

Judge Youngdahl Slaps Faceless Informer System

By Fred Hart

The Passport Division of the U.S. State Department was ordered by a federal judge in Washington, D. C., to divulge to its victims the alleged evidence on which they have been denied passports. This ruling was made on Nov. 22 by Judge Luther W. Youngdahl in the case of the well-known civil liberties attorney, Leonard B. Boudin.

The State Department was ordered to hold a hearing on Boudin's long-refused passport application and there to present the secret witnesses on whose testimony it has denied Boudin's right to travel.

While Youngdahl's decision does not strike at the State Department's right to deny passports, it does establish the principle that such denial must be justified in open proceedings. This is a terrible blow to the government's use of paid informers and gossip-based "evidence." The decision minced no words regarding this aspect of the witch hunt. It asked:

"How can an applicant refute charges which arise from sources, or are based upon evidence, which is closed to him? What good does it do him to be apprised that a passport is denied him due to associations or activities disclosed or inferred from State Department files even if he is told of the associations and activities in a general way? What files? What evi-

dence? Who made the inferences? From what material were these inferences made?"

And further on: "When the basis of action by any branch of the government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review, the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown. More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been, and is wrought by the secret informer and the faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remains locked in confidential files."

ATTACK ON CAIN

Meanwhile another branch of the government—the Department of Justice—took the unprecedented action of trying to oust a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, who is hearing a case under the McCarran witch-hunt law of an organization the Justice Department wants declared a "Communist front."

The SACB member is Harry P. Cain, former Senator from Washington, who was put on the witch-hunting board because of his McCarthyite record. Since then Cain developed a conscience and has been outspoken in criticism of the present "subversive" list. He advocates bringing some "sense" into the witch hunt and ridding it of hysteria.

The accused organization is the Washington Pension Union. The hypocrisy of the Justice Department's attempt to have Cain disqualified is shown by its argument that he is prejudiced against the accused organization. The Pension Union, however, strongly rejects this "help" from the Justice Department and is not asking for Cain's removal. On Nov. 22 Justice Department lawyers filed a second petition against Cain which added a more believable reason for its removal attempt.

In the November issue of *Coronet* magazine Cain told how he came to his present views on the witch hunt. One of the incidents he relates was the case of a government scientist in his late 40s who was fired from his job doing cancer research on charges of "subversive" associations. The scientist and his wife had joined the Washington Pension Union in the 1930s because it worked for free milk and pensions. Years after they had quit the organization it was declared "subversive" by the Attorney General. Cain's conclusion that the scientist's work in cancer research should not have been stopped on such a basis has infuriated the Department of Justice.

To Appeal



Harvey O'Connor, veteran labor journalist and author, will appeal conviction for contempt of Congress on grounds of his rights under first amendment. O'Connor was fined \$500 and given a one-year suspended sentence for telling Sen. Joseph McCarthy that his politics were his own business.

Negroes Demand Full Rights in AFL-CIO

By Art Sharon

The new unified labor federation will come into existence formally this week in New York City. For the CIO it is the end of the 20-year split that started in the midst of the greatest surge of working-class strength in American history. For the AFL the unification marks the official recognition of industrial unionism. To the little closed circle of top AFL leaders the family breach has been healed.

It is entirely characteristic of the limited outlook of both the AFL and CIO hierarchy that the last days of separate existence were marked by much pulling and hauling over issues involving the prestige, power and relative standing of the various officials.

And there has been a big jump in NLRB elections as a number of AFL and CIO unions seek to increase their contracts and memberships preparatory to negotiations for direct union mergers.

The new constitution provides that "affiliates shall respect the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate." But it is doubtful that this clause will have much effect upon organizations like the Teamsters or AFL Seafarers who consider cannibalistic raiding to be standard union strategy.

The AFL Metal Trades and Building Trades blocked any clause in the constitution of the new labor federation giving equal membership rights to both Negro and white workers.

The CIO fought for a clause guaranteeing "full membership rights" for all, but settled for a compromise which reads "full union benefits to all." This leaves the Jim Crow set-up that exists in many AFL unions.

Negro trade unionists throughout the country have protested this reactionary clause. They have also demanded that one of the 27 vice presidents of the new body be a Negro. However, even if the AFL as a concession names some one like A. Philip Randolph, the shameful racial clause will remain.

The merger has been in the making for years. It is a defensive re-alignment primarily due to the threat of the Taft-Hartley Act, secondarily to the defeat of the Democrats in 1952 and finally to the hope that a united union bureaucracy can help the Democrats win in 1956.

Regardless of the motives of the narrow-minded, conservative leaders of the AFL and CIO, the merger is of great political significance. The hopes and aspirations of the American working class will inevitably center around the new organization. The hierarchy is bound to feel increasing pressure in the direction of independent political action.

Despite all the shortcomings of the new body, its formation must be viewed as a progressive step opening up new paths for the labor movement.

Vol. XIX — No. 49

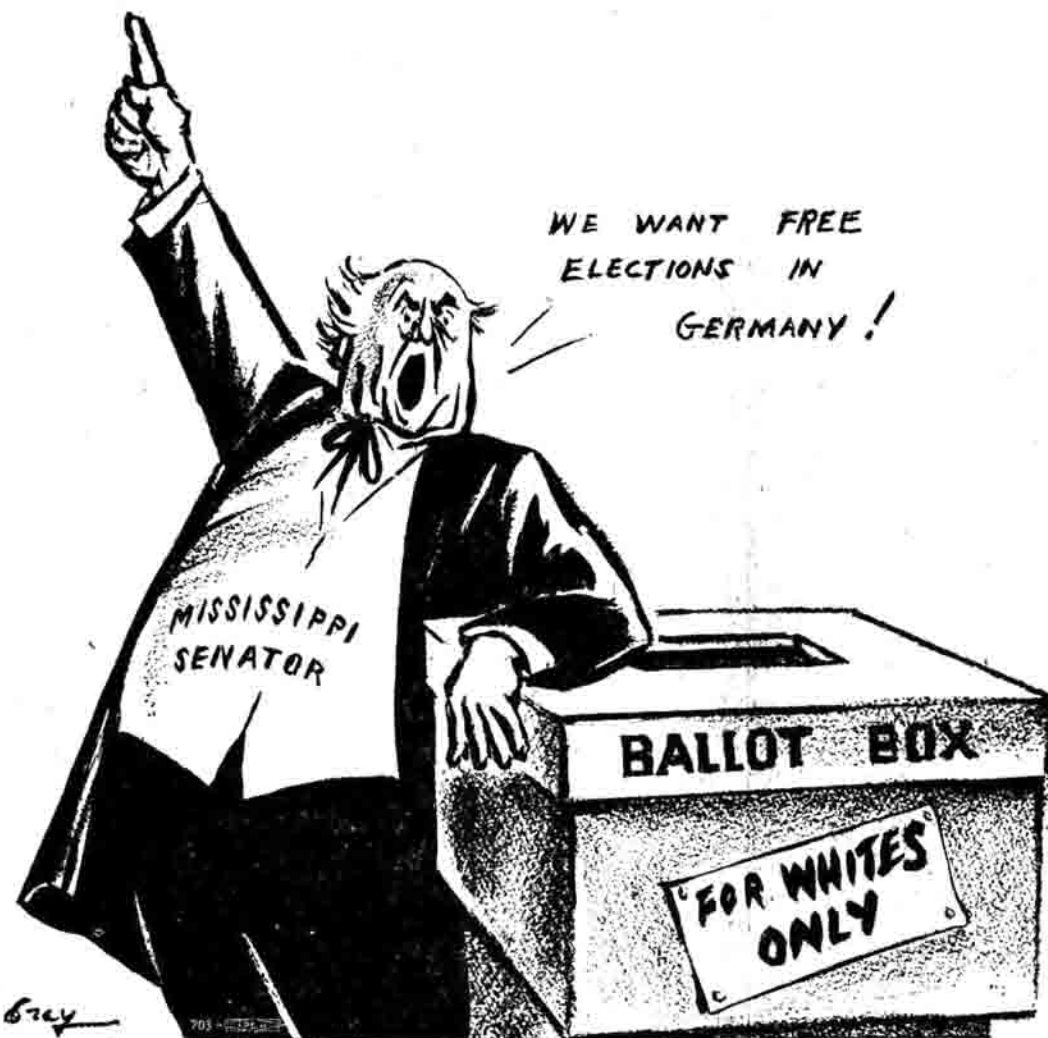
267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1955

PRICE: 10 Cents

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



Perfect Circle Settles; 15 Strikers Victimized

By Robert Chester

NOV. 29 — By a narrow margin Perfect Circle strikers in Newcastle, Indiana, today reluctantly voted to call off their four-month strike. The settlement was voted 86 to 72 at a bitter two-hour meeting of the CIO Auto Workers local. Present at the meeting was UAW-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey who had been sent from Detroit to pressure the strikers into accepting the compromise worked out with the viciously anti-labor corporation.

The worst feature of the settlement, and the one that the strikers resisted most, was the absence of a clause guaranteeing that all the strikers would get their jobs back. The company had discharged 35 strikers in the course of the walkout. Fifteen will now be reemployed, and the fate of the other seven will be decided by arbitration. Carl Batohfeld, president of Local 370, and one of the seven, told reporters at the end of the meeting that he did not expect to be reinstated.

Another feature of the settlement was a 17-cent-an-hour wage increase. This includes ten cents that the company granted earlier to employees in its plant in Tipton, Ind., which is under contract with the CIO Steelworkers plus another seven cents to go into effect next July 1. It is not clear whether the company acceded to a union shop clause.

The strike began July 25. The UAW demanded the same "package" won from Ford and General Motors. The company, which has a long anti-union record, began preparations to bring scabs in and continue production.

The Sept. 27 picket line, called to stop the importation of strikebreakers, was attacked by police, who clubbed and beat up the strikers, arresting 50 of them. The union retaliated by calling for a mass demonstration on Oct. 5 supported by unionists from the area. When this demonstration approached the plant it was met by blasts of gunfire from within the company gates. Eight workers were wounded.

NATIONAL GUARD CALLED

The outraged pickets then closed the plant down. Upon appeal of the Mayor, Governor George N. Craig imposed martial law on the area and the plant was reopened under protection of the National Guard.

