be about the worth of the entire automobile industry.

By October credit had risen to \$14 billion.

In its Oct. 21 issue, U.S. News & World Report points out that "past performance in the auto industry indicates that what is happening today is not at all unusual. Easy credit has led, in the past, to the tightening up, and then to a slowdown in sales."

What would a slowdown in sales mean? It is important to understand that auto occupies a key position in America's present economic system. Auto receives 29.9% of the total production of the steel industry, 70% of rubber and 70% of glass. Now, if the new car inventory at the beginning of the year totals 1,000,000 cars, it is entirely possible that the auto manufacturers will have to cut production.

CHAIN REACTION

This would mean widespread layoffs of auto workers. This in turn would force steel to cut back in production, and so on down the line.

Naturally this would also affect the credit tied up in automobiles. Workers can't afford to make car payments and support families on the meager

handouts of the State Unemployment Service.

If such layoffs should occur in the spring, it is doubtful that many auto workers would be able to derive any benefits from Reuther's Guaranteed Annual Wage plan as these benefits do not go into effect until June 1956. (In Hudson-Nash, not until August 1957.)

Thus leaving aside automation, which is bound to have a growing impact on employment no matter what else happens, it can be seen that heavy clouds hang over the future of the auto industry.

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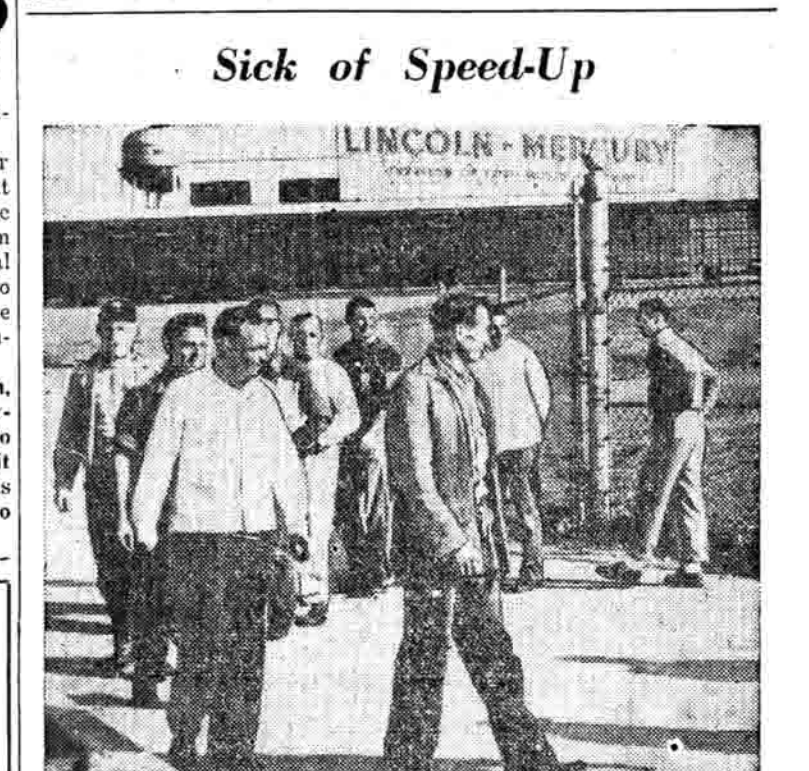
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The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement

[On Nov. 14, Daniel J. Tobin, "president emeritus" of the AFL Teamsters Union, died in Indianapolis. He headed the union from 1907 to 1952. We reprint below an appraisal of Tobin's career written several years ago by James P. Cannon. It first appeared in Cannon's column, Notebook of an Agitator, in the May 17, 1947 issue of The Militant. — Ed.]

Among the whole gang of corrupt and contented labor fakers who infest the labor movement to its detriment — especially the AFL unions — and fatten on their crimes against the workers, one in particular is striving, not without success, to distinguish himself as the greatest scoundrel of them all. This is Daniel J. Tobin, the \$30,000-a-year president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who has already won for himself the title of The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement and is demonstrating his right to hold it against all comers.

Tobin, a relic of the horse and buggy days of trade unionism, is a small-souled, grasping, selfish old reprobate who thinks the teamsters' union exists for his personal benefit. In addition to his huge salary he taps the union treasury for heavy expenses and pre-paid vacation trips for himself and family, and makes the union carry his son, whom he is grooming to become his successor, on the payroll at a fancy honorarium. A rich man himself, he fawns on the bosses and the capitalist politicians, but fights the rank and file workers with savage fury. In all his long and malodorous career he has never yet been caught in a generous impulse or a gesture of good will and solidarity toward the workers who pay his exorbitant salary.

A Skilled Operator

Tobin never knew anything about organizing workers and leading them in struggle to better their conditions. But he is an expert mechanic in the vile trade of breaking strikes, smashing democracy in local unions, working in cahoots with the bosses to keep rebellious workers from making a living at their trade, and spilling blood in gangster raids on the jurisdiction of other unions, and he is getting more proficient as he gets older.

Tobin disposes of a huge treasury — \$14,800,000 at the last report — accumulated from the dues payments of the hard-working and underpaid members of the union, and he utilizes a large part of it to maintain what amounts to a private army of murderous thugs, recruited in part from the underworld, many of whom have criminal records. These gangsters, under Tobin's direction, usually operating under the benevolent indifference of the authorities who are "taken care of" in various ways, wage war on the rank and file of the Teamsters Union, and are at present especially preoccupied with a jurisdictional war to force the brewery workers to quit the union of their choice — the Brewery Workers Union, one of the oldest industrial unions, and one well-respected in the labor movement — and to compel them to pay dues into the Teamsters Union, whether they desire to or not.

In this campaign beating, maiming, incendiaryism and dynamiting are routine procedures and murder is not excluded. Announcing a "knock-down drag-out fight" against the brewery workers, Tobin sent his private army of professional

thugs into Pittsburgh. They moved in on Pittsburgh to convince the brewery workers that they should give up their own union, now affiliated with the CIO as a result of a free vote of the membership for that preference, and sign up in Tobin's union. And this "convincing" process did not take the form of ideological disquisition or logical elucidation. Tobin's mobsters relied on arguments of another kind learned in their own school, which honors Capone and Dillinger more than Plato and Aristotle.

The Usual Practice

The usual practice of pulling drivers off their trucks and beating them within an inch of their lives was tried first but did not work very well. The Pittsburgh brewery drivers, with the help of other CIO fellow unionists, proved able to defend themselves on this ground. Tobin's impotency then resorted to other techniques. One of their arguments in favor of the AFL as against the CIO was the use of a little home-made gadget known as the fire bomb. These fire bombs, as one reporter described them, "were simple, devilishly destructive little devices, consisting usually of a 200 watt electric light bulb, with a hole cut in one end. These were filled with high test gasoline, and the hole then plugged with surgical gauze, providing a fuse to be lighted. Tossed into the cab of a beer truck, they instantly sprayed both truck and driver with flaming gasoline."

These weapons were supplemented later with high-explosive bombs, charged with dynamite, which were recklessly thrown through the windows of distributors handling the CIO beer, regardless of the possible consequences to people living in the building. Testimony before the House Labor Committee, which investigated the Pittsburgh "beer war," chalked up a score at that time of ten fire bombings of stores, five explosive bombings, and seven trucks bombed and burned. That was over three months ago. The latest scores are not in yet. At present there is a "truce" in Pittsburgh — the publicity about his fire-bombers and dynamiters got too hot for Tobin — but he is still recklessly carrying on his "war" in other parts of the country, spending lavish sums of the union's money to fight another union.

What's on the Agenda

At this time, when the reactionary offensive against the workers on all fronts calls for a labor leadership which would map out the strategy of a counter-offensive and inspire the workers for the struggle, Tobin's handpicked Executive Board occupies itself primarily with the war against the workers.

