

The Program Needed to Fight Unemployment

By the Editors

It is nearly 11 months since the Korean War ended and the current economic decline began. The second event followed the first as night follows day. Labor organizations estimate today's unemployed at well over 5 million. Millions more have been cut back to part-time with corresponding slashes in take-home pay.

Capitalism, the private profits system, is again proving its inability, short of war, to provide steady employment for the American working people. Only yesterday we were being treated to grandiose theses, printed on the gloss paper of the Luce publications, like Life and Fortune, about the "permanent revolution" in American capitalism which had abolished forever the "old" type of unstable "free enterprise" and given us a "new" form, fool-proof and depression-free.

Now government figures show a rise in manufacturing unemployment for the eleventh straight month. And the worst, admittedly, is yet to come. A sharp increase in unemployment is expected as schools and colleges pour out more than a million graduates to compete with the older unemployed for jobs.

The problems of the workers are made all the more pressing because prices continue high, bolstered by government measures and monopoly price-fixing. Workers who lose their jobs, or even suffer a decline in income because of loss of overtime, find it impossible to make both ends meet. In addition, many are heavily in debt for those new homes, autos or TV sets which they were urged to buy on time and now may be taken from them at the first drop in their incomes.

Reports from all over the country indicate the deep anxiety of the workers. Their concern appears much greater than in 1949-50 and 1945-46, during the two previous post-World War II declines. There is good reason for it.

Reasons for Present Anxiety

In 1945, for instance, there was great war-caused scarcity. The cars on the road were mainly old jalopies. Millions of veterans needed homes as they belatedly married and started to raise families. Many workers had accumulated small nest-eggs because of the wartime scarcities and overtime employment. The workers had hoped that after a limited period of "reconversion" to consumer goods production, work would be available for a while.

Even in 1949, when the pickup provided by accumulated demand and scarcities had worn off, there was still the hope that a reasonable increase in government spending might prime the pump once more. This spending came, all right, but in the form of war in June 1950. The American people, however, didn't want prosperity bought with the blood of sons, husbands, fathers and brothers.

Now these means for stabilizing the economy no longer seem promising. The Korean War did not end with scarcities but an enormous glut of consumers goods. Anybody who could scrape up the down-payment could possess himself of a TV set, automobile, suits, dresses and kitchen gadgets. The manufacturers began to complain of "top-heavy" inventories.

Moreover, government spending continues close to the high level of the Korean War. The May Survey of Current Business of the U.S. Department of Commerce notes that the combined federal, state and local government purchases of goods and services declined from an annual rate of \$85.5 billion in the fourth quarter of 1953 to \$82 billion in the first quarter of 1954.

Need Far-Reaching Measures

We have every reason, then, not to delude ourselves about the prospects of American capitalism and its ability to "ride out" the current depression — short of war. It should be obvious to every worker that far-reaching measures are needed to protect labor from the ravages of unemployment and to get the kind of economic system that will provide good living and security, without war.

Immediate measures must be taken to slow up layoffs and keep as many workers as possible on the job with no loss of income. The most effective method of keeping the maximum number of workers employed is through the shorter work week and work day, with no reduction in total pay. This demand, in one form or another, has been put to the fore in this period by the AFL, and by CIO unions like the Textile Workers, Packinghouse Workers and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as well as key locals of the United Automobile Workers. We think the most important demand to press is:

For the 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay.

At the same time, the labor movement must combat the notion that the unemployed have to accept a worse standard of living than the employed, who may be tomorrow's unemployed. We contend that every worker and his family in this rich America are entitled to an income equal to full union wages at all times. Unemployment is not the fault of the workers. Therefore, we propose:

Unemployment compensation equal to full union-scale take-home wages for the entire period of unemployment.

If private-profit, monopoly-controlled industry cannot provide steady work at decent wages all year around and every year, then it is high time to ensure full-time, full-scale operation of industry by freeing the means of production from the incompetent, profit-greedy capitalists. We urge:

Nationalize the basic industries under the control of the workers.

To win this program requires concerted militant mass action by the entire labor movement. The union leaders do not lack good demands and even radical-sounding programs. They fall short on action. What is needed most imperatively is the mobilization of the whole labor movement for a real fight. This calls for:

A Congress of Labor, to be held in Washington, D. C., with rank and file representation from all the unions right down to the local level.

Such a Congress of Labor could set in motion union actions throughout the country — mass meetings, demonstrations, protest stoppages — to put the heat on the capitalists and their political agents for labor's demands. It could do more. It could prepare to place labor and its allies in political power in Washington where the laws can be made to effect the necessary economic measures to end unemployment. That means:

Build an Independent Labor Party.

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 24

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Here Are Questions M'Carthy Should Be Made to Answer

Breadline in California



Here are some of the 1,400 jobless workers fed daily at a mission in Sacramento, Calif., where unemployment is critical. This picture was taken by a delegate to an AFL Int'l. Association of Machinists conference on unemployment. The mission said that only 50 to 75 were fed daily just two years ago. This is a glaring symbol of capitalism — men who must beg for food in one of the richest food areas in the world.

"No Help Wanted" Signs Face June Graduates

More "No Help Wanted" signs face this year's June graduates of high schools and colleges than in any year since the depression Thirties. It is expected that more than a million youth entering the labor market this month will find no jobs.

Even Dr. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, who describes himself as a "chronic optimist," conceded on June 8 that unemployment in July may approach four million even in the government's own doctored index.

Burns tried to interpret the government's latest statistics on unemployment, released jointly by the Commerce and Labor Departments on June 7, as an encouraging sign that the economic decline is ending and an upturn is coming "soon."

PHONY FIGURES

These statistics showed a slight drop in unemployment for May, from total of 3,465,000 claimed in April to 3,305,000 last month. This decline of 160,000 for the month, however, "was

smaller than expected at this time of year and might be more apparent than real," the Census Bureau cautioned, according to the June 8 N. Y. Times report. The "apparent drop," said the Bureau, "could have been due to sampling variability."

Employment in manufacturing, however, continued to go down. It dropped by another 193,000 in May, according to the Census Bureau, to a total 1,500,000 below that of May a year ago.

These figures minimize the true situation. It is generally recognized that the government figures falsify the true state of affairs. Nevertheless, even these figures are the highest official statistics for the number of jobless in any May since the end of World War II.

Labor union officials estimate the number of unemployed at more than 5 million. If anything, this estimate is conservative. Moreover, it does not take into account the millions of workers employed less than a full work week and who have suffered reduced take-home pay.

