

New Division at Top Revealed in U.S. Communist Party

By Harry Ring

DEC. 31 — Significant new shifts are taking place in the deeply divided Communist Party leadership. While Daily Worker editor John Gates has not mobilized substantial support among party leaders to defeat a proposal to discontinue the Daily Worker, a new division has taken place in the party's National Executive Committee on the crucial issue of independence from Moscow.

A Dec. 20-22 meeting of the NEC saw a realignment on the independence issue of those who had been assumed to be part of a "center" group led by Eugene Dennis. The bulk of this group, including Organization Secretary Sid Stein, voted with

Leads Opposition



JOHN GATES

the "Gates forces against a return to subservience to the Kremlin. Dennis voted with the Foster group in favor of such a course. A press release issued by the National Administrative Committee says that the NEC meeting also heard conflicting reports by Dennis and Stein on the CP's organization crisis. (The release appeared in today's Daily Worker.) Last July Dennis and Stein jointly opened a short-lived drive to "reconstruct" the battered party apparatus.

The division on the independence issue came on the question of endorsing the declaration issued in Moscow last month by twelve "Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries." The Gates group views such endorsement as repudiation of the independence mandate of last February's national convention. The 12-party declaration demands re-establishment in all Communist parties of "proletarian internationalism," which in Stalinist parlance means unchallenged authority of the Kremlin. The NEC voted 11-7 against endorsement with two abstentions and two absent.

The line-up in the NEC, which is a subcommittee of the 60-member national committee, is symptomatic of the sentiment

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Jobless Problem Faces Auto Union Convention

DETROIT — The most immediate and urgent single problem facing the United Auto Workers' Special Convention this month is the beginning of mass unemployment in the automobile industry.

In Detroit last week, Chrysler workers were talking about a corporation statement that everything was "normal." How "normal" may be judged from the fact that for the past month and a half, Dodge workers here have been on a three to three-and-a-half day week. From Dec. 20 to Jan. 7 the plant will be completely shut down. Ordinarily the winter months are times of peak production in auto. In most years, relatively full employment provides Detroit workers with their Christmas cheer. This year Santa is bringing lay-offs, instead.

'VACATION' WITHOUT PAY

At the local DeSoto plant, the work force has been cut by 20%, affecting workers with as much as seven years of seniority in some cases. A total of 60,000 workers in the Detroit area alone are "furloughed" for two weeks.

The same situation exists outside the Detroit area as well. The two-week layoff, for the

purpose of "balancing inventories," was applied to all Chrysler plants throughout the nation. The Ford Motor Co. also presented 10,500 Detroit workers with a one-week Christmas lay-off, while 3,100 others will have New Year's week free.

Worse is ahead for the auto workers. The "temporary cutbacks" are turning into permanent layoffs. The Chrysler assembly plant in Louisville, Ky., just laid off some 400 workers for an indefinite period. After the end of their "furlough" on Jan. 7, Dodge workers will face a new cut of 20%, which will eliminate the second shift almost completely.

Ford recently announced that more than 3,000 workers would be laid off in Michigan and 2,026 in other states. And it announced that the giant Rouge plant will now employ only 36,595, the fewest in its forty-year history. Earlier in December 3,333 Ford workers in the Detroit area had been laid off.

(Continued on page 3)

N.Y. Transit Workers Win Wage Boost

By Fred Halstead

The rank-and-file militancy of New York City's subway workers, coupled with the "rebel" motormen's strike three weeks ago, has paid off in higher wages. Negotiations between the city-state Transit Authority and the Transit Workers Union ended Dec. 31 with an agreement, covering 32,000 subway workers, for an immediate 15c. hourly raise. This is part of a 32 1/2 cent, two-year package increase in wage and fringe benefits.

"The amount granted was a harder bargain than the Transit Authority had expected to make," bemoaned an editorial in the Dec. 31 New York Times. It was, in fact, twice what the TWU got in its last contract, negotiated in 1955 when TWU president Michael J. Quill faced no strong opposition among the subway workers.

In addition to the 15 cents, the package includes a ten-cent raise next year, a fund for granting additional raises to skilled workers and the partial return of sick-pay benefits which Quill had given away two years ago. His 1955 agreement to give up the first day of sick-leave pay had been a big factor in igniting the revolt that led to the formation of the Motormen's Benevolent Association. Another was that Quill agreed that the TWU would cooperate in a drive to "reduce the operating force" and speed up the remaining workers.

This is still a big loophole in

the present agreement. It is understood that the Transit Authority will attempt to make up for the wage concessions it was forced to make this time with an even greater speed-up, and that Quill's machine will cooperate.

Quill has become notorious over the years for putting on an act of militancy during negotiations while all the time making arrangements for a deal with the city administration behind the backs of the men. This time, however, he was unable to assure City Hall that there would be no strike if he tried to ram another low-wage agreement down the throats of the subway workers. As A. H. Raskin put it in the Dec. 29 N. Y. Times, Quill has "much less control over the script than has been his habit."

MILITANT MEETING

The settlement came less than a day before expiration of a strike deadline voted Dec. 30 by a spirited, overflow meeting of from five to seven thousand TWU members. The meeting rejected an 18-cent offer and dispelled all doubts about whether the mass of subway workers would support a strike that both Mayor Wagner and Governor Harriman had declared would be "illegal."

This meeting, and the wage concessions which followed it are also a solid indication that the opposition to Quill has strengthened, not weakened the TWU. Long-standing opposition to Quill had erupted in the eight-day motormen's strike last

month by MBA members who were fed up with poor contracts and the lack of democracy in the TWU. The motormen said they didn't trust Quill to negotiate this contract, and demanded craft recognition.

The city and state administrations, the local AFL-CIO chiefs and Quill's machine united behind the attempts of the Transit Authority to break the MBA strike. Four MBA leaders

N.Y. Cops Were In On MBA 'Bugging'

NEW YORK, Dec. 3 — Denials by the New York City Police Department that it was involved in the "bugging" of the Motormen's Benevolent Association were refuted to day in testimony by the head of the New York transit police. Transit Chief John O'Rourke testified before a state legislative investigating committee that the City police department was "part and parcel" of the electronic spying on the union since its inception in 1955. The attorney for the transit authority testified that plans had also been considered together with police officials to tap the union's telephone but that it was decided that sufficient information was being obtained through the "bugging."

were jailed.

But most of the 3,000 motormen struck for eight days before returning to work for a promise of "no summary reprisals." Their militancy inspired the mass of the subway workers and prevented Quill from signing another give-away contract. Quill reportedly lost control of at least one TWU meeting (of bus workers) during the strike. And in a subway-wide representation election held Dec. 16, the TWU got less than one third of the possible 32,000 votes. In the previous union-representation election, the TWU polled 75% of the vote. The present low rate reflected anti-Quill sentiment rather than opposition to the TWU itself.

Some New York newspapers and state Republican leaders have tried to depict the vote as a repudiation of industrial unionism and are pushing legislation to foster craft union division on the subways. The Transit Authority has indicated a willingness to take whatever anti-union advantage it can out of these moves, and all these forces are trying to use the MBA for their purposes.

MBA POLICY

Such moves are aided by the fact that MBA legal counsel Louis Waldman, an ex-right-wing socialist turned Republican, has been assuming the function of a union leader rather than that of legal advisor. His recommendations have led the MBA to

adopt the self-defeating policy of refusing to support a TWU strike and to call for a boycott of the TWU strike meeting.

But the mass of the subway workers are bent on fighting for a militant policy within the TWU. The basic movement of the MBA, too, is still toward a militant, democratic policy, and the logic of such a fight will help convince the motormen that their future lies in industrial unionism and in solidarity with the rank and file of the TWU.

This was indicated at the Dec. 27 mass meeting of the MBA. In long speeches, three "labor relation" experts, apparently invited by Waldman, told the 1,200 present that they must rely on arbitrators or legislators, but never again on a strike "against the government."

Theodore Loos, MBA president, replied: "I want to say to these gentlemen that I'm glad we struck and I have the terrible feeling that we're going to have to do it again. . . . We have only one thing to consider: how long we are going to go along with this stalling. . . . I don't know how long you want me as president of the MBA, but while I'm president, no one is going to tell us we're not going to strike if we have to." The members roared approval as this sentiment was echoed by the other union leaders who had been jailed with Loos. Two MBA leaders who spoke for uniting all the crafts into one organization got the same ovation.

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Opposition in Europe Grows To U.S. Missiles-Race Policy

Afro-Asian Talks Ask A-Test Ban

DEC. 31 — The Political Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo yesterday passed a resolution unanimously asking the United States and Britain to agree to the proposal of the Soviet Union for a ban on all nuclear weapons tests. The appeal will be presented to the final session of the Conference Jan. 1 for approval by the delegations from over 40 countries.