The three principal items on the agenda of the latest meeting, as reported in the March and April issues of Tobin's official magazine The International Teamster were:

- (1) Hearing of appeals from rank and file workers who had been suspended or expelled from various local unions, which were of course denied;
- (2) Unanimously "approving the acts of the general president and his assistant in the brewery and other matters," and "instructing and empowering the general president to continue financial aid in these matters as long as the general president deems it advisable"; and
- (3) The adoption of a resolution to take

rigorous action against "unauthorized" strikes, i.e., strikes which the general president does not approve, which he nearly always does not. "By unanimous action the Executive Board decided that all unions bringing about unauthorized strikes be censured and condemned and if necessary that the officers be removed."

The published proceedings of the Executive Board dealing with the appeals of suspended and expelled members read like the minutes of an Army court-martial conducted by officers who act from the premise that the private soldier is always wrong. There is the appeal of 13 members of Local No. 549, Kingsport, Tennessee, who had been expelled for unstated reasons, probably for striking or talking out of turn. "Decision sustained and the appeals denied," in the case of ten of the appellants. But for all that, the report shows, Tobin's Board will give a worker a nickel's worth of justice if he humbles himself. Tobin, like God, grants mercy to penitent sinners — but not too much. The penalty of three other appellants was modified "in view of their expressions of repentance." Their sentence was commuted to one year of suspension with "probation for a period of two additional years." Whether these three suspended members who "repented" will be permitted to work and make a living at their trade during the suspension was not stated. Probably not.

The Minneapolis Record

Tobin's criminal activities in Minneapolis have been rather widely advertised. It is known that he tried to break the great strikes in 1934. He didn't succeed then and could not prevent a strong union being built up without him and in spite of him. He then tried to get rid of the honest, fighting leaders of the union in 1941 by placing the union in "receivership." When the rank and file revolted against that, he called the federal cops through his friend President Roosevelt, and simply had the leaders thrown into prison. At the same time, a horde of Tobin's gangsters, armed with blackjacks and baseball bats, were turned loose on the trucking districts, with the open connivance of the city police, to force the truck drivers to wear the button of Tobin's "reorganized" local. The State Labor Board, under Governor Stassen, denied the workers the right of an election to register their preference. In return for that favor, the labor-hating Governor, author of the notorious Minnesota "Slave Labor Law," was introduced as the guest of honor and highly praised by Tobin at the subsequent international convention of the I.B.T.

Having tasted blood in Minneapolis, Tobin has been running wild ever since in his violent campaign against any sign of independence or militancy in the ranks of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. At the present time approximately 40% of the local unions are under "receivership" with appointed officers and no autonomous rights. This simple fact in itself is the most devastating testimony of the extent of the rank and file discontent and revolt against the tyranny and treachery of this mean-spirited, vicious old man and the whole gang of well-heeled labor scabers and common crooks who make up his unsavory machine.

With this tide of rank and file revolt rising all around him, Tobin spits hydrophobic venom

in the faces of the union membership and threatens to spend their own money — the money they paid into the treasury of the International Union — to fight them and beat them down. He warns "any foolish group in any district" that they "must get this into their heads now — that if they ever get so cocky and self-important that they think they can defeat this International Union they are making the mistake of their lives. We don't want trouble and disagreement, but when it is forced on us, we will never back down if it costs every dollar in the treasury." You fight me, and I'll hire more gangsters to fight you — that is Tobin's April message to the rebel teamsters. There is no doubt about it, one can buy a lot of professional thugs with \$14,800,000.

Daniel J. Tobin employs yet another murderous weapon in his war against the rank and file of the I.B.T. He reinforces his brutal dictatorship over the local unions of the Teamsters International by the device of first expelling dissident workers and then taking their bread and butter away from them by "taking them off the job." In the April number of The International Teamster, Tobin boasts about breaking up an opposition to the gangster-ridden union machine in St. Louis which culminated in a strike. "The International Union sent in a number of men," he says significantly, meaning a mob of strong-arm men whose assignment was to waylay the strikers and beat them up — "and every business agent and officer of our local unions in this city of St. Louis pledged his full and undivided help." It is known to Tobin that one of these local "business agents," in fact the boss of the whole Tobin set-up in St. Louis, is a gangster with a criminal record.

According to Tobin's account, the leading rank and file militants in the strike — truck drivers, not gangsters — also had the bad habit of "continuously finding fault with the union officers." Consequently, "the general president ordered that charges be preferred against them." And of course, "several of them were expelled from the union."

Next came the deal with the bosses. Says Tobin: "The employers were notified that those men were no longer members of the union and that our union shop agreement must be observed. The employers complied with the agreement, and those individuals were laid off by the employers." By this combination of anti-labor measures the strike was broken. The workers were beaten and forced into line. It was "a famous victory," and Tobin gloats over it. "In a few days," he writes, the men "began to be allowed to go back to work." Maybe the poor devils had families to support. And maybe the families were hungry. The proudest men have been proud to submit under such circumstances.

But proud men who beg through clenched teeth are dangerous animals to provoke. There are many of them in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the present time, and their number is steadily growing. One of these days they are going to count noses and come to the conclusion that they are strong enough, if they all act together, to put a stop to the humiliations and defeats imposed upon them by brutal violence and treacherous collusion with the bosses. That will be a bad day for The Mad Dog of the Labor Movement. The dogcatchers will catch up with him.

Nat'l Guardian Debates Crisis With Stalinists

By Harry Ring

Despite the fact that they have virtually eliminated any practical possibility of the Progressive Party running its own national ticket in 1956, the Stalinists of the Com-

munist party have been compelled to maintain their polemic against those in the Progressive party who continue to oppose support to the Democrats. The most recent Stalinist broadside is directed against the Progressive party weekly, the National Guardian.

We reported previously the call issued by the Guardian last winter for a national conference to launch a presidential campaign for 1956, the blasting of that call by the Stalinists and the subsequent failure of the Guardian to take steps to organize such a conference.

We also discussed the appeal for continued opposition to the capitalist parties made to the ranks of the Progressive party by Clifford P. McAvoy, leading non-Stalinist in the American Labor Party.

The persistence of the Stalinist attack against this viewpoint indicates that the arguments of their opponents are having an effect in the Communist Party itself. Militant rank and file CPers are apparently reluctant to swallow the Stalinist dictate to get into the Democratic party.

Last August the Guardian featured a series of five articles by staff-member Tabitha Petran entitled "The Fact About the American Economy." Her thesis was that the American economy is headed toward a sharp crisis and that this crisis would provoke a mass radicalization of the working class. This, she contended, dictated the need for the Progressive party to maintain its independence.

STALINIST REPLY

The Stalinists replied with a three-article attack by Adam Lapin in the Daily Worker of Sept. 20-22. But this apparently was not sufficient. The November issue of the Stalinist magazine Political Affairs, gives prominent position to a full-blown "theoretical" polemic by Celeste Strack entitled "Economic Laws and 'Anti-Depression' Programs — A Reply to the Tabitha Petran Series."

At this time we limit ourselves to outlining the main points and political conclusions of the Petran-Strack debate. The Petran series is a direct polemic against the Stalinist concept that "government action — prompted and forced by the people — can delay a depression."

Proceeding from the proposition that cyclical crises are inherent in capitalism, Miss Petran predicts that the present prosperity may last no more than a year or so and that a major depression is certain within five years. On the basis of this prognosis she rejects the "anti-depression" program of the Stalinists as a panacea that can only create illusions about the possibility of "delaying" or "avoiding" depressions.

Miss Petran's attempt to work out a concrete working class program of struggle against depression is still encumbered by "progressive" New Deal and Rooseveltian illusions. In addition, she continues to speak of an independent party that need not be "committed to socialism." By that she does not mean a mass party based on the trade unions which in its initial stage, could, under the influence of a wing of the labor bureaucracy, retain the ideological baggage of capitalism. She is speaking, rather, of the need for "A political instrument . . . to embrace all who are willing to join together in an immediate progressive program, whatever be their own views and convictions as to ultimate solutions."