Contradicting the "chronic" optimism of Burns, who is a mouthpiece for the Eisenhower administration, CIO President Walter Reuther said that the latest unemployment figures of the government "can hardly be called encouraging." He stated in Washington in answer to Burns:

"Unless the administration acts quickly and vigorously to stimulate employment even the official figures will show very sizable additions to the ranks of the unemployed during the next two months as the ending of the school year increases the number of those looking for work."

Other business analysts are not as optimistic as Burns either. Herbert Koshetz, who writes "The Merchant's Point of View" column in the Sunday N. Y. Times, said on June 6 that "danger signals are flickering on the business horizon." These stem, he said from the "instinct of self-preservation" that impels many manufacturers "not to risk going ahead on plant expansion or plans to increase distribution . . ."

(Continued on page 4)

New Bill Threatens Freedom of Press

By John F. Petrone

Newspapers and magazines that are critical of McCarthyism today stand in danger of government suppression. The list under attack includes labor, Negro and radical publications (both Stalinist and anti-Stalinist).

Last August McCarthy demanded that the government strangle anti-McCarthy publications by canceling the second-class mailing rights that they share with the rest of the press. This month the government is rushing action on a new "witch hunt" bill to comply with McCarthy's demand.

Such a Congress of Labor could set in motion union actions throughout the country — mass meetings, demonstrations, protest stoppages — to put the heat on the capitalists and their political agents for labor's demands. It could do more. It could prepare to place labor and its allies in political power in Washington where the laws can be made to effect the necessary economic measures to end unemployment. That means:

In a few days hearings will

begin in Washington on a bill to give the Postmaster General the power to withdraw these rights from publications that do not meet the political standards of the McCarthyites. Entitled HR 9317, it was introduced by Rep. Katharine St. George (R-N. Y.) and prepared in cooperation with the Justice, State and Post Offices.

Under this bill the Postmaster General could revoke the rights of certain publications "without prior notice." The publications would have the right to a "hearing" within 30 days to try to convince the government the revocation should not be made permanent.

Inclusion of any publication on the House Un-American Activities Committee's notorious "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" or on the Attorney General's arbitrary "subversive" list or on the Subversive Activities Control Board's "registration"

list would constitute "prima facie evidence" that it is unavailable at second class rates.

But that's not all. The St. George bill also would authorize action against any publication which "explicitly or by implication favors the political, economic, international, and governmental doctrines of communism."

This provision is broad enough to cover any paper the Postmaster General might dislike.

Does a paper support the passage of FEPC legislation, also supported by "communism"? Does it advocate higher unemployment compensation, also advocated by "communism"? Does it oppose U.S. intervention in the Indo-Chinese civil war, also opposed by "communism"?

If it does, then it can be accused of favoring "by implication" the "doctrines of communism," and can be virtually driven out of business by the higher costs that would result from the

loss of its second-class mailing rights.

What paper would be safe if this bill passes — except the McCarthyite press?

Certainly not the labor press. Rep. St. George said that its provisions might cover such papers as the Labor Herald of Baltimore, an independent anti-communist labor weekly.

Certainly the Negro press would not be safe. Rep. St. George said that Our World, a Negro magazine, would be unavailable at second class rates under her bill, and that the California Eagle, a Negro weekly, might get the same treatment.

Certainly the liberal press would not be safe. The St. George list includes the Lawyers Guild Review, published by the National Lawyers Guild, whose fight against the Attorney General's "subversive" list is now in the courts and has the support of liberal members of Congress.

Not even publications whose main preoccupation is with anti-Stalinism would be safe. Labor Action, defending the views of the Shachtmanite Independent Socialists, is also on the St. George list.

LONG FIRST STEP

Rep. St. George told the House on May 25 that she favors not only revoking second class rates but barring such papers "from the mails entirely. . . . My bill is a first step, a long first step, toward excluding this material from the mail."

Her bill menaces every labor and liberal organization and publication in this country. In their own interest they all should act quickly to prevent this "long first step" to destruction of freedom of the press. Protests against this move to McCarthyize the American press should be sent to the House Post Office Committee Washington, D. C.

"During these hearings you have spoken about '21 years of treason.' Doesn't this mean you favor prosecution and punishment of the anti-McCarthy Republicans responsible for the latest year of 'treason,' and wouldn't you try to achieve this if you became President?"

"You say you favor wiping out the 'left wing' by any means available. Under the title of 'left wing' you include the N. Y. Times, American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, Gen. Marshall, Truman, Ed Murrow, etc., etc. Is there any organization, person or publication critical of you that is not part of the 'left wing' and that you would not wipe out if you had the power to do it?"

LEARNED FROM HITLER

The next thing I'd go into would be the origin and purpose of some of McCarthy's propaganda themes and methods. For example:

"Hitler came to power as fascist dictator by attacking the German republic for 14 years of shame and treason. Isn't that where you got the idea for you? (Continued on page 3)



McCarthy

American Labor's Oldest Battlecry

By Joseph Keller

Some of the corporations have adopted a "share-the-unemployment" policy. Instead of firing part of the workers and keeping the others on full time, these companies have introduced "short work weeks." No one gets laid off, but everyone works only four or three days a week, instead of the customary five. Of course, take-home pay is cut correspondingly 20% or 40%. This shows up in the statistics as "full employment."

In some plants, the workers have accepted this policy because they do not wish to see any of their fellows completely out of work and reduced to the abysmal standards of unemployment compensation. But in the long run, of course, acceptance of this policy, however well motivated, will prove costly. The employers will attempt, through rationalization and speedup, to get the same amount of production per worker per week, while paying less weekly wages.

The workers are forced to this expediency, of course, because their union leaders have failed to lead an effective fight for a program designed to meet just such a situation as today's unemployment threat. Throughout the whole history of the modern industrial working class that fight has centered around the slogan of the shorter work week and work day.

It may seem a paradox that the answer to the employers' "short work week" is the shorter work week. But it's so. For by the work week is meant that period of working time when straight-time wages are paid. If we have a 40-hour week, then time-and-a-half or double time begins only after 40 hours of work within the regular week. You are still on the 40-hour week, even if you work only 30 hours.

But if you have a 30-hour week, your overtime premium pay begins on the 31st hour. Thus, if an employer works you more than 30 hours, he is required to pay time-and-a-half for the extra hours. This kind of shorter work week the employers have always fought tooth and nail.

It is customary today to accompany every demand for the shorter work week or work day with a demand for higher wages so that there can be no possibility of any loss of income.

