

# AFL-CIO in Ohio Votes Adoption Of '30-for-40'

CLEVELAND, May 10—The AFL-CIO in the industrial state of Ohio went on record, May 8, favoring the establishment in contracts of a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. A resolution to that effect was passed unanimously by the merger convention here which was attended by 2,500 unionists representing over a million Ohio members of former AFL and CIO bodies.

In a generally militant mood, the assembly also called for unemployment compensation at 75% of weekly earnings, for extension of benefits to cover the entire period of unemployment, and for the immediate distribution of surplus food to the needy throughout Ohio.

The shorter-work-week resolution was introduced by United Steel Workers Local 1330 of Youngstown. Ted Dostal, delegate from the local and sole speaker on the resolution, pointed out how unemployment was being used to put the pressure on workers still employed and said that "the 30-for-40 demand symbolizes the fight against the bosses on both fronts."

## HIT McCLELLAN BODY

The remarks of Steel Workers Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel reflected the general militant opinion of the assembly on two important points—the "Right-to-Work" law fight in Ohio, and the McClellan Committee. On the "Right to Work," Abel said that he was disturbed by the complicity of some labor leaders in what he considered was a life or death fight for the union movement.

The motive behind the McClellan committee is to develop a public opinion that will support a shorter-work-week resolution.

## The Victims Of the Depression

See Page 2

## Readers Mail Donations To Socialist Fund Drive

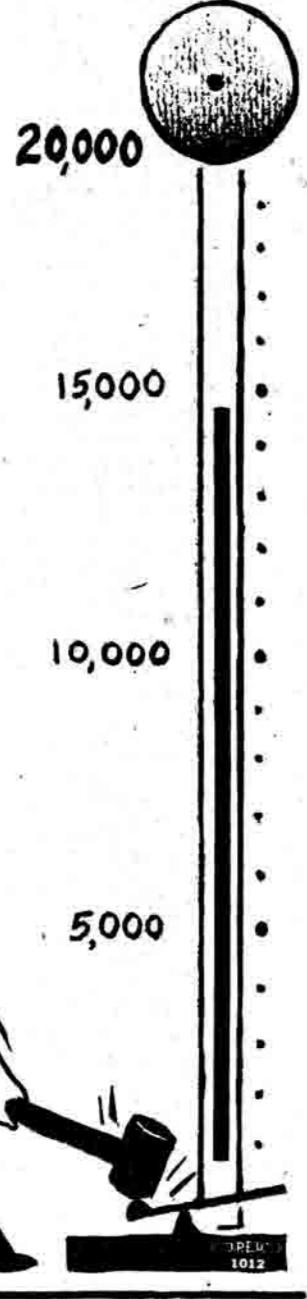
By Murry Weiss  
National Fund Drive Director

MAY 14—The spring \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund for 1958 will wind up a three-month drive on May 31—just 17 days from this writing. Branches of the Socialist Workers Party have already turned in close to \$15,000. While this sum is short of what it should be at this point by some 9%, emphatic assurances continue to come in from the Fund Directors that the branches will reach their quotas in full and on time. (See Scoreboard, page 4.)

It will surely be heartening to those who are doing the tough, persistent job of making this drive a success to learn that contributions from sympathizers and friends are more numerous and larger than in many years. In response to our appeal to subscribers of the *Militant* we received donations from friends in 17 cities who are not in contact with any branch of the Socialist Workers Party. One contribution of \$25 came from upstate New York, another of \$20 came from Georgia.

Branch fund directors also report a new high for recent years in contributions from friends of the SWP. Eloise Fickland, SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, who is also Philadelphia Fund Director, reports that \$109 has come in from friends of the party and that another \$50 is pledged. Twin Cities Fund Director Fannie Curran also reports a record \$271 collected from friends and sympathizers.

Responses in the mail as well as direct reports from the branches indicate warm support for the idea of a United Socialist Ticket in the 1958 Congressional and state elections. Some contributors to the Fund do not agree with the Socialist Workers Party on a number of questions. However, they feel that the SWP is doing its utmost to advance the cause of socialist opposition to the capitalist parties and to realize a united front of socialists in electoral activity, and they want to throw their support behind such efforts.



## Mich. Socialists Qualify for November Ballot

DETROIT, May 12—The Socialist Workers Party has qualified for a place on the Michigan ballot in November. Robert M. Montgomery, state elections director, was quoted by the Detroit News as stating last Tuesday.

Formal certification will not take place until the State Board of Canvassers meets sometime during the next two months. Montgomery's statement means that his staff has completed its check of Socialist Workers Party petitions, finds them qualified, and will recommend certification.

Altogether, the SWP submitted 35,500 petitions—including 4,000 on the last filing date as "insurance."

Montgomery also said: "We are waiting for one city to report on a check of petitions filed by the Socialist Labor Party. If the report is favorable, this party apparently also will qualify." The SLP submitted over 21,000 signatures.

Montgomery said his staff is

(Continued on Page 3)

# THE MILITANT

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## Latin American People Show Hatred of Wall St.

### Army Clique In Algeria Makes Coup

Delegates to the convention of the 400,000-member Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which opened in Atlantic City, May 12, cheered a proposal for a federal law to cut the work week to 35 hours in all industries. Jacob S. Potofsky, the union's president, made the proposal in his keynote speech. He said the shorter-work week was a necessary permanent measure against business slumps.

In Miami Beach, Florida, the convention of the 250,000-member Textile Workers Union of America is expected to adopt a similar proposal. In a May 12 report to the convention recommending measures to fight unemployment, the union's executive board advocated a 35-hour week.

The clique was headed by Gen. Jacques Massu, a paratrooper commander who has been in charge of organizing the French reign of terror over the Arab population of Algiers. Massu is a special favorite of the rich and privileged French colonists of Algeria who oppose any compromise with the Algerian revolution. The colonists and their supporters in France insist on continuing the attempt to crush the Algerians by all-out military repression.

SEEK COMPROMISE

The fear that this policy is doomed to failure has led more moderate French capitalists, as well as U.S. and British interests, to press for a compromise that would still retain essential imperialist stakes in North Africa.