TRANSITION PROGRAM

Such a party would have none of the virtues of a mass labor party, in which revolutionists would work, and all the weakness of programmatic confusion. As long as our thinking remains blocked by this pernicious fallacy of a non-socialist vanguard party it is impossible to develop the concept of a revolutionary transitional program, a program that rests firmly on scientific socialist

principles, but at the same time acts as a bridge from the daily struggle of the workers to the anti-capitalist struggle for a Workers and Farmers government.

These weaknesses in Miss Petran's articles, however, are not of concern to the Stalinists. On the contrary, their attack is directed against every positive step toward a program of genuine political independence from the capitalist parties.

The Strack reply in Political Affairs is a typically crooked Stalinist polemic. It shows that the Stalinists are not only opposed to independent working class politics today, but are against it for all time.

Agreeing that a depression will come "eventually," the article details what the government has done to prevent one up to now. Then the significant point is made that the "reactionary resistance to the Geneva agreements and their implementation undoubtedly stems from monopoly concern over effects on profits of possible cuts in military spending." Miss Petran is taken to task for lightly dismissing "another way (than militarism) to postpone acute crisis, an alternative to military spending." This "other way" boils down to the same kind of quick remedy program as Reuther's — for a capitalism that is free of either war or depression.

But at any rate, the article asserts, prosperity will be with us for a long time to come and while it is the workers will continue to support the Democrats. Therefore it is necessary for the "vanguard" to get into the Democratic party with both feet.

PEOPLES FRONT

But when depression does finally come, perhaps then the Stalinists will favor independent working class politics? A very definite "No" is provided by this theoretician who sees "both sides of the picture."

Miss Petran is sternly reminded that while a crisis may breed mass radicalization it also spawns a drive toward fascism. And that means, according to the Stalinists, "the need for a maximum unity to avert a repetition of the German, Italian and Japanese experience are correspondingly great. The Left would not contribute to such unity if it viewed the immediate issue as socialism."

There you have the real Stalinist program in all its nakedness. If there is prosperity? — The workers aren't ready for socialism. If there is depression? — socialism would disrupt "unity" against fascism.

The independents in the Progressive Party are obligated to deepen their struggle for independent political action. The vital need to break the labor movement from the capitalist parties is not simply an election-time issue. It is a full-time battle that must be waged until victory is won.

An indispensable part of that struggle is a merciless war against Stalinism from the left. The capacity to wage that kind of a battle is in fact the acid test of any tendency within the radical movement. The history of anti-Stalinism records that those incapable of fighting Stalinism on the basis of a clear and consistent revolutionary program end up either capitulating to Stalinism or imperialism.

GM Financiers Move into Ford

By Sam Marcy

The Ford Foundation, which was founded in 1936 by Henry Ford, is the largest in the country. Although it's supposed to be a private philanthropic organization, operating independently of the Ford Motor Co., the real situation is that its principal assets are Ford Motor Co. stock, which are valued at between one and a half and two billion dollars.

When the Foundation was formed in 1936, it was customary to invite as advisors and trustees to sit on its Board, members of the most powerful financial dynasties. The advisors or trustees were merely honorary figures, but their position on the Board was nonetheless regarded as not without significance.

Thus in financial circles it would be noted that the Rockefeller family were directly represented by two of their most powerful figures: Frank W. Abrams, retired Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil Co. of N.J., and John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase-Manhattan Bank. They were also indirectly represented by Donald K. David, Director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

The Morgans, it should be noted, were represented only by Chas. E. Wilson, former Pres. of the Morgan-controlled General Electric Corp., and Chairman of the Ford Foundation's Finance Committee.

STOCK MANAGERS

Now, when Ford announced that he will publicly sell his company stock, the big question was, "Who will the syndicate managers be for the Ford stock issue?" For a clue, most people would have looked to the Foun-

dation's committee. That however, did not prove to be a guide at all, for when the Ford Co. finally released the names of the seven banking concerns which it chose to manage its stock sale, it proved to be a great surprise indeed. In releasing the names of the investment banking firms which were to manage the stock sale, the companies were listed in the following order: (1) Blyth & Co., (2) First Boston Corp., (3) Goldman, Sachs & Co., (4) Kuhn, Loeb & Co., (5) Lehman Bros., (6) Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane, (7) White, Weld & Co.

The most striking aspect of this list of banks is that Blyth & Co. heads the group. This means that Blyth & Co. plays the key role in the management of the stock sale and is considered as having the principal role in the financing of this unprecedented stock flotation — said to be between 400 and 500 million dollars. The significance of playing the role of chief of these seven companies is enormous. It could lay the foundation for the financial domination of the Ford Motor Co.

Now, who is Blyth & Co., and how can a company so little known as this one lay the foundation for the domination of one of the mightiest industrial combines in the world?

MORGAN INTERESTS

Blyth & Co. is considered to be an investment banking satellite of the Morgan interests. This was established at Congressional hearings before the TNEC (Temporary National Economic Committee) held in 1939. Chas. E. Mitchell, the Chairman of the Board of Blyth & Co. was formerly with the National City Bank, and after Congress passed a law in 1934 which compelled the big commercial banks to separate their investment banking business from their commercial business, Chas. E. Mitchell, who was taking care of part of Morgan's investment banking business, joined Blyth & Co., and became a senior partner there. In reality, Blyth & Co. became an investment banking arm for J. P. Morgan.

All this was, as we said, brought out at Congressional hearings held in 1939. So when the name of Blyth & Co. was announced as the principal leader

of the syndicate which would sell the Ford stock, this would indicate that the Morgans had obtained the main financial link to the Ford empire.

Now, this raises the biggest of all the questions in relation to the Ford stock issue.

MORGANS AND GM

How could the Morgans become the chief financiers to the Fords, when they are also the chief financiers of General Motors? In reality, General Motors is controlled jointly by the Morgans and the du Ponts. It is only necessary to mention that Henry Clay Alexander — the Chairman of J. P. Morgan & Co. is not only a director of General Motors, but a member of its two most strategic committees — its financial policy committee and its bonus and salary committee. George Whitney, the former Chairman of J. P. Morgan & Co. is also a director of General Motors, and a member of its financial policy committee. Finally, Clarence Stanley, the former partner of J. P. Morgan's Morgan & Stanley Co., chief investment banking arm of the Morgans, is not only director of General Motors, but also a Vice Pres. of the company.

Can it be that the Morgans will now be inspecting the financial records of both General Motors and Ford, who are locked in the most ferocious competitive battle of their corporate lives? That Ford has moved in that direction, indicates that he's under irresistible pressures arising out of the competitive struggle in auto.

In addition, there is also this other, not inconsiderable factor. While Ford was an independent industrial empire, not dominated by any financial dynasty, it was not without financial links to the banking world. For decades, Ford was regarded as having relations with the National City Bank of New York which until last year was one of the largest independent banks in the country, and Ford was reputed to have large holdings in the bank and a running account through intermediaries.

However, last year, Morgan's First National Bank merged with National City Bank, and thereby transferred Ford's connections with an independent bank to the House of Morgan.

Morgan then obtained their first tenuous link to Ford, and an insight into its economic position. This is not an accident between a bank and an industrial empire, but a manifestation of a trend under monopoly capitalism.

ROLE OF BANKS

When capitalism was still in its competitive stage, the banks merely played the role of modest intermediaries on the basis of discounting bills for industrial firms and mobilizing the scattered small savings of thousands of small investors in order to lend them to the industrialists for large scale expansion.

But "when," says Lenin, "such operations are multiplied and become an established practice, when the bank 'collects' in its own hands enormous amounts of capital, when the running of a current account for the firm in question enables the bank — and this is what happens — (as is happening now with Ford) to become better informed of the economic position of the client, then the result is that the industrial capitalist becomes more completely dependent on the bank."

If it should turn out to be that the Morgans have established the main financial link to the financial domination of the Ford Co., it would only signify a further aggravation of the anarchy in capitalist production and an extreme sharpening of the general antagonisms within the financial oligarchy.