The Company officials, advocates of the "right to work" law, refused to negotiate with the union on the pretext that they were "lawbreakers." It called for decertification elections at the adjoining Hagerstown and Richmond plants and succeeded in eliminating the union there on the basis of scab votes.

Perfect Circle is controlled by the Teetor family which has strong political influence in the state — and in Washington. Lothar Teetor, former head of the plant, "resigned" to become Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower administration. Soon after the strike became a national issue it was announced that Teetor had "resigned" his government post as of Nov. 30.

While the settlement represents a compromise for both sides, the company gained much more than did the union. Perfect Circle Corporation's concession consists solely of allowing the union to

continue in existence at its plant in Newcastle. Whether the union there will survive remains to be seen. The answer will depend on the local union itself. The International officials, who demonstrated their incapacity to give effective support to the embattled Perfect Circle strikers, will be equally incapable of rebuilding the union there after the setback just suffered.

The whole Perfect Circle strike was another — and the most successful to date — probing operation by Big Business against the labor movement to test the survival power of labor against an all-out strikebreaking campaign and full use of the Taft-Hartley Law. The scoreboard of this struggle is ominous. The company succeeded in smashing and decertifying the union at its Hagerstown and Richmond, Ind., plants. In Newcastle the union still exists but its president and six other leading militants may be permanently out of the plant. Eight others are already undergoing punitive suspensions.

FAILURE OF OFFICIALS

In contrast to the aggressiveness of the company throughout the strike was the impotence of the top UAW leadership. Aside from publicity, and some financial assistance the Reuther machine was paralyzed by this test run of union-busting. Ideas of mobilization of the whole CIO or of just the Indiana CIO in work stoppages never entered their heads. This is the measure of the decline of militancy in the UAW leadership from the early days of the CIO to the present. It is also the measure of the labor movement's vulnerability today.

Report on the British Dockers

By John White

MANCHESTER, Nov. 23 — When the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress decreed last July that dockers on Merseyside in Manchester and in Hull should return to the Transport and General Workers Union, it was confident it had struck a crushing blow at a militant movement on the docks.

The executive committee of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers (NASD) — the union which these thousands of dockers had joined in revolt against the bureaucratic Transport Union — promptly obeyed the instruction of the big trade union bosses, and coldly informed the men in the north of England they were excluded from their organization.

The trade union bureaucracy calculated that the northern dockers would surge back into the Transport and General Workers Union, in demoralization and confusion; that their leaders would then be isolated, picked out, and cleared off the waterfront; that, in a few

months, the only memory of the "blue union" (as the NASD is called) would be that it was "murdered by bureaucratic edict."

NOT DEFEATED

The bureaucrats have been confounded. Three months from the end of the six weeks strike of the NASD in support of the demand for negotiating rights for the northern organization; three months after the General Council's decree, it is possible to assert emphatically that the militant movement in the northern ports has neither been smashed nor decisively pushed back.

The majority of dockers in Manchester and Hull remain members of the "blue union." On Merseyside, its power was demonstrated recently when 10,000 dockers out of a labor force of 17,000 responded to a call for a one-day stoppage. Their action secured the re-employment of two dockers, sacked after calling a man a "scab."

Stubbornness, solidarity and working class heroism have maintained the militant organization in these ports despite great difficulties. The men pay their subscriptions, their branch-

es meet regularly, their district committees function, and they employ paid officers in every one of the posts.

Their organization still does not have official negotiating rights, although in Manchester and Hull their officers have now a certain measure of recognition in discussing day to day problems.

WILL TO STRUGGLE

The leaders, who after the six weeks strike carried the men back to work as solid as when they came out, were themselves almost entirely fresh to the problems of leadership. In the main, they came to the front only during the past year. They began their task of maintaining their union, many of them inexperienced even in the necessary administrative tasks.

The best have one basic attribute in common with the rank and file—a will to struggle. That precious asset will overcome all inexperience. It is the guarantee for the success of this movement and for the defeat of the employers and their bureaucratic agents.

The northern dockers have taken legal proceedings to es-

tablish their right to belong to the NASD. The legal battle will be watched with great interest by the Labor Movement. If these men win, it will undoubtedly be a big blow to the trade union bureaucracy.

But while the progress of the legal case is important, the future of this movement is determined by basic factors—the militancy and firmness of the leadership, the spirit and determination of the ranks and the fact that they continue the struggle in a general situation shaping up for big class battles, not only on the docks but in the whole of British industry.

RESERVATIONS NOW!
BILL OF RIGHTS DINNER
CAPITOL HOTEL
DEC. 15 — \$7.50
EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVE., N. Y. 1 • DT 5-2655

Release of Till's Killers Inspired Belzoni Shooting

BATTLE TO ENFORCE ICC RULING LOOMS IN SOUTH

By John Thayer

The fight against Jim Crow in transportation registered an important legal victory on Nov. 25 when the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled against

segregation in trains, buses and waiting rooms. The ruling followed the pattern of the Supreme Court decisions on segregated schools and parks. The ICC, however, ordered the railroads and bus companies to cease their Jim Crow practices by Jan. 10, 1956.

The response of the Southern white-supremacist politicians was immediate defiance. They announced that Jim Crow would go on as before. Their statements indicated a number of the devices they will use to cheat the Negro people of the fruits of their legal victory.

DELAYING TACTICS

South Carolina's Attorney General, T. C. Calhoun, said the ICC ruling "really means nothing" without the backing of the courts. This means the delaying tactic of fighting the ruling through the federal courts. It is expected that the Supreme Court will uphold the ruling since it is based on its own school segregation decision. However, there is always the possibility the high court may add the "no time limit" gimmick that has emasculated the school decision.

The ICC ruling applies only to train and bus travel between states and waiting rooms for interstate travelers. Thirteen Southern states have segregation laws for travel facilities. Constitutionally such laws apply only to travel within the state. In practice the same bus and railroad waiting rooms are used both by interstate and intrastate travelers.

It will be an easy matter for Southern officials to declare existing waiting rooms only for the use of interstate travelers. These can be legally segregated. Then mixed facilities would be evaded by simply not providing waiting rooms for interstate travelers. Thus those waiting for an interstate train or bus would have to use the old segregated facilities or hang around outside on the street.

"VOLUNTARY" JIM CROW

A Greyhound bus official in Jackson, Miss., hinted at "voluntary" segregation. He said the driver could ask a Negro passenger to sit in the rear but legally would have no power to make him do so if he refused.

The pattern of events in Mississippi shows that "unofficial" persuasion might accomplish

what the driver "legally" will no longer be able to do. In such a case the Negro traveler might well be killed or injured by "persons unknown."

The cases before the ICC were brought by the NAACP against the railroads and by Miss Sarah Keys against the bus company three years ago. Miss Keys, in Women's Army Corps uniform, was traveling home on furlough. She refused to give up her seat and move to the rear of a bus. She was arrested, man-handled and fined for "disorderly conduct" in Roanoke Rapids, N.C.

The NAACP case also included Jim Crow restaurants run by the Union News Co. in railroad terminals. The ICC refused to include them in its ban.

South Carolina Racists Howl for DeLaine's Blood

A fugitive from South Carolina justice surrendered himself in a New York felony court Nov. 25. The fugitive was Rev. Joseph A. DeLaine, the courageous Negro fighter for desegregation who barely escaped with his life from South Carolina police and white-supremacist vigilantes.

DeLaine and his lawyer told the following to the court: Rev. DeLaine was one of the initiators of the Clarendon County, S.C., school suit. This was one of the test cases that resulted in the Supreme Court's decision against segregated schools. DeLaine was a marked man in Clarendon County. He received threats that he would be killed if he didn't leave the county. He moved to Summerton, S.C., where racists burnt his house down.

Then he went to Lake City, S.C. He was there when the Supreme Court decision was announced and the white supremacists declared he was the one responsible for "all this desegregation mess." Last September a caravan of cars circled his home. They broke all the windows in his house. He reported the license number of one of the cars to the sheriff who said the identification was faulty and that he should have marked the car in some way, such as putting a bullet-hole in it.

CHURCH BURNED

On Oct. 6 DeLaine's church was burned to the ground and he received death threats. Four nights later shots were fired into his house from a car. DeLaine recognized the sheriff in the attacking group. The Negro minister was prepared and fired back. Then he and his wife fled. South Carolina is demanding his extradition on charges of "assault and battery with intent to kill."

DeLaine's lawyer announced that he will fight extradition and that New York Governor Harriman will be asked to refuse to sign the extradition papers.

Since he has been governor, Harriman has sent two fugitives back to the hell of Deep South chain gangs despite strong protests by the NAACP. At the present moment the New York governor has decided that the best angle to play for the Democratic presidential nomination is to appear more liberal than Adlai Stevenson. But at the same time he doesn't want to alienate the Dixiecrat elements in the Democratic Party. Therefore strong pressure from Negro and labor organizations is needed to force Harriman to refuse South Carolina's demand for Rev. DeLaine's extradition.

Civil Rights Giant Rally Scheduled

By George Lavan

Lynchers rode again in Belzoni, Mississippi, and their shotgun blasts nearly killed 65-year-old Gus Courts, local leader in the fight for Negro voting. Courts had assumed leadership of this fight following the shotgun-lynching of Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni last May.

The boldness of the lynchers must be attributed to the fact that they know they are operating with impunity. Three unpunished lynchings in Mississippi — including that of 14-year-old Emmett Till — since May show the racist killers they have nothing to fear from local authorities or the FBI.

Gus Courts, severely wounded in the abdomen and left arm was rushed out of Humphreys County by friends to a hospital 82 miles away in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou. After three days on the critical list, he is now making a recovery.

The Humphreys County sheriff has shown little inclination to investigate the lynch attempt. He has not as yet even bothered to interview the victim.

Nonetheless he has advanced the "theory" that Courts was shot by "some damn n . . . r." This is the same "theory" he advanced in the shotgun murder of Rev. George W. Lee — that is after NAACP publicity had forced him and the coroner's jury to reverse their original cover-up finding of "death in an auto accident."

NEW KKK IN ACTION

Lee was lynched after he had steadfastly refused, despite all the pressure of the White Citizens Councils, to remove his name from the list of registered voters. Then the White Citizens Councils started putting the pressure on Courts. He refused and the realtor, who owned the building in which Courts had a store, forced him to move. Next Courts' business of transporting Negro day laborers to various plantations was ruined. A leader of the White Citizens Council followed Courts' truck and advised each plantation owner not to hire field hands transported by the Negro leader who insisted on his right to vote.