Massu's move was made after Pierre Pflimlin, a member of the Roman Catholic Popular Republican Party, who was thought to favor an attempted compromise in Algeria, was designated as the new premier of France.

After seizing power in Algeria, Massu broadcast an appeal for the army to take power in France under General deGaulle and prevent the National Assembly from accepting Pflimlin. Though rightist mobs demonstrated in Paris, the call received no widespread support in France. DeGaulle neither rejected nor accepted Massu's appeal.

Early May 14, the Assembly, by a block of the social democratic, center and moderate right-wing parties—with the Communist Party abstaining—voted Pflimlin in as Premier.

Pflimlin appealed for allegiance from the Army in Algeria and implied that he would not take a "soft" line toward the Arab people. Then Massu disclaimed any insurrectionary intentions and implied a pledge of obedience to the new Paris government.

**Mich. Socialists Qualify for November Ballot**



### U.S. Big Business Also Hit by Popular Rising in Lebanon

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MAY 14—The trigger-happy Big-Business-dominated government in Washington responded to outbursts of anti-U.S. feeling on two continents by rushing marines, para-troopers and sailors to the scene. One thousand U.S. marines were air-lifted to bases in Cuba and Puerto Rico, May 13, in preparation for a quick trip South as thousands of Venezuelans demonstrated their hatred for U.S. economic and political domination in Latin America. The next day, May 14, twelve U.S. warships, under "secret orders" were swiftly dispatched toward the coast of Lebanon in the Middle East. Supplies of ammunition, gas and gas masks were rushed by air to the Lebanese government, hit by six days of general strike and street fighting in opposition to the pro-West regime of Camille Chamoun, a foe of the Arab national independence revolution.

The growing hatred for Wall-Street-inspired policy was made abundantly clear as U.S. representatives in two nations simultaneously had to barricade themselves behind Embassy doors. In Caracas, Nixon was confined inside the U.S. embassy, protected by about 50 military police armed with rifles and machetes that "can slice a man's head off," while preparations were made for his hasty departure. He left the embassy today in a bullet-proof limousine as all traffic was cleared along the route and tanks and armored cars stood on guard at intersections.

The U.S. embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, was also shuttered up and under heavy guard after a second unsuccessful bombing attempt on the building. From 3,000 to 4,000 U.S. citizens were warned by Ambassador James McClintock, May 13, "to lay in a reserve water supply, extra gasoline and at least a week's food supply" and to "avoid all discussions of the political situation." Two U.S. Information Service libraries earlier were sacked and burned.

#### 'GOODWILL' SALESMAN

The U.S. State Department is as much accustomed to anti-U.S. outbursts in the Middle East. But Washington officials were shocked at the widespread hostility that greeted Nixon's

"goodwill" tour of South America. The Vice-President met angry shouts of "Go Home!", "Little Rock" and "Death to Yankee Imperialism!" all the way from Uruguay to Venezuela.

An eye-witness report of the Caracas protest demonstrations by Earl Mazo, N.Y. Herald Tribune, May 14, described how Nixon, on arriving at the airport, approached some mechanics who applauded him. "They were perhaps the only people in Caracas, outside officialdom, to show Mr. Nixon a warm welcome."

As the Nixon motorcade approached the city of Caracas, according to Mazo, "on all sides knots of people, young and old, (Continued on Page 4)

## One-Third of Nation Still 'III-Housed, III-Clad, III-Fed'

An Editorial

More than 21 years ago, in his Second Inaugural Address, Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a promise of a "New Deal" for the "one-third of a nation . . . ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."

Two wars and a military-spending boom later we still await the fulfillment of that promise. More than a third of the American people still live in poverty, at subsistence level. Another third live just above the mere subsistence level but do not enjoy the minimum comfort and decency standards fixed by government and social agencies.

We have been the victims of a capitalist myth. This is the myth that the vast majority of the American people are living "high off the hog." The sad—the sordid—truth is that the greater number of Americans are poor by any acceptable standards and lack the essentials of decent, healthful living.

The Federal Reserve Board itself is authority for the above conclusions. Its recent report on the division of family incomes reveals these startling facts:

In 1957, over one third of American families, 34%, received under \$3,000 before taxes.

Another 24% received between \$3,000 and \$4,999.

About 25% got \$5,000 to \$7,499 and the top 17% were in the \$7,500-and-over category.

You can get some idea of what a family income of less than \$3,000 a year means today by considering the following fact:

Ten years ago, in 1948, the Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, in its study, "Low Income Families and Economic Stability," fixed the "minimum budget necessary for a family of four persons" at more than \$3,200 a year.

Allowing for an officially admitted 30% rise in living costs since 1947, the "minimum budget necessary for a family of four persons" today would be not \$3,200 a year, but \$4,160. Remember, that's for bare subsistence. No luxuries, no big medical expenses—just to keep going from day to day.

In fact, more than two-thirds of the American people in the boom year of 1956, before any recession had set in, failed to enjoy even the minimum of what is considered the "American way of life." In September 1956, the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California fixed its budget for a family of four at \$5,593, or nearly \$108 a week. That's after the taxes were paid. Some 75% of U.S. families in 1957 had incomes less than \$5,593—before taxes.

The capitalist propagandists are skilled in clouding the picture of life in America under statistical "averages" like the government figures on unemployment. Last month, for instance, the government agencies released the figure of close to 5,200,000 unemployed. This meant that on any one day 5,200,000 workers were seeking jobs.

But in the course of this year, according to a Census Bureau study, there will have been 20 million out of work at some time for periods of two weeks or more. "Our projection indicates unemployment will average around 5,000,000 but that will mean 20,000,000 seeking jobs at one time or another and getting sharp income cuts through no fault of their own."

Even in "booming" 1956, the report reveals, "approximately 10,000,000 different persons were unemployed . . . at some time" during the year.

This is the real American way of life—in good times and bad. Tens of millions of people hanging over the abyss of destitution. Scores of millions hounded by fear and insecurity, never knowing when their jobs will be snatched from them. And when depression strikes, as it is doing now, we see the true face of capitalism. We invite you to turn to Page 2 for an entire page devoted to the human side of capitalist crisis.

Capitalism is no good now and never has been—not for the working people. We need something better—a lot better. And that something can only be the non-profit socialist system.