The House of Morgan, powerful as it is, is not monolithic, but contains within it contradictions that are as acute as its holdings are vast. Its domination of Ford would sharpen its relations with the du Ponts, their partners in the domination of GM. The Morgan financial colossus would merely have absorbed into its own orbit an antagonism which had existed externally.

In this connection, it is important to note Lenin's profound analysis of the relationship between monopolies and competition. "Monopolies," he said, "which have sprung from free competition, do not eliminate it, but exist alongside of it and over it, thereby giving rise to a number of very acute and bitter antagonisms."

(Second of a series. Watch for next installment.)

True Love "Made Visible"

By Joyce Cowley

The nature of love is a question that has bothered poets and philosophers for thousands of years. More recently, Hollywood scriptwriters and composers of popular songs have been working at it.

Now science has stepped in and Dr. Jenny Rowntree gives us a definitive answer. I was attracted to an article on the woman's page of the Herald Tribune by a headline: "DOCTOR HELPS WOMEN FIND JOY IN HOUSEWORK."

Medicine has made some remarkable strides forward and I read the article with real curiosity, wondering if there was a new pill that you could take 15 minutes before cooking dinner or mopping the floor, that would make you like the job.

"Many educated women," said Dr. Rowntree, "are disgusted with housework. It bores them. Some resent the fact that with their college education and decided ability they should be doing menial work." (Dr. Rowntree overstates the role of education. I know girls who didn't get any further than high school, or even grade school, who are bored and disgusted with housework, too.)

But once in a while, this Doctor says, she is "made glad" by meeting a woman who takes pleasure in housework, who isn't bored, who doesn't complain about her lot. She concludes that we should teach women that housework is "love made visible."

What is the true explanation of that strange and wonderful feeling, that delightful but troublesome passion? You've got your answer — not a flame or a song or a many-splendored thing — but housework! Scrubbing floors, darning socks, making beds — this is the visible manifestation of love.

Dr. Rowntree's definition raises a number of interesting questions. She doesn't say anything about men making their love visible through cooking or doing the family wash, although I'm sure many wives would consider this proof of her basic point.

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1. Another H-Bomb Test?

On Nov. 17 Thomas E. Murray, member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, proposed another test of the H-Bomb in the Pacific.

If witnesses from other countries were invited, including the Soviet Union and People's China, they would gain a better understanding of the danger of atomic war, said Murray, and this would help deter them from aggressive acts.

In addition the test "would be a demonstration of our spiritual strength, our sense of justice," for it "would declare our intention of vindicating by force the order of justice if a lawless aggressor should attack it."

What Murray said about the H-Bomb further confirms the warnings which a few courageous scientists have tried to shout to humanity through the shroud of official secrecy:

"Man now has the power to put an end to his own history. In its effort to protect the freedom of the world, America has invented nuclear weapons capable of destroying all human life. The avoidance of one danger has thrust us into a more radical danger."

The danger is that the H-Bomb "not only blasts and burns more acreage, more buildings, more people" than the A-Bomb,

"it also releases dangerous radioactive fission products into the atmosphere" on a far greater scale. "The atmospheric contamination that results from large thermonuclear explosions is serious. In fact, it is so serious that it could be catastrophic. A sufficiently large number of such explosions would render the earth uninhabitable to man. This is the plain fact."

Murray is quite specific. "Prior to the atomic age, there was no radioactive strontium in the atmosphere or the earth." Now there is.

Some of the radioactive strontium released by an H-Bomb settles down rather quickly over thousands of square miles. But some is shot up into the stratosphere. "From thence, it settles down, throughout the whole envelope of atmosphere that surrounds the earth. Rainfall speeds its descent, but it comes down slowly; only a fraction of it is deposited on the earth during the course of a year. Hence, the contamination continues to be deposited on the earth for years after the blast of the explosion has died away."

"From the earth's soil, radioactive strontium passes into food and then into the human body, where it is absorbed into the bone structure. Here its beta rays, if intense enough, can cause bone tumors."

2. For 40 Generations

Murray admits something else: "There is another aspect to the insidious destructiveness of thermonuclear weapons. The radioactive products they release have an effect on human genetics. The sheer fact of this effect is certain. The new power we have in hand can affect the lives of generations still unborn."

To get the impact of this admission, we advise our readers to turn to an article "Radiation and Human Mutation" in the November issue of the Scientific American. The author is H. J. Muller, one of the world's leading geneticists. The article appears to be a popularization of the paper which the Eisenhower administration prevented him from delivering at the recent international conference of atomic scientists.

Muller briefly explains mutations in the genes, the microscopic structure in the human germ cell that carries our hereditary pattern. A mutation, in 99% of cases, "produces some kind of harmful effect, some disturbance of function."

"This disturbance is sometimes enough to kill with certainty any individual who has inherited a mutant gene of the same kind from both his parents. Such a mutant gene is called a lethal. More often the effect is not fully lethal but only somewhat detrimental, giving rise to some risk of premature death or failure to reproduce."

So-called "spontaneous" mutations are worked out at about the same rate as they occur. But that is only because they occur at a low rate. Suppose the mutation rate were to increase for some reason or other?

A completely new hazard of the past 10 years for all of us is the increase in background radiation due to tests of nuclear weapons.

Last year's nuclear tests, for instance, according to a scientific estimate "approximately doubled the background radiation for the year, in regions of the earth

remote from the explosions." This increase directly affects the rate of mutation frequency. Although it is still too low to be easily detected, the effect could be "ruinous" if the mutation frequency were doubled each generation for a long time. In fact, if it were kept up say for 1,500 years it could mean "total extinction of the population."

As for atomic war, the immediate effect on mankind's germ plasma from the fall out would be similar to that "from a doubled mutation frequency after about a thousand years of repetition. Thus offspring of the fall-out survivors might have genetic ills twice or even three times as onerous as ours."

These ills would not afflict just the first generation of offspring. "The toll taken by mutant genes upon the descendants of exposed individuals is spread out over more than a thousand years — 40 generations."

In a population of 100 million, an exposure to just 40 roentgens of radiation, Muller calculates, would cause in the following generations 20 million "induced extinctions" and "the disabilities short of extinction would be numbered in the hundreds of millions." (He thinks that Hiroshima survivors relatively close to the blast may have absorbed several hundred roentgens.)

It would take centuries for the population to again become stabilized after an atomic war — even granting freedom from further excessive radiation.

But would it be free from such radiation? Muller does not go into that question. From what Atomic Commissioner Murray admitted, however, we can conclude that an atomic war would leave humanity with an atmosphere so poisoned with radioactive products that further genetic deterioration would seem inevitable. Mankind would be doomed to slow decay.

3. "Restraint"?

At least some of America's capitalist rulers must be aware of the consequences of atomic war. Are they doing anything to prevent it?

The fact is that their principal concern is to pin the blame for atomic war, if it breaks out, on "the enemy."

Atomic Commissioner Murray followed this pattern when he said that the atomic weapons now being stockpiled in America may end man's history but "the order of justice" will be vindicated.

What our rulers have really got in their heads can be gathered from the recent report of the Chemical Corps of the Army: "It must develop agents and weapons for chemical, biological and radiological warfare to the fullest extent the human mind can encompass."

Round out the H-Bomb with poison gases and epidemic germs! That's the program of American capitalism.

However, the capitalist ideologues are not wholly without concern. Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times, deploring the frank language of the Chemical Corps' report despite its "constructive" character, said, that "any war in which unlimited slaughter is implied is unlimited madness. . . . He advocates that "we practice restraint in war," that "we try to limit war. . . ."

That, no doubt, is what a section of the capitalist class hopes can be done — conduct future wars the way they were con-

ducted way back in the time of Frederick the Great; that is, with "restraint."

That hope is nothing but another symptom of the "unlimited madness" apparent in ruling circles. The clock can't be turned back. The weapons that will be used in any coming war are those that are being stockpiled right now. That is the reality.

Is atomic war inevitable then? It is if Wall Street's statesmen remain in control of government too long. When the hour comes, they will shut their eyes and plunge into the abyss as did the Nazi rulers before them.