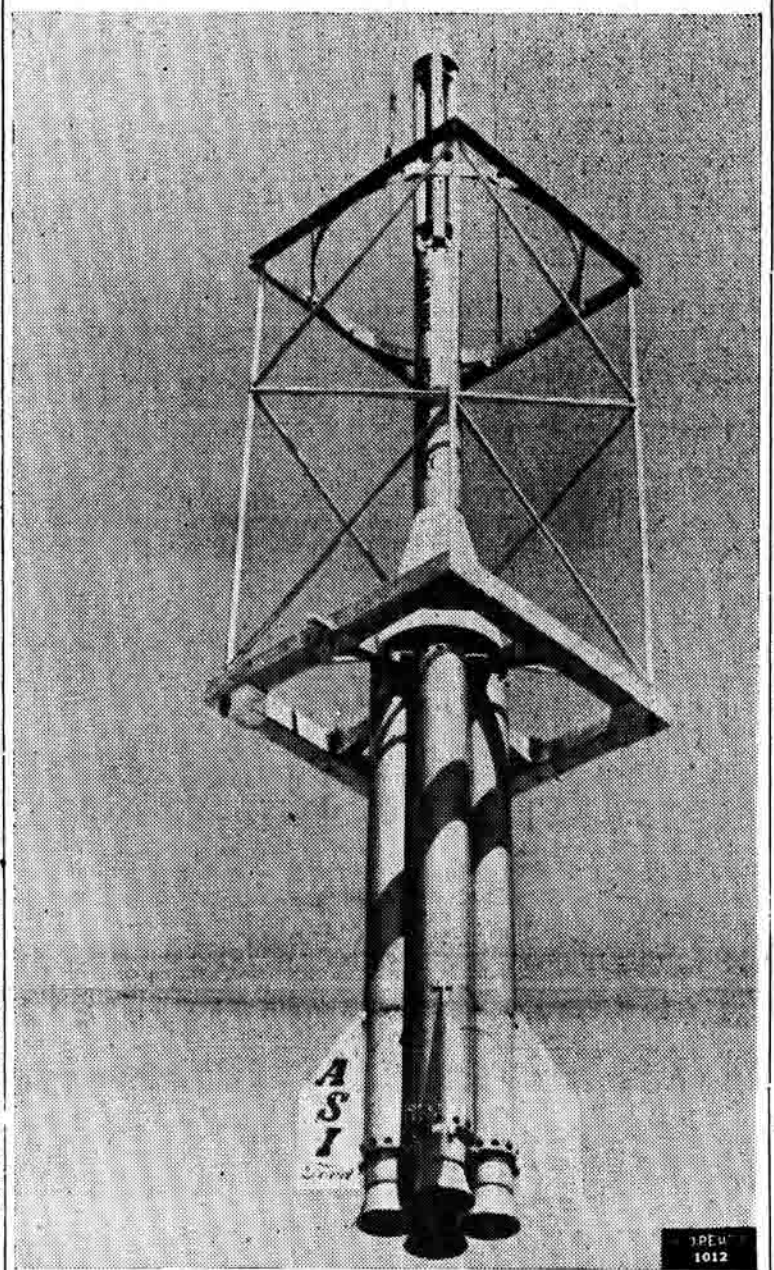
The non-governmental representatives of the Conference have discussed many questions that concern the peoples of the economically undeveloped countries, including imperialist exploitation, race discrimination, the struggle for national independence and for world peace. Soviet representatives at the Conference have offered liberal economic and military aid to the Afro-Asian nations "without strings attached."

According to the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 30, it is reported in Moscow that "the Soviets are going to offer virtually unlimited long-term credit at interest rates not exceeding 2 1/2 percent." An additional cause for worry to imperialist governments was the advice offered by Soviet representatives in Cairo to the members of the conference to nationalize foreign capital in their countries as a step toward economic independence and development.

This advice provoked an outstaged cry in the imperialist press. Capital investment in the undeveloped countries has always provided lush profits to be siphoned off for the greater enrichment of the imperialist powers. Many a war has been fought for the "right" to such profits.

The majority of delegates took the position that the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine were "interfering with the independence of the Arab countries." A resolution will be presented demanding the admission of China to the UN.

A Ford Product



This rocket was built by the Ford Motor Company for the U.S. government. Plans are under way to launch it from a balloon-suspended platform above Eniwetok Atoll in the Pacific. Since the launching of the two successful Soviet satellites, Washington has been frenziedly pushing for a stepped-up missiles program. A massive arms program was recommended to President Eisenhower by the Gaither Committee, whose top secret recommendations have been leaked to the press in

recent weeks. Original chairman of this committee, composed of executives from the biggest corporations, was H. Rowan Gaither Jr., chairman of the Ford Foundation. The Gaither Committee reportedly said that the U.S. is in danger of becoming a "second-class country" and called for increasing the arms budget by \$20 billion a year within five years. It also recommended that \$22 billion be spent in the next decade for a nation-wide system of atomic shelters.

Peoples of Nato Lands Doubt That Washington Wants Peace

By George Lavan

The wave of anti-war feeling among the masses of Western Europe, which was responsible for the diplomatic setback suffered by U.S. imperialism at the recent NATO conference, shows no sign of being appeased by the compromise communiqué that emerged from that "summit" meeting. On the contrary there has been a growth of popular distrust about the willingness of the U.S. State Department to negotiate in good faith for a halt to the civilization-endangering nuclear and missile arms race.

The NATO communiqué, professing readiness to engage in the diplomatic talks with the USSR and at the same time endorsing

U.S. missile bases in West Europe, received rough treatment in the British parliament two days later. Aneurin Bevan, principal spokesman for the Labor Party on foreign policy, declared that it held no promise of averting the war danger in Central Europe or the Mideast. This statement was elaborated by other speakers including the former Tory Minister of Defense.

Attacks were also made on the government for the recently revealed fact that U.S. bombers on patrol over Britain carry H-bombs so that they would not lose even minutes for loading up their city-destroying cargo should war begin. The temper of the House of Commons as it listened to Prime Minister Macmillan's

report on the NATO confab was bitter and sarcastic. When Macmillan remarked that he had asked President Eisenhower for information on a particular point, his speech was interrupted by howls of derisive laughter and mocking voices, begging: "Please Mr. President, Please Mr. President."

The narrowness of the vote of confidence which followed — a Tory majority of only 38 — caused the House to echo with cries of "resign."

85% FAVOR TALKS

This stormy debate only mirrors the tremendous wave of anti-war feeling sweeping the British Isles. A public opinion poll conducted by the London News-Chronicle showed a substantial majority opposed to U.S. rocket bases and 85% in favor of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

UNORGANIZED

Though the Labor Party led the attack in Parliament against British acquiescence in the relentless war-drive of the U.S., the great wave of public opposition can be credited to no organization or campaign. Seemingly it has welled up without organization or clear program from the whole working class and middle class.

But its power is unmistakable and has become one of the political facts of life forcing the Tory government to pretend more and more independence from Washington in foreign policy and causing consternation in the U.S. State Department itself. A partial description of this is found in the dispatch of the New York Times London correspondent, Drew Middleton, on Dec. 31, which begins: "The campaign against the government's foreign and arms policies

How Socialists Can Fight for Peace

An Editorial

World War III can be averted. While U.S. Big Business still prepares the holocaust, its plans have been repeatedly pushed back since the beginning of the cold war, and they are being frustrated now too.

So far the biggest setbacks to the U.S. warmakers have come from abroad. The revolutionary struggle in the colonial world for national independence and social change have been the most important deterrent. Spectacular Soviet technological advances have also served to stalemate Wall Street. Growing anti-war sentiment throughout Europe has thrown a further road block in the path of American militarism.

However, because the war danger springs from the American ruling class it will be finally removed only by the action of the American working people. And this can be done. There is strong popular anti-war sentiment in this country, too, and it has made notable contributions to world peace.

For example, the giant "get-us-home" demonstrations that swept the U.S. armed forces at the close of World War II helped to thwart anti-Soviet and other counter-revolutionary designs of that time. The Korean war was the most unpopular in U.S. history, and this factor helped finally to bring it to an end. Similar sentiment blocked U.S. intervention on the side of the French in Indo-China. Early in 1957, mail to U.S. Senators ran 8-to-1 against the Eisenhower Mideast Doctrine. Finally, popular opposition has been rising in this country to continued nuclear tests.

This anti-war sentiment must be crystallized into an organized force with an effective program. And it will be socialists, standing in principled opposition to Big Business rule, who will make the decisive contribution to realizing this.

How It Can Be Done

To advance today's fight for peace, militant socialists must energetically promote sympathy and support for the Asian, African and Latin-American independence struggles. They must also champion the right of the workers in the Soviet-orbit countries to build a non-capitalist social order.

They must mount further pressure on Washington for halting nuclear tests. They must demand that the billions allocated for war be used instead for public housing, hospitals, schools, flood control and a host of other vital public services. They must be in the forefront of the workers against inflation, speedup, layoffs and back-breaking taxes stemming from the arms buildup. They must combat the pro-State Department policies of the top labor officialdom.

They must help lay the groundwork for these things by means of their independent electoral campaigns and by popularizing the need for a mass party opposed to the twin Big Business parties — a labor party based on the unions and allied with the Negro people and working farmers.

At the same time it is essential to keep educating for socialism itself. As popular opposition to war develops further, it must inevitably assume an anti-capitalist direction as it already has in many parts of the world. Growth of socialist consciousness adds militant content to the fight today and is the premise for creating a world socialist order that can alone bring enduring peace.