Humphreys County has a population about 70% Negro, yet not a single Negro can vote there. Courts, along with Rev. Lee was party to a suit in 1953 to force the present sheriff to accept poll tax payments from Negroes. This fight was won but when the Negroes, who had registered and paid the poll tax, showed up to vote they were denied access to the ballot box. Along with the economic pressure, Courts has received warnings to get out of Humphreys County.

In addition to Rev. Lee, another Negro, Lamar Smith, who also "meddled in politics," was lynched in Mississippi this year. He was shot down in front of the courthouse in Brookhaven before 30 to 40 people. Although the FBI went through the motions of an investigation of this case, as it had in the Lee case, there has been no indictment of the known killers because no witnesses can be "found." The Department of Justice has refused all NAACP and labor demands that the FBI investigate the Emmett Till lynching.

Two FBI agents interviewed Courts in the Mound Bayou hospital. Since then Courts and his friends have uncovered important information but according to the New York Post (Nov. 28) they are having difficulty finding the FBI to pass it on.

WOMAN BEATEN

Another example of the anti-Negro violence that the brazen acquittal of Emmett Till's kidnapers and lynchers has encouraged throughout the South was afforded in Abbeville, Louisiana. (Continued on page 2)

The Story Of Joe Hill

By John Black

When Joe Hill left the West Coast to go to Salt Lake City, Utah, it may have been to visit the relatives he had never seen. Perhaps it was to gather a stake on a construction job. He did not know that he was going to his death.

As a seaman on Swedish and English ships, as a spittoon polisher in a Bowery saloon, beating his way to Chicago and a short-lived job as a helper in a machine shop, on the San Diego water front living in a shack with his seaman cousin, bucking sugar bags in Hawaii, fighting for some months side by side with other American volunteers in the Mexican revolution, he had shown he knew his place in society.

REBEL SONG WRITER

When he arrived in Salt Lake City in the fall of 1913 his reputation as a rebel song writer had preceded him. The workers were on strike. The organization needed every Wobbly to help.

They say that the songs he wrote on the spur of the moment in a strike or during a free-speech fight were even better than those that were printed. Hard-hitting and to the point, with plenty of sarcasm and humor, they inspired the strikers. He earned the immediate hate of the copper bosses.

Joe went to see the distant relatives he had in town. Perhaps he finally found among them the girl he wanted to share his life with.

On the night of Jan. 10, 1914, Joe knocked on the door of a doctor's house. He said he had received a bullet in his lung in a shooting over a woman. He never would reveal her name.

Next day's papers carried the story of the fatal shooting of the ex-cop Morrison and his son in their grocery store. The doctor went to the police.

There never was positive identification by witnesses linking Joe to the shooting. Morrison had many enemies in town, had been involved in at least two previous shootings. Many signs pointed to a revenge killing, the outcome of a long-standing grudge.

Joe had been in town only a few months, had never met Morrison. But the State of Utah

had the culprit it wanted. Kept him in jail for 18 months.

FARCICAL TRIAL

The trial was a farce. Joe had to dismiss the state-appointed defense attorneys half way through the trial. "Too many prosecuting attorneys around here."

He was no lawyer and the net was woven around him . . . all circumstantial. No real proof.

He was a Wobbly and he showed his hate for them. No, he would not ask for a commutation or a pardon when they told him the bloody sentence. He was not guilty and he had not received a fair trial.

"I'll get a new trial or die trying." The humor never left him. Eighteen long months in jail but not alone in that cell. Protest storms all over the world. His songs had been a spark and the labor movement was catching fire. Even the Swedish Ambassador tried to stay the revengeful hand of the State of Utah. The professor in the White House asked questions. Tens of thousands in the streets of Chicago, Seattle, Portland and San Pedro shouted, "Free Joe Hill!"

When they told him the date of execution, Joe wrote a note to William Haywood in the IWW headquarters in Chicago: "Good-bye, Bill—I die like a true rebel. Don't waste any time mourning—organize! It's a hundred miles from here to Wyoming. Could you manage to have my body hauled to the state line to be buried? I don't want to be found dead in Utah! Joe Hill."

When they took him out and blindfolded him, the morning of Nov. 19, 1915, Joe had the strength to give the order to the firing squad.

His buddies took his body and he was cremated outside of Utah. On May Day 1916 the demonstrators scattered his ashes in the breezes as he had asked in his will.

His rebel songs inspire us 40 years later. They could not kill all of him at that.

Political Counterfeiters Utilize Debs to Pass Their False Coin

By Daniel Roberts

In celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Eugene V. Debs, every opportunist tendency in the labor movement sought to use his prestige to undermine the very socialist principles for which he fought.

The Militant has already reported Norman Thomas' attempts, in the name of the moribund Socialist Party, to claim Debs for a policy of reforming capitalism by voting the Democratic ticket.

The Stalinists put in the same claim, although it fell to the lot of the editors of Monthly Review, rather than the official CP publications, to enlist Debs for "peaceful coexistence" and "people's frontism."

Both Thomas' political course and that of the Stalinists represent the kind of politics that Debs fought against passionately from 1900, when he declared himself a revolutionary socialist, to his death 26 years later.

Labor's Daily contributed two

articles to the centennial (Nov. 3-4 issues), which sought to render Debs acceptable to the union bureaucrats, a breed which Debs despised and combatted. The author, Charles Curtis, correctly points out that Debs opposed both Big Business parties. But he remains studiously silent about the enthusiastic support Debs gave the Russian Revolution. Nor does Curtis say a word about how Debs fought the Gompers AFL bureaucracy. Furthermore, he twists Debs' revolutionary opposition to World War I into a semi-pacifist position.

THE RENEGADES

In the course of the centennial observations, two groups of recent deserters from the revolutionary socialist movement seized hold of the weakest side of Debs, and presented that as the whole Debs, in a contemptible effort to cover their treachery with the mantle of the great revolutionary. The deserters in question are the Shachtmanites of the Independent Socialist League and the Cochranites, grouped around the magazine, The American Socialist.

The errors Debs made were with respect to the role of leadership in the working class struggle and the nature of the revolutionary party. Debs did hold it to be a principle that a revolutionary socialist party must be built. But he never applied himself to the question of how it was to be built, in the course of what struggles and with what organizational structure.

Like Rosa Luxemburg—the brilliant Marxist theoretician and heroic leader of the revolutionary left wing of the German Social Democratic Party—he relied on the spontaneous action of the working class aroused to an understanding of its own interests and discredited organized leadership that did not spring up fresh from the struggle.

As a result Debs viewed his own role in the Socialist Party too narrowly as that of a propagandist, educator and expounder of socialist principles to the working class at large. He performed this task magnificently and taught countless workers and farmers the meaning of the fundamental principles of class struggle politics.

He never thought it was his job—or any one else's either—to construct a firm party cadre and unite them around the Marxist program. Debs did not participate in the faction fights within the SP. And though he backed the party's left-wing in a general way, he left its leaders to fight with the opportunist wing of the party as best they could. Debs never even attended the conventions where the program and type of leadership of the party were to be debated.

Debs derived his suspicions of leadership from observing conservatism, routinism and narrow-mindedness in both the AFL officialdom and the petty-bourgeois Berger-Hillquit leadership of the American Socialist Party.

LENIN'S WAY

But the cure—as Lenin taught in constructing the Bolshevik Party in Russia—is for the revolutionary vanguard to organize itself against the opportunist and careerist officials and wage a fight for the allegiance of the working class. The aim of the vanguard party is to free the proletariat from domination by capitalist-minded bureaucratic leaders so as to unite the entire class for the overthrow of capitalism.

The superiority of Lenin's approach to the question over Debs' or Luxemburg's was demonstrated in the victory of the Russian Revolution—led by Lenin and Trotsky at the head of the Bolshevik Party. This was a victory for the principle of the revolutionary vanguard party.

In this country, left-wing socialists who had learned their fundamental principles from Debs learned from the Russian Bolsheviks who had tested and enriched socialist theory in their revolutionary experience.

They formed the U.S. Communist Party. Subsequently, when in the 1920's, Stalinist degeneration began to destroy the revolutionary fiber of the CP, a faction arose, in conjunction with the opposition to Stalinism led by Trotsky in Russia, to defend the Leninist principles and carry them forward. That faction eventually became the Socialist Workers Party.

The defense of Leninism is the line along which the preparation for the struggle for socialism must be continued. But what

do the Shachtmanites and Cochranites propose?

JUNK LENINISM

"It was a commonly held conviction," says Bert Cochran in the November issue of the American Socialist, "that [Debs'] type of socialism has been completely left behind by the march of events, superseded in every respect by the wisdom emanating from the Russian revolution, and the message broadcast by the Communist International. The debacle of the past decade has broken some of us of our past arrogance."

He proceeds to identify the crimes of Stalinism with the authentic Leninist program and by inference argues for the liquidation of the whole Leninist course.

As for the Shachtmanites, Philip Cohen and George Rawlings, writing on "The Image of Debs" in the Nov. 7 Labor Action, appeal to "the continuing self-activity of the masses moving independently" as the remedy for the threat of labor bureaucratism. And in this connection they quote approvingly Debs' more extreme formulations against leadership.

Both Cochranites and Shachtmanites had already repudiated the Leninist conception of the vanguard party together with all other basic principles of revolutionary socialism prior to the Debs Centennial. Their respective splits in 1940 and 1953 from the Socialist Workers Party, revolved around this issue—implicitly at first for the Shachtmanites, explicitly for the Cochranites.

When they now pick up the errors in the question of the revolutionary party of a sincere revolutionist like Debs—made before experience had fully clarified the problem—they sully the real Debs heritage as much as do Thomas the Stalinist and the labor fakers with their crasser manipulations.