The CIO United Automobile Workers International Executive Board, under the leadership of UAW and CIO President Walter Reuther, recently attacked the "short work week" introduced by the corporations. But they offered no alternative to laying off large numbers of workers because they failed to propose the traditional shorter work week demand which organized labor has always supported. Thus, they left the impression that there is something wrong with proposing a shorter work week to keep unemployment down.

At every great historical turning point of American labor, the demand for the shorter work week and shorter work day has been inscribed on the unions' battle flags. In 1886, the heroic strikes and demonstrations around May Day which laid the basis for the modern labor movement were launched with the slogan of the eight-hour day.

Back in 1929, the average straight-time work week in this country was 48.3 hours. The ten-hour day still prevailed in steel and other industries. Part of the magnificent accomplishments of the CIO in its great struggles of the Thirties was the winning of the 40-hour week, which was finally established as the legal national standard. The employers fought this with every weapon at their command because they always oppose legal limits on the work week and work day that require the payment of overtime premium wage rates.

If it were not for the overtime rate restriction, the employers would be working part of the workers 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, as they used to, and let the rest of the workers starve. But the steady reduction of the work week and work day, fortified by overtime rates, has served to safeguard labor from the most brutal exploitation by the capitalist class.

We are entering a period that will mark a new turning point for labor. Once more the workers are threatened with unemployment while the employers seek to break down the standards gained in decades of struggle, including overtime and premium pay based on the limited work week and work day. And once more the slogan of the shorter work week — now embodied in the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay — is rising as a rallying cry of the labor movement.

Just Out — Spring Issue
Of the Marxist Quarterly

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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Reuther's Guaranteed Wage Plan

By Art Preis

In recent months we have been hearing a great deal about the Guaranteed Annual Wage program to protect workers against unemployment and its ravages. Mass layoffs and continuously mounting industrial unemployment have given an immediacy and urgency to the problem of security for the workers. The guaranteed annual wage has come into prominence as a possible solution to that problem because it has been taken up and championed by the two top leaders of the CIO, President Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers and President David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers.



CIO President Walter Reuther (left) with the late CIO President Philip Murray whom the United Auto Workers leader succeeded. Murray, who also headed the United Steelworkers, introduced the Guaranteed Annual Wage program back in 1942 as a promise to the steelworkers for the post-war future. Reuther is now pressing this program and blocking the demand for a shorter work week, with no loss in weekly pay.

partially in the very section which appears to be its strongest point and to meet one of our sharpest criticisms of McDonald's plan. The latter's proposal called for a guarantee of wage payments, for the covered period, equal to only 30 hours straight-time per week. Reuther's "tentative" plan states:

"All workers able to work and available for work will be guaranteed 40 straight-time hours of work or pay at their regular wage rates for every week" for "up to 52 consecutive weeks used such layoffs." (Our emphasis.)

At first glance, it may not be apparent that this declaration contains in it not merely a guarantee for the workers but a guarantee for the employers. We are led to this conclusion even more strongly by the statement given in explanation of the plan as introduced at the UAW-CIO Education Conference in Chicago last April. It says at one point: "The UAW's purpose is really to develop a Guaranteed Employment plan. We use the phrase 'guaranteed wage' because it is widely used and understood. But it is not a completely accurate description of what our union will propose in collective bargaining." (Original emphasis.)

And the first question we put to both Reuther and McDonald was: "What are they ready to give away in order to get it (GAW)?" Reuther's plan indicates this

guaranteed is not only an annual wage equivalent to the income the worker would earn in 52 weeks based on a 40-hour week at present hourly wage rates. This plan appears to establish the 40-hour week as the continuing norm and assures the employer that there will be no demand for shorter work week at higher wage rates to absorb the unemployed and make room for new workers.

WHAT CONCESSIONS?

If the purpose of the plan is to make it unprofitable for the employer to lay off workers by requiring the company to continue the full wage payments even if a worker is laid off, then it would suffice to include in the plan only the matter of the continuing wage payments. Why the stress on "40 straight-time hours of work"?

This is one of the things that Reuther appears to be offering the companies if they accede to his "guaranteed wage" plan. He will guarantee them that the union will not demand a shorter work week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay, such as the increasingly popular demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.

It is guaranteeing the employers that the UAW will not ask for overtime rates starting after 30 hours in a week, and six hours in a day.

What other concessions will Reuther offer? We can't say. But this is big enough. A large section of the American unions, including several leading CIO internationals, have raised the demand for the shorter work week.

The whole AFL is on record to seek the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. In fact, this was a key plank in the program of the UAW itself until it was quietly buried in recent years although it has never been repudiated or withdrawn by any UAW convention.

A "guaranteed annual wage" plan which obstructs the way for the shorter work-week with no loss of weekly pay and is not accompanied by such a contract provision, fails to meet the most pressing and immediate aspect of the problem of unemployment. It fails to provide for the union men and women already laid off.

More than 10% of the UAW members, for instance, are laid off right now. There is nothing to do but to expand job opportunities to allow for the hiring of new young workers. The plan is offered, in fact, as a substitute — indeed, an evasion — of this immediate and acute problem.

Negotiations on the UAW guaranteed wage won't begin until the middle of 1955. They can drag on for months. Since this is a "tentative" plan, we may assume that it can and in all likelihood will be modified in negotiations. It may look good now in comparison to McDonald's plan — certainly not a high standard to go by. But how will it look when Reuther shaves it all around to make it more acceptable to the bosses?

FOR THE FIRST TIME

With the full automation of industry man can escape from a world where the bulk of his life must be devoted to unceasing toil to a world where machinery can do that work for him. A world where for the first time in history man can have the leisure to enjoy and use fruitfully his short stay on this earth.

The only thing that turns automation from a promise to a threat is the wage and profit system where dollar-hungry bosses can use the new machines to throw workers into the street. But if that profit system is eliminated and replaced by a planned socialist system of production for use, a system where only the whole of society profits from labor-saving devices, then the great promise of automation will be realized.

I think the majority of the working people have a sufficiently strong dislike for unpleasant, needless work (or the alternative of unemployment) to come to the realization of the need for a socialist society that will fulfill the tremendous potentiality of automation equipment has

period of large-scale unemployment and depression of the 1929-39 variety. Reuther's boast of the financial soundness of his plan is based strictly on his belief that there cannot and will not be a deep depression.

ORIGIN OF THE PLAN

Historically, guaranteed annual wage plans stem from the paternalistic schemes cooked up by the employers in the early years of this century to discourage unionism. These schemes were all loaded with gimmicks, principally having to do with denying immediate gains for the workers in return for an illusory "security" based on a company "guarantee." For many years the unions fought such schemes, which always seemed to cost the workers something today and never gave quite the protection they promised for tomorrow.