Moscow's Peace Offensive

(See Page 2)

has reached such proportions that cabinet ministers envisage difficult two months ahead. The basis of the campaign is the effort to halt the manufacture and testing of hydrogen bombs."

Middleton concludes: "The consensus among politicians is that any government action that appeared to reflect U.S. policy of rejecting approaches to the Soviet Union would compound the serious difficulties of Mr. Macmillan and his government in the field of foreign affairs."

URGES NEGOTIATIONS

An indication of this same need to appease popular feeling by giving the appearance of willingness to negotiate an end to the cold war was made by French Premier Felix Gaillard in an interview in the big-business magazine, U.S. News and World Report (Jan. 3). In it he calls for acceptance of Khrushchev's proposal of a new "summit" meeting and suggests that it be prepared by a meeting of the Western and Soviet foreign ministers "as soon as possible."

Interestingly enough, a dispatch from Paris by the British news agency Reuters (printed in the Dec. 30 Christian Science Monitor) gives an advance summary of Premier Gaillard's interview containing the following quote: "It is essential, first of all, that the Western nations demonstrate that they are ready at every moment to negotiate for disarmament. Confronted with Soviet propaganda, which is very strong, very intense, and very clever, we must never give the impression that our desire to achieve disarmament is not as great as the Soviet Union's."

U.S. News and World Report (Continued on page 2)

U.S. Put on Spot By Soviet Union's Peace Offensive

By C. R. Hubbard

DEC. 30 — The Soviet Union demonstrated to the world that it had the military-technological edge in the missile race when it launched its Sputniks. This lead was underlined when the U.S. produced, with much fanfare, its "goofnik." But the Soviet Union is using that advantage, not to threaten war, but to press harder for its disarmament program. A big "peace offensive," as it is called by the N. Y. Times, has put the U.S. in a bad position in the propaganda war with the Soviet Union.

As long as the U.S. held the military-technological lead, the Big Business government in Washington pressed hard for more and more arms expenditures in this country and in those controlled or "influenced" by the U.S. Now even with that lead gone, the U.S. government presses all the harder for the arms race, as it did at the recent NATO conference.

With typical British understatement, Max Freedman, Washington correspondent for the conservative Manchester Guardian, reported, Dec. 22, "Almost no one here [the U.S. capital] whose judgment is entitled to respect as a student of world affairs believes that the NATO meeting was a memorable landmark on the road to peace."

In sharp contrast to U.S. pressure for extension of the nuclear-missile race, the Soviet Union proposed a seven-point program to reduce international tensions. The first proposal is for a pledge by Russia, Britain and the U.S. not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons. In the past the U.S. has refused to agree to this on the ground that pledges "aren't worth much." However, the U.S. militarists have been the only ones to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons. If such a pledge had been made in the past, the U.S. would not have been able to send marines armed with nuclear weapons into the Mediterranean area during the Jordan crisis last summer — a clear threat to use them to enforce the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Proposals for Relaxing Tensions

The second point in the Soviet program is for the banning of nuclear tests — a demand that has been advanced by people all over the world. Such a ban does not require complex "inspection" systems as nuclear tests big enough to yield dangerous radiation cannot be concealed. The refusal of the U.S. to agree to such a ban has probably created more anti-American sentiment throughout the world than any other single question.

None of the other five proposals could be rejected by any nation concerned with reducing the war danger. These include the creation of a zone free of both the possession and production of nuclear weapons consisting of both Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, a substantial reduction of all armed forces, non-aggression pacts between the NATO countries and those in the Warsaw Treaty, an agreement not to infringe on the independence of the nations in the Middle East and the renunciation of force in that area and finally the ending of war propaganda and the development of international trade, scientific and cultural relations.

To negotiate on these proposals or any that other nations might propose, the Soviet Union has asked for talks based on equality. The United Nations disarmament commissions, that which met in London and those proposed by the U.N. General Assembly, have been controlled by Western majorities. The Soviet Union naturally had the same objection to the meeting of foreign ministers of the Big Powers proposed by Dulles at the Paris meeting.

The reluctance of the U.S. to even enter negotiations without holding a stacked deck brought resentment against Dulles. According to Freedman, quoted above, "Mr. Dulles now finds himself mistrusted by many of his allies who believe that he was driven against his will to consent to renewed negotiations with Russia."

The fact that the Soviet Union uses its lead for a peace offensive helps to expose the U.S. as responsible for the arms race. Even Adlai Stevenson recognizes that the Soviet Union appears more peaceful than the U.S. In his Dec. 9 speech in New York Stevenson said:

"By a single spectacular scientific achievement we have been brought face to face with the fact that Russian scientists have led us across new frontiers, that Russian children are today better educated in certain vital respects than our own, that Russian basic production is increasing at a much faster rate than ours, and — perhaps most serious of all — that Russia stands today in the eyes of the majority of the members of the world's population as more skillful, more powerful, yes, and ironically, more peaceful, than we are."

Why does the Soviet Union appear more peaceful than the U.S.? Is it because Soviet diplomats and statesmen are more talented than those possessed by the United States? Is it because the Soviet Union spends more money than Washington for international propaganda? Not at all. It is because the Soviet Union has a planned economy. It doesn't require war or a war economy to keep production going.

The crimes of the Kremlin bureaucracy are many. But they do not include a desire for war — either now or in the future. The bureaucrats have done immeasurable damage to the cause of the working class, to the cause of socialism with their dictatorial, repressive methods. And because of this they constitute an obstacle to the final and permanent elimination of the war danger through a world socialist society. But they do not want war with the imperialist world.

It is apparent that the Soviet Union wants peace. The American people also want peace. But the Big Business government in Washington fears it like the plague. Without the war economy that has dominated the U.S. since the end of the 1930's, capitalism would be in a state of collapse. The profit system would face an early doom.

Progress of Science in the USSR

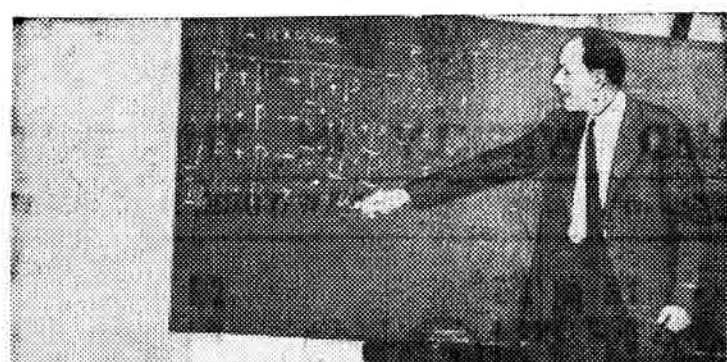
By Arne Swaback

At the very outset, the American ruling class viewed the triumphant launching of the Sputniks as a challenge. This extraordinary feat posed point blank the question of supremacy not only in the military field, but in scientific, engineering and technological developments as well. On the other hand, American scientists seemed to think that for the Russians anything relating to the conquest of space is now possible.

But the Sputniks have raised questions also in the minds of serious students of Soviet affairs. What to them appears particularly paradoxical is the relation between this great scientific achievement and the suffocating, oppressive bureaucratic rule in the USSR.

The giant strides made in the progress in Soviet science is now universally acknowledged. It is, however, the natural sciences that occupy this advanced position; the social sciences still remain in a lamentable state. And it is in this interrelationship especially that the evil consequences of the oppressive bureaucratic rule is revealed. (We shall return to this question in a second article.)

Meanwhile, the fact that the artificial earth satellites were sent into their orbits as a part of the world-wide studies of the International Geophysical Year, supported by all nations, seems to have been entirely overlooked. Among other things the record-



Dr. Robert E. Marshak of the University of Rochester, N. Y., addressing the High Energy Physics Conference in Moscow in May, 1956. One of 14 U.S. scientists at the conference he subsequently praised the advanced nature of Soviet nuclear research.

ings of the satellite instruments are expected to give deeper insight into solar activity. This will enable scientists to trace the links between solar phenomena and increase in the intensity of short wave radiation. They are expected to give information about the micro-meteorites that the earth sweeps up in its orbit, and about the density of electrons in space in the near vicinity of our planet.

Most important, perhaps, is the expected information about cosmic rays and their relation to the earth's magnetic field. Study of cosmic rays otherwise encounter difficulties due to the blanket of the earth's atmosphere. Needless to add, Sputnik

II will also test the reactions of space travel under conditions of weightlessness upon animal life.

Yet, any expectations of scientific information were quickly overshadowed by the deeper implications of this venture into space. Amid surprise and dismay, Washington and Wall Street displayed far greater concern about a Soviet lead in military, scientific and technical fields. Not only the Sputniks, but the ballistic missiles had demonstrated their actual existence in spectacular fashion.

A few concrete examples will illustrate these deeper implications. To hurl a satellite such as Sputnik II, weighing more than one half-ton, about a thousand miles into space, requires

multi-stage rockets much more powerful than American experts have so far contemplated. To accomplish the feat a Soviet scientist is said to have remarked that it "necessitated the development of improved new instruments and sources of power." Moreover, to hurl it into a predictable orbit with an initial velocity sufficient to accurately counteract the earth's gravitational pull, requires guidance technique of a high order.