Only the Socialist Workers Party during the centennial presented Debs as he was—a great pioneer in the revolutionary struggle for socialism in America, whose heritage, however, acquires its deepest meaning in the light of the lessons we have learned from the Russian revolution and its leaders—Lenin and Trotsky.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 250	\$ 199	80
Buffalo	1,760	875	50
Seattle	200	93	47
Detroit	825	337	41
New York	3,520	1,426	41
Youngstown	250	100	40
Newark	200	76	38
Chicago	1,760	614	35
Philadelphia	440	152	35
Twin Cities	1,320	421	33
Los Angeles	3,300	898	27
St. Louis	85	20	23
Oakland	300	55	18
San Francisco	800	117	15
Cleveland	350	50	14
Allentown	85	11	13
Boston	500	60	12
Akron	140	0	0
Pittsburgh	100	0	0
General		10	
Total through Nov. 29	\$16,185	\$5,514	34

SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA FUND STEPS UP PACE

By Reba Aubrey

The 16-week campaign to raise a \$16,185 Socialist Publication and Press Fund began to pick up speed during the past two weeks. Receipts of \$1,587 brought the total through Nov. 29 up to \$5,514.

This is 34% of the goal set for Jan. 31—six percentage points better than the Nov. 15 report, but still ten points behind schedule.

Milwaukee continues to hold first place as pace-setter in the campaign with 80% of its \$250 quota.

Buffalo moved from fourth to second place with two checks totaling \$295. They have already reached 50% of their \$1,760 quota.

Seattle, too, is ahead of schedule with 47% of its quota.

Fund supporters in other cities, concerned because they are behind schedule, are making determined efforts to catch up. Chicago, for instance, says that in spite of the fact that "collections are a bit hard to make," they hope they "can step it up and get caught up" with the on-schedule cities.

The Twin Cities fund supporters "are having a Fall Rummage Sale to help raise money for the Publication and Press Fund." Fannie Curran, speaking for St.

Paul and Minneapolis, says: "We are sure we will make our quota better than the Nov. 15 report, but still ten points behind schedule."

Bill Morgan sent this note with a \$25 check for Oakland: "I'm sorry it isn't more but we will make our quota in full by the time the campaign ends. Oakland is having a Debs Memorial Dinner next Sunday at which a friend will speak on Debs' life and work. The money will go toward the Fund."

New York has fulfilled 41% of its large \$3,520 quota. Ann Mann, Fund Director for New York, tells us that friends of the Militant have pledged \$85, of which \$57 has already been paid.

"Another 'Pinky' in the amount of \$85," Pearl Spangler refers to Philadelphia's fund payments as "Pinkies" and says that "From here on in these pink checks will tell the story of enthusiasm."

Boston and St. Louis made sure they wouldn't appear in the zero column again by sending in initial payments.

... Belzoni

(Continued from 'page 1)

There a Catholic churchwoman was beaten because she taught catechism to a racially mixed class although, as in Jim Crow busses, Negro children sat in the back of the classroom.

The Catholic Bishop has excommunicated the three white-supremacist women responsible for the beating and suspended all catechism classes. This follows the successful campaign against the presence of a Negro priest in a Louisiana parish. Though the Catholic hierarchy has issued statements condemning the racist, its deeds represent a retreat. The Negro priest was removed by closing the church. Moreover the previously planned integration of parochial schools in Louisiana has now been postponed.

The increase in racist violence since the whitewash of Emmett Till's lynchers shows that the need is constantly increasing—and will continue to do so—for the Negro people and the labor movement to force federal intervention to protect the constitutional rights and the lives of "negroes in Mississippi and other Deep South regions."

GIANT RALLY NEEDED Only a mass demonstration of strength can make felt the unanimous sentiment of the Negro people and the widespread feeling among unionists that something has to be done about the reign of terror in Mississippi. A mobilization for civil rights in Washington, D.C., early next year has long been scheduled. CIO President Walter Reuther spoke of this mobilization in his communication to all Auto Workers locals on the Till case.

This mobilization offers the opportunity for something more than the usual lobbying affairs that have been held in the past. The Republican and Democratic politicians have been tossing NAACP and labor telegrams about Mississippi into their wastebaskets. If thousands of Negro and white union members, delegated by their locals, go to Washington, to swell the representation of the NAACP and other pro-civil rights organizations, it will be a different story.

The united roar for action on Mississippi by such a mass mobilization could not be ignored or given the wastebasket treatment by the politicians. This is an opportunity which the Negro people and labor must seize.

How the Ford Stock Pie Is Cut

By Sam Marcy

By the time this article appears in print, the convention of the IBA (Investment Bankers Association) will be in session in Hollywood, Fla. The chief undercurrent of the convention will be the Ford stock sale, because it is the biggest offering in history, and calculated to raise between \$400 and \$500 million.

The IBA is not a noisy, clamorous organization like the NAM (National Association of Manufacturers) which serves as the initiating center for the most virulent anti-labor propaganda. The IBA is meeting quietly, obtrusively, and with a minimum of publicity. That's why you're not likely to hear much of what goes on at their convention, except for what is neatly tucked away in the financial pages of the bigger capitalist newspapers.

DIVISION OF LABOR

The difference in conduct between the NAM and the IBA is not due to any difference in principle, but solely one of method. It is a sort of division of labor between them. The NAM, which is mostly composed of manufacturers, is chiefly concerned with how to wring the highest profits out of the hides of the American workers, while the IBA, which is mostly composed of bankers, is chiefly concerned with how best to divide the profits among the warring cliques of capitalists.

The perennial cry of the NAM is "greater productivity" (more speed-up, more output per man hour of worker). The IBA's perennial cry is "equity," "fairness," etc., in the division of the loot. From the standpoint of Marxism, the NAM operates in the field which tries to raise the rate of exploitation of the workers, and thereby obtain greater surplus-value; the IBA operates in the field of the distribution of the surplus value. But both the IBA and the NAM are just two arms of the same financial oligarchy, which rules over every phase of the country's life.

The Ford Co., by choosing a group of investment bankers, whose key manager is a Morgan satellite, changed the relationship of forces among the warring cliques of bankers and heightened the struggle among them to a new pitch. The new relationship of forces will work most disadvantageously to the firm of Halsey, Stuart & Co., the big investment

arm of the so-called "Chicago Group" of bankers, who control about six billion dollars in assets. These include such giant banks as the First National Bank of Chicago, Continental Illinois Bank, Northern Trust Co., and Harris Trust and Savings.

How is it possible for the Ford stock sale managers to have excluded Halsey, Stuart & Co., while including such investment banks as Lehman Bros.? This is not to be explained merely by the fact that the former firm deals chiefly in corporate bonds. That could be remedied. Halsey, Stuart & Co. have been excluded from many big bond issues as well, and for that reason are regarded as having been instrumental in having induced the government to indict the IBA for conspiracy to monopolize the securities market. (The suit was dismissed after a seven year struggle.)

CAPITALISM IN ITS YOUTH

Actually, Halsey, Stuart & Co. is a larger firm than Lehman Bros. The exclusion of the Chicago group of bankers (through Halsey, Stuart) is illustrative of a tendency of present day capitalism.

In its early days when capitalism was progressive and a large industrial corporation or a railroad needed huge funds, either for expansion or other purposes, the industrialist would go to the capital market (the money market) and obtain a competitive bid from a bank or a group of banks organized into a syndicate, if the undertaking was too big for one bank. Theoretically, at least, the interest acquired by the syndicate of banks or individual financiers, was commensurate with their "strength" or willingness to take on risks. By strength in those days was generally meant the financial backing for the amount of capital they had. Competition reigned supreme. Today this is no longer so.

The strength of a bank is today not measured solely in terms of its financial status, but also by its connections and alliances socially or politically with other banks. What is regarded as even more important are its connections with the capitalist state, the various state legislatures, and the courts. Only in this way can it be explained why such a giant investment firm like Halsey, Stuart & Co. is "off the list," and the smaller firm of Lehman Bros. is or is not. For it is the connections with other banking firms, and

with the capitalist state that explain the difference. The connection of Lehman Bros. with Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and other powerful banks, and with capitalist politics in the state of New York, is an element that weighs heavily in their favor.

ROLE OF SECURITIES

Of all the antagonisms that continuously rage within the camp of the ruling class, none are so venomous as those that are engendered by the struggle among them for the sale and distribution of securities, especially a juicy one like the Ford stock sale. This is not to be wondered at, for it is from the sale of these securities that the financial oligarchy reaps the largest profit.

As long ago as 40 years, Lenin could see that the "extraordinarily high rate of profit, obtained from the issuance of securities—is one of the principal functions of finance capital, and plays a large role in the development of the financial oligarchy."

By the time 1956 rolls around, the investment bankers will have floated publicly seven billion dollars in securities. The profits on these sales are simply phenomenal.

The investment bankers, as a separate entity, distinct from commercial bankers or savings banks and insurance companies, take a huge bite in the division of profits. But because of the "secretive character of the arrangements, they make among themselves, the actual size of their 'take' is difficult to ascertain. However, in 1951, the SEC (Securities Exchange Commission) issued a report of securities registered with the Commission, and sold and distributed by the investment bankers, for years 1945 to 1949. It contains the most comprehensive summary of the costs of flotations of securities, that is, the "take" of the investment banking fraternity. The conclusion of the Commission was that for every \$100 of securities sold, \$2.64 is absorbed in the "cost of flotation." Thus "the take" on \$500 million (the Ford flotation) in round figures, is about \$13,200,000. But even that is a mere pittance. By 1956, they will have floated not \$500 million, but seven billion at a minimum. And all that's involved from the point of view of work is a mere office job, which by the way is handled by several thousand employees at a minimum.

This is the most striking aspect of what in Marxism, is known as the parasitism of finance capital.

USURY

Capitalism, which began its career with petty usury, has now grown into usury of gargantuan proportions. Shylock, the Merchant of Venice, has been replaced by the Colossus of Wall Street.

It should be said, out of deference to the Venetian merchant, Shylock, that his legendary pound of flesh was insisted upon by him, not so much out of greed and avarice, as out of the enormous risks he took on capital. All merchants of Venice, which was a great seaport at the time, took heavy risks by lending money to ship owners on cargo vessels, which many times never came back.

The colossus of Wall Street, assumes great risks in form, but in content, it shifts them to the public—the more substantial petty-bourgeoisie.

Petty usury, Marx explained, played a revolutionary role by centralizing the means of production into capital, and incidentally ruining the feudal lords and small-scale production as well.

At the dawn of the imperialist epoch, the issuance of securities served to consolidate the financial oligarchy, as Lenin put it. Today, however, its continued growth serves continually to divide them, and by their blind struggle for profit, to hasten their inevitable doom.