The guaranteed annual wage idea was introduced as a program for the labor movement by the late CIO President Philip Murray, who put it forward in the 1942 Steelworkers convention. He held it forth as a promise for the post-war future in return for acceptance of the wage-freeze and speedup sacrifices by the steelworkers during the war.

In March 1945, Roosevelt submitted Murray's proposal for a guaranteed annual wage to the Advisory Board of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion for "study." The steelworkers are still awaiting the results of that "study." It cannot be said, however, that Murray and after him McDonald ever presented very hard on the matter.

The proposal was revived by McDonald and picked up by Reuther only after the end of the Korean War and the rise of mass unemployment. They have used the guaranteed annual wage to continue the norm and assures the employer that there will be no demand for shorter work week at higher wage rates to absorb the unemployed and make room for new workers.

WHAT CONCESSIONS?

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ONE BASIC FLAW

There is one fundamental flaw in every guaranteed annual wage plan that has ever been fostered and Reuther's is no exception. They are guaranteed only up to the limit of certain specific funds.

Reuther's plan does provide for better financing than McDonald's and some others. But it is no different in principle, in the final analysis. It would set up a special fund and if and when that fund becomes exhausted, the guarantee folds up too.

Reuther's guaranteed annual wage plan would at best function only if unemployment remains fairly limited. But it would break down completely in any

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	\$ 65	\$ 80	123
Detroit	500	550	110
San Francisco	700	714	102
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Oakland	250	250	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	392	98
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,143	95
New York	3,000	2,821	94
Cleveland	250	205	82
St. Louis	75	60	80
Los Angeles	2,500	1,977	79
Milwaukee	250	198	79
Pittsburgh	150	110	73
Akron	100	52	52
Seattle	250	85	34
General	260	134	52
Total (through June 6)		\$14,000	90

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Allentown is really hitting hard in this \$14,000 Fund Drive. The comrades there are not satisfied with 100% fulfillment of their fund quota. They are now at the 123% mark.

Regina writes from Allentown:

"When I last wrote you, I said

that I had hoped to be able to send an additional contribution from our branch to the fund. The enclosed \$5 is not quite as much as I had expected but of course every little bit helps. I know you must be feeling anxious about the completion of the goal. However if the next two weeks are as fruitful as the last one it may still be reached. I hope so. Some of the branches must have really worked hard and made a lot of sacrifices to achieve what they did."

With this note of encouragement on the Fund Drive came an order for more anti-fascist literature. Even though the literature

campaign is over Allentown is expanding its pamphlet sales.

With a long order for socialist pamphlets came a \$1 contribution to the fund from Toledo. We warmly thank this friend for the help that comes when it is so much needed.

I know all the branches are busy with the final big push in the fund drive. Minneapolis, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Akron all stepped a little closer to their goals this week. However the big job is ahead with one more week to go, as this is being written, and almost \$1500 to be raised.

Last week I reported our June-July plans for Militant mobilizations. This is the next big thrust at McCarthyism in preparation for the big fall election campaign. The first mobilization to extend the circulation of our press is scheduled for the weekend of June 20.

...Eisenhower and McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

capitalist democracy do the work of fascism.

The McCarthyites have a different plan. They are the first important tendency in American politics to continue the orientation of shattering the traditional political structure of capitalism and replacing it with a fascist dictatorship molded along the essential lines of the "experiments" of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

The American fascists, like their European predecessors, are not content with using the existing machinery of the state to merely suppress the

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. The views are expressed in its editorials.

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

Vol. XVIII - No. 24

Monday, June 14, 1954

Guatemala's Real Enemy

The mighty U.S. government is threatening and terrorizing Guatemala (population: 2,890,000) with the most benevolent of motives, according to the State Department. It is not, as some suspicious elements insinuate, because Guatemala has taken back uncultivated land from the United Fruit Company, a U.S. corporation notorious for its brutal, avaricious policies in Central America. Wall Street's government just wants to save Guatemala from the Russians.

Mealy-mouthed liberals shake their heads dolefully at the blockheaded incapacity of the Guatemalans to understand the mortal peril they are in — from the Soviet Union. Max Lerner, columnist of the liberal N. Y. Post, writes from Guatemala an "impartial" diagnosis of Guatemala that bemoans the strange aberration of the Guatemalans, their inability to see the menace — of Russia.

"Russia?" the average Guatemalan worker and peasant, who doesn't know much about geography, might ask: "What is this Russia you're talking about? All we know is that we need decent living conditions. The United Fruit Co. came down here a long time ago and grabbed hundreds of thousands of acres. It has been exploiting us at starvation wages in the banana industry. It has bought up our governments. And the U.S. has threatened us with intervention every time we've tried to free ourselves from this United Fruit bloodsucker."

He might add further: "This Russia — it doesn't demand that we pay a fantastic sum of money to the United Fruit Co. for jungle land we want to cultivate and the U.S. company is not using. It's not this Russia which

sends B-36 bombers to make a threatening display in Nicaragua right on our border. And we find it very strange that the U.S. State Department shouts the loudest about a Russia that has never bothered us just when this same State Department itself hands up the rubber claim of the United Fruit Company."

The Guatemalan people can scarcely be blamed if they don't jump at a phantom enemy while the real enemy they've known all along openly threatens them with a mailed fist. Even Honduras, which is being incited by Washington to war against Guatemala, feels resentful of U.S. pressure. The Consul General of Honduras in New York wrote a letter to the N. Y. Times, published May 22, giving a hint of what U.S. imperialism has meant in Latin America.

He complains how foreign (U.S.) interests have exploited his country with the result that a laborer who earned \$1.25 to \$1.50 a day in 1932 and paid 12 cents a pound for coffee, 6 cents for rice or beans and bought "the machete to cut bananas for 88 cents," now earns \$1.68 per day and pays respectively for the same commodities 90 cents, 25 cents and \$4.

The Honduran consul concludes pointedly: "To protect such interests [including United Fruit] was the reason why marines were landed in the early Twenties by the democratic government of the United States of America. . ." That's the testimony of a military ally of Washington. It affirms that U.S. intervention anywhere in Latin America is and has always been nothing but robbery backed up with a gun.

Quit Persecuting Carl Skoglund!

Once upon a time Ellis Island was the port of entry for millions of oppressed people who came to this country to escape tyranny. It was a reception center for the downtrodden workers and peasants of the "old countries" who dreamed of making a new life for themselves in the great democracy of the United States.