Finally, a rocket device which can control its own motion at least during early stages of a long flight, is one of the most complicated devices known to man. The multi-stage rocket, together with the satellite, consists of several hundred thousand parts. Its production implies an industrial structure of the greatest perfection, particularly in the fields of electronics, cybernetics and electrometallurgy. It implies skill, work discipline and exactness of construction.

The whole matter was summed up tersely in the statement attributed to one Soviet scientist in the Nov. 5 New York Times that this represents not an isolated break through but rather a solid mastering of a new branch of science and engineering. Its importance, was difficult to overestimate even today.

Authentic information from the Soviet Union tends to confirm that this is not an isolated instance. We are familiar with the case of jitters in Washington whenever the numbers of graduates in science and engineering are compared. And now, following the forebodings aroused by the Sputniks, the Tass News Agency reports that this year 265,000 scientists, among them 80,000 engineers have graduated from Russian universities — more than twice the number graduated by the United States.

U.S. SCIENTISTS PRAISE ACHIEVEMENTS

But the most eloquent testimony to the quality of the natural sciences in the USSR comes from a group of American Scientists who participated in a Moscow conference on high-energy physics in May 1956.

On returning Dr. Steinberger of Columbia University said, "The Soviet had already virtually assured a world lead in high energy physics for the next decade... (a lead) that the Americans would not be able to overcome." (June 3 N. Y. Times.)

Two American physicists, Marshak and Wilson, described in the August 1956 Scientific American, the advanced nature of the experiments at the great new nuclear research center at Holshova Wolea, near Moscow. "They knocked my eye out," Wilson said. "... the detectors, counters and electric circuitry are not the homemade affairs typical of a U.S. laboratory but are beautifully engineered."

Dr. Weisskopf reported in the September 1956 Bulletin of Atomic Scientists what he called an "awe-inspiring sight." At this research center, the 10 billion volt proton synchrotron with its circular magnets of 200 feet diameter weighing 36,000 tons. It has a staff of 275 physicists. Weisskopf got the impression that these costs and budgets don't count. American delegates asked Professor Veksler, who led the construction of the machine, about its total cost. He shrugged his shoulders and said he didn't know. "It was decided to build the machine, and then everything that is needed for it will be delivered."

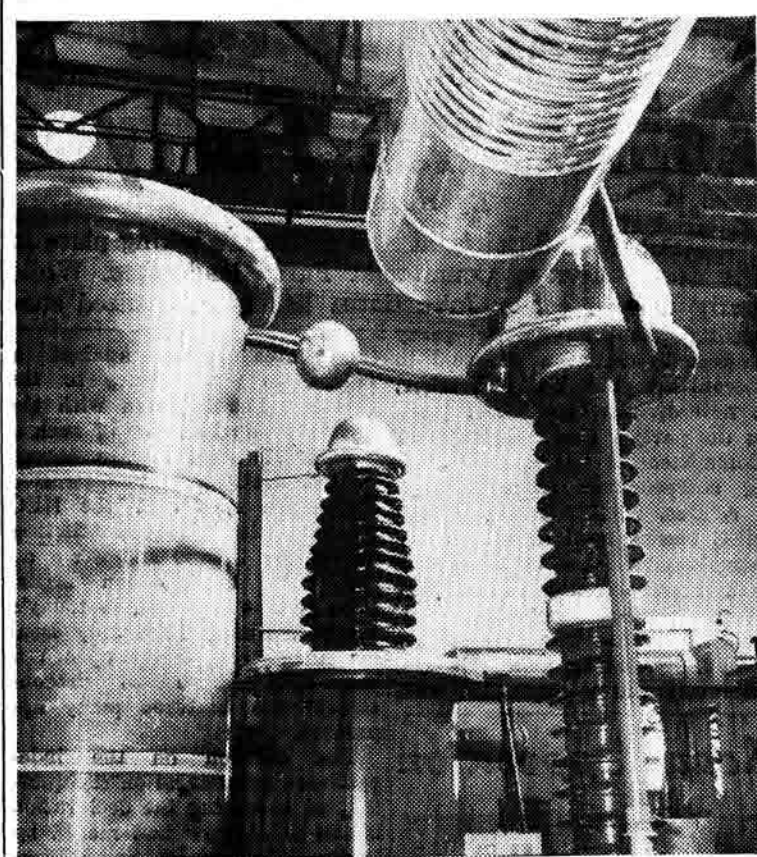
"THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE"

To these tributes can be added one point from the Symposium on Soviet Science, arranged by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Philadelphia meeting in December 1951. The first paper presented by the American geneticist, Theodosius Dobzhansky, started out with this opening remark:

"The thirst for knowledge in the population of the USSR is immense, genuine and touching. Of course this is especially true among the youth, but a high esteem for science is found among the older groups as well. Moreover, this esteem is by no means confined to an educated minority; it is a part of the world outlook of the entire community."

On the face of it, these tributes to scientific developments in the Soviet Union give the lie to the often repeated capitalist propaganda that they are made possible by the totalitarian concentration and regimentation. The truth is the exact opposite. We need only remember the disastrous intervention of Stalin, the glorified "coryphaeus of science," in the Lysenko affair. And the bureaucratic emasculation of the social sciences have been far more devastating.

Science is a social function;



Part of a Soviet atom smasher. Describing Soviet nuclear research experiments near Moscow, the American physicist, Wilson, said in the August 1956 Scientific American: "They knocked my eye out... the detectors, counters and electric circuitry are not the homemade affairs typical of a U. S. laboratory but are beautifully engineered."

and it has always been intimately bound up with the productive process of each historical stage. While science reacts to its own internal stimulus, advancing with each new discovery, it grows in the final analysis, out of social needs. And the development of science is conditioned fundamentally by these social needs, or to be more exact, by the needs of the prevailing social order. Conversely, the growth of scientific ideas, and their application, exert their impact upon society. Like all human knowledge and experience of which it is a part, science opens up new fields and new possibilities of advance. This relationship has been affirmed throughout history.

STARTED IN 1917

Nowhere else is this relationship more clearly illustrated than in the history of the USSR during its forty years of existence. Nationalized production and planned economy was made possible by the working class victory in the 1917 revolution. But this victory posed also the immense tasks of overcoming Russia's backward economic heritage. Economic planning therefore had to concentrate on an overall basic industrial development.

Entirely new branches of industry had to be created. The transportation system needed modernization and extension, including the addition of air transport. For a network of electric power stations the waters of mighty rivers had to be tamed and nuclear energy harnessed. And transformation of the traditionally primitive agriculture formed an important part of these tasks. Above all, it became necessary to solve the problems of technique in order to increase the productivity of human labor.

A swift surge forward in man's knowledge and command of the physical forces of nature became a prerequisite. Moreover, the production of delicate machinery for modern industry demanded constantly higher levels of technical and general culture.

These were some of the outstanding social needs pressing inexorably for solution. No less pressing were the needs of military defense against the ever threatening encirclement of hostile imperialist powers. Maximum utilization of human intellectual resources followed as a matter of course. It attracted science and generated science

alongside of working-class skills and dexterity. Out of these pressing social needs, plus the vision of a socialist future, grew the great and genuine thirst for knowledge among the broad layers of the people.

UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

Planned economy became committed unreservedly to the mastery and progress of the sciences essential to technological development. This intimate relationship between science and planned production promoted a healthy fusion of theory and practice. The tremendous source of creative human energy released by the revolution brought it to full flowering. Technical and general culture advanced to higher levels.

Thus the Soviet system not only allows for a speedier development of the productive forces, but its inner tendency is to revolutionize the productive processes. Not hampered by restrictions of private profit motives it is more capable than capitalism of adapting to the new technology of nuclear energy, electronics and automation.

SCIENCE FICTION COME TRUE

In fact, the USSR is pioneering in this field. It was the first to put a nuclear power plant into operation. According to Dr. S. Lilley's exhaustive study of automation it has also what is probably the most completely automated plant in the world. He says, it "looks like a piece of science fiction magicked into reality." In this piston plant "aluminum ingots are fed in at one end of the line, and at the other end there emerge every day 3,500 fully finished car pistons, wrapped and packed." This plant, like all large modern factories, maintains its own technical evening school for the further training and education of the workers. To this we might add: Soviet workers, unlike Western workers, need not fear unemployment as a result of radical labor saving operations.

Fundamentally, these are the main reasons for the giant strides in the progress in Soviet science and technology. There are ample indications that this trend will continue and bring forth new marvels of human ingenuity, for in the contest with the capitalist system of production the Soviet economic forms are demonstrating their inherent superiority.

Cold Warriors



Secretary of State Dulles with Congressman Gordon and Admiral Radford at the time of the formulation of the Eisenhower-Mideast Doctrine. The keystones of their cold-war policy — constantly increasing armaments and military alliances exemplified by NATO and the Baghdad Pact — have received a sharp setback recently from popular anti-war sentiment in Western Europe as well as growth of the national independence movement in the Mideast.

... Arms-Race Opposition

(Continued from page 1)
simply deleted this passage from the version of the interview printed by it.