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1—Miles B. Dunne, versatile and colorful leader in the union and socialist movement in this area, died of cancer here yesterday. He was one of the celebrated Dunne brothers who helped lead Minneapolis truck drivers to victory in their historic 1934 organizing strike which triumphed over police terror and martial law.

"Mick" Dunne was born in Little Falls, Minn., in 1896. His family moved to Minneapolis when he was a child. There his father became a railroad worker, member of the Maintenance of Way union, and participant in the hard-fought 1922 Shopmen's strike.

#### BECOMES SOCIALIST

"Mick" graduated from South High in Minneapolis, working during summer periods to help support his family. After graduation, he worked as a telephone linesman until going overseas in the signal corps in World War I. He came back from that experience—which included occupation duty—a convinced socialist.

Along with his brothers, Vincent and Bill, he was a leading

militant in the early Communist Party. In 1928 he was part of the Trotskyist Left Opposition that was bureaucratically expelled from the party. With Vincent and another brother, Grant, he was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the new movement that became the Socialist Workers Party.

The work he did writing and directing plays for the Workers Club did much to help finance early issues of the *Militant*. After the 1929 crash he found work in the Minneapolis coal yards, as did Grant and Vincent. The Dunne brothers, Carl (Continued on Page 3)

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# The True Face of Capitalism — and Its Victims

## A Documentary Of the American Way of Life

(It is true that the United States is the wealthiest country in the world. But it is also true that America has the widest extremes between the poor and the rich, the workers and the capitalists, the producers and the parasites. In the past period of war-inflated boom, these extremes have been more easily glossed over. But now the economic crisis has become so severe that the real horrors of capitalism can no longer be ignored or concealed.

Even the capitalist press is compelled to give increasing glimpses of the true face of capitalism. This page is made up entirely of a sampling of the many published items our staff has gleaned in recent weeks, primarily from leading capitalist newspapers and press services, reciting the human toll the profit system is taking here in the richest country of all. Not one word is ours. We quote only the exact words of those mainly whose chief task is to glorify and defend capitalism. Let their own words convict it.)



Detroit was one of the first areas in the country to be hit by the economic slump. Unemployment Compensation offices like this one were filling up almost a year ago. Today there are thousands of auto workers who are in the desperate plight of having exhausted their benefits.

The Welfare people say I am allowed \$3 for an iron, but tell me, where can I find an iron for \$3?

Six years of security came to an end for the Mitchells last November when Don lost his job as foreman in a barrel factory. The two had met on the assembly line there. . . For his failure to find work since, he bitterly blames "the depression." "Not recession. There is no recession," he said. It's a depression." (N.Y. Post, April 29.)

DETROIT, May 4 . . . The mother stood with her five children in the shabby parlor that has a two-foot hole in the plaster beside the television set. The 10-year-old said he didn't want to go out to play — the other kids on the block teased him too much because his blue jeans were six inches too short and full of patches.

"I've always tried to keep my family clean and decent, but now their clothes are just falling apart," the mother said wearily. She was a slim, graceful woman, soft-spoken and looking younger than her 30 years.

She told of the troubles that had piled up since her husband, a Navy veteran, lost his job as a welder in the Chrysler body division Sept. 6. One child fell off the back steps and had a concussion. Another had to go to the hospital for treatment of infected sinuses. By then the Blue Cross had lapsed and the medical bills came to \$300. The washing machine conked out in December and the transmission in the '48 Ford called it a day a couple of months later. They kept up their \$80 monthly rent until February, but by the time they drew their last weekly insurance check for \$48 a month ago their original savings of \$200 had turned into a \$200 debt to a finance company and an unpaid installment of \$15 on their sewing machine. (A. H. Reskin, N.Y. Times, May 4.)

DETROIT, April 15 . . . just drop in at UAW Local No. 3, across from the big, dingy old Dodge motor plant in Hamtramck . . . I had hardly introduced myself when Richard, a still-young man who had been working for Dodge for 10 years as a crane and elevator-hoist operator, rather hesitantly entered to ask Big Pete if he knew "anywhere where they were hirin'."

Big Pete said bitterly: "Boy, you can't buy a job in this damn room town." Richard nodded disconsolately, as though this were the answer he expected. . .

Richard was followed by sturdy old Charles, 15 years a torch welder, who "done all the show jobs for his company except one year."

After Charles came Herman, the slow-spoken southerner, who was threatened with repossession of his car. The procession went on all morning, and all the men who had the same essential problem.

All suddenly had their income cut in half, after nine or 10 or 11 years of steady work on the same job. Like most of Detroit's other tens of thousands of jobless auto workers, all were now between nine and 13 weeks away from the end of their unemployment benefits, when there would be no income at all.

All had time payments to make, which they could hardly carry even now. (Joseph Alsop, Detroit Free Press, April 15.)

DETROIT, April 15 . . . Ringing doorbells along the gray streets, you find the same story. Only here, it is grimmer and more poignant, for one actually sees the furniture and the washers and the cars and the homes that are in danger.

You see the children "who drink water now," and the harassed wives who "don't know how we can manage much longer," and the men who seem unable to overcome their surprise at being at home on a working day.

One becomes obsessed by the thought of "the end of the 26 weeks" (of benefits), which all these people spoke of with a sort of defeated dread. . . (Joseph Alsop, Detroit Free Press, April 15.)

### ... Or You Roll Steel

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 26 — The recession is "a real depression" to most of the 530,000 residents of Mahoning Valley, the nation's third-ranking steel producing area.

Hardest hit are the younger steelworkers, those with the least seniority according to the union contract. One of these is Thomas McNulty, 35-year-old father of four children, ages 11, 9, 7 and 5.

Mr. McNulty, a second helper in the open hearth plant of United States Steel's Ohio works in Youngstown, was furloughed last Jan. 5. His take-home pay had been about \$125 for forty hours. He and his family now live on his \$39 a week compensation, plus a little earned by Mrs. McNulty as a part-time clerk in a grocery store.

In 1956, the McNulty's put \$3,000 down on a \$14,000 home in Canfield, a Youngstown suburb, and their payments are \$95 a month.