Today Ellis Island is something different. This little island off Manhattan has become a stockade where victims of the witch hunt, who were not "fortunate" enough to be born in the United States are held under lock and key until they can be "sent back to where they came from."

Carl Skoglund, lumber worker, railroad man, truck driver and union leader — a veteran fighter for labor — is incarcerated on Ellis Island today. For 13 years Skoglund has been fighting moves to deport him to his native Sweden. Carl Skoglund figures that he gave 43 years of hard labor to the United States. He worked for the robber barons who appropriated the wealth he and tens of millions of others produced. His "crime" in the eyes of the witch hunters is his belief that there can and must be a better way for the workers to live.

A short distance from Ellis Island stands the Statue of Liberty. Skoglund can see it from where he is locked up. Does he perhaps recall the first time he and others like him saw the Statue of Liberty 43 years ago? What did he think then, and what does he think now?

Those who know Carl Skoglund know him to be the incarnation of the best instincts and

qualities in the working class. He never went to the great universities of this country. He was too busy chopping down trees and delivering coal. But he is self educated, like many workers. Carl Skoglund's interests are wide. He is absorbed in astronomy as well as the fate of humanity. Skoglund is a successful man — if you measure the success of an individual by the contributions he has made to society. He belongs to that group of men and women who pioneered and founded the modern American labor movement.

He was a leader of the heroic struggles of the Minneapolis truck drivers during the Thirties. These struggles have entered into the history of the United States as a vital force in transforming the lives of millions — from the status of corporation slaves to the organized working class capable of leading America to a new era of progress and democracy.

What's this man doing on Ellis Island? What kind of a reward is that for a man who has given a lifetime to the cause of the working people? Why are the crooks and moneyed scoundrels and the Hell Bomb madmen free while Carl Skoglund is imprisoned on Ellis Island?

It isn't right. And if you want to do something about it, send money right away to the committee that is working to save Carl Skoglund from deportation and get him released from Ellis Island. Its address is Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 W. 10th St., New York 3, N. Y.

Frameup in the Plants

It's not illegal to be a "communist," let alone a "Fifth Amendment communist." It's not illegal for a "communist" to work in industry. But the McCarthyites want the plants purged of all workers who dare to resist the drive to a police state.

Roy Cohn, chief counsel for the McCarthy committee, announced on June 2 that when the committee resumes its regular hearings it will investigate "communists" in defense plants. "The way to get results," he stated, "is to hold our hearings, get these people in public session, have them claim the Fifth Amendment, have the witnesses name them as Communists, have them fired from the defense plants." All slick and neat. A perfect formula for frameup.

Those to be dealt with in this summary manner are union militants. The objective is to get rid of these bolder spirits in the ranks of labor, turn the unions themselves to the task of witch hunting and create an atmosphere favorable to the building of fascist machines that can eventually be hurled against the labor movement.

What are the labor leaders going to do about this proposed attack on their members? Will they aid McCarthy's committee? Will they stand idly by? Will they wail about McCarthy's methods but rush to cooperate with the Defense Department or the FBI as an alternate method of hounding good unionists out of the plants?

If they follow any of these three lines of conduct, they will open the door of the labor movement wide to McCarthy's further onslaughts. There is no way of diverting McCarthy from an attack on the unions either by indifference, active cooperation or by help-

Indo-Chinese Fight to End Colonial Slavery

By Daniel Roberts

The Eisenhower administration planned to take the United States into war in Indo-China last April. This was revealed June 6 by the Washington Post and Times Herald. The newspaper stated that President Eisenhower had planned to ask Congress to send a mass bombing expedition of 500 planes for an air-strike on the Indo-Chinese army then besieging Dienbienphu. Ground troops would have inevitably followed.

Although the administration had to postpone its plans at that time, it continues to push actively for military involvement in the Indo-Chinese war. It is determined to ride rough-shod over the overwhelming majority of the Indo-Chinese people who support the government of the Vietminh headed by Ho Chi Minh.

The popularity of the Vietminh

has been acknowledged by all observers including those who write for the capitalist press. It has been taken into account by the French negotiators at the Geneva conference, who have turned down Vietnamese proposals to settle the war by means of a popular vote in Indo-China supervised by the opposing sides.

The French refusal has been repeatedly cited by the N. Y. Times and the Herald-Tribune as stemming from a certain knowledge that the Vietnamese would win such an election hands down.

POPULAR SUPPORT

The popular support for the Vietminh movement — coming from workers, peasants and most of the urban middle-class — dates back to 1946, prior to the attack of the French which marked the opening of the war.

Why then have the French been

fighting a war for eight years that disregards in so cynical a manner the democratic right of the Indo-Chinese people to determine their own fate? Why has the U.S. government — under Truman and Eisenhower — given its support to the French?

The French are fighting for empire and nothing else. This was admitted by French Premier Ramadier in 1947. In an attempt to justify the war in Indo-China he declared that "the middle of the 20th century, a nation of traditional size is condemned to be a satellite unless it becomes the center of its own constellation." In other words, Ramadier said that, despite the will of the Indo-Chinese people to be independent, he would hang on to Indo-China so that France could continue to be a first-rate power.

However, considerations of prestige are not the main reason for French insistence on maintaining Indo-China as a colony. Something more tangible is at stake. Prior to World War II, the French held the markets of Indo-China as a tight preserve for the French capitalists. They maintained a monopoly of investments for French capital. All rubber plantations were owned by French capitalists. So were the coal mines, the railroads, and so were a million acres of rice plantations in Cochinchina, which the French landlords operated on a share-cropping basis.

The wages of the Indo-Chinese workers in the mines and on the plantations was estimated at one-thirteenth of those paid in France. This extremely low wage-level provided the French bankers, landlords and industrialists with a rich source of profits at a far higher rate than they could obtain in France.

Hitler came to power by blaming "Bolshevism" and a stab in the back" for Germany's post-war difficulties. Aren't you blaming America's social, economic and political problems on "communism" and a "stab in the back" because you hope to imitate Hitler's success?"

TORE UP AGREEMENT

The French imperialists maintained these favorable conditions for themselves through the period of the Japanese occupation, when the French administrators cooperated with the Japanese. The whole pattern of colonial rule was broken up only in 1945 upon the withdrawal of the Japanese, when the nationalist movement surged forward and took over all of Vietnam. The French imperialists negotiated with this movement only until it was able to rebuild its military forces in the country. The French then proceeded to tear up an agreement that they had already concluded with the Vietnamese. Thus French imperialism went to war in an attempt to re-establish its former rule.