Perhaps the most striking example of the mass feeling in West Europe for an end to the war danger is the overnight fame and popularity of George F. Kennan. While some Ameri-

cans will remember him as a State Department career man and Ambassador to the USSR under Truman, he is today the American best known to Europeans. This is because European opinion has seized upon a series of lectures Kennan recently delivered over the British Broadcasting system. In them he

proposed a negotiated relaxation of the cold war. Among his suggestions are: an end to nuclear bomb tests, military "disengagement" in Central Europe by banning nuclear weapons in West and East Germany and Poland, withdrawal of U.S. troops from Germany in return for Soviet troop withdrawal from E. Germany and Poland.

From Germany the well-known expert on European politics, M. S. Handler, writes in the New York Times (Dec. 20): "Bonn, London and Washington have said no to Mr. Kennan's suggestions. The evidence is the three governments are running scared. They are well aware of the tremendous acclaim with which the Kennan ideas have been received in West Germany and Britain."

Joseph C. Harsch, the foreign affairs specialist of the Christian Science Monitor writes (Dec. 20): "His [Kennan's] lectures have been more studied, more reprinted, more analyzed, commented upon, and editorialized than the thinking or writings of any other person in Europe this season. ... Americans can no longer afford to be in ignorance of the fact that mass opinion throughout Europe would feel profound relief if Mr. Dulles disappeared. People, plain people, doubt that he really wants a settlement. They suspect that he deliberately sabotaged the London [disarmament] talks last summer. ... They would prefer to follow the road they think Mr. Kennan offers of a settlement which would end or at least lessen the danger."

Anti-war feeling in Europe is now so widespread and so intense that it has become an objective factor in European politics and a formidable obstacle to U.S. imperialism's foreign policy. This is bad news for Wall Street but good news for the American people.

... Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

among rank-and-file members. While there is wide disagreement in the ranks as to what the party's policy and perspective should be, there is strong opposition to any return to the days when all-important questions were settled abroad.

This opposition in the ranks was mirrored in the vote cast against endorsing the 12-party declaration by most of those NEC members who are leaders of state and district organizations. On the other hand, those who supported the Foster line were mostly national functionaries with little direct rank-and-file contact.

Among those who voted with Gates was Dorothy Healy, head of the Southern California District and Mickey Lima, a top figure in the Northern California District. The others were Fred Fine and Claude Lightfoot, Chicago; Martha Stone, New Jersey; Mike Russo, Massachusetts; Carl Ross, Minnesota; David Davis, Philadelphia; George Charney, New York; plus Stein and Gates.

Voting for the Moscow declaration were Ben Davis (New York), Eugene Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Jackson, Hy Lumer (Ohio) and R. Thompson. Carl Winter (Michigan) and Jack Stachel abstained. Foster and George Myers were absent. The new division in the NEC is also manifested in sharpening

of factional warfare on the organization plane. The account of the NEC meeting reports that by the same 11-7 vote as on the independence issue the committee strongly censured the Fosterite majority of the National Administrative Committee — a subcommittee of the NEC. The Fosterites had apparently used their majority on the NAC to vote endorsement of the 12-party declaration and then tried to make this public as a statement of party policy without consulting the NEC.

The NEC voted "sharp criticism of the failure of the NAC to function within the limits of its clearly defined administrative role. It instructs the NAC that there shall be no repetition of such an action in the future."

Hardening of factional line-ups was also seen this week in the publication in the Daily Worker of a letter by seven of its staff members (probably a majority of the staff) defending Gates against a public attack by the NAC for his statement to the press on the question of the Daily Worker's future. The letter pointed out that Gates issued the statement only after the press had obtained the information about the decision to give up the paper. Meanwhile, according to the reports of the NEC meeting, the fate of the daily will not be finally decided before the full National Committee meeting in February.

Militant Labor School Winter 1958 Classes

(1) "The Road to Socialism." Lectures by Daniel Roberts. Six Sundays from 5:30 to 7 P.M., beginning Jan. 12.

(2) "The Negro Struggle for Equality." Lectures by George Lavan. Five Sundays from 7:15 to 8:45 P.M. beginning Jan. 12.

(3) "The Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present." Lectures by Murry Weiss. Six Mondays from 7 to 8:30 P.M. beginning Jan. 13.

(4) "Historical Materialism — The Origins of the Capitalist System." Lectures by Vincent Copeland. Six Mondays from 8:45 to 10:15.

Fees: Six-week course — \$2.50; Five-week course — \$2.00; Single lectures — \$.50.

To register write to Militant Labor School, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. or phone ALgonquin 5-7852.

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Twentieth Anniversary Of the Socialist Workers Party

On January 1 twenty years ago, the Socialist Workers Party was founded. This was an important milestone in the building of a revolutionary socialist party in America. It was the culmination of a regroupment process that had affected all sectors of the radical movement other than the Communist Party and its periphery. Though this regroupment movement was consequently more restricted and therefore less promising than that which we witness today, it was nevertheless of great importance.

The 1938 convention which founded the SWP was preceded by a lengthy process. When the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the American Communist Party was undemocratically expelled in 1928, it still considered itself a faction of the CP and continued to direct its energies and aims to reforming the CP. In 1933 the Kremlin's stubbornness in imposing a catastrophic policy on the German Communist Party, which insured Hitler's coming to power, showed the Trotskyists that the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International and its parties had gone beyond the point of reform.

The American Trotskyist movement then set out to build a revolutionary party in this country on a fresh road. In December 1934 the American Trotskyists merged with the American Workers Party, an organization distinguished by its militancy in the trade unions and headed by A. J. Muste, to form the Workers Party.

FUSION WITH LEFT-WING OF SOCIALIST PARTY

In the same period, the ominous rise of fascism in Europe and the repeatedly demonstrated inability of the social-democratic leadership to fight this new barbarism, caused a militant left wing to develop within the American Socialist Party.

The foundation of the SWP 20 years ago was the coming together of the forces of the original left opposition of the Communist Party, the militants of the American Workers Party and the left-wing of the Socialist Party.

The basis for the unity of these forces with such diverse political backgrounds was confidence in the revolutionary potentialities of the American working class and agreement on program. Its three basic points were: (1) opposition to U.S. imperialism and the class-collaborationist union bureaucracy; (2) opposition to imperialist war and preparations for that war; (3) defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism despite its degeneration under Stalinism.

A DISTINCTIVE FEATURE

In the 20 years that have elapsed since its founding, the SWP has never deviated in word or deed from these principles. At times this entailed persecution and isolation but the SWP always had the fortitude to stick to its principles.

This, however, doesn't explain the

"A vital stage in the process of regroupment is thus, as we see it, the free exchange of views among those interested in the regroupment. This exchange, coupled with the willingness to listen, to study and to learn from each other will greatly facilitate the regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces in America. It will at the same time constitute, we are convinced, invaluable preparation for the next great upsurge of radicalism in America when all the questions of program and theory that are now under examination will become the guiding lines for practical action on a mass scale."

(From the Statement of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the Regroupment of Revolutionary Socialist Forces in the United States adopted in 1956.)

whole story, for the members of other radical organizations also have fortitude. What distinguished the SWP from the other radical parties was that it had no allegiance other than that to the interests of the working class. (This was also the hallmark of the Communist Party in its earliest years.) The social-democrats on the other hand have toadied to the liberal capitalists and the labor bureaucracy while the Stalinized Communist Party has been subservient to the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

From its Stalinization until the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, members of the American CP were successfully quarantined from programmatic discussion which other socialist organizations—especially the SWP, which its leaders vilified. Now the monolithism of the party and its attendant thought control over CP members has been shattered.

HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT

That is the most hopeful thing that has occurred in the American socialist movement in this period. The desire and determination of large numbers of CP members and ex-members to reexamine their own political ideas and the ideas of other socialists for the purpose of building a new and greater movement of American socialism, has had a beneficial effect far beyond their own ranks. It has stimulated corresponding desires and aims among other socialist currents as well.

Socialist Workers Party members are proud of their party and its 20-year record. But such pride in no way blinds them or is in conflict with their first allegiance—to the socialist interests of the working class. They are therefore hopeful that out of the conscientious reexamination of ideas now going on, and out of the increasingly free and frank discussions now taking place among groups and individuals of different political persuasions, there will emerge the will to regroup now-divided forces on the road to building a party in the U.S. capable of guiding the struggle for socialism to success.

Algerian Nationalism Divided -- IV

The Prospects for Algeria

By Philip Magri
(Conclusion)

In the previous articles of this series we have outlined the development of Algerian nationalism, the divergent social forces and political conceptions which have found expression in the struggle between Algerian National Movement (MNA) and National Liberation Front (FLN). In this concluding installment we will discuss two of the most difficult questions posed by the current stage of the Algerian revolution: What is the actual relationship of forces between MNA and FLN, and what are the real perspectives open to the Algerian revolution?