"I'm a couple months behind," Mr. McNulty says, "but my father is helping me keep up the interest, so the bank hasn't given me any trouble yet. But I don't know how they'll feel if I don't get back on the job soon and start paying up."

He also bought a 1956 Ford on which his monthly payments are \$62. "I expect I'll lose it pretty soon," he says. . . (North American Newspaper Alliance.)

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 26 . . . Paul Kotch, a crane operator in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Blooming mill, who lost his job last Christmas week, used to average \$110 a week. He's 30, has a five-year-old daughter, his wife expects another child soon, and he's the sole support of his widowed mother.

"We're existing on the \$36 a week I get from the compensation," Mr. Kotch says. He's now two months behind on the \$60 monthly payments on the home in Campbell he's trying to buy.

Valley merchants are participating in the national "Buy Now" drive. The stores, restaurants and bars are placarded with

the slogan: "You auto buy now . . . keep Youngstown business healthy." Penciled beneath many of them is the cynical remark: "with what?" (North American Newspaper Alliance, April 26.)

### "And Where Will We Go?"

The fact is that the last 30 years have changed our economy far less than most of us had supposed. For example, it was long my innocent notion that the New Deal mortgage law had done away with the foreclosure and made home ownership safe.

Then I went to Detroit and found numbers — not great numbers but certainly depressing ones — of unemployed auto hands being thrown out of the houses I presumed they owned. They were members of the new middle class who were supposed to have escaped the landlord and become their own masters.

But, of course, they weren't being foreclosed. They never had title to those houses. They would get title only when they finished their payments. They had no equity for whatever they had put in until then; they might as well have been tenants. One month after they missed a payment, they were on their way out. . . (Murray Kempson, N.Y. Post, April 18.)

Gus Makridakis knows his trade. He's been at it for 43 years. But, for the first time, he cannot get a job. "I've never seen times so hard," he declared. "Not even in the 30's. I worked all the time then. But now . . ." he spread his fingers hopelessly.

Gus, 61, and father of six, has been trying to get a waiter's job since January.

He didn't worry much then. After all, he had always obtained jobs before. But he suddenly became ill and had to be hospitalized for major surgery.

By the time he had regained some of his strength and started looking again, there just wasn't any work.

"He had made \$70 to \$90 a week, with tips and all," according to his wife, Helen.

"But with six children, four of them still at home, and my mother, we didn't get a chance to save much."

Because of the large family, the Makridakises couldn't find an adequate apartment when they moved here from New Jersey three years ago.

So, they sold their house and made a down payment on a five room home in a pleasant, tree-lined section of Jamaica, at 89-15 184th Pl.

Mrs. Makridakis, 40, broke into tears as she talked. "Now we've received a notice of foreclosure," she said.

"We have put over \$5,000 into the house, but what really matters is what will happen when we lose it."

"We don't have anything to put down on another one this time. And where will we go?"

As she talked, she carefully tucked her feet, covered by worn white shoes, under the folds of her simple cotton house-dress. "Don't take my picture," she pleaded. "This is all I have to wear." (N.Y. Post, April 30.)

### Whether You Build Autos...

DETROIT . . . His unemployment insurance ended two months ago and he took his wife to move in with her widowed sister and two youngsters in a hotbox that looks like a transplant from Tobacco Road. He has a road-weary Ford he bought second-hand four years ago and on which he already has paid more than \$500. He still owes \$310.60 on it, but it is so dilapidated that the finance company never bothered to come and haul it away.

"They've took about everything else," this ex-Chrysler assembler said in his uncomplaining way. "They took my bedroom set and my living room set. I owed \$300 on them. Then they took my gas cabinet range. I lacked \$100 on that." (A. H. Reskin, N.Y. Times, May 4.)

DETROIT . . . The hot sun brought hundreds of jobless to the banks of the Detroit River to fish and doze. The perch were not biting, but that did not bother anyone much. A metal finisher in his twelfth week of layoff at Fisher Body looked up and down the line of D.P.'s from other auto plants on the embankment, and said:

"After awhile just sitting around the house gets you down. You look at TV till the last show goes off and then you have nothing to do till you start looking tomorrow. What with the wife being nervous, you're always getting into arguments. The other day she said to me, 'I see in the paper where President Eisenhower says 300,000 people got jobs last month. Why weren't you one of them?' I only wish the President would tell me how to get from the fishing line to the assembly line." (A. H. Reskin, N.Y. Times, May 4.)

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## THE MILITANT

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Vol. XXII — No. 20

Monday, May 19, 1958

## Kremlin's Attack on Tito

The bitter propaganda campaign suddenly launched by the Kremlin April 19 against the Yugoslav Communist Party appeared to have abated within the same week, halfway through the Yugoslav CP's Congress. Then, ten days later it was hotbed up again by a blistering attack on Titoism by the Chinese CP. The next day Pravda reprinted the Chinese article and then the whole press of the East European countries, except Poland, again started baying in chorus against Yugoslavia.

The tone of the attacks are the most ominous since the days of Stalin's anti-Tito campaign of 1948. It has reached the point where Pravda (May 9) makes heavy-handed hints of economic sanctions, and diplomatic notes threatening such punitive measures reportedly have been delivered to Belgrade.

The unexplained suddenness and virulence of the campaign against the Yugoslav regime, as well as its seeming off-again-on-again tempo, has aroused all sorts of speculation. It is not yet clear what are the precise motives of the ruling Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats.

But if American workers find it puzzling to figure out what the anti-Yugoslav flare-up is about, think of what it must be for the Soviet workers. After a period of restored USSR-Yugoslav friendship they wake up one morning to discover in Pravda that "their" policy toward Yugoslavia and its Communist Party has suddenly taken an alarmingly bitter turn. Skilled readers between the

lines though they have become, they cannot find out what the Yugoslavs are saying in their own defense. Will Tito again be discovered to be an "imperialist agent" and a "fascist"? Will economic and diplomatic relations be ruptured and border incidents be provoked as in 1948? The Soviet workers do not know, cannot voice their opinions on the subject, and have no legal way of influencing "their" foreign policy. This is the actuality of the bureaucratic rule in the USSR, which despite mitigations and modifications has not basically altered from Stalin's days.