Usury in the epoch of imperialism, plays a purely parasitic role, since production has long ago become not only centralized, but completely social (collective) in character. It is only the private, capitalist appropriation of the fruits of production (of labor) which stands in the way of a harmonious social system.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

Fri., Dec. 9 — Jomo Kenyatta and the Mau Mau.
Speaker: Erroll Banks

1702 E. 4th St., 8:15 P. M.
Donation 35c.

Along with final reports on the just-concluded Militant subscription campaign, come reports

of experiences at meetings covered and sales of both single copies of the paper and pamphlets.

Starting with Philadelphia, George Clement writes: "Enclosed are three more Militant subs which are the result of call-back work in the project. In addition we can report a very good sale of Militant and pamphlets at the Labor Forum . . . As of now, please increase our bundle to 75 copies per week."

John Tabor, New York, brings in some subs and tells us: "A 'Trade Union Committee on Racial Equality' held a meeting at the Rand School where we sold 18 Militants," and Merlin Wesley sends nine more subs from Buffalo, adding that "we're plugging away and will continue doing so after the campaign."

Youngstown was heard from with some subs. Merle Benjamin reports that "five of us covered the NAACP meeting. We sold 42 Militants and 45 'Desegregation!' pamphlets in an hour in shifts because of the cold."

"Here is another bunch of subs—the result of our last mobilization," writes Lou Griffin from Chicago. "Kent Darrow got all the new ones at the Till meeting. On Sunday six people went out, three to a housing project . . . Please increase our bundle to 75."

Winifred Nelson is proud of the "19 subs, results of the final week of the Twin Cities Militant sub campaign, six of which are new ones. Paul Pierson, Helen Sherman, M. Limton, Ing Norton, Larry Andrews and Bill

Carter brought in the renewals from readers who have been getting the Militant consistently over a number of years, and who are anxious to continue reading a paper published in the interest of workers and farmers. In addition to M. and Ing, Frances Carter and Paul Gerber sold the new ones. Fifty singles were sold through our regular neighborhood work and coverage of a NAACP and a UAW meeting."

Richard Clausen sends us a sub from St. Louis, writing that we can expect several more in the next few days.

Seattle "had a very successful Sunday, the best to date," reports Helen Baker, Chuck Bailey, Clara Kaye, Jack Martinell, Frank Powers, Bob Jones, Leon Shaw and Ann Darcy sold 38 papers. Leon and Ann had a very pleasant experience. A former route reader who had been out of Seattle for the past year and a half went to the trouble of hunting them up so that they could come by with his paper. It is pleasant to know that is one of the first things he did on his return to the city."

Bill Morgan of Oakland tells us that "The rain made for a poor showing at the Till meeting—it was a real storm. We sold about 160 Militants and about 30 or 40 pamphlets."

Just before the end of the campaign Carl Feggans sent "three renewals and one new sub. We will try to send more before the campaign is over." "Sixteen salespeople sold 210 papers to the NAACP meeting here in Los Angeles. May Manning was our top saleswoman with 50. Al Adler sold 27 and Erroll Banks sold 29. We are going to start a door to door campaign on the 'Desegregation!' pamphlet, using the left-over Militants for sample copies. Then we will call back for subs."

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name _____

Street _____ Zone _____

City _____ State _____

☐ \$1.50 Six months ☐ \$3.00 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal

Cleveland Militant Forum

Presents
George Maxim
Socialist Student and Lecturer on the Near East will discuss
Cyprus
Its Struggle for Independence
Saturday, Dec. 10, 8 P. M.
10609 Superior Ave., 3rd floor
Questions and Discussion Refreshments

NEW YORK Militant Forum

Every Sunday, 7:30 P. M.
Dec. 4 — Geneva and New Maneuvers in the Cold War.
Dec. 11 — Called off because of N. Y. Bazaar.
Dec. 18 — The class significance of Margaret Sanger.
Speaker: Joyce Cowley
Questions Discussion Refreshments
116 University Place

A New Pamphlet

Desegregation!
Labor's Stake
In the Fight
For Negro Equality

By Jean Simon
10c.

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription \$3 per year:
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.
Single Copies: 5 or more
copies 6c each in U.S., 7c
each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 5, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily re-
present The Militant's policy.
These are expressed in the
editorial.

"Entered as second class
matter March 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N.Y., under the act of March
3, 1879."

Vol. XIX — No. 49

Monday, December 5, 1955

1. Wall Street Sounds the Alarm

"Among authorities on world affairs there is increasing concern over the steady weakening of our international position" states Chester Bowles in the Nov. 27, N. Y. Times Magazine. Similar expressions of alarm from responsible spokesmen of the U.S. capitalist class can be duplicated by the dozen.

The so-called failure of the Geneva Big Four foreign ministers' conference is not the cause for the anguish. The "Geneva spirit" has served Wall Street well in screening its long-range war plans. What the Big Business rulers of the U.S. are disturbed about are the most recent manifestations of an unfavorable world situation which has continued to shift against them since World War II.

It is true that following World War II capitalist rule in Western Europe was stabilized thanks to Marshall Plan aid and to the treacherous role played by the Stalinists in sidetracking the post-war revolutionary wave. The capitalist classes in these countries have lined up as junior partners in Wall Street's plan to plunder the world.

But in the nations that are the victims of plunder, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, a rising tide of national independence movements have thrown imperialism back. Revolution has already torn China, with its 600 million people, out of the grasp of imperialism.

2. The Immediate Threat

The rise of the independence movement in the colonial countries rips through Washington's elaborate system of military alliances against the Soviet Union and China. Through these alliances only the most reactionary and parasitic elements in the ruling classes are taken care of. But in Latin America, India, Egypt, Indonesia, Burma, and numerous other colonial countries, the native capitalist class as a whole seeks more room in which to grow and develop their own industries.

Washington's military alliances serve a twofold purpose: (1) for eventual war against the Soviet bloc; (2) for beating down the revolutionary movements in the member countries. To join the alliances is to forego the independence struggle. Hence the rise of "neutralism" among the bourgeois leaders in Asia and Africa.

Although, except for China, the colonial movements are headed at present by the capitalist class or regimes acting in the interests of the native capitalists, this offers no consolation to U.S. Big Business. For the Wall Street moguls are not interested simply in trade or investments.

Wall Street wants the colonial world (a) as a possible dumping ground for its surplus products, (b) as a source of cheap raw materials, and above all (c) as a source of unbounded profits from the super-exploitation of the colonial masses. Wall Street heads not simply the capitalist system throughout the world but more specifically the system of imperialism — that is, the exploitation of the whole capitalist world by a small gang of monopoly financiers in a few major Western countries.

3. The Rising Tide

Despite the strength that the national independence movement has shown even under capitalist leadership, imperialism would still triumph in the end by the sheer preponderance of its economic strength backed by U.S. power.

But every act of resistance to imperialism on the part of the government of a colonial nation strengthens the national independence consciousness of the masses of workers and peasants.

In the last analysis, the colonial bourgeoisie is able to defy imperialism because of the active presence of the masses on the scene who often intervene unbidden. They are now doing so in Morocco where they seek to realize the goal of complete independence from French imperialist rule.

But the toilers on the land and in the factories of the colonial countries are not fighting for the colonial capitalist class to win a greater arena for profit making. National consciousness is linked to their own class aims — land for the peasants, improved living conditions for the workers, industrialization of the country. This poses the perspective of socialist revolution.

Thus the strengthening of national independence in the colonial countries also sharpens the class struggle between workers and peasants on one side and all property owning classes on the other. It is true that this development inevitably drives the nationalist bourgeoisie back into the arms of imperialism.

The Stalinists, too, seek to halt the scope of the mass movement and to contain it.

At present the crisis of U.S. foreign policy focuses on the good-will tour of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India, Burma and Afghanistan. Bulganin and Khrushchev are bringing offers of Soviet economic aid to these countries. For example, in exchange for surplus rice, the Soviet bloc is sending machinery and technicians to Burma.

The Soviet government is already building a million-ton modern steel mill for India. In Afghanistan a corps of 500 technicians is installing oil and mining machinery. Thirty-five percent of Afghanistan's foreign exports currently go to the Soviet bloc.

Furthermore, the Kremlin is offering economic aid to Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. The Egyptian government is already receiving Czechoslovakian armaments in exchange for surplus cotton. The Soviet bloc can absorb colonial agricultural products that cannot be sold otherwise on the world market.

Big Business sheds hypocritical tears over the threat of "Communist subjugation" of these semi-colonial countries. Its real concern is their continued assertion of independence as displayed in their willingness to trade with the Soviet bloc. More and more leaders of the colonial countries are declaring that the U.S. is the great new imperialist power buttressing and supplanting France, England and Holland.

The development of rival capitalists in the colonial countries disrupts their absolute economic rule. Monopoly capitalism has permitted industrial development only as it suited its needs. Each colonial country has been forced to play only that economic role assigned to it by imperialism.

The Wall Street masters find intolerable even modest curbs placed on their ravenous appetite for profits. And the colonial bourgeoisie needs such curbs to further its own economic development.

Thus in India, according to the Nov. 22 Wall Street Journal "An analysis of American operations from Bombay to Calcutta and from Madras to New Delhi indicates [that] Indian invitations to foreign capital are sincere enough — but with definite reservations. India welcomes foreign capital if it increases local manufacture, introduces a technology not available in the country and does not increase competition for established firms." (An exception has, however, been made in the case of oil companies.)

As a result Ford and GM are both closing down their operations in India. U.S. investment in the field of auto production has been left to Willys and Studebaker, both of which are being squeezed at home. "The return on investment generally is at least 15% to 20%, and there are no restrictions on the remittance of profits," says the Wall Street Journal. But this handsome profit rate does not satisfy the greed of the huge combines who prefer to pull out now and return only when they can have everything their own way.

In Iran and Guatemala in recent years, the alliance of Communist parties and the nationalist bourgeoisie permitted imperialism and its native allies to inflict savage defeats on the masses and thereby hurl the whole national independence movement back.

But in the Chinese Revolution the surge of the masses checkmated the counter-revolutionary thrusts of U.S. imperialism even though the colonial bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-shek lined up with Washington, and even though the Mao Tse-tung leadership sought to deal with imperialism to the last.