The capitalist press, the Communist parties of the world, all the governments, whether friendly or hostile to French colonialism, all display a remarkable unanimity in asserting that the FLN is the only real representative of the Algerian people and is in complete control of the Algerian revolutionary movement. This monolithism does not express an incontrovertible fact—far from it. It is part of a veritable conspiracy of silence in regard to

the MNA, a "negative" but real and significant expression of a political preference for the FLN. MNA MAQUIS

In fact, it is certain that a significant portion of the Liberation Army is led by the MNA. In the spring of 1956 Claude Gerard, on the basis of a hazardous trip into rebel Algeria, revealed the existence of powerful MNA-led underground groups in the Kabylia mountains in the North of Algeria. On June 1, 1957, the respected French newspaper "Le Monde" titled an article "A province in the South of Algeria is MNA." The article states that in a "vast area" the MNA is dominant. "It is in the name of the MNA, whose red emblem is different from the green one of the FLN, that collections are made and orders transmitted. The majority of documents found in this area during the last year are MNA documents."

It is impossible for an outside commentator, especially in America, to have anything approximating exact knowledge of the two tendencies in the Algerian underground. The best estimate seems to be that the

FLN controls a majority of the underground forces, but that the strength of the MNA is far from negligible. The French newspaper "Combat" of June 6, 1957 estimated the share of the MNA as "25 to 30%."

However, the military balance between FLN and MNA in no way represents the relative political strength of the two groups in Algeria. The basis for the military superiority of the FLN is found in the support it receives outside Algeria. Thus FLN has consistently received substantial financial and armaments aid from the Egyptian government. In addition, thanks to the sympathy of the Moroccan and Tunisian governments, the FLN has been able to establish sanctuaries in Morocco and Tunisia, areas bordering on Algeria where it is able to arm, equip and train troops.

MESSALI BACKED

These advantages of the FLN make it more attractive to young Algerians whose main interest is fighting the French, who join the FLN in order to get arms. But the FLN has no leader of stature in any way comparable to Messali, nor can it rival the MNA in terms of a social program. And for the Algerian people as a whole, in the words of an Algerian bartender (interviewed by a correspondent of France-Observateur, Nov. 14) "Messali, Hadj represents the symbol of the revolt, even if that does not please the FLN." This fact explains much of the obstinacy with which the FLN rejects the idea of free elections.

While the FLN seems stronger in the military line-up in Algeria, the MNA has always been the leading force among Algerian workers in metropolitan France. It is precisely because the MNA is stronger, and because the FLN cannot hope to displace it in a free political struggle, that the FLN felt compelled to unleash a terror campaign against the MNA in France itself. This was openly admitted by an FLN leader in an interview with Jean Daniel, a correspondent for the French liberal weekly L'Express. Daniel asked why the FLN was carrying out "terrorist assaults in France." The FLN leader answered "The Messalists were stronger than us only in

Youthful Freedom Fighter



Young Egyptians in Port Said as they celebrated the withdrawal of British-French invasion forces from the Suez Canal zone a year ago. Last month, thousands of Egyptian children marched in a militant demonstration greeting the Asia-African People's Solidarity Conference.

France." However, there can be no doubt that the MNA has been seriously hurt by the murder of many of its best leaders and militants, combined with the French repression. The sole gainer from these crimes has not been Algerian nationalism of any variety, but French colonialism.

WAR OF ATTRITION

What then are the perspectives of the Algerian revolution? The war has lasted well over three years now, a terribly costly war of attrition in which French imperialism has taken almost 100,000 Algerian lives and inflicted enormous suffering on the Algerian people. The tenacity of the Algerian freedom fighters is of heroic proportions, but French military preponderance is on the order of 15 to 1. No Algerian Dienbienphu is in sight. Exhaustion of the Algerian revolutionary forces is a serious danger.

But for the French capitalist class the Algerian war is also frightfully, if less spectacularly, expensive and exhausting. The economic and social burden of the war intensifies the crisis of French capitalism in every respect, and poses the threat of the complete breakdown of the system so imminently as to frighten leading statesmen in Britain and the U.S.

We have seen that the FLN is prepared to accept a political settlement which would safeguard the essential interests of French capitalism in Algeria in return for a few reforms. The French government in its turn has repeatedly shown its desire for such a settlement by maintaining continuous undercover contact with the FLN. Why then does the war continue?

The answer is to be found in enormously powerful social forces which leave the French government and the FLN practically no freedom to achieve their mutually desired solution. On the French side, these forces are centered on the colonial interests in Algeria who make up a fantastically strong lobby in Paris, virtually dictating the policy of the right-wing forces in French politics, ranging from elements of the Radical party and the MRP to the Independents, and Poujadists on the extreme Right. These colonial interests (who play a far more important role within the French capitalist

class than within the French economy as a whole) are bitterly opposed to any concessions in Algeria, precisely because they realize that it is their privileged position that is actually at stake in the Algerian war.

The "colons" fear that, whatever moderate promises the FLN leaders may make now, even a grant of limited autonomy to Algeria will result in an inescapable evolution to independence and its social revolutionary consequences. They therefore favor a war to complete victory, even if this would necessitate the establishment of fascism in France as well as in Algeria.

The FLN, in turn, is confronted by the fact that it has become a powerful movement only by proclaiming independence as the goal of its struggle. It can by no means be sure that its own rank-and-file fighters will accept a solution which denies real freedom to Algeria, especially if Messali and the MNA denounce such a sellout.

One force can resolve the deadlock in a progressive direction and that is the French working class. If it can use the magnificent historic opportunity granted it by the Algerian revolution to take the offensive against French capitalism, its pressure will immediately force a democratic solution to the Algerian war.

But the French workers will have to act soon, for the war of attrition has begun to tell on the Algerians. As Messali has emphasized all his life, the fate of the Algerian revolution rests in the hands of the French working class.

Calendar Of Events

Minneapolis

Sat., Jan. 11, 8 P.M. — Charles Rowoldt Victory Celebration. Room M3, Andrews Hotel. Ausp. Minn. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Donation \$1.

Chicago

Fri., Jan. 17, 8:15 P.M. Militant Labor Forum. "Three Programs for Peace—The Real Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence." 777 W. Adams.

A Quick Pay-Off on the Detroit Elections

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, Dec. 30—Republican Louis C. Miriani will be inaugurated as mayor of Detroit next week. But since former Mayor Cobo died right after the election in November, Miriani has been acting as mayor for two months. In that short time he has taken a number of steps that clearly indicate what the nature of his administration will be, and that plainly demonstrate how wrong the labor leaders were in endorsing his candidacy.

(1) One of Miriani's first acts was to arrange a cut in taxes—for business and for business only. This took the form of a reduction in the tax assessment on business inventories for the coming year. "Business Gets a Lift," beamed the Detroit News about this gift to the tune of \$550,000—Miriani's payoff to the business interests that backed him. The Chamber of Commerce complained the tax cut wasn't big enough, but the Board of Assessors, with Miriani in attendance, promised to consider bigger cuts for the years after 1958.

(2) The corporations have tasted blood, and are pushing ahead for more. A few weeks before Miriani's inauguration, they opened up a big propaganda offensive—in the form of

the Dodge Report—spelling out exactly what they are after.

The Dodge Report was prepared by a committee of 51 businessmen appointed by Cobo to advise him on the city's financial and fiscal policies. Headed by Joseph M. Dodge, board chairman of the Detroit Bank and former budget director for Eisenhower, it represents all of the big corporations and banks in the city.

The burden of its report, being badly booed by the press as a document rivaling the Ten Commandments in significance, is that taxes on industry are too high and the tax base should be broadened (that is, shifted to the backs of the workers, small homeowners and consumers); that the city government should be made more efficient (that is, cut the number of city employees and speed them up); and that expenditures should be curtailed (that is, reduce city services and facilities, lower wages, cut down on pension funds).

Miriani lost little time showing his sympathy for the Dodge Report's conclusions. The public cannot expect the city to provide maximum services at all times, he declared. When city employees quit or die, he ordered his subordinates not to replace them except when absolutely



SARAH LOVELL. She ran against Miriani for Mayor of Detroit on a socialist platform.

necessary. As for city wages, which are now 18 cents an hour below the level in private industry, he refused to commit himself definitely but said he was concerned above all with preventing further deficits.

(3) City services already are being cut. The bus fares were recently raised, but the Department of Street Railways commission has instituted a cut in bus runs. Miriani did not utilize the power he has to stop this;

he appoints the DSR commission and most city officials, and can replace them whenever he doesn't like what they do.

(4) Shortly after Miriani took over the mayor's seat, the Detroit Housing Commission was again accused publicly of violating a 1955 federal court order by continuing to maintain racial segregation in housing projects through the device of keeping separate racial lists for the separate projects. Miriani handed the complaint over to his corporation counsel, who reported back that everything is OK, which Miriani thinks is good enough.

(5) The nature of an administration can usually be judged accurately by the nature of its appointments. Miriani hasn't announced all his appointments yet, but two already made show what can be expected:

Cobo's police commissioner was Edward S. Piggins. His chief claim to fame was his use of the police as strikebreakers and scabbers in the 1954 Square D strike. Miriani's radical and labor supporters in the recent election campaign predicted and hoped Miriani would fire Piggins. But Miriani has just announced that he will reappoint him.

Nathaniel H. Goldstick is best known as the man in the corpo-

ration counsel's office who specializes in defending Detroit cops brought into court on charges of brutality against Negroes. Miriani has now promoted him to the top post in that strategically important office.