But there are other forces. Humanity refuses to accept the grisly future offered by capitalism. It seeks to complete the science that brought us the atomic age by introducing the science of planned economy on a world-wide scale.

This fundamental drive, registered in preliminary upheavals throughout the colonial world in the past decade, will surely find expression in the not distant future in the advanced countries. And that will mean the end of capitalism and the opening of the era of enduring peace and unlimited abundance that atomic energy holds in store.

In this fateful contest we think socialism will win. Victory will be assured, we think, when it becomes crystal clear to the majority what the alternatives mean to the world.

By Murry Weiss

The first installment of this series of review articles on N. N. Sukhanov's book, *The Russian Revolution 1917 — A Personal Record*, held that Sukhanov was of interest to radical American workers because he represented a type that is basically the same as the American labor bureaucrat. (Militant, Nov. 14, 1955.)

Of course, this identity must be properly understood. The difference between the educated "Marxist" Sukhanov, living for the greater part of his life in the movement of underground revolutionary struggle against Tsarism, and a trade union official fat-cat like Dave Beck, for example, is enormous. At first sight it appears as if we are speaking of two utterly different types.

Closer examination, however, will show that if we abstract from secondary cultural, psychological and moral characteristics and reduce our inquiry to the essence of social function and social type, the bureaucrats of the American labor movement and the middle class socialists who dominated the leadership of the Russian Soviet in the early part of 1917 bear a striking resemblance to one another.

Sukhanov's Notebook — he never claimed that it was a disciplined historical work, only his personal, unchecked reminiscences — is full of comments, appraisals, anecdotes, and emotional reactions that capture with startling clarity the basic attitude of a middle class functionary of the labor movement — in any capitalist country during the last half-century or more.

IN THE MIDDLE

The universality of the "Sukhanov type" can best be demonstrated by such characteristic passages of the book as the following: Sukhanov is describing the activity of one of his colleagues, Kuzma Gvosdev, who "from the very first days (of the revolution) became the most important figure in all labor



V. I. LENIN

questions in the central Soviet institution." "One must understand," Sukhanov pleads, "all the complexity and contradiction of this position created by the revolution in order to appreciate how difficult, crucial, and ticklish the labor problem was at this period, and what experience, firmness, tact, and skill it required, between the hammer and the anvil, between the protesting rebellious workers and the employers, endlessly threatening strikes and lockouts."

Between the hammer and the anvil of the workers and employers! One can almost hear Reuther speaking during a trying period of negotiations, when the "protesting, rebellious workers" are interfering with his "skill," "experience," and "tact" in handling the employers.

The basic question of the Russian revolution, as of every revolution, was which class would come to power. In the first pages of his book Sukhanov outlines his position on this question.

FEAR OF POWER

"The government that was to take the place of Tsarism," Sukhanov declares, "must be exclusively bourgeois." For this proposition he advanced three arguments:

(1) No other class but the bourgeoisie could command the

"entire available state machinery," and "there was, however, and could be, no other state machinery."

(2) Bypassing the capitalist class and setting up a government of the Democracy (the socialist parties) would mean "rallying the whole of the proletariat Russia against the democratic movement and the revolution. The whole of the bourgeoisie as one man would have thrown all the strength it had in the scales on the side of Tsarism and formed with it a strong united front — against the revolution."

(3) A democratic government without the capitalists would have to put an end to the war. But since it was "out of the question to add an immediate radical change in foreign policy, with all its unforeseeable consequences, to all the difficulties of a revolution," it became "absolutely indispensable to lay the problems of foreign policy temporarily on the shoulders of the bourgeoisie, in order to create the possibility of struggle for the most rapid and painless liquidation of the war under a bourgeois government that was carrying on the military policy of the autocracy."

When all the arguments are reduced to their common denominator we get the credo of every petty-bourgeois radical who ever found himself standing at the head of the working class in revolution; namely, the workers are incapable of ruling society, only the propertied classes, with their superior education, training and inclinations are capable of mastering the complicated business of statecraft.

Paradoxically, Sukhanov devotes a good part of his Notebook to relating facts which smash every one of his arguments.

As one of the leading spirits of the February Soviet he had first-hand experience with the two competing state forms that emerged from the revolutionary events — the workers' Soviet

and the capitalist provisional government.

Sukhanov and the others spent an enormous amount of energy trying to breathe life into the provisional government. But it was to no avail. The bourgeoisie state had no real power; the bourgeoisie was not won over to the revolution and isolated from Tsarist counter-revolution; they used the provisional government state machinery to restore the monarchy through a counter-revolutionary blood-bath; and, the bourgeoisie had no intention of giving up the war. On the contrary, they tried to use the war to crush the revolution.

THE REAL POWER

At the same time the Soviets, (workers councils) that were first tested in 1905 and then developed with great force in 1917, had all the real power. And it was the new form of state, taking shape right under Sukhanov's nose, which was destined to triumph in the first successful revolution against capitalism.

Sukhanov reports the following episodes: "During the night of the 27th-28th of February a compromise decision was reached, to permit newspapers to come out on the editor's responsibility. Whatever doubts may have arisen about this decision itself, what was characteristic was this, that no one had any doubt that this question should be decided by the Soviet, which alone had any real power here, especially through its control of the whole army of typographical workers." (Emphasis in original.)

During a meeting between the Soviet leaders and the liberals, Rodzianko, later a minister in the first provisional bourgeois government is called by a messenger to go to the telegraph office in order to talk to the Tsar by direct wire. "Rodzianko refused to go to the telegraph office alone," Sukhanov remembers, "Let Messieurs the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies give me a guard or accompany me," he said, turning to us, 'or else I shall be arrested there, at the telegraph office.' Sukhanov recalls that the Soviet leaders "calmed" Rodzianko, and "reassured him that we would not only not touch his person but would guard it most carefully."

Another episode: Sukhanov is at the office of the Executive Committee of the Soviet. The phone rings, "Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies? Can I speak to a member of the Executive Committee? I'm speaking for the Council of representatives of the Petersburg banks. We want permission to open the banks at once." Sukhanov consults with another member of the Executive Committee who happens to be nearby, asks a question or two and then answers, "Very well, you have it."

GOVT. WITHOUT POWER

In contrast to these revealing pictures of the real power of the Soviet, Sukhanov relates numerous episodes that show the utter impotence of the capitalist government. With disarming frankness, Sukhanov sums up his observations on this point:

"On the one hand the popularity and authority of the Soviet went on growing like a snowball amongst the urban and rural masses. On the other hand — not only in these masses but also in political circles and state institutions — there was taking root an awareness of the Soviet's real power and potentialities, and of the helplessness of the Government and its agencies. The official Government machine, in one part after another, began idling more and more. Independently of what either side desired, the official mechanism was being supplanted by the Soviet."

We have shown the state of affairs as seen through the eyes of Sukhanov. Meanwhile, in the factories, barracks, streets and villages of every part of vast Russia the masses were making over the country through their own revolutionary activity. The Sukhanovs were strangers to this mass activity.

But there was another party, the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, that was shaping the destiny of Russia deep in the ranks of these masses. This was a party that from the moment of Lenin's arrival in Russia in April began to speak in unequivocal language for the transfer of power to the Soviets, an end to the war, land to the peasants and factories to the workers.

Sukhanov tells how at the end of a session of the Soviet "I remember meeting Trotsky on the stairs; as usual he had been 'with the masses' and had come after the fair."

A lot more is told by this sarcastic remark than Sukhanov realized. For Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, unlike the Sukhanovs, the revolution was above all the creative activity of the working masses, and not merely an affair of meetings and conferences.

Bolshevism was in its blood and bone a part of the Russian working class, its true party. Even in its weakest moments, when sections of the party leadership wavered, the Bolshevik workers, trained in Lenin's school of class struggle socialism, saw the revolutionary course and took it.

The February revolution itself would have been impossible without the activity of this Bolshevik worker cadre acting as the guiding layer of the mass struggle. And in February, Lenin was still in exile and the party leadership, under Stalin and Kamenov, was sliding toward the Menshevik position on all questions.