The logic of the colonial movement will place the working class and its authentic revolutionary party at the helm of the independence struggle in India, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Morocco, Algeria and the other colonial countries now in the throes of nationalist revolution against imperialism. Victories under such leadership would mean the swift end for imperialism.

Finally, as the growing resistance among the French people to the North African war already shows, the advances of the colonial revolution undermine the stability of the rule of the monopoly capitalists at home and bring the socialist revolution immeasurably closer in the strongholds of capitalism — including the United States itself.

These are the more basic and profound threats to their rule that the Wall Street plunderers confront as the tide of the national independence movement in the colonies rises higher and higher.

By C. R. Hubbard

The Chinese revolution is undergoing a new stage in its development. The laws of the class struggle impel the bureaucracy of the deformed workers state, the Mao Tse-tung government, toward the path of socialization of production, both on the land and in the cities, despite the oft-repeated Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence between private and collective production.

A new turn was clearly outlined early this year with the announcement of an accelerated drive to increase the number of collective farms on the land. This drive is aimed at the elimination of the "rich peasant." Now we have the announcement of plans

Passport Fight



Nobel prizewinner Dr. Linus C. Pauling of the California Institute of Technology tells Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights of his long fight with the State Department for a passport. After more than two years of the usual runaround, a passport was issued to enable him to sail to Stockholm for his award.

to extend this campaign for the ultimate elimination of the remaining segments of capitalist industry and commerce in the cities.

PEKING REPORT

An editorial in the People's Daily of Peking, reported in the world capitalist press, Nov. 24, proposes the complete elimination of private capitalist business by the end of the Third Five Year Plan in 1967. The "transitional" method of achieving this goal, already in use, is to place the capitalist enterprise under joint private-government operation with a portion of the profits allocated to the private capitalist. "Joint operation" is intended to prepare the way for complete assimilation of private enterprise into the government's planned economy. The editorial tells the capitalists to make "mental preparations" for the complete nationalization of the means of production.

The "transitional" tactics used by the Mao regime, while having objective validity as far as the mass of small business is concerned, basically arise out of the congenial incapacity of the bureaucracy to arouse the creative revolutionary capacities of the working class. Yet the opening of the struggle against the capitalist sectors of the economy will have its own class-struggle logic. It will deepen the revolutionary development of China and, on the other hand, it will clash with the growth of bureaucratic tendencies.

According to the Hsinhua (New China) news agency, 205 private factories were placed under "joint operation" in September and October.

While the Chinese government already includes in its economic planning almost all of heavy industry, transportation, finance and foreign trade, two years ago official estimates put "capitalist industrial enterprises" with more

than ten employees at 45,000, involving a total of 1,500,000 workers. "Capitalist retailers" employed 2,000,000 and "capitalist wholesalers," an estimated 200,000.

NEW LAND PROGRAM

The program of struggle against the remaining segments of capitalist industrial production is a necessary task if the immense job of collectivizing Chinese agriculture is to be accomplished. The growth of industry alone can meet the peasants' needs as consumers and producers and ease the new transformation of relations on the land.

Machinery, modern fertilization, transportation and much more is needed to utilize fully the advantages of cooperative labor. On the other hand increased productivity of agricultural labor is essential to the progress of industrialization in China. The growing urban population must be fed; the raw materials of industry must be supplied; and agricultural exports must be available to obtain increased import of machines, etc.

Barely two or three years after completion of the democratic phase of the peasant revolution — the expropriation of the landlords and the redistribution of the land — the collectivized organization of production has already gone a long way.

The Russian Soviet paper, Komsomolskaya, last February reported the Chinese perspective of complete collectivization of agricultural production by 1962 when the Second Five Year Plan will come to a close. According to this source, Chinese collectivists in September, 1954, numbered 100,000. The expectation for 1955 was to organize 400,000 new collectives with eight million families. (There are approximately 110 million peasant households.)

A report by Mao Tse-tung last July claimed 650,000 collectivists

as of June, 1955, embracing 16,900,000 — an increase of 650% if the Komsomolskaya figure was accurate. In addition Mao called for a doubling of that number of collectivists to 1,300,000 by the 1956 spring sowing.

However, by Nov. 10, Hsinhua news agency announced that 590,000 new cooperatives were set up in the last three months and ten days, bringing the total to 1,240,000. It is now estimated that 30% of the peasant households are organized into "transitional" cooperatives or collective farms.

UNDER CHIANG

In order to assimilate the colossal scope of this second transformation of social relations on the land, one must go back to the land problem as it existed not so long ago under the capitalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek. In 1930 and again after World War II, Chiang promised land reform that consisted solely of attempting to reduce land rents from 50% of the main crop to 37.5%. Even this paltry reform was never carried out.

But when the Chinese peasants swept the tyrant into the sea, and with him, his U.S. imperialist backers, only then did the redistribution of the land begin in earnest. By 1950 all of Manchuria and most of the north, with a population of 140 million, had completed the land reform. By 1950-51 the land was distributed in other parts of China covering a rural population of 130 million. By 1953 the process was completed.

With China's vast population the land assigned to each peasant often averaged no more than one-third of an acre. It was hardly enough for subsistence. And so the revolution of necessity had to move rapidly to its next stage — reversing the process of parcelization of the land — in order to increase productivity and enlarge the yield.

The law of combined development is here dramatically expressed in the merging of the democratic and socialist revolutions in economic relations on the land. Precisely because of the backwardness of China and the belated achievement of the democratic phase of its revolution, the struggle moved inexorably into its socialist phase.

RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE

The pace of the development of the revolution in Chinese agriculture is without historical precedent. In the Soviet Union, the home of the first workers state, ten years went by before the process of collectivization began. In this period of time the growth of the "kulak" (rich peasant) gave the Stalinist bu-

reaucracy the social base it needed to inflict a decisive defeat on the proletarian vanguard of the revolution. The Stalin bureaucracy was thereby entrenched.

The long delay in moving to the second stage of the peasant revolution meant that the Soviet government was confronted with powerful social forces that could impose their will on the whole nation and bring the workers state to the brink of disaster.

In November, 1929, Stalin announced the end of individual farming. But the delay had already permitted the growth and entrenchment of the kulak. Even with the most ruthless measures that produced victims in the millions, collectivization was not completed in the Soviet Union until late in the Thirties.

In China the need for collectivization is even more urgent than it was in Russia. However, China has these advantages: collectivization begins while the revolution is still propelled by a great peasant mass movement. Secondly, the revolutionary temper of the people acts to check the bureaucratic crimes of the regime. And finally, China is not completely dependent on its own industrial resources in meeting the problem of cementing the city-country alliance as Russia was. China tore itself out of the grip of the imperialist world, but it can obtain some machinery from the industrialized Soviet orbit.

According to Mao Tse-tung's report 60 to 70% of the peasantry is still ridden with "poverty." This poorest section of the rural population will supply the motor force for the second stage in the revolution on the land. Despite inevitable bureaucratic mismanagement and waste, these peasants are impelled by economic necessity as well as government decree to move on to a higher organization of their productive activity.

CHINA AND THE WORLD

As the Chinese revolution deepens, the line of cleavage with the capitalist world likewise deepens. That part of Chinese society that remained a potential foothold for future imperialist penetration grows weaker.

At the same time the struggle against capitalism on the land and the struggle for higher productivity is bound to break through the bureaucratic framework. The Chinese industrial proletariat in this process will surge to the fore, assume its rightful place as the vanguard of the revolution, and reach out its hand to the world working class. The Chinese, no less than the Russian revolution, will thus find its fulfillment in the world socialist revolution.

World Events

GUATEMALA'S new election law, pushed through the Constituent Assembly by the United Fruit Co. stooge, Castillo Armas, provides that literate voters receive a secret ballot but orders "illiterate" voters to cast a public ballot. Illiteracy ranges up to 60% in the country. This means that workers and peasants, the classes that will have to show Dictator Armas' officials how they cast their vote.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT confirmed Nov. 26 that it recently exploded an H-bomb. This came as a sharp reminder that the Soviet bloc is matching U.S. power in this field. The explosion came after a proposal of Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray that the U.S. government explode an H-bomb over Eniwetok.

IN BOMBAY, INDIA 300,000 textile workers went out on strike on Nov. 21 and battled police. The cops killed 10 and wounded 300. Trade unions had called a general strike to demand that Bombay form part of the proposed new Maharashtra state of Marathi-speaking people. The Indian government is redrawing state lines. Plans call for Bombay to be a separate state, because it is multilingual. The workers, however, speak Marathi. The Communist Party, Socialist Party and Maharashtra Congress Party members backed the strike.

IN MOROCCO last week, the Moroccan Workers Union (UMT) emerged as a powerful force when it called for a general strike in Casablanca to protest the murder of four and the wounding of five other political prisoners by French guards. Over 60,000 workers went to the funerals. The French Resident General then announced release of 750 of 790 political prisoners in the next few days. The terms of the other 40 are to be reduced by two years. The UMT also called for an end to the caid

system of collecting taxes. The French had appointed 300 caids (chiefs) over the Berber tribes and made them tax collectors. The tribes have now begun a tax strike. Numerous Berber tribes have also stepped up military action against the French. They are reportedly led by Moroccans who fought for the French in Indochina, were taken prisoner by the Vietnamese and returned as militant nationalists. Last week Istiqlal, the principal independence party in Morocco demanded annulment of the 1912 Fez treaty which gives France control of the country's foreign affairs and defense. Istiqlal leaders also demanded that Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef be deprived of legislative powers under the projected constitution.

FIVE HIGH SOVIET OFFICIALS, formerly connected with the secret police, were executed on Nov. 22 and two others sentenced to life imprisonment. The seven are charged with complicity with Lavrenti P. Beria, former secret police boss framed up and executed in December 1953. The recent executions are the third in a series of frame-up purges announced publicly since Stalin's death. According to commentators in the capitalist press, the purpose of all these purges has been to curb the arbitrary powers and independence of the secret police. What they basically show, however, is that the bureaucratic regime continues to be a regime of crisis. It seeks to solve all problems — just as Stalin did — by means of police measures. Frame-ups and blood purges are ultimate expressions of these measures and will continue until the political revolution of the Russian proletariat restores the democracy of the soviet, the unions and the party.

For only \$1.25 you can get a one-year subscription to the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 5, N. Y.