Nor has there been a basic change in the relationship of the Kremlin to the countries of East Europe. The threat of economic reprisals against Yugoslavia shows that all Moscow's fine talk of fraternity, equality, mutual respect, non-interference in internal matters, was only talk. Yugoslavia is a very poor and technologically backward country. Disruption of its economic plans by cancellation of Soviet commitments would cause the working people of that country great suffering. Moreover it would increase the pressures on the Tito regime to make opportunist deals with imperialism out of desperation.

While in no way endorsing the whole Yugoslav draft program, which is far from a Leninist document — but not as outrageous a travesty of Marxism as is the Kremlin critique of it, socialists should defend the Yugoslavs' present stand for the right to differ from Moscow and Peking. For that is the right to their independence as a nation.

## Chronic Unemployment

It's a rare day when a Big Business politician offers the public a basic truth about capitalism. Senator George Aiken (R-Vt.) did so in a May 1 speech in which he pointed out that mounting unemployment "is more or less a chronic situation rather than a temporary one" and that the present situation would have developed a long time ago, "but we were bailed out by two wars."

To cope with chronic unemployment, Aiken suggested consideration of such

measures as a shorter work week, a guaranteed annual wage and profit-sharing.

A shorter work week without reduction in take-home pay would certainly go far in easing unemployment. But Aiken's basic point—that it took two bloody wars to "bail out" the capitalist economy—is a strong argument for a far more basic solution, namely, to replace the depression and war-breeding system of production for profits with a rational system of planned production for use.

## Source of War Danger

By Harry Ring

MAY 13 — The recent sharpening of the diplomatic conflict between the Soviet and U.S. governments led many political observers to believe that the projected summit conference would not be held. Since Washington has from the outset been extremely reluctant to participate in a heads-of-state parley it was assumed that it had now found a way out. But the current consensus is that the conference remains definitely slated. According to a May 11 Washington dispatch by Robert J. Donovan in the Herald Tribune, the prevailing view in Washington is that it will be held "before the end of 1958."

Explaining why, Donovan cuts through the surface complexities of U.S.-Soviet diplomatic maneuver and puts his finger directly on the powerful social force that is driving the Western powers to the summit. **WORLD OPINION**

Posing the question of why Washington sees a conference as "inevitable," he writes: "The answer is that the force of world opinion, especially in the uncommitted countries, is driving this as well as other Allied governments to make every visible effort—including a willingness to attend a summit conference—to lessen the threat of nuclear war."

The continuing growth of this anti-war sentiment is one of the key factors of current international politics. Spurred by growing mass recognition of the horrifying consequence of atomic war, it has already become a substantial factor in slowing down the drive toward World War III. A key question for humanity is whether this sentiment will crystallize into a movement capable of eliminating the threat of war completely.

Indispensable to such a development is a clear understanding of the source of the war danger. As with any mortal disease, the prospects for its elimination are contingent on striking at the source of the infection.

Since it initiated the cold

war more than a decade ago, the Big Business government in Washington has sought to prove that the peril of war springs from a Soviet plot to dominate the world.

### WHO ENCIRCLES WHOM?

A current example of such propaganda is the May 11 Minneapolis speech by John Foster Dulles, in which he stridently declared that the United States and its allies will not "sit idly by" to be more and more encircled by a hostile despotism which seeks to strangle us."

But such pronouncements aren't getting the same response that they did previously. Too many people in too many countries are keenly aware that the image presented by Dulles is the direct opposite of the reality.

Soviet bases are confined within the borders of East Europe. But a network of U.S. bases, stretching across five continents, encircle Soviet borders. The reality of who is doing the encircling was spelled out in the May 11 New York Times by military expert Hanson W. Baldwin. He wrote:

"We have a powerful—though small—army near the dangerous Iron Curtain in Germany. We have the inestimable advantage of overseas bases virtually ringing the Soviet Union; and we have floating, mobile bases at sea capable of reaching . . . deep into the Eurasian heartland . . ."

In the same article, Baldwin strikes a new blow at the propaganda hoax that the war danger springs from an ever-present prospect of Soviet aggression. On the basis of a many-sided political and military analysis, Baldwin concludes, "there is very little likelihood of a deliberately planned, coldly conceived Soviet nuclear attack."

It is worth recalling some of the available expert testimony substantiating Baldwin's conclusion. Defense Secretary Elroy told the press April 11 that he "can sleep at night" because he knows there is no

danger of a Soviet attack. A day later it was revealed that General Albert Wedemeyer had secretly testified to Congress that "he is convinced that the Soviet Union does not intend to precipitate a new war." And just a year ago last April Dulles himself testified to Congress that the only "serious danger" of Soviet attack lies in the chance it might misunderstand U.S. intentions.

### THE REAL DANGER'

Perhaps the most revealing admission was made by the Central Intelligence Agency chief, Allen Dulles, who told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, April 28, that "the USSR does not intend to use its military power in such a way as to risk general war." The real danger, he explained, springs from the enormous progress made by the socialized economy in the USSR.

The giant strides made by Soviet industry, he said, particularly at a time when American production has been crippled by the recession, is helping to convince many people, that, particularly in the underdeveloped countries, nationalized property, not capitalism, is the key to social progress.

At the same time, he added, the USSR is engaging in increased trade with Western Europe and Asia. This, he warned, constitutes a serious threat to "traditional" U.S. areas of economic exploitation and profit-making.

Determined to ultimately stamp out this "threat" and save the world for capitalist exploitation, American Big Business policy makers have stretched U.S. military frontiers to the very borders of the USSR.

Clearly then, the movement to prevent war must have as its target the capitalist system that generates the war drive. Throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, increasing numbers of people are recognizing this essential fact. When the American working people will also come to agree, humanity will be well along the road to enduring peace.

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

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Vol. XXII — No. 20

Monday, May 19, 1958

# —A Tribute to Miles Dunne—

By James P. Cannon

For the past year the press has been filled with exposures of union leaders who abused their trust for personal gain. Other "labor statesmen" and exponents of business unionism, who draw down fat salaries and expense accounts and think and live like capitalists, are praised because they don't steal from the union treasury.