Bolshevism united a truly native Russian working class movement with the most advanced theoretical and political traditions of European Marxism. That's what made Lenin's party invincible. It held firm to a principled revolutionary line throughout every twist and turn of the struggle; and it fused itself completely with the daily life and activity of the working class.

Thus through the instrumentality of its party the Russian working class settled the debate on whether the workers could or should hold political power. After the October revolution the issue could never be debated again without taking into account the fact — they did it!

Looking back 38 years to the controversies between Bolshevism and Menshevism during the heat of the Russian revolution, we have a curious problem before us. After all, it can be said, the arguments between the political tendencies in the Russian working class over the question of whether the workers should take political power were related to the specific condition of Russian backwardness. How does it happen that in the United States, the most advanced capitalist country in the world, the Reuthers, Meanss and Becks, standing at the head of 17 million organized workers, never even pose the possibility that the workers should command political power instead of the capitalists?

WORKERS' POWER IN U.S.?

It is indeed true that the idea of the workers taking political power in the United States hasn't even dawned in the consciousness of the American labor bureaucracy. To them it seems self-evident that the parasitic billionaires are most fit to rule. All they want is a little more elbow room, a small place in the sun as a privileged caste of labor statesmen, who periodically bargain for a few concessions, keep the "rebellious workers" from getting out of hand, and above all, feather their own little nests.

If the Russian middle class radical type of labor leader was vigorously shoved aside by the workers as soon as they turned to solving their problems through revolutionary action, we can imagine what will happen when the titanic power of the industrial working class of the United States is unleashed.

There are historic causes for the retardation of the radicalization of the American working class. These causes also explain the reason why this working class, which is potentially the greatest revolutionary power in the world, is saddled with the most conservative, capitalist-minded bureaucracy.

But explanations are not excuses. History makes sharp turns in the epoch of capitalist decline. It is inevitable that the privileged position of the American working class will be undermined and shattered. These privileges rest on the dominant position of American imperialism in a world that is sapping the foundations of this domination. The labor bureaucracy is living in a fool's paradise. It does not know that its days are numbered.

With the great tide of radicalism that will spring up in America, the American workers' genius for direct action and audacious innovation will unite with the most advanced thinking of revolutionary Marxism. Hundreds of thousands of young American workers will turn to study the classics of revolutionary thought and history. In the highest place on their agenda will be the lessons of the Russian revolution. The genuine internationalism of the working class struggle for socialism will find expression in the unity of the best in the American and Russian working class traditions.

(Second in a series. Watch for next installment on: Can the Russian Experience Show the American Workers the Road to Political Power?)

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French Imperialism Hit Hard by Algeria Revolt

By Daniel Roberts

The Algerian revolution for national independence is now one year old. A year ago fighting began in the Aures and Kabylie Mountains by military groupings organized as a national liberation army. This development climaxed the steady growth among the Arab working masses of the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD) under the leadership of Messali Hadj.

Algeria is the most important of the three French North African colonies. The biggest French North African investments are located there. Where Tunisia and Morocco were considered nominally independent countries under the "protection" of the French, Algeria has been declared by French imperialism to be a part of France.

However, the electoral laws give the one million European settlers the same amount of representation in the Algerian Assembly as the eight million Arabs.

ARMED FORCE

In a vain endeavor to crush the independence movement, the French government has concentrated 200,000 of the 300,000 troops of its North African contingent in Algeria. This has required the calling up of reserves in France and has led to many demonstrations against the war among the French soldiers.

The French repressive units include Foreign Legion divisions brought from Indo-China after France's defeat there last year. The Legionnaires are mainly recruited from among former members of Hitler's elite Schutz Staffel units. Arms come from the U.S. government, including a number of helicopters used in mountain fighting.

In addition, tens of thousands of Arab patriots have been arrested, then tortured, shot, or packed in concentration camps. Entire Arab villages have been burned down. Messali Hadj has been held in house arrest in France.

Unable to defeat the national liberation movement, the French ruling class is now considering granting certain reforms. They are trying to set up "responsible" Arab bargaining agents with whom to deal. They reject negotiations with Messali Hadj, because "It doesn't seem as if Messali could be another Bourguiba." (Bourguiba is the Tunisian moderate nationalist with whom French imperialism negotiated a semblance of Tunisian self-rule, which leaves the French in effective control.)

But the Algerian independence fighters do not want simply "re-

forms." They want the right to call a Constituent Assembly (Constitutional Convention) elected by the secret ballot and direct universal suffrage without distinction of religion, race or sex.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution, the Algerian National Movement has issued a statement reviewing the achievements of the struggle. This statement appears in the Nov. 4 La Verite, newspaper of the Internationalist Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International). "The victorious action of the

fighters for national liberation, the unanimous and active aid brought to the struggle by the Algerian people . . . have already achieved the first aim of the revolution: explicit recognition by two-thirds of humanity at Bandung and in the United Nations that Algeria is a nation. "To this gigantic victory we add two others no less great — the geographical liberation of small portions of territory where the Algerians are henceforth masters in their own home and psychological liberation from fear or from a feeling of inferiority. . . . Forward to new victories!"

'We Greet the Algerian Revolution'

[We publish herewith the statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International on the Algerian independence struggle released to the press Nov. 6, in Paris. — ed.]

Speaking for the Trotskyist militants of the whole world, the International Committee of the Fourth International greets the heroic struggle of the peoples of North Africa. Despite fierce repressions, they have already struck significant blows against French imperialism. The struggle these people are waging is bound to end with their winning complete independence.

The International Committee greets the Algerian revolution, which for the last year has pressed the offensive. The revolution has dealt increasingly severe blows to French imperialism in one of its vital centers, although the government has concentrated in Algeria the greatest part of the repressive forces at its disposal. These are more considerable than the forces employed at any given time in the Indo-Chinese war. The Algerian revolution has also advanced in the face of repressive measures of unprecedented ferocity whose victims — murdered or locked up in concentration camps — number in the tens of thousands.

The International Committee is fully aware of the enormous importance the Algerian revolution holds for the development of the proletarian revolution in France and all Europe.

It hails the Algerian National Movement, which, operating under the most stringent conditions of illegality, wages an intransigent fight against imperialism under the leadership of the working masses. In the person of Messali Hadj (the oppressed and exploited of the world possess a living symbol of this struggle).

The International Committee treats with scorn the efforts of petty-bourgeois democrats, Stalinists and Stalinoid groupings to help French imperialism. They rush to aid imperialism now that the imperialists, forced to retreat by the Algerian revolution, seek to set up a "bargaining agent" that will accept — behind the backs of the Algerian masses — any scheme providing for "independence by stages." This would safeguard the essential positions of imperialism in the country.

For their part, the Trotskyists give wholehearted support to the central slogan of the Algerian National Movement. This slogan — the only one in keeping with the principles of democracy and socialism — calls for a Constituent Assembly in Algeria enjoying sovereign power in the nation.

The International Committee salutes the Internationalist Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International) in its campaign to organize the active solidarity of French workers with their Algerian brothers and link them in a fight against their common enemy.

The IC calls on the exploited and oppressed of the whole world to demonstrate concretely their solidarity with the Algerian revolution. It calls on the Trotskyist militants to organize this solidarity by every means at their command.

The Negro Struggle

By Robert Chester

Action Alone Brings Results

The giant mass meetings to protest Emmett Till's lynching all heard expressions from speakers or individuals in the audience that "we ought to march on Washington" to demand justice.

Those who expressed the idea of marching were motivated by sound reasoning. They instinctively recognized that while resolutions and mass meetings are important in the long fight for equality they never measure up to a mass action to get results.

Chicago recently gave us another proof of this. The Negro people there have been protesting racist violence against Trumbull Park residents for two years. Residents could leave or enter only under police escort. When protests proved futile the NAACP and unions organized a mass protest picket demonstration at city hall and cracked the concentration camp regime at Trumbull Park.