The French government was all

the more impelled in the imperialist venture by the fact that it feared a successful struggle in Indo-China for national independence would inspire the colonial masses in the rest of the French empire in Africa and the Near East to launch similar battles. French imperialism looks upon Indo-China as the key to retaining the rest of its empire.

The American government for its part backs the French and is planning full scale intervention in Indo-China for essentially the same imperialistic motives. The American government — whether headed by a Truman or an Eisenhower — follows the dictates and serves the needs of the ruling capitalist class in this country.

U.S. GOVT. FEARS

In the interest of preserving the profit system and the wealth of the billionaire families that rule America, the U.S. government is committed to preserve the imperialist structure throughout the world. If Indo-China becomes genuinely independent, then not only the rest of the French empire, but the countries of the British empire will move to na-

tional independence, and so will the semi-colonial countries. The latter include all the countries of Latin America, who are nominally free but in reality are dominated to one degree or another by the power of American capital.

Furthermore, American capital needs constantly to expand. It needs the entire world as its arena for profit-making. But the unfolding revolutionary movements for national independence and social and economic change in the colonies undermine the possibilities of that expansion. That is why the government of the United States — as the servant of Big Business — has set its face against these revolutions and aims to crush them.

The nakedly imperialist aim of the French government has won the hatred of the French working people for the Indo-Chinese war. They call it "the dirty war," and want to bring it to a close. That is the label that the American workers also should paste on the war, as they demand that the United States government get out and stay out of Indo-China and deny all further aid to the French.

...Queries of M'Carthy

(Continued from page 1)
20 or 21 years of treason' charge?"

"Hitler came to power by blaming 'Bolshevism' and a stab in the back" for Germany's post-war difficulties. Aren't you blaming America's social, economic and political problems on 'communism' and a 'stab in the back' because you hope to imitate Hitler's success?"

"Hitler came to power by building secret underground cells in the armed forces and other government departments which he used to demoralize and blackmail his opponents in the government. Are your fascist underground cells based on Hitler's example?"

FASCIST NETWORK

These underground cells are both McCarthy's strong point, politically speaking, and his weak point, legally speaking, and I wouldn't confine questions about them merely to where he got the idea. The members of the Senate committee have barely touched on this issue, which goes to the heart of McCarthyism and reveals the building of a fascist network right inside the state apparatus. But I'd hammer away at it:

"Remember that you're under oath and can be cited for con-

tempt if you refuse to answer. It's supposed to be illegal to steal secret government documents, to accept them or to divulge them. If an alleged 'communist' did this, he'd never escape jail. You yourself pilloried a scientist at Fort Monmouth as a spy because he took home some documents to work on in connection with his job, and you got him fired. Are you going to tell us the name of your underground agent who stole the FBI report from Army Intelligence — or are you going to plead the Fifth Amendment on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?"

"How many secret cells, composed of government employees whose first loyalty is to McCarthyism, are there in the Army? In the State Department? In the Central Intelligence Agency? Who are their leaders? How do they transmit information to you? How many high government officials have you intimidated, silenced or coerced into cooperation with this information — as you succeeded of the Army Stevens?"

WHY HE FEELS SAFE

I'd also take the opportunity to bring out the political reasons for McCarthy's arrogance and cocksureness:

"Why do you defy the administration to indict you for refusing to name the thieves who give you secret information? Do you know in advance that they have no intention of indicting you? Why? Because they still intend to use you to win election campaigns? Or because you have some blackmail grip on the White House too — as Hitler had over Hindenburg? Or because they would be afraid of your countercharge that such an indictment is designed to prevent your hunt for 'communists'?"

"Why in general are you so openly contemptuous of the Republicans and Democratic leaders? Because, although they pretend to dislike your methods, they imitate them so slavishly? Because, although they try to 'outflank' you, they only succeed in dancing to the tune that you call for the witch hunt as a whole? Because, although they think they can curb your power by 'outdoing' you as a witch hunter, they only stimulate the hysteria and heighten the atmosphere in which your political power is bound to grow?"

"Aren't you contemptuous of the Democrats and Republicans because you know they can never really smash McCarthyism as long as they accept and circulate your big lie that the United States is menaced by a 'communist conspiracy' that must be destroyed at all costs?"

WILL THEY BE ASKED?

McCarthy and McCarthyite fascism will never be stopped merely by asking him questions.

But they can be put on the spot and exposed if he is asked the right questions, whether he answers or evades them.

The questions I have posed are only a few of those that should be directed to McCarthy at the present hearings.

If there was a Labor Party Senator on the committee, he would be under pressure to put these questions — and others — to McCarthy.

Most of these are also questions that would be asked even by Democratic and Republican Senators who are seriously concerned about fighting McCarthyism.

But the odds are that neither the Democratic nor the Republican members of the Senate committee will ask most of these questions when McCarthy takes the stand.

Genuine anti-fascists will have to ask themselves: Why not?

Should Negroes Stick to Democratic Party?

By Fred Hart

At the end of World War II the leadership of the Communist Party launched a great hue and cry against the policy of class collaboration and revisionism which they had been following for the previous four years and which they gave the convenient name of "Browderism." Browder was made the sole scapegoat for this policy and expelled from the party. The Stalinists began to denounce the Democratic Party, helped to form the Progressive Party and swore that never again would they commit the "mistake" of supporting capitalist parties or the policy of the capitalist lesser evil.

Now it's 1954, and the Stalinists have published draft programs for Negro representation in office, which is growing and spreading. The Democrats are not "coming forward positively on this issue," they are "hedging," he complains. While the Republicans have Negro candidates for Congress in Philadelphia and Baltimore, the Democrats have only one new Negro candidate for Congress in Cleveland. The Republicans are doing this in order to "embarrass the Democratic Party," and Perry is worried; he wants the Democrats to avoid embarrassment by running more Negro candidates themselves.

It's not only the Democrats Perry is concerned about however: "For, if the situation continues as it is, sooner or later the Negro people will put the question: What is the value of the political alliance with the Democratic Party . . . ?"

THE QUESTION

That of course would be a terrible question — for the Democrats, and anyone else who wants to keep the Negroes tied to the Democrats. But it's a logical question for anyone who is concerned with advancing the political struggle against Jim Crow, whose chief buttress is the Democratic Party. The question is not only logical but inevitable, and the sooner it is asked and answered, the sooner the Negro people will be able to make genuine progress.

Yet it is this Democratic Party that the Stalinists today, as in the days of Browder, are urging and pleading the Negro people to elect and put in office.