The death of Miles ("Mick") Dunne reminds us that the union movement of our time has known labor organizers and leaders of a different breed. Indeed, the high-salaried officials, who today dictate in air-conditioned suites and ride in chauffeured Cadillacs, are living off the achievements of these pioneering militants.

### PARSONS' LINEAGE

Mick Dunne, of mixed Irish, French and Indian ancestry, was a true son of that generation of hard-fighting, incorruptible labor organizers to which Big Bill Haywood, Frank Little and Gene Debs belonged and which traced its lineage back to Albert Parsons and the Haymarket martyrs. The activities of such men were guided by two stars. One was the organization of the unorganized into powerful unions to buck the tight-fisted corporations. The other was the ideal of a workers' world which could build a socialist society where men could at last be free and equal.

These became Mick's aims, too, as soon as he reached the age of reason. He steered his whole life course by them. Like his well-known brothers, Vincent and Grant, he shared the ups and downs, the hard knocks and good times of wandering



Miles B. Dunne addressing a banquet held in Minneapolis by the Workers Defense League, Jan. 28, 1945, to welcome home Socialist Workers Party members who were railroaded to prison under the Smith Act. Miles Dunne was also indicted but his case was dropped. At table, from left to right, are Carl Skoglund, Grace Carlson, Vincent Dunne and Oscar Coover.

worker's life from the days of the First World War to the end of the Big Boom of the 1920's.

Destiny knocked on his door during the depth of the depression when he was slaving as a driver in the coal yards of Minneapolis. Together with his brother Vincent, Farrell Dobbs, Karl Skoglund, Harry DeBoer and others, he formed the initial nucleus of that group of rank-and-file truckdrivers who were to inscribe an unforgettable page in the history of the Minneapolis — and American — labor movement.

### TRUCKDRIVER BATTLES

With nothing but firm wills, a sound class struggle policy, and confidence in the capacities of their fellow workers, they organized the coal drivers, wrested recognition from the companies, and then proceeded to extend unionism to other sections of the teamsters. Mick

Dunne showed what stuff he was made of in those turbulent battles of 1933-34-35 when the foundations of the new unionism were established.

The struggles for union recognition and conditions in those days were fought out and decided on the streets and in front of the plants and often involved pitched battles with scabs, police, deputies. There were government arbitrators at work, too, but the men of Minneapolis knew the score and never relied upon their good will. They depended upon the force of an alert, informed, educated rank and file.

### AIDED OTHER UNIONS

By such methods the team of leaders including Mick Dunne overthrew the open shop in Minneapolis, created the most militant and democratic union in the Northwest, and expanded the power of the teamsters

through the Middle West. Rising with his union, Mick became President of the Teamsters Joint Council. His advice was cherished and heeded because it had proved its worth in action. He was often called upon by workers in adjoining areas to lend a hand in their organizing drives, notably by the gas-workers in St. Louis.

Mick could be as serious as the next fellow when the occasion demanded, but he did not practice the creed of postponing enjoyment until the millennium. "He took his fun where he found it," and he found it wherever he was. Always ready with a quip or a practical joke, and willing to hoist another one with the boys at the bar, he was undoubtedly the best-liked person in Minneapolis labor circles.

Mick stood ace-high in the estimation of his brother teamsters. He could have kept his posts and climbed still higher — had he agreed to disregard his conscience and class feeling. But he wasn't born or built that way. He could rise with his class but never out of it and beyond it at the workers' expense.

The unpostponable collision with the forces of bureaucratism and corruption brought him face to face with this decision in 1940-41. Prodded by the employers and for his own reasons, President Tobin of the Teamsters International demanded that Local 544 line up for the approaching war, abandon its progressive, class struggle policies, sacrifice its autonomy and democracy, and become part of the bureaucratic machine.

### SMITH ACT DEFENDANT

Mick and his associates answered that ultimatum with one of their own: "We'll resist — and go down, if necessary, with colors flying." Tobin hewed all the resources of a despotic administration against the stiff-necked rebels of Minneapolis: receivership, expulsions, attacks by hundreds of imported goons, court injunctions, intervention by city and state officials. All that was not enough. Then Tobin appealed to Roosevelt for aid; the FBI and Justice Department stepped in and the Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party leaders were indicted in the first applications of the Smith Act.

Mick went on trial with the rest but his case was dismissed on a technicality. After he returned to the life of a worker who had to pay the penalty for his beliefs and loyalty to his fellows by being hounded from job to job. He died as he lived — an unflinching soldier of labor with brilliant capacities for leadership and unshakable devotion to the cause of his class.

It is important for the young generation who view the labor upsurge of the 1930's across the

## ... Miles Dunne Dies

(Continued from Page 1)

Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs and others then began the slow, uphill work that made Minneapolis a union town.

During this first period, "Mick" and Carl Skoglund succeeded in attaining and holding membership in the then tiny Teamsters Union. This was no small feat. The union heads had little stomach for taking on the job of expanding the union — particularly since they knew it inevitably meant a clash with the powerful union-busting employer agency, the Citizens Alliance. Twice "Mick" was dropped from union membership for insisting on the need to organize the coal yards. But finally he and Skoglund convinced the best of the union members and opened the way for the admission of others into the union.

### 100 STRIKES

"Mick" was in the forefront of the 1934 strike battles and after victory was won, played a big role in organizing other

union locals in the area. From 1934 to 1941 he played a leading role in over 100 victorious organizing strikes.

With a talent for simple, popular writing, Miles Dunne was responsible for many socialist leaflets and union publications of the time. He was editor of the extremely popular voice of the Minneapolis truck drivers, the Northwest Organizer, which was born as a daily strike paper in 1934. During the strike the paper was sold to thousands of avid readers on Minneapolis street corners and played a key role in raising strike funds as well as in mobilizing public support.

He remained managing editor of the paper after his election as secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Joint Council and president of Local 544.

He is survived by his wife, Jewell, his brothers, Vincent, Fenton and Paul, and his sister, Mrs. Hazel Chase.

"Mick" Dunne and his good work will not be forgotten.

Winter stressed also that radicals must not now engage in actions which might isolate them from the mass of the union movement, but ought to play supporting part in progressive actions organized by the unions. This was the only way in which he dealt with the question of running independent socialist candidates.