The idea of a "March on Washington" stemmed from the great movement that planned to mobilize 10,000 Negroes in Washington on July 1, 1941, to demand an end to Jim Crow in the armed forces, defense plants and in hiring everywhere. The call had been raised by A. Phillip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union, but even though it did not have much organizational preparation, sentiment had reached the point where Negroes began to act with the first word of the call.

News poured in that marchers were organizing in almost every state in the union. March on Washington Committees sprang up in every major city. Two weeks before the July 1 date officials in Washington became alarmed and began to put pressure on Negro leaders to call it off.

Once the movement started, however, it developed power of its own. The vision of an action that would get something done inspired hundreds of thousands.

A week before the scheduled march the movement reached its high point with a giant rally of more than 20,000 people at Madison Square Garden. What a magnificent demonstration it was! Members of the Socialist Workers Party who actively participated will never forget the militant spirit that filled the hall. It was so powerful that we could feel it lift us like the movement of a giant wave.

Every mention that the march would force the officials in Washington to stop sidestepping just demands met with roars of approval. Any inference that perhaps they had gone far enough was met with a dead silence. The real feelings of the audience were reflected not so much in the speeches as in the dramatic skits staged by youth organizations that exposed every facet of Jim Crow. When they ended with a call to defeat Jim Crow everywhere the audience rose in a thundering ovation that lasted ten minutes.

We know the pressure of this movement was so great that President Roosevelt called Randolph to Washington and offered to issue FEPC Executive Order 8802. Randolph called the march off even though he recognized the Order only applied to hiring in defense plants. But the movement provided the starting point for the gains that were won by later struggles.

The Till case has brought to focus the new determination of Negroes to cut down the existing Jim Crow barriers. When that determination reaches the point where they are ready to march, hand in hand with the unions, these barriers will fall.

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NEW YORK, Nov. 18 — Carl Braden, a courageous newspaperman from Louisville, Kentucky, is a Southerner who hates Jim Crow and wants to see it abolished. In this, he is not alone. There are many Southerners who want to end segregation. Carl Braden stands out because he did something about it. That's why he spent eight months in jail with 53 days in solitary confinement. That's why a 15-year prison term at hard labor now hangs over his head.

For all these reasons I was eager to meet Carl Braden for an interview today. I wanted to know what kind of fighter the class struggle in the South is producing. And after two hours of wonderful conversation, I say the product is good. For Carl Braden is not afraid, discouraged or a skeptic. He reflects in his own personality the freshness, confidence and strength of the new South which he is helping into existence.

First, however, I must review the facts of the Braden case: The story began in the spring of 1954 when Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro veteran, wanted to buy a decent home for his family in Louisville, Kentucky. The house he wanted couldn't be obtained by a colored man. Years ago the matter would have ended there. The Wade family would



CARL BRADEN

have been forced to accept the slum housing available in a segregated neighborhood. But today is different.

Carl and his wife, Anne Braden, with their "acceptably" white skin, purchased the house and sold it to the Wades. All the laws of property were carefully observed. But the illegal segregation customs were violated. So the trouble began.

The Wade family was threat-

ened. Shots were fired into the house. Fiery crosses were burned. And finally on June 27, 1954, the house was bombed. Had little four-year-old Rosemary Wade been in bed at home that night, she would not be alive today.

The Louisville authorities who maintain "law and order" were compelled to act. But instead of ferreting out the terrorists who were responsible for the atrocity, they arrested Carl and Anne Braden and five other white workers who had been trying to protect the Wades from the terror.

Carl Braden was the first to be tried on charges of "sedition" under an old 1920 Kentucky Sedition Law. The State of Kentucky demanded \$40,000 for bail — the highest bail asked for any crime in the history of Kentucky.

DECENCY NOT ENOUGH

"The racists couldn't understand my motives in helping the Wade family," Braden explained. "They looked for a huge profit that they figured I must have pocketed in the purchase and sale of the house. They couldn't find any profit at all, so they drew the only other conclusion possible for these white supremacists. They figured I must be a 'subversive.'"

They looked through Braden's library. They examined his associates and searched among his ancestors. They had no trouble finding out that Braden's father was a socialist follower of Eugene V. Debs. Wasn't that proof of "subversion"? So, borrowing from the bag of tricks now commonly used by the Northern witch hunters, Braden was branded a "communist" and convicted. "And what about the Wades?" I asked. "Are they able to live in their new house?"

"They are forced to live with Andrew Wade's parents, Andrew Wade, his wife, little 4-year-old Rosemary and the new baby, now just 15-months old — all of them are living in one room. The big new house is empty and under litigation. The real estate people are trying to foreclose on the mortgage on the ground that my wife and I didn't get 'consent' to sell the house to the Wades. That case will come into court Dec. 2."

Eight months is a long time to spend in prison. But why was he also subjected to 53 days of solitary confinement? "The prison authorities claimed that 'seclusion' was in the interests of my safety," Braden replied, smiling. "They said there were many Korean war veterans in prison who might be angry if they met a 'subversive' prisoner. But when they finally released me from solitary, I found the Korean veterans quite friendly."

They all agreed I had been framed. The only question argued was whether or not I should have sold the house to the Negro family. Some thought I was right in doing it; some thought I was wrong. But the dispute was a friendly and instructive one.

The only serious dispute among the prisoners was between the Kentucky miners and the 'moonshiners' (Kentuckians who distill their own home-made whisky.) The miners claimed the worst thing in the world was a scab. The 'moonshiners' claimed that a stoolpigeon was the worst thing in the world. I had to agree with both sides in this dispute.

Carl Braden has a good understanding of the struggle that is going on in the South today. He knows why the ruling class is so vindictive. "The Southern rulers are panicked by the upsurge of the workers in the South. They sense that their system of segregation is doomed. At stake is the extra profit derived from cheap labor — a sum of about five billion dollars a year, according to CIO estimates."

Braden is confident that the forces in the South are developing, which will inexorably sweep away the Jim Crow dictatorship that has dominated the Southern states for more than half a century. "And it will have a profound effect on the whole country," he added.

JIM CROW DOOMED

"Few people really appreciate the change that is taking place in the South," he continued.

"Some union organizers are still coming South with the idea that success will lie in conforming to 'Southern customs.' But they are wrong. The road to building strong unions lies only in the direction of integration. The United Mine Workers are strong because they understand this. So do the CIO Packinghouse workers. Segregation must go if unions are to be built."

How do the white workers feel about segregation? "The farmers as well as the city workers would like to see an end to it," he replied. "In addition a new generation has come into existence that rejects the old ways. A good example is the small town of Anniston, Alabama, with a population of 40,000. Twenty years ago it was a bastion of the Ku Klux Klan. A poll was taken recently among high school students. Sixty percent wanted to abolish segregation. Of course, this poll never got any publicity. But it tells the story of the new South that is coming into being."

The appeal of the vindictive verdict of 15 years at hard labor was filed, Nov. 15, in the Kentucky Court of Appeals. Resolutions protesting the Kentucky outrage should be sent to incumbent Governor, A. B. Chandler at Frankfort, Kentucky, and to Senator Alben W. Barkley, (D-Ky.) at Washington, D.C. Defense funds are urgently needed and should be sent to the Braden Defense, P.O.B. 1302, Louisville, Kentucky or to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at 421 7th Ave., New York City 1, N.Y.

The Man Who Never Died

By Sam Jordan

An inspiring working class play about Joe Hill and the Industrial Workers of the World was presented for the first time in the United States last week.

Joe Hill, an IWW organizer and labor poet, was framed on a murder charge for being a leader in a Utah copper mining strike right before World War I. Executed by a firing squad, he became one of America's labor martyrs and in the ensuing years a sort of legend, the central figure of many stories and ballads.

Based entirely on true events, the play contrasts so vividly the workers' aspirations and struggles for human solidarity and a decent world as against the self-seeking and cynical outlook of the capitalists and their venal agents, that the play is sure to arouse a great deal of discussion and controversy throughout the nation. The ruling class will certainly oppose it.