What the Negro people need is a political alliance with the labor movement to form a new party, a Labor Party. The main obstacle to such a party is not the Negro people but the labor leaders, who continue to drag along behind the Democrats.

The question is: Must the Negroes march time patiently until the labor leaders eventually get into following them? The job of militant Negroes and their white allies is to break with the capitalist parties, not to infiltrate those parties in the illusion that they can be reformed. Our job is to work for a Labor Party and to help guide the growing movement for Negro representation in office in such a way that it won't become swallowed up in the mire of capitalist politics.

MUST NEGROES WAIT?

The Stalinists say the Negro movement must wait. That's because of the Kremlin's diplomatic aims. But it's also because they have no confidence in the independent role of the Negro.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

In Reply to a Reader — Part 3

Your letter criticizing this column and the Militant, Mr. S., challenges among other things our "economic" approach to the Negro question. Your argument runs somewhat as follows: (1) If the capitalist is interested primarily in making profits, and (2) Negroes are the last hired and first fired, and (3) the capitalists can make profits (super profits) by paying Negro workers less than white workers, then (4) why doesn't the capitalist hire cheaper Negro labor first, leaving white workers unemployed and therefore "willing to sell their labor power at much reduced rates?"

You conclude: "Either the capitalist isn't out for profits, or there is another solution." You evidently think the capitalist is out for profits, Mr. S., because you looked for another solution. You found one: that Negro labor is not as good or as productive as white labor because of a higher degree of absenteeism. But that is not the correct solution. Absenteeism exists among white workers (and capitalists) too, and has nothing to do with color.

The capitalist's power to determine what wages he will pay, and to choose whether he will hire white or Negro workers is not unlimited. Certain economic laws govern the actions of the capitalist class, certain "ground rules" of the profit system. First, they must hire labor, and they hire the labor available, whether colored or white. Secondly, the wages they pay are determined basically by what it costs to maintain the kind of working class they need under the given conditions of technological and social development, plus the bargaining strength of the working class.

Thus, the capitalist is able to discriminate in hiring and wages against Negro labor because, on the whole, this society has subjected Negroes to inferior living conditions and kept labor divided and therefore weakened in its bargaining strength and solidarity by pitting Negro workers against white, men against women, youth against age, various religious

and nationality groups against each other. A strong, united working class, conscious of its needs and role as a class, would not only be able to bargain more effectively to improve its lot, but could go much farther. It could change the ground rules by instituting a socialist organization of society based on production for use instead of profit, in which the artificial divisions between men would disappear because they would have no function. That is the goal we socialists seek.

When workers like you learn to stop cutting their own throats by swallowing capitalist rationalizations to justify their control of your life — including their "theories" on the Negro question — all humanity will take a giant step forward.

As for your questions on what that new society will look like in America, and whether we revolutionary socialists would not duplicate the tyranny and abuses of the Stalinists and others, I can only answer you briefly here. The crimes of Stalinism would not be repeated in the U.S. because the basic conditions which gave rise to Stalinism would not exist here — a backward economy, a small and weak working class, and a relatively strong world capitalist class. When the majority of the American workers adopt our program and organize a Socialist America, the capitalist limitations, restraints and perversions of democracy will be abolished. Material insecurity and danger of war will disappear. Differences of opinion will be an intellectual challenge and stimulus, not a basis for fear and class antagonisms to be settled by force and brutality.

For more details on our aims and methods, let me suggest you read a timely pamphlet, "America's Road to Socialism," by James P. Cannon. And for a better understanding of the real causes of racial discrimination, read the article, "When Anti-Negro Prejudice Began," in the current issue of the magazine, Fourth International.

Children in Court

By Joyce Cowley

"Children in Court," a new pamphlet published by the Public Affairs Committee, reports that in 1952 about 1,000,000 children tangled with the law and more than 385,000 wound up in Children's Courts. This is a 30% increase over 1948 and the figures for 1953 will be even higher.

These children stole more than half the cars stolen in 1952. They committed nearly one out of every two burglaries. They assaulted and raped and killed.

There are over 200 Children's Courts in the U.S., concentrated in eight states. In the other 40 states, juvenile cases are lumped in with other judicial proceedings. The courts in the eight fortunate states "with rare exceptions aren't working too well. They serve to reinforce the feeling the children already have of the world's hostility or indifference."

"What's wrong?" this pamphlet asks. The answers indicate — just about everything. First, no money. Courts don't have adequate appropriations with which to work.

Even if they had money, many of the judges have been appointed to discharge political debts and are not equipped to handle delinquent children.

If we did have good judges, they couldn't accomplish much. The court depends on its probation staff and half the counties in the U.S. don't have probation staffs. When they do, it's usually "overworked, inadequately trained, underpaid" and capable of giving "the most casual, routine, cursory service."

That's not all. If there were good probation services the courts would still have a tough time because many of the children must be "sent away" and there aren't enough "places" to send them. The institutions that do exist "aren't all the right kind." Schools intended for 200 children have as many as 400 and when "the population gets this big it is almost impossible for a training school staff to avoid using mass regimentation methods and arbitrary discipline." Everyone familiar with so-called "training schools" knows that the

children are trained for just one thing — a life of adult crime.

The pamphlet contains a detailed study of the Children's Court in New York City which does have a probation staff. Since the probation officers are able to see most children from five to 20 minutes a month, or one to four hours a year, I doubt that this staff is really helpful. They never get around to seeing some of the children.

Some of the judges are "both wise and humble" but apparently a great many are not. Some "order" children to promise better behavior or to read selected books. Some go in for lectures to parents and children on the desirability of good conduct. One judge doesn't believe in psychiatry and never reads the reports of psychiatric examinations. Another reads these reports but pays no attention to them, preferring his own "common sense." Some insist on regular church attendance and writing the Ten Commandments a given number of times. So far none of these measures has checked delinquency.

What can be done? The final section of the pamphlet attempts to answer this. It calls for a change in the method of appointing judges and suggests that judges receive post-appointment training. Every court, it says, should have a qualified probation staff. It asks for the expansion of shelters, treatment homes, psychiatric and guidance facilities.

It's O.K. to improve the courts, but what about the causes of delinquency? These children grow up either in economic insecurity or physical want. They grow up in the rapidly spreading slums, in basements, in firetraps, in rooming houses where five families are crowded into a five room apartment. They attend overcrowded schools in buildings that are dangerously old. Their playgrounds are the city streets where they pick up a lot of the education they miss in classrooms. I'd like to see a program for housing, schools and recreation that will eliminate the need for so many of these courts.