The Negro Struggle

By Robert Chester

The Artful Dodger

In Dickens' novel, Oliver Twist, there is a young pickpocket known as the Artful Dodger because of his ability in dodging pursuers and police. In watching Adlai Stevenson's current campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination one comes to the conclusion that he is the undisputed Artful Dodger in the political field today.

This supposed friend of the Negro people and labor has managed to dodge all questions about the current reign of terror in Mississippi and other parts of the South, about the Emmett Till case, about how to enforce the Supreme Court decision against school segregation. And this isn't because Stevenson isn't much given to talking. In his pursuit of the presidential nomination he has been available for public comment on every issue imaginable — except that of civil rights. Nonetheless the liberal intellectuals and labor officials praise Stevenson for his "frankness," his "courage" in facing issues and his "intelligent" statements.

Let's look at the Artful Dodger at work. The day after he announced his candidacy he held a press conference. All questions asked by the reporters were answered politely and amply until this one was put to him: "Governor, on the Emmett Till case, could you tell us how you..." The question was never finished because Stevenson interrupted with the following: "Excuse me. I would like to say with respect to the tax situation that I expressed some views up in Wisconsin the

other day — I have them here..." The Artful Dodger continued with this for some time and then the press conference was declared at an end so the question about the Till case could not be put again. Pretty artful performance, wasn't it?

But dodging the civil rights issue is not the patented property of Stevenson alone. It belongs to all the Northern Democrats for they are all wooing the white supremacist leaders of the Southern Democrats. The Democratic Party held a week-long conference of leaders in Chicago. It ended with the \$100-a-plate dinner at which Stevenson made his "a time for moderation" speech. Roy Wilkins head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had sent a telegram to each Democratic Party state chairman attending the conference demanding that they condemn the leadership of the Mississippi Democratic Party for preventing Negroes from voting. The NAACP plea was completely ignored.

Even G. Mennen Williams, the millionaire governor of Michigan, and Averell Harriman, the millionaire Governor of New York, who have both decided that the best strategy to advance their own candidacies is to pose as more liberal than Stevenson and to attack his "moderation" line, shy away from the civil rights issue. They want to woo working class and Negro support but they don't want to alienate the powerful Dixiecrat wing of the party.

Isn't it time to break with all these dodgers, who differ only in the degree of their artfulness?

Notes from the News

THE OHIO VOTE in which the employer interests defeated an increase in unemployment compensation payments was no accident, Congressman Charles A. Vannik (D-O.) proved in a letter that was published by Labor's Daily. He listed some of the contributions: General Motors, \$25,000; Republic Steel, \$27,931; U.S. Steel, \$15,000; General Electric \$19,000; Thompson Products, \$10,236; M. A. Hanna Co., \$2,500; Alcoa, \$2,176; White Motor Co., \$2,500; Ford Motor Co., \$12,000. Ohio employers admit to an expenditure of almost a half million dollars. The true expenditures may have reached several times that amount.

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL reports that there are an estimated 155,000 men without jobs in the bituminous coal and anthracite industries despite all the reports of the booming economy in the United States.

THE FIRST CONVICTION of a white man for attempted rape of a Negro woman was made in Louisiana on Nov. 22, United Press reports. An all white jury returned the verdict against Sterling Trahan, a rice mill supervisor. The maximum penalty for the offense is ten years. Sentence was postponed until a later date.

UNIONISTS EXONERATED. Alfonso Hernandez and Robert Villalobos, members of the Los Angeles cutters local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, were cleared by a California Superior Court jury of the charge

of assaulting Ellis Poole with a deadly weapon. On Dec. 14, 1954, the two men were visiting union cutters who were working in a struck plant to urge them to join the union. When they knocked at Poole's door he threatened them and as they left fired a gun, wounding Hernandez. Instead of arresting Poole the police arrested the two men on the charges of attempted murder and attempted kidnapping. Union attorneys defended them.

THE N. Y. TIMES COPY EDITOR, Melvin L. Barnett, who was fired by the paper for invoking the Fifth Amendment before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee now has his case before the New York State Supreme Court. His union, the Newspaper Guild, has asked for a court order that would compel arbitration of its request for Barnett's reinstatement with full back pay. The Times has denied the request and is asking the court to bar arbitration.

INJURY FROM MOB VIOLENCE is the responsibility of the city, where it takes place, the Illinois Appellate Court has ruled. Wilbert K. Slaton, a Negro, was injured in 1947 when racist mobs opened violent attacks at the Fernwood Park public housing project on the South Side of Chicago. The city defeated his suit for damages in the Circuit Court. When it was appealed the Appellate Court ruled, "No group or segment of a community has the right to dictate by force or other unlawful means who shall or shall not live within a community."

CHRISTMAS BOOK SALE

(Use this ad as your order form)

- THE PHILOSOPHY OF HEGEL** by W. T. Stace — the best exposition of the Hegelian dialectic from the idealist point of view. Out of print for decades. cloth \$3.98 □ paper \$1.95 □
- DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE U.S.** — edited by Herbert Aptheker, 2 vols. (originally \$9.00) \$3.95 □
- JACK LONDON — AMERICAN REBEL**, His Social Writings, by Philip Foner. Contains excellent biography. (originally \$3.50) \$1.95 □
- SELECTED PROSE AND POETRY OF HEINRICH HEINE** — edited by Frederic Ewen. Contains excellent biography. (originally \$6.00) \$1.95 □
- THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S.** by E. Franklin Frazier. A brilliant social study. (originally \$5.00) \$1.95 □
- THE SIN OF THE PROPHET** by Truman Nelson. Novel of abolitionist Boston and the deportation of fugitive slave Anthony Burns. (originally \$4.00) \$1.00 □
- THE BENDING CROSS** by Ray Ginger — best biography of Eugene V. Debs. (originally \$5.00) \$1.00 □
- INTERVIEW WITH INDIA** by John Frederick Muehl — travel book — social study of modern India. (originally \$3.50) \$1.00 □
- TWO FRIENDS OF MAN** by Ralph Korngold — William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. (originally \$5.00) \$1.00 □
- FERDINAND LASSALLE** by David Footman — an excellent biography. (originally \$3.50) \$1.00 □
- THE NEGRO GHETTO** by Robert Weaver — a study of segregated housing. (originally \$3.75) \$1.00 □
- KARL MARX AND THE CLOSE OF HIS SYSTEM** by Bohm-Bawerk, with a reply by Rudolph Hilferding — the ablest economic criticism of Marxism and a Marxist's answer. (originally \$3.50) \$1.00 □
- THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN** by James Kutcher — the story of one of the most important test cases against the witch hunt written by the victim. paper \$1.00 □
- THE JEWISH QUESTION — A MARXIST INTERPRETATION** by A. Leon — the pre-eminent book on the subject. cloth \$1.50 □ paper \$1.00 □
- HOMAGE TO CATALONIA** by George Orwell — a vivid account of revolution and counter-revolution in Loyalist Spain. paper \$1.25 □
- THE LOGIC OF MARXISM** by William F. Ward — popular study course on Marxist philosophy. (mimeographed, 73 pages) \$1.00 □
- WHAT IS ECONOMIC?** by Rosa Luxemburg — first English translation. (mimeographed, 54 pages, stiff covers) \$1.00 □
- Books by Leon Trotsky**
- STALIN — A BIOGRAPHY** cloth \$3.50 □
- THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMINTERN** Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50 □ Vol. II (paper only) \$3.00 □ Both for \$6.00 □
- THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX** cloth \$1.50 □
- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED** cloth \$2.50 □
- IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM** cloth \$2.50 □ paper \$2.00 □
- THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION — FROM OCTOBER TO BREST-LITOVSK** paper \$1.00 □
- THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY** by James P. Cannon. cloth \$2.50 □ paper \$2.00 □
- HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM** by James P. Cannon. cloth \$2.75 □ paper \$1.75 □
- THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY** by Karl Kautsky. (originally \$5.50) \$2.50 □

(Add 15c. per volume for mailing)

Make checks and money orders payable to

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

You can order books of all publishers through us.

BOOKS MAKE FINE XMAS GIFTS

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1955

NUMBER 49

Interview with Anne Braden

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NOV. 28 — Anne Braden is now in New York to carry on the fight for support for the seven Kentuckians who were indicted on charges of sedition more than a year ago. The seven defendants were all friends of Andrew Wade, a young Negro veteran, who bought a house with the Bradens' help in a secretly restricted white neighborhood in Louisville, Kentucky.

A former newspaper woman and mother of two small children, Anne Braden was born in Louisville. But she spent most of her youth in Alabama where her family moved when she was nine years old. Anne knows the deep South well and is sensitively aware of all the social and cultural consequences of segregation.

Early in our interview Anne explained how she views the Southern system of Jim Crow. "Mr. Braden has already told you how the white workers suffer with lower living standards because of the discrimination that divides the people in the South. He and I arrived at the same conclusions. But what I understood best was the terrible conflict that this discrimination engendered in the white people. The crime done to the Negro people is obvious. But in addition, I saw how this prejudice tears at the integrity of Southern whites. Those who do not combat segregation are doomed to a moral and intellectual decay."

PURCHASE OF A HOUSE

I asked Anne Braden to fill in some of the details in the Kentucky anti-segregation fight. She began with the story of how she and Carl Braden, because they were white, were able to purchase the house for Andrew Wade and then sell it to him. "The Wades knew there might be resentment from die-hard segregationists. It was their decision. The least we could do was to help."

The Wades moved into their new house just before the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, that prohibited segregation in schools. "Shortly after this de-

In the Shadow of Southern 'Justice'



Anne and Carl Braden at his trial in Louisville, Ky., Dec. 7, 1954.

cision was announced, trouble began for the Wades," she said. "I don't mean to imply that the trouble should be blamed on the action of the Supreme Court. That decision gave new courage to millions who want to see an end to segregation. But it also constituted a challenge to those few who profit from the Jim Crow system. Widespread hostilities flared into the open."

"The terrorists burned a cross one night and shots were fired into the house," she said. "The police who did nothing when the threats began, set up a 24-hour guard after this happened. But the police guard sat in the yard of the former owner of the house across the street. The cop was served refreshments by this man who had delivered threats against the Wades."