We socialists warned the labor movement that the election of Miriani would be a victory for big business. The record of the last two months confirms this warning to the hilt. We urged the unions to run their own slate instead of supporting Miriani as some kind of "lesser evil." In the name of "smart politics," they refused to run their own candidate, and the people of this city are going to suffer as a consequence.

So far, the labor leaders have kept a discreet silence about the Miriani record of the last two months. But that can't continue. Real problems, headed by growing unemployment, will generate rank and file pressure for the unions to break with Miriani and fight his policies.

To be effective, that fight will have to be conducted along the lines of independent labor political action—independent of ALL capitalist politicians and parties—and directed toward building a labor party able and willing to take over the government of Detroit.

... Auto Union Faces Jobless Problem

(Continued from page 1)

while 1,500 lost their jobs in other parts of the country.

EFFECT ON STEEL

The aircraft industry was the first to be hit by the recent mass layoffs. Thousands of UAW members were thrown out of work in New York and California only a few months ago. Today the auto workers are being hit. And already the auto slump is having a depressing effect upon other sections of the economy. This is reflected locally in the steel industry. Great Lakes Steel Corp. has already laid off an estimated 1,000 workers here.

And McLouth Steel closed down for a week during the holidays. Growing unemployment in Michigan is predicted on the basis of present trends in all major industries in the area. James W. Jones Jr., director of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, made an

end-of-the-year prediction that unemployment would grow in the first quarter of 1958. He estimated that the unemployed will number about 225,000 in the state. He said, "earlier job losses in the automobile industry have not been recovered and further layoffs are probable." Jones added that the auto industry in Michigan has dropped 29,000 workers during the past year.

There are a number of contributing factors to the shrinking auto payrolls. Automation and runaway shops are part of the cause. But the most direct and immediate cause of the present sharp drop in auto employment is the fact that cars are not selling.

LOWER PRODUCTION PLANS

Ward's Automotive Reports estimates that dealers' inventories on Dec. 1 were 700,000 cars. This is approximately 50% more than were in their showrooms a

year ago. The result at the factory is constant and continuous downward revision of production quotas. Early plans were for production of 1,820,000 units in the first quarter of 1958. By mid-December the projected figure had been reduced to 1,717,000 units. The probability is that it will be further reduced as dealer inventories rise.

The thousands of unemployed auto workers in Detroit are pressing on the local union level for action against the callous layoff and speedup policy of the corporations. But the severity of the problem and a practical solution for it is nowhere reflected either in the official publications or actions of the Reuther officialdom in the UAW.

Under the pressure of the ranks the UAW convention in Atlantic City last April adopted a resolution on the shorter work week which could be the key to the solution of the unemployment problem.

This resolution reaffirmed "the decision of the 1955 Convention to make the shorter work week with increased take-home pay... the next major collective bargaining objective of our Union," and it authorized the International Executive Board to publicize and explain this demand.

30-FOR-40 NEEDED

To date the UAW International Executive Board has failed to comply with this mandate of the April Convention. It has said little about increased take-home pay and has made only vague statements about a "gradual reduction of the work week," which the Reuther machine will translate to mean a token reduction in 1958 of two or three hours per week.

The present economic slump certainly demands an end to this evasion of the problem. It demands a concrete program and a militant plan of action. The achievement of "30-for-40," a full forty hours pay for thirty hours work, is necessary even to partially solve the problem.

Thousands of unemployed auto workers are certain to spur delegates who will come to Detroit for the UAW's Special Convention, Jan. 21-24, to take action on the shorter work-week. Many of these delegates will want to know why the Reuther machine has shirked its responsibilities and not gone ahead with preparations to make the shorter work-week the number one demand of the 1958 negotiations.

A Socialist Peace Policy

Marxism teaches that war is inherent in capitalism and peace can be guaranteed only by world socialism. But what are the planks in a socialist peace program for today? How do they differ from the program of "peaceful coexistence"? Read a discussion of these questions by Joseph Hansen in the winter issue of International Socialist Review.

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Who Is "The Public"?

Under the heading of constructive criticism, we'd like to take issue with the editorial position of the Mobile Beacon of Dec. 14 in regard to the bus strike in effect in that Alabama city since Oct. 31. "The Public Deserves Protection From Bus Strikes" is the head under which the editor takes the stand that the union and the company are equally guilty of disregard for "the public," and that state legislation is needed to "protect communities against this sort of injustice."

The Mobile Beacon is a militant Negro weekly. In its news and editorials dealing with the struggle for democratic rights in the South it has demonstrated an acute appreciation of the fact that the public is made up of contending forces with conflicting interests.

In the struggle against segregation the Beacon would not think of saying that "the public" should be protected from inconveniences such as those caused by the Montgomery bus boycott. The editors would recognize that it is necessary to take sides in such struggles, to support that part of the "public" which is in the right.

The Beacon did not condemn the Montgomery Improvement Association and the city officials equally for "selfish stubbornness" with "little or no regard for the public interest and welfare."

The Beacon certainly did not advocate

state legislation to protect communities from the "widespread inconveniences" accompanying the just struggle of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Why not? Because the Beacon recognized the justice of the demands of the MIA, that the inconvenience and costliness of the disrupted bus services resulting from the boycott was minor compared to the inconvenience and costliness to the Negroes of Jim Crow buses; that state intervention in the dispute was on the side of the white supremacists, and not to be trusted.

The Beacon should apply the same criteria to the struggle of the bus strikers in Mobile for better wages and working conditions.

The costliness and inconvenience of a strike is minor compared with that of continued low wages and poor working conditions.

And, just as every struggle against segregation in the South is just and helps advance the cause of democratic rights, so every union struggle for better wages and working conditions helps advance the cause of a higher standard of living for Southern workers and deserves the support of the Mobile Beacon — and all of us.

We are the public, and our interests lie with one side or the other in the social conflicts of our times.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXII

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NUMBER 1

New Movie Exposes Militarism

Film of 'Paths Of Glory' Is Hard-Hitting

By John Thayer

A powerful and courageous movie has just had its premiere in New York. It is Paths of Glory with Kirk Douglas, who is also the producer, in the lead role.

The novel, Paths of Glory, by Humphrey Cobb appeared in 1935. A gripping book, that one couldn't put down till the end, it was ideally suited for film-making. Hollywood was obviously tempted. But for 22 years the verdict after each consideration was—too hot to handle. Two things made it so.

First the time was "wrong." By the second half of the 1930's the cycle of anti-war films had all but ended. The powers that really rule this country were secretly laying the groundwork for U.S. entry in the approaching war. Under these circumstances studios producing anti-war films were committing boners or worse. If persuasion couldn't make them see their patriotic duty then there was the reminder of their dependence on the "cooperation" of army and navy for adventure films—the bread and butter of the box office. Thus Hollywood began turning out hundreds of films glamorizing war.

BOOK WENT 'TOO FAR' But even more was wrong than the time. Paths of Glory went too far. Those films which Hollywood had previously produced in response to the wave of mass revulsion which followed World War I—The Big Parade, What Price Glory, Journey's End, All Quiet on the Western Front, etc.—had been merely anti-war or pacifist. They had shown the horror, the "pointlessness" of war. Humphrey Cobb's novel did that, but it did much more. It was one of the most damning indictments of militarism itself ever written.

It tells the story of three men from the ranks of the French army in 1916 picked haphazardly for court martial and execution as cowards in order to set an example. None of the men had been cowards—quite the contrary. The attack was hopeless and branded as such by the divisional general until he was bribed into ordering it by the promise of promotion.

A 'BLOOD-AND-GUTS' GENERAL From its planning in the luxurious chateau which serves as the commanding general's headquarters the film unrolls rapidly and relentlessly. A patrol goes out that night in which a soldier witnesses his lieutenant's cowardice and thus seals his own fate as the one to be chosen from his company for the firing squad. The general—a type reminiscent of Gen. Patton—visits the trenches to "inspire" his men. The attack is a bloody fiasco. In fury at the men's failure to advance, the general orders his artillery to fire on them to force them out of the trenches. This the artillery officer refuses to do without a written order.

The second half of the film tells of the general's revenge. How he is whittled down from his desire to shoot a platoon of each company down to one man



A scene from Paths of Glory, the devastating new movie about militarism. Here we see the French general, played by George Macready touring the trenches the day before the attack in order to "inspire" the men.

from each company as a result of the savvy of his superior, who favors executions as examples to maintain "morale" but who is also aware of the danger of political repercussions if they are on too large a scale.

The reactions of the three victims from the ranks as they travel their tragic road and the efforts of their regimental commander (Kirk Douglas) who had vainly opposed the attack, had acted as their defense counsel at the court martial and had to no avail done everything possible within the framework of the military system to save them, completes the grim tale.

FAITHFUL RENDITION The movie is a faithful rendition of the book. Though it changes some things, none of these violate the logic or spirit of the novel. The acting is excellent. Filmed in Europe, the settings surpass for documentary realism anything that Hollywood could have done.

Anyone who reads the book or sees the movie will realize that the author had first-hand knowledge of military life and combat. All the nuances, which brand it as genuine are there, including the differences in manner and attitude between staff officers and line officers, the relationships between enlisted men and their non-coms and company-grade officers. Though it is a film about the French army during World War I, a veteran of any army will be able to recognize its authenticity.