Notes from the News

TEACHERS PAY: School teachers throughout the U.S. get an average yearly salary of only \$3,605, according to the report in the March CIO Economic Outlook. Some 56% of all teachers get less than \$3,500; 14.1% less than \$2,500 and 41.7% between \$2,500 and \$3,500.

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LION'S SHARE: Who gets the lion's share of the \$3,917,000,000 in tax cuts provided in the latest Republican tax proposal (H.R. 8300)? The CIO's estimate is: "Corporations and the wealthiest families would get 95% of the tax cuts. All the rest of the people would get only 5% of the tax cuts."

** *

SERIOUS CRIME: William Vanderdoes, a worker at Fisher Body plant No. 1 in Flint who refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee at its witch hunt hearings here, was fired by General Motors. His offense? He is accused of "falsifying" his job application in 1949 by not listing the fact that he has a bachelor's degree in social science.

** *

M'CARTHY'S STANDARD: When a N.Y. Post columnist called the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee "pro-Communist" and "an apparent Communist front," the ECLC asked for a retraction. In return the editor of the Post, James Wechsler, demanded evidence from the committee that it "has taken a position in opposition to

the activities of the Communists here and abroad." Thus Wechsler, a favorite target of McCarthy, accepts McCarthy's standard — that you're "pro-Communist" if you don't prove you're "anti-Communist."

NAACP CONVENTION: The 45th annual convention of the NAACP will be held in Dallas June 29-July 4. A chief topic will be problems arising out of the Supreme Court decision on segregated schools.

"AIN'T I WONDERFUL!" — Simple, the outspoken and militant character by Langston Hughes in the Chicago Defender, had this to say about the Supreme Court decision on school segregation: "I don't see nothing for them to be proud of just doing what they ought to do. If they was doing something extra, yes, then be proud. But Negroes have a right to go to decent schools just like everybody else. So what's there to be proud of in that they are just now letting us in? They ought to be ashamed of themselves for keeping us out so long. I might have had a good education myself had it not been for white folks. If they want something to be proud of let them pay me for all the education I ain't got . . . it's just like you have had a foot on a man's head. You finally take your foot off and say: 'AIN'T I WONDERFUL! I DONE TOOK MY FOOT OFF YOUR HEAD!' I'll be dogged if I see anything so wonderful about that!"

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1954

NUMBER 24

Bitter Strike Struggle



A striking worker knocked to the ground outside Kohler plant, in Kohler, Wis., during picketline battle. Four union men were arrested after the Wisconsin employment relations board ruled CIO United Auto Workers Local 833 was picketing illegally. Some 3,500 are on strike. Company Pres. Herbert Kohler boasted he had guns in the plant and called for tear-gassing the pickets.

... Kutcher Hailed at Civil Liberties Rally

(Continued from page 1)

All he did was lose his legs in battle in war."

The committee also sent out a letter which gave details of the Kutcher appeal and urged support and attendance of the meeting.

SAD COMMENTARY

Attorney Lipsitz characterized Kutcher as "one of the most celebrated litigants of civil liberties cases of recent times." He also stated that it was "a sad commentary on the state of civil liberties that a meeting like this is under police surveillance."

This remark drew hearty applause from the audience, which had run a gauntlet of FBI and local police snipers stationed outside the hall.

The next speaker, Prof. Summers, described the work of the ACLU and told why it supported the case. He was followed by Rev. Adams, who spoke about the necessity of carrying thought into constructive action.

Lipsitz then presented the principal speaker of the evening, James Kutcher, who received a warm ovation. The audience listened with rapt attention as the undaunted fighter narrated the dramatic story of his six-year struggle to win reinstatement to the job he had lost as a result of the arbitrary action of the Attorney General. In an article accompanied by a picture of James Kutcher, the Buffalo Courier Express described the meeting: "A veteran who said he had been fired from his federal government job because of political activity made a vigorous attack last night against the Attorney General's practices in listing subversive organizations."

In the Buffalo Evening News report, Kutcher was quoted as saying:

"The attorney general labels an organization subversive without a hearing, without formal charges, and without having to prove that the group ever did anything disloyal or illegal. If that is democracy or due process of law, then Hitler was the greatest democrat of all time!"

The highlight of the speech was the challenge Kutcher threw out against McCarthy and his analysis of McCarthyism as the incipient form of American fascism. In ringing terms, which the Courier printed, he said: "The country is headed for fascism if the present trend of fear continues. . . . The main danger to liberty is here, not in Moscow. . . . I denounce McCarthyism as anti-labor, anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-scientific, anti-intellectual and fascist."

The article continued: "He said neither President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, Democratic leader, nor the Senate can be depended upon to oppose McCarthyism. Kutcher urged formation of a labor party for the job."

New Political Shift Shown In California Primaries

Early reports on the California primaries reveal a number of significant developments:

(1) Rep. Robert L. Condon (Dem.) running in the 6th District, won the Democratic primary. Condon was denounced by the Democratic national chairman, Stephen A. Mitchell, because he was denied access to the Nevada A-Bomb tests as a "poor security risk." The full weight of the witch hunters, Republican, Democratic and McCarthyite, was thrown against Condon in this election.

(2) State Senator Jack Tenney, notorious California fascist, was defeated for State Senate in both the Republican and Democratic primary. (California elections laws permit cross-filing of candidates in the primaries.) Tenney was vice-presidential candidate of G. L. K. Smith's Christian Nationalist Party in the 1952 election.

Tenney was chairman of the McCarthyite State Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities. He was one of the investigators of the "subversive list" technique. Recently McCarthy quoted approvingly Tenney's listing of the American Civil Liberties Union as a "Communist front organization."

The returns from the California primaries indicate the growth of opposition to the witch hunt in the working and middle classes. Condon's primary victory and Tenney's defeat are particularly significant in this respect. At issue in both these contests was the whole McCarthyite witch hunt.

These election results, when viewed in connection with the anti-Republican swing last November, point to a continuing political shift away from the GOP over the issues of unemployment, war and the witch hunt. The growing demand of the Negro people for representation in government is another sign of change in the current political situation.

These new anti-reactionary tendencies in the political mood of the working people receive the distorted expression of shifts between the two old parties.

These shifts, and the disappointments that follow them, will continue as long as labor permits the capitalists to maintain their monopoly, control of politics through the two-party system.

The working people's demands will not be satisfied until they build a party of their own, a Labor Party.

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The working people's demands will not be satisfied until they build a party of their own, a Labor Party.

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