It was produced by the student theater at Hamline University, a Methodist institution in St. Paul, Minnesota. Strange as it may be, only six months ago this school refused to accept an ad for the school paper urging the students to subscribe to the Militant.

The play begins on a soap-box in the front rows of the audience with a typical free speech fight by the Wobblies. Players among the audience shout encouragement to the speakers and lead the audience in the singing of some of Joe Hill's songs as part of the rally. The songs, printed on programs for the audience, were "Come All Ye Toilers," "There is Power" and

"Workers of the World Awaken."

Such songs as "I dreamt I saw Joe Hill Last Night," "Pie in the Sky," "Joe Hill is Our Leader" and "Hold the Fort" were sung offstage by the cast.

The story deals in broad strokes with the strike against the copper bosses; Joe's romance which provides the bosses with the opportunity to frame him; the murder trial and the fears of the defense lawyer; the doubts and political maneuvers of the supreme court and pardon board; further appeals for pardon; defense committee meetings; Joe Hill's last hours and finally his execution and the funeral rally.

Throughout the play the corrupt nature of the capitalist government is clearly shown by the secret meetings of the copper boss with the police and judges, and by the workers always calling the lawyers and newspapermen "copper-collared."

"Don't mourn for me — organize!" is Joe's last plea. The story ends at the funeral rally with the reading of his poem, "Blessed is work. . . And blessed is the man who works."

Titled "The Man Who Never Died," the play was written by Barrie Stavis after more than five years of research and a fellowship from the National Theatre Conference.

It was published with accompanying notes in 1954 by Haven Press under the title, "Joe Hill and His Times." This book makes fine reading for every worker and student who treasures the true history of the early struggles of American labor.

Fellow-Workers Help Out



John Sapin of Downey, Calif., watches as nine former co-workers do a needed paint job on his house. Sapin has been confined to a wheelchair since he was stricken with polio.

Sam Yatofsky

Sam Yatofsky died November 14 at the City of Hope Hospital in Duarte, California. He was 27 years old.

Sam was a socialist almost from childhood, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party a third of his life.

As a boy, Sam approached life with all the eagerness, idealism, curiosity and love of uncorrupted youth — and with greater than average social consciousness. He never knew what it meant to be narrow-minded and prejudiced on a racial or religious basis. His warm, human sympathy, his sharp resentment of injustice and oppression, and his insistent search for rational solutions to the contradictions of our society found logical expression in the socialist movement.

JOINED SWP

He joined the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles. He went to work in a steel plant, participated in union activities, walked the picket line with comrades and fellow workers.

Sam made many friends in Los Angeles, just as he had in his home town of Trenton, N. J., and in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he had attended high school and college. His knowledge of Spanish and interest in Mexican culture enriched his life as well as his effectiveness as an advocate of socialist ideas in the heterogeneous working class communities of the West Coast.

Sam made several trips East to visit family and friends, but always returned to Los Angeles. Before he left that city for the last time, in the fall of 1953, he was a member of the APL Teamsters Union, workman as a truck driver. He was a member of the executive board of the Eastside Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, and financial secretary.

With his wife and comrades, Marianne, and their small son

Andy, he joined other comrades in Pittsburgh, Pa., to attempt to build the party branch there. The employment situation was bad, but Sam went to work as a taxicab driver and soon was again sharing the problems of his fellow workers and enjoying their friendship.

ON THE PICKET LINE

One of their big problems was a struggle for a democratic, rank-and-file controlled local union to represent them. When they signed up 327 of the 365 drivers in United Mine Workers District 50 in one day, the cab company locked them out and attempted to hire scabs to replace them.

As usual, Sam was one of the union militants active on the picket line. Because his "partner" and buddy was a Negro, Sam was pointed out to police as a "red" and yanked off the line and put in jail for the night on a trumped-up charge of disorderly conduct.

The next day a United Mine Workers attorney secured his release, but not before he had gone through a nightmarish experience. He had been questioned, insulted and baited by vicious anti-Negro and anti-Semitic cops. When his iron self-control made it evident that they could not provoke him into giving them an excuse for beating him, they left him without food or a cover. He finally fell asleep, perspiring and exhausted on the cold steel bunk.

When Sam awoke, he was chilled to the bone. There was a new guard on duty. Sam asked for food and a cover, and received them. But by then he had a bad cold. From then on he was sick. Cold symptoms went away, but the cough persisted, and he lost weight steadily.

On October 16, 1954, Sam was admitted to the South Side Hospital in Pittsburgh. To weeks later his illness was diagnosed as

Hodgkins disease, a fatal malady of the cancer type.

For a year Sam battled the disease, placing his hope in the progress of medical science. Early in 1955 he was admitted to Mercy Hospital for the newest treatment available, radiation with the "cobalt bomb." Even this, he pointed out to friends who visited him, was available only because the United Steelworkers Union had presented it to the hospital.

After many months, Sam was released from the hospital. With only a brief respite, his condition again became worse. Sept. 14 he was flown to California for treatment at City of Hope Clinic as an out-patient.

WITH HIS FRIENDS

Sam was very anxious to return to California — so many of his good friends were there. He looked forward to their visits, to friendly faces and interesting conversation that temporarily took his mind off his suffering.

He was also eager to be admitted to the beauty and comfort of the unique institution for treatment and research in incurable disease, City of Hope.

But the capitalist government which provides billions for war and destruction, provides nothing for an institution like the City of Hope. It was built and is supported by unions and the nickels and dimes of voluntary contributions. It is too small. There are not enough beds for the long list of applicants for admission.

Sam was finally admitted Nov. 10. Five days later he died.

As he would have wished, to help advance scientific research, an autopsy was performed.

As he would have wished, he was buried as a socialist. The Los Angeles organizer, Tom Kerry, gave the memorial speech. Sam's relatives, comrades and friends were there for a final visit.

... Pentagon Retreats Under Fire

(Continued from page 1)

"poor," he was slated for an undesirable discharge.

Withhold testified he spent his two years in the army performing menial chores or in idleness; he is now pursuing his post-graduate study while working as a waiter pending the result of his final appeal.

The Pentagon has been requiring military service from those it charged with thoughts or associations not conforming to military brass standards. These soldiers are subjected to useless tasks, then victimized with an undesirable discharge that serves as a blacklist, making it virtually impossible to find a job in industry.

One of the reasons why the army, in the past, followed the policy of drafting so-called loyalty risks was hinted at by Army Secretary Brucker on Sept. 25. He said the army is faced with a security problem in reverse. Some men, Brucker disclosed, are avoiding military service by claiming they are "communists," although the army is pretty sure they are not.

Senator Thomas Hennings, heading the Senate panel, expressed satisfaction with the changes, but noted that an investigation can still be ordered, and draftees discharged, if information on a soldier's pre-service activities develops after induction. Hennings called this unconstitutional, because "it destroys his reputation and interferes with his livelihood without due process of law."

The Defense Department, bombarded by adverse publicity is retreating. It is responding to the changing political climate marked by "curbing the excesses" of McCarthyism. It still lumps

non-conformity to the views of the military with "subversion." But khaki witch hunters will no longer feel free to proceed without any restraint. As the New York Times editorial, Nov. 20, said: "Obviously, the Defense Department cannot properly do this sort of thing," that is, "give less than honorable discharges to inducted men who thought wrong thoughts or belonged to wrong organizations before getting into uniform."

"The wrong organizations," the Times added, "were those on the Attorney General's blacklist, which is now so long that only a specialist knows what it includes."

Of course the Times favors the new procedure of barring young men with the "wrong thoughts" from the armed forces, rather than giving them a stigmatized discharge after service. The fight against the army's use of the "security" fraud is not over. The new procedure rests on the same principle as the old. It is part of the thought-control system built up around the infamous Attorney General's "subversive" list. If young men can be barred from the armed services because of "wrong thoughts" and associations with blacklisted organizations they can be barred from jobs and careers.

The struggle must now broaden to win full clearance for those victimized under the old procedure and to destroy the blacklisting techniques that will be developed around the new procedure.

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Militant staff writer

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