The only possible criticism of the movie is that it may leave the impression of an isolated incident. Though the novel deals only with the particular story, it conveys to the reader that this is part of a widespread pattern. For that is truly the case. Cobb wrote a work of fiction but it was based on solid fact.

NUMEROUS RE-TRIALS From 1926 until 1934 there took place in France a whole series of legal revisions of hundreds of cases of men shot for "mutiny," "cowardice," etc., during World War I. These re-trials had been forced by relatives and war-time comrades of the executed men. The evidence brought out by witnesses and

from the army records, which had been pried open, forced the army to clear the dead men's names. None of the officers who had sent them to their deaths were ever punished, however. Paths of Glory is based mainly on the facts brought out at two of these re-trials.

One was the case of four corporals. Their company had been thrown back during an attack on a German position at Souay. General Reviel had in a fury ordered the company to advance, General Delatoile ordered the whole company executed by machine guns. He gave in to the begging of his subordinate officers and reduced it to 75 men "to set an example." Further hours of begging and bargaining finally brought the number down to six. The victims were chosen by drawing lots. The defense counsel at the court martial tried hard to save the men and the trial was adjourned without a verdict. But next morning the men were executed.

The general ordered that four corporals and 18 men of the company be sent into no man's land in broad daylight to cut the enemy's barbed wire. The men were immediately taken under fire by numerous enemy machine guns. They threw themselves into shell holes and remained there till dark. Then they came out, cut the enemy wire and returned to their company. The general had them immediately arrested for cowardice in the face of the enemy and court-martialed. The four corporals were shot. The re-

trial over ten years later cleared their names. A monument was erected to them at Sortilly.

President Poincare who for seven years dedicated a war monument every Sunday never found time to unveil this one. He did however make General Reviel a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

The other was a case re-tried in July 1929. After an unsuccessful attack in which it was alleged that the Fifth Company of the 45th Brigade had refused to advance, General Delatoile ordered the whole company executed by machine guns. He gave in to the begging of his subordinate officers and reduced it to 75 men "to set an example." Further hours of begging and bargaining finally brought the number down to six. The victims were chosen by drawing lots. The defense counsel at the court martial tried hard to save the men and the trial was adjourned without a verdict. But next morning the men were executed.

During the night the general had an interview with Marshal Joffre. Though Joffre's nickname was "Grandpa" (because of his carefully cultivated news-

paper reputation of being like a grandpa to his men) he was an enthusiastic believer in "decimation" (literally, killing every tenth man) as a means of bolstering discipline. Joffre gave Delatoile the green light on the executions. The re-trial cleared the executed poilus not only innocent but "the very glory of the regiment."

The French officer caste is not distinguished from its counterparts in other countries by greater sadism or brutality. Indeed in many ways it is more tolerant. Thus it is clear that the wave of executions in 1915-16 resulted from the very system of militarism and the need of French imperialism to combat the defeatism and war-weariness of the troops. Men had to be executed to "set an example"—that is to strike fear into the hearts of the others.

Such things have been done in other armies and will continue to be done as long as militarism and capitalism survive.

Bosley Crowther, the able movie critic of the New York Times, praises this film highly but finds one thing incongruous. The film is about the French army but the general "acts and speaks . . . as if he were a slimy Harvard man" and the poilus (the French doughboys) have "the swagger, slouches and speech slurs of assorted GIs."

However, this brings home to the audience the fact that though the uniforms are French the men beneath them are the soldiers and officers they know from their own experience, that French militarism and U.S. militarism differ only in such superficialities as where the insignia of rank is worn.

RECALLS SLOVAK CASE

For those who might think that such things could never happen in the American army even if its commanders found themselves in such desperate straits as did the French in 1915-16, we recommend a reading of The Execution of Private Slovik by William Bradford Huie. This tells how in much less desperate circumstances the U.S. army executed young Slovik to "set an example." The generals and colonels who put Slovik before the firing squad, including Eisenhower who ordered the execution, had as little interest or compassion for their "example" as the French officers of 1916 had for the men drawn by lot for execution.

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Minneapolis Will Celebrate Victory in Deportation Case

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 29—A Victory Celebration will be held Saturday night, Jan. 11, for Charles Rowoldt, who for ten years has faced deportation under the McCarran-Walter act, and only a few weeks ago was freed by a Supreme Court decision. The event will be at the Andrews Hotel, Room M3, at 8:00 P.M.

Hounded by the Immigration Department for the "crime" of past Communist Party membership, Charles Rowoldt's life has been made miserable—until now, at the age of 74, the shadow of deportation has finally been lifted.

Rowoldt came to this country from Germany in 1914—and has lived the rest of his life here. Hit by unemployment in the depression days, he looked about for a way out for himself and his fellow workers. He

first joined the Unemployment Council, later the CP, and when the Worker's Alliance was formed, he became secretary-treasurer of the Hennepin County local. Later he was a member of local 665, Hotel and Restaurant Workers union.

The Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which fought and won the Rowoldt case, is sponsoring Saturday night's celebration, and extends an invitation to all civil liberties defenders, as well as to all of Rowoldt's friends, to come and greet him on this occasion.

Contribution for the evening's festivities is \$1.00. The committee points out that there is still \$1,600 owing on the Rowoldt defense, and urges those who cannot come Saturday to send donations to the MCPFB, 302 Lumber Exchange, Minneapolis 1, Minn.

Foreign-Born Committee Holds Nat'l Conference

CHICAGO—The 25th Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born met in this city on Dec. 8. Alma Foley reported for the Credentials Committee that 189 delegates and observers, representing 144 organizations, had participated in the Conference sessions. Participants came from ten states—Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, California, Washington, Ohio, Connecticut, Missouri and Wisconsin.

In a historical sketch of the past 25 years, Abner Green, Executive Secretary, described how the nature of the work of the American Committee had adjusted to the changing conditions. At the time of its organization in 1933 the main task was the economic discrimination suffered by foreign-born Americans. In the mid-1930's, it was the problem of political refugees fleeing from European fascist rule and facing deportation from here. In the late 1930's the task centered around the need to defeat the mounting anti-alien legislation and win the right of re-entry for those who had gone to fight in Spain against Franco.

WIDE RANGE OF CASES

During World War II the Committee participated in the Bridges deportation case and the Schneiderman denaturalization case. It also campaigned for the right of Filipinos and natives of India to become American citizens. After the war, the Committee participated in the cases of some 500 non-citizens threatened with denaturalization, and also directed its attention to the problem of Mexican immigrants. Its main emphasis today is a campaign for the defeat of the Walter-McCarran Law.

"We propose," reported Abner Green, "that major attention be devoted this coming year to a

campaign to establish a statute of limitation in the immigration and nationality laws, to fight for the proposition that no person who has lived here for five years should be deported under any circumstances and that no person who has been naturalized for five years should be threatened with revocation of citizenship on any grounds whatsoever."

The second concern of the conference was the attack against the Committee itself. In a two-pronged move the federal and New York state governments are trying to censor and regulate the Committee out of existence. United States Subversive Activities Control Board Examiner, Edward M. Morrissey, on Sept. 10, handed down a decision that the American Committee is a "Communist front" organization. New York State Attorney Louis Lefkowitz, on the other hand, is seeking to force the Committee to register as a "charitable organization." The New York State action has prevented the Committee from making any public appeal for funds since Oct. 24 under jeopardy of court injunction. The federal demand upon the Committee to register would force it to disclose the names and addresses of its supporters.

GREEN JAILED IN 1951

On previous occasions, lists of contributors to progressive causes were turned over to the Department of Justice and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The individuals on the lists were harassed. Green reminded the Conference that in 1951 he went to jail for six months because he refused to turn over the American Committee files and records to a federal grand jury in New York. In a resolution to the Conference, the location of the ACPFB office is proposed to be moved to the West Coast in order better to cope with the problems

faced by the Mexican immigrants in Southern California.

Two outstanding victories affecting the rights of foreign born were reported—one just before and the other after the conference. On Dec. 5 the Federal Court of Appeals in Chicago reversed a previous decision by the Federal District Court and ordered the citizenship of Anthony Minerich, Croatian-American leader restored. On Dec. 9, the United States Supreme Court ended deportation proceedings in the case of Charles Rowoldt. The Rowoldt Case had been fought by the American Committee for ten years. It is believed that this victory will save a large number of non-citizens from deportation.

The conference adopted the following ten-point program. (1) Win public hearings for the Celler Bill, HR 3364. (2) Defeat Section 6 of the Walter Bill, HR 9532. (3) A national campaign for a statute of limitations in the deportation and denaturalization laws. (4) Educational campaigns on naturalization, the rights of non-citizens and the rights of naturalized citizens. (5) An education campaign to inform the American people of the immigration, naturalization, deportation and denaturalization provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. (6) Develop public understanding of the contributions made by the immigrant to the building and development of the United States. (7) Promote the nationwide observance of Oct. 28 as "Statue of Liberty Day." (8) A nationwide fight for the rights of Mexican-Americans. (9) Public defense of the rights of foreign-born persons threatened with deportation and denaturalization or with frame-up proceedings under the Walter-McCarran Law. (10) Defense of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born against government moves to drive it out of existence.

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