"That is why," she explained, "the friends of the Wade family spent as much of their free time

as possible at the Wade house — as an added precaution."

Next the segregationists started legal action to foreclose on the Wade's mortgage. "After considerable effort Wade succeeded in re-financing the purchase of the house. While this legal procedure was going on," Mrs. Braden related, "the violence subsided and we all began to relax. But the peace was short-lived. Evidently word got out that Wade had met the financial challenge for it was after this, on June 27, that dynamite was somehow planted beneath one side of the house and the explosion ripped the wall apart."

THE INDICTMENTS

Somewhat familiar with the Kentucky story by now, I added, "Then the friends of the Wades were indicted." "Yes. The September grand

jury made an 'investigation' and indicted six of us on charges of sedition," she replied.

"But I thought there were seven indicted," I said, hoping to at least keep the facts straight in this fantastic frame-up.

"I warned you this case was complex," she said laughing. "The seventh victim of the frame-up was a hasty afterthought. One can only guess at the reason for it. The November grand jury added the name of Lewis Lubka, a shop-steward for the International Electrical Workers, CIO, at the GE plant. Of course he lost his job after the indictment as did all the other defendants."

"Didn't the grand jury uncover any of the actual facts in connection with the terror?" I asked.

"Oh yes," Mrs. Braden replied. "Three of the white neighbors confessed to the grand jury that they had burned the cross. This was the only evidence that was ever produced. But these three were not indicted although they confessed to a legal crime."

"Andrew Wade last February filed charges against these three confessed cross-burners but the judge dismissed the case on the ground that the grand jury had investigated and failed to indict them."

TIME IN PRISON

"Your husband spent eight months in jail before the record-breaking bail of \$40,000 could be raised. How about you and the other defendants?" I asked.

"I only spent nine days in jail," she replied, "but Vernon Brown who was also charged with causing the explosion spent five months in jail on a contempt charge. He was in Milwaukee

when the explosion occurred. He persistently demanded that he be tried first because he is the only one accused of something besides 'seditious thoughts.' But they ignored his demands."

"I. O. Ford, a retired river boat captain," Anne continued, "also had helped to protect the Wades; he spent six months in jail during which time he 'celebrated' his 80th birthday."

Carl Braden is the only one who has been tried. He was sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor for "sedition." (What could be more seditious than an act of human solidarity between a Negro and a white?) The sentence is now being appealed in the Kentucky courts. In the meantime, the trials of the other six have been postponed until next May.

"It has been a long and hard fight for you," I observed. "A year and a half has gone by since the trouble began. Almost half that time your husband was in jail."

"It wasn't easy," she answered. "The kind of treatment we got from the grand jury may be unusual for white people; but it's an old story to the Negro people in the South. They spend their whole lives in the prison of segregation. They are often subjected to violence and they can rarely hope for any kind of justice in Southern courts. The Till case in Mississippi is an example, not an exception. Our persecution by the Kentucky ruling class is only a small portion of this whole immense crime of the Jim Crow system."

"We did what we did because we could not do otherwise," she said with a flash of defiance in her eyes. "If we had to do it again—knowing all that would follow—our decision would be the same."

How the Auto Workers Voted

By Rita Shaw

DETROIT, Nov. 28 — Among members of the United Auto Workers questioned in a recent survey here, only slightly more than half felt that "there is any important difference between what the Democratic and Republican parties stand for."

These findings are especially significant for two reasons. In the first place, UAW members, more than most American workers, are recipients of a great deal of propaganda put out by their union leaders to convince them that there are vital differences between the two capitalist parties, that the Democratic Party is their party, "pro-labor," etc.

In the second place, Detroit is the city where the labor leaders have effected the closest coalition with the Democratic machine, and where the Democratic politicians, led by Gov. Williams, make the most gestures toward the labor movement. In spite of this, almost half the auto workers here fail to see any important difference between the two major parties, then it is likely that workers in other areas have similarly strong doubts about the pro-Democratic policy pursued by their union leaders.

The survey—to learn how Detroit auto workers voted in the 1952 elections—was made by a team of Wayne University professors, and will be published soon under the title "When Labor Votes." It was made possible through a grant from the UAW-CIO, but this fact was withheld from the workers surveyed in order not to influence responses.

OTHER FINDINGS

Other findings of the survey were:

(1) Though many auto workers of Democratic leanings voted for Eisenhower in 1952, Stevenson still received 75% of their vote; that year Stevenson got

only 45% of the national vote. Williams outdrew Stevenson, getting 85% of the total auto worker vote.

(2) "It was found that auto workers not only trust the voting recommendations of labor organizations much more than those of any other groups; they correspondingly distrust the recommendations of business groups and newspapers much more than those from other sources."

(3) Asked whether they thought labor unions should have more or less influence in government, 55% felt they should have more to say and only 14% felt they should have less to say. Only 19% felt business should have more to say and 41% that it should have less to say in government.

(4) Union efforts to "get out the vote" appear to have met "with a mild degree of success." In view of the UAW's intensive campaigning, "the workers' political interest and personal involvement in political action can be considered only moderate."

(5) One-third of the workers agreed with the statement that "people like me don't have any say about what the government does." (The research team warned that such "feelings of political impotence, futility and skepticism could have a serious negative effect on workers' political participation." With equal justice they could have concluded that abandonment of the present union policy of supporting the Democrats and launching an independent Labor Party can dispel such feelings and create genuine political enthusiasm among the workers.)

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The AFL-CIO Merger
Friday, Dec. 9, at 8 P. M.

"The Threepenny Opera"
Friday, Dec. 16, at 8 P. M.

No forums during holidays

New Year's Party
Sat., Dec. 31, at 9 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free for Unemployed

New York Annual Christmas Bazaar

Clothes for women and children, perfumes, leather belts, pottery, Mexican silver jewelry, antique glass jars, rare book bargains, and many other items.

Saturday, Dec. 10
From 12 noon on

Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)

Army Brass OKs Killers But Victimizes Radicals

By Henry Gitano

The army prefers a man convicted for murder or arson to a man who came in contact with thoughts and organizations arbitrarily listed as "subversive." Col. Marvin C. Hillsman, president of the Army Discharge Review Board, told a Senate panel that while a soldier with a criminal record can receive an honorable discharge if his military service was satisfactory, an alleged "security" risk cannot.

The Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee heard Col. Hillsman testify that a draftee who admits to a criminal record, even for murder or arson, and was accepted by the army, can get an honorable discharge with his pre-service record forgotten. But the situation is different for pre-service association with organizations listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General, the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the army's own intelligence organization. Such a person would be relegated to "controlled duty," spending his army career cleaning latrines and picking up cigarette butts and could not at the conclusion of his service expect an honorable discharge regardless of his military character and efficiency ratings.

FORM DD 98

Hugh M. Milton, assistant Secretary of the Army was questioned by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, chairman of the Senate subcommittee, on how the army determined whether a man was influenced by "subversive" philosophy. Milton said that if a draftee answered his loyalty questionnaire (Form DD 98) by standing on his constitutional rights, he "opened the door to an investigation."

Q. In every case where a man invoked the Fifth Amendment has he been assigned to controlled duties and given less than an honorable discharge?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you tell the fellow he's going to be assigned to controlled duties and given less than an honorable discharge if he refuses to fill out Form DD 98?

A. No.

Lon Hocker, chief counsel of the subcommittee declared:

"That's sort of an entrapment. We never knew that before. I don't think the public knew it." Hocker pointed out that while Form DD 98 allowed the constitutional privilege of silence, utilizing this privilege entered later as an accusation against the draftee. He questioned the army's authority to penalize soldiers for activities or associations during their private lives.

Meanwhile Charles H. Marshall of Los Angeles has filed suit to force the army to give him an honorable discharge. His father, Daniel Marshall, a Los Angeles attorney, petitioned for a stay of execution for the Rosenbergs. Charles Marshall, in refusing to answer a loyalty questionnaire cited the Fifth Amendment. He charged he had been forcibly thrown out of the army without discharge papers; an undesirable discharge followed later.

SUMNERS CASE

The subcommittee heard Joseph H. Summers, Jr., of Providence, R.I., who was discharged by the navy as a security risk on account of his family's alleged activities. Because of the stigma on his record, Summers has been unable to get more than one day's work; he was a sheetmetal worker's helper.

Summers said the navy conceded his record was "completely clean" but that "my folks belonged to some organizations on the attorney general's list." He said his parents did not know what organization the navy was referring to.

Mansfield Sprague, general counsel for the Defense Department, was queried by Hocker as to what would be done about soldiers already discharged as security risks. This question arose as a result of Defense Secretary Wilson's ruling of Nov. 18 that security screening will take place before instead of after induction. Discharges would then be based on the character of service rendered unless new information was revealed after induction. Sprague replied he didn't know how this modification of the Pentagon's security rules would affect past decisions, but he would find out and report within two weeks.

Another retreat in army security regulations states that hereafter "no anonymous communication will be made part of the individual's record." At the Senate panel, Jerome D. Fenton, director of the Defense Department's Office of Industrial Personnel Security, said that hearing boards consider evidence that may be second, third or fourth-hand hearsay.

Fenton told the Senate panel that in industry with military contracts, much weight was given to information from what he called "confidential information."

He agreed that denial of clearance affects a worker's employment possibilities. "There is no doubt about that. It bites pretty deep," Fenton elaborated, "Under the free enterprise system an employer has the right to hire whom he pleases. My heart does not bleed for a communist."

Although alleged "subversives" are still legally citizens, they apparently would not be allowed to eat if Mr. Fenton had his way.

Dealing with the industrial security program affecting three million workers, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., CIO Auto Workers attorney, testified: "We have seen an employer deliberately ask for the transfer of a worker from a non-security to a security job and request clearance for this employee... for the sole purpose of having him designated a security risk and firing him."

TACTICAL DIFFERENCE

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy accused the Senate subcommittee of endangering the nation's security by "being soft on Reds," asserting that they were helping to "torpedo" the government's security risk program.

Senator Hennings retorted that he had expected such a charge earlier. He insisted that his investigation was designed to strengthen the government's "security" program by exposing those faults that conflicted with constitutional rights.

Hennings means that in order to stabilize the witchhunt as a permanent part of the American Way of Life, the hysteria must be moderated. Thought-control must be directed into "responsible" channels. Hennings' difference with McCarthy is only a tactical one.