Breitman said the Socialist Workers Party rejects both the policy of abstention from elections and other factors had made it difficult to explore possibilities for such a ticket in Michigan this year, and expressed the SWP's hope that it would be achieved in this state in time for the 1960 elections.

Shenkar reported that the United Detroit Forum is planning open-air meetings during the summer months. Those who want to receive notices should write him, 26301 West Hills Drive, Inkster, Mich.

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# The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

## The Negro 'Summit' Meeting

"Wait old horse and you'll get hay," was in essence Eisenhower's advice to the gathering of 350 Negro editors and leaders in Washington, D.C. But knowing the story's end (the horse finally died of malnutrition), the listeners overwhelmingly criticized Eisenhower's admonitions of "patience" and "forbearance" on integration and civil rights.

Though his speech was a collection of "brotherhood" banalities, as is usually the case with speeches of capitalist politicians to Negro audiences, some were downright distasteful. What could be more patronizing than this outburst of generosity: "you may be Negroes — but you are Americans."

He overworked his favorite and mendacious argument that too much shouldn't be expected in the way of civil rights legislation or enforcement because "the hearts of men" have to be changed first. Thus: "We must depend on more and better education than simply on the letter of the law. We must make sure that enforcement will not in itself create injustice"; and "But I say that laws themselves will never solve problems that have their roots in the human heart and in human emotions."

Will the hilarious day ever come when Eisenhower goes before a meeting of bankers to advise them not to depend on law enforcement but to exercise "patience" and "forbearance" toward holdup men, embezzlers and all other "misguided"

people with larceny in their hearts? Eisenhower continues the pattern established by both Republican and Democratic Presidents since the betrayal of Reconstruction: strict enforcement of one set of laws — those protecting property rights, but merest lip service to those sections of the Constitution and those laws covering the civil rights of the Negro people.

That the conference's adverse reaction to Eisenhower's plea for "patience" was so general should not be taken as proof of its militancy. This conference, if anything, was more conservative than most gatherings of Negro leaders because it included a number of businessmen. The adverse reaction is a tribute to the fact that "gradualism," "patience," "now is not the time," "we're not yet ready," and similar Uncle-Tom phrases have become so discredited with the Negro masses that today no leaders or would-be leaders dare condone them, let alone use them.

Of course, not using such phrases, even condemning them, doesn't mean that leaders cannot practice the very policies the banned phrases describe. This will become all too evident at election time when one half of the leaders will be urging Negro voters to support the Republicans and the other half to back the Democrats. The crimes of these parties on civil rights and integration will be glossed over with arguments that they are not 100% bad and that with patience they can be made a little better.

## Planned Panda-monium?

By J. Edgar Goober

A sinister campaign is afoot to open the floodgates of the U.S. to hordes of subversion-bearing animals. Its first overt act was reported on the front page of the May 7 N.Y. Times. Directors of American zoos protested the State Department's refusal of entry to a giant panda from Communist China. Aiming their vicious propaganda at American kiddies, zoologists, pinkos, crypto-communists and bleeding hearts are moaning that there is not a single giant panda in the U.S. and that they come only from China. Obviously their campaign has deep roots. It can be no accident that in the past five years good, clean, upright American children have had stuffed toy pandas foisted on them. This was merely to pave the way for bringing a live, atheistic, communistic panda to our shores.

The liberals are urging that the panda be admitted on condition that it take a loyalty oath and sign a non-communist affidavit. But as usual they are just playing the commie game. How much faith could intelligent American patriots put in the oath of a panda from Red China?

Why are the subversives so anxious to get this panda into the U.S.? One of the reasons is to spread propaganda belittling people's capitalism. The panda is a raccoon that grows to six feet and about 200 pounds. The Russian sputnik weighed

a half ton, the U.S.' only 30 pounds. Superficial observers were impressed even though the U.S. satellite had much finer workmanship. Impressionable kiddies at the zoo would contrast the 200-pound panda with the 20-pound raccoons, overlooking the fact that our raccoons are much more graceful. Thus another propaganda victory for the reds.

The panda must be kept out, and in the meantime scientific geniuses like Dr. Edward Teller and Werner von Braun should be assigned to a crash program on raccoon enlargement — with vitamins, shots, etc., etc.—to show the world that American know-how and free enterprise can beat the Soviets in this field too.

In their arguments for admitting the panda, the zoo heads revealed that recently via England a former White House secretary brought two dogs from Chinese-controlled Tibet into this country. This just proves how right Joe McCarthy was: Red infiltration reaches into the highest circles of government. The blood of good Americans should boil at the thought of these Communist dogs, raised without any morality whatsoever, associating with our 100% American dogs.

America Wake Up Before It Is Too Late! Depose the Two Commie Dogs Immediately! Keep The Panda Out!

## FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
SOUTH	\$200	\$215.00	108
DETROIT	825	736.30	89
BUFFALO	1500	1265.93	84
SEATTLE	550	450.00	84
YOUNGSTOWN	300	250.00	83
TWIN CITIES	1742	1439.00	82
Newark	265	205.00	77
New York	4600	3452.90	75
San Francisco	5000	3737.89	75
Boston	440	308.00	70
Chicago	600	390.00	66
St. Louis	1716	1067.50	62
Cleveland	80	48.00	60
Philadelphia	750	444.00	59
Allentown	528	304.77	58
Oakland	112	60.00	54
Denver	265	139.00	52
Milwaukee	40	16.00	40
Pittsburgh	300	116.00	39
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## Calendar Of Events

### CHICAGO

James A. Nash, Sr., well-known trade unionist, reviews Paul Robeson's book "Here I Stand," Friday, May 23, 8:15 P.M. Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams St.

### DETROIT

Friday, May 23, 8 P.M.—A report and discussion of the Auto Contract negotiations and other current events. Ausep: Friday Night Socialist Forum, 3737 Woodward.

### NEW YORK

Book Bazaar: New books and old—good, bad and indifferent—all bargains. Political, history, novels, science fiction, poetry, general. Also records and original art works. Refreshments. Sat., May 24, 3-7 P.M. Young Socialist Alliance Hall, 144 Second Ave. (Corner 9th St.)

"Seamen's Spring Shimig" Saturday Night, May 24 at the Polonia Hall, 201 Second Ave. (between 12th and 13th St.). Fun, refreshments and entertainment by Al Moss and others. Contribution at door \$1.25.

### SEATTLE

May 24, 8:15 P.M. "Artistic Reality and the Spanish Civil War"—a book review by Bill Cumming of Alvah Bessie's "The Unamerican," 655 Main St. Public Invited. Dinner and social hour following.

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, MAY 19, 1958

NUMBER 20

## How the Tax Swindle Works

By George Lavan

The Number One demand in the labor leaders' anti-recession program is an immediate tax cut. This was spelled out on March 11 by President George Meany to the AFL-CIO Conference to Put America Back to Work in the call for raising the individual basic exemption from the present \$600 to \$700. For workers this would mean a tax cut of \$20 a year plus another \$20 for each dependent. Walter Reuther proposed the possible alternative of a three-month withholding-tax holiday.

In their tax-cut proposals the labor leaders argue that the resulting increase in consumer purchasing power would reverse the economic downturn. Many students of economics within the labor movement believe that the recession is too basic and organic a function of capitalism to be cured by such a superficial measure. All of them, however, favor the AFL-CIO proposal as an immediate aid measure for workers and as a simple matter of economic justice. Indeed, many of them criticize the AFL-CIO proposal as much too modest. Socialists

are the most thoroughgoing, demanding that incomes of \$7,500 and less bear no taxes whatsoever; and that the tax burden be shifted mainly onto the corporations and the millionaires — that is onto those who can best afford to pay.

The fact of the matter is that the whole tax structure in the U.S. has been steadily perverted so that each year the workers bear more and more and the wealthy less and less. The original perspective of the graduated income tax, which labor and progressives once fought to establish was to encourage wage income and earnings of small farmers and to hit with progressively stiffer rates unearned incomes that zoomed for the stratosphere. After years of undermining, the special tax credit for earned income was repealed in 1943 and now there is a special tax credit for dividend income. This turnabout has been furthered by all sorts of loopholes, profit, etc.—must be owned by the seller for only six months to qualify the profit on it as capital gains rather than income.

### DEPLETION

A worker may be depleting his body and strength with each year of labor but that makes no nohow to the tax collector. An oil well, gold mine, coal mine, etc. — that's different! Their owners have to be compensated for "depleting" their property by selling (at a handsome profit) the oil, natural gas, etc., etc. Twenty-four big oil companies, for example, in 1954 kept \$645 million in "depletion" allowances that normally would have gone to the government in taxes.

An unemployed worker would get the bum's rush if he went to the Internal Revenue Service and demanded back the money he had paid in taxes in previous years. Not so with corporations. They have the "carry back — carry forward"

gimmick. Assume that a company paid taxes on \$100,000 net income in both 1955 and 1956, and that in 1957 it had a net operating loss of \$130,000. It simply gets back from the government the whole tax it paid in 1955 and 30% of the tax it paid in 1956. The beauty of this provision is that it works two years backwards and five years forward. A good loss can be an asset. Hence such ads as this which appeared in the financial page of a newspaper: "LOSS CORPORATION FOR SALE. Lumber—millwork and building materials. Net operating loss of \$200,000 available."

### ON U.S. PAYROLL

The House Foreign Affairs Committee was embarrassed to discover that apparently a \$1,000,000 of U.S. foreign "aid" was used by President Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, to send his son to school in the U.S. for one year. The money wasn't spent on books. Young Trujillo occupied a Kansas City Hotel, had a fleet of cars, a week-end ranch house and other luxuries.

## Program to Fight Unemployment

The Militant proposes the following as immediate measures to combat the depression:

(1) Organization of the unemployed by the labor movement. For union unemployed committees to fight their jobless members' grievances on rehiring, unemployment compensation, rent, mortgage and installment payments, relief, etc.

(2) Unemployment compensation to all jobless for the entire period of unemployment at trade-union wages.

(3) A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to be the number one demand of all unions in contract negotiations. Amend federal and state wage-and-hours laws to include 30-for-40.

(4) A giant public works program at trade-union wages to build all the schools, hospitals, low-cost housing, highways and other useful and peaceful construction needed in this country today.

(5) Union action and FEP laws to prevent discrimination in layoffs, rehiring, unemployment compensation, public-works hiring, relief, etc.

(6) A debt moratorium for the unemployed. No evictions or foreclosures on homes, autos or appliances.

(7) No taxes on yearly incomes of \$7,500 or less. End withholding and sales taxes to restore workers' purchasing power. Tax the rich and the corporations.

(8) A long-term trade agreement with the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Combat unemployment by filling large-scale orders from these countries for industrial and farm equipment in exchange for raw materials. Extend the credits necessary for such job-creating trade.

(9) Build a Labor Party based on the unions in alliance with minority peoples and working farmers.

## ... So. America, Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)  
screamed insults and hurled things . . . The day's worst incident took place . . . in the heart of the workers' districts, which had been the scene of the bloodiest riots in Venezuela's numerous revolutions, including that of January."

John T. O'Rourke, Washington Daily News expert on Latin American affairs, observed that "there was practically no pro-American sentiment to offset the hostile demonstration. At Peru's Catholic University, he was asked, however, why the State Department aided the hated Cuban tyrant Batista instead of helping the Cuban people in their fight for freedom. Nixon tried to answer by saying that while dictatorships were repugnant to the American people, the State Department could not intervene in the internal affairs of any country.

Actually, the U.S. State Department has continually intervened in internal Latin American affairs. U.S. support of dictators like Batista and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic certainly constitutes intervention. The most notorious case was the U.S. Government's participation and support in the overthrow of the legally elected Guatemalan government in 1954. When Argentine students taxed Nixon with this, he could only try to deny the well-known facts.

British policies. The whole point, with us today as with the British yesterday or the Romans 2,000 years ago, is that a great power must consider its own interests . . . These Big Business spokesmen forgot that the British and Roman empires fell at the hands of those they oppressed or sought to oppress. And history records they deserved to fall.

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