

# IN DEFENSE OF HARRY DEXTER WHITE

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# THE MILITANT

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## California CIO Backs 30-Hour Week Program

Impressive support for the program of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to combat unemployment continues to mount. On Nov. 8 the California CIO joined the growing number of unions, both AFL and CIO, which in recent weeks have begun to press for the reduced work-week with no loss of weekly take-home pay.

The 450 delegates to the California state CIO convention in San Diego, meeting Nov. 5 to 8, adopted without opposition a strong resolution calling for "30 for 40." This resolution was similar to one recently adopted by the General Motors Sub-Council of Region 6, CIO United Auto Workers, representing a number of GM locals in California.

In the AFL, the Illinois Federation of Labor at its recent convention passed overwhelmingly a resolution endorsing the proposal for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. The AFL national convention previously had gone on record for a 35-hour week "without loss of take-home pay."

### UAW LOCALS ACT

Influential locals of the UAW-CIO appear to be especially vigorous in spreading the slogan of "30 for 40" and in urging action to back this program. Ford Local 600, largest local union in the country, has taken the lead in publicizing and explaining the need for winning this demand while supporting the program of the guaranteed annual wage that the CIO top leaders have been talking about.

Chevrolet Local 659, with a militant membership of 14,220, has put the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay at the top of the list of the program it is urging the UAW and CIO to adopt. In the Nov. 12 issue of Local 659's paper, The Searchlight, President Robert Murphy at the top of the front page in his personal column quotes approvingly and in full the

resolution passed by the California Region 6 Sub-Council.

### SOUND PROGRAM

Wherever this program is advocated, the workers readily see its soundness, necessity and feasibility. It contains no gimmicks. It brings up to date the traditional demands of the union movement for continuously reducing the work-week and increasing wages in line with the tremendous technological advances that are being made year after year and which once more threaten American labor with millions of layoffs. "30 for 40" embodies the idea of the sliding scale of wages whereby as productivity per worker increases or total production is cut back the available work is divided among all the workers but with their full take-home wages maintained.

The urgency of this program is becoming ever more apparent as the real facts of the economic decline break through doctored government economic statistics and the smokescreen of Big Business propaganda about the danger of depression being "grossly exaggerated." Government figures register unemployment at a "record low" while the number of employed persons declines, layoffs are sweeping virtually every industry and as many as 1 1/2 million new workers are entering the labor market each year.

What worker wants to risk the welfare of his wife and children on the flimsy reassurances of the corporations and their political mouth-pieces? The program of "30 for 40" is the best immediate assurance the workers can have against the possibility of huge mass layoffs.

## CIO DELEGATES OFFERED NO PROGRAM OF ACTION

NOV. 18 — The ranks of American labor are watching for a leadership and program of action to effectively meet the onrushing threats of economic crisis, McCarthyism and war. Nothing that the CIO's top officials have offered at its national convention in Cleveland this week shows that they measure up to the workers' needs.

It is not that they are unaware of the problems. CIO President Walter Reuther, for instance, issued a 144-page report and made a lengthy keynote speech studded with fiery words and phrases of indignation. He deplored existing conditions and warned of what lies ahead. But his words turned meaningless and empty in the end because they pointed to no positive effective course of economic and political action.

It must be added that David J. McDonald, head of the powerful steelworkers union and second in influence to Reuther in the CIO, did not offer even the weight of words to a solution of the workers' pressing problems. He has been out trying to steal headlines from the CIO convention by his highly-touted joint tour of the steel plants with Benjamin Fairless, head of the anti-labor U.S. Steel corporation.

### PROFITS BEFORE PEOPLE

Reuther stated in his speech that "Big Business has moved in. They are taking over the government lock, stock and barrel. They are sponsoring a program in which profits are being placed ahead of the people. . . . What he omitted and concealed was the fact that the Republicans have picked up and expanded on reactionary policies initiated under the rule of the Democrats.

He talked in the beautiful but vague generalities for which he is known about "striving for a national income of \$500 billion a year" and deplored the lack of confidence of the capitalists in their own system, as reflected in their acceptance of the inevitability of an economic decline. He tried to appear more optimistic regarding a prosperous future for American capitalism than the capitalists.

### GLARING OMISSION

In his report, Reuther centered his attention on the guaranteed annual wage program and paid little attention to other vital measures to protect the jobs and incomes of the workers. His most glaring omission was the lack of a call for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Reuther laid out no program of action to achieve the guaranteed annual wage except "exchanging information so that each union may develop its own policies most effectively."

A good bit of the discussion at the convention centered around the smear attack on Truman by the Republicans. This quite correctly aroused indignation. But Reuther and other leaders put forward a defense of Truman's politics along with their expressions of hostility to the witch-hunt. They argued, in effect, that Truman — and they — were better communist-baiters than McCarthy. And they did not hint at the fact that the whole foul process was set in motion by Truman's own "loyalty" purges Smith Act trials, etc.

# Congress of Labor Needed To Fight GOP Smear Attacks

## Truman Hits Frame-up; Witch Hunt Will Grow

By George Breitman

NOV. 18 — Millions of Americans were undoubtedly delighted by Harry Truman's vigorous condemnation of McCarthyism in his Nov. 16 radio speech defending himself

against the "spy" smear perpetrated by the Republicans. There was a widespread feeling that Truman had "told them off" and that "this is a big setback for the witch hunters."

Truman did tell them off. He effectively showed that the attack on his loyalty was a contemptible

frameup intended to promote the political fortunes of the party in power. He spoke some truths (although not all of them) about the nature of McCarthyism and the need to combat it.

These things will have positive results. The exposure of the Attorney General on this matter will further discredit his other reactionary practices, particularly the high-handed manner in which he compiles his "subversive" list. The demonstration that no one is safe from defamation will encourage new resistance to the spread of McCarthyism.

### STILL ON OFFENSIVE

But it's not correct to think that the witch hunters have suffered any serious setback. On the contrary. They remain on the offensive, and things are going to get worse before they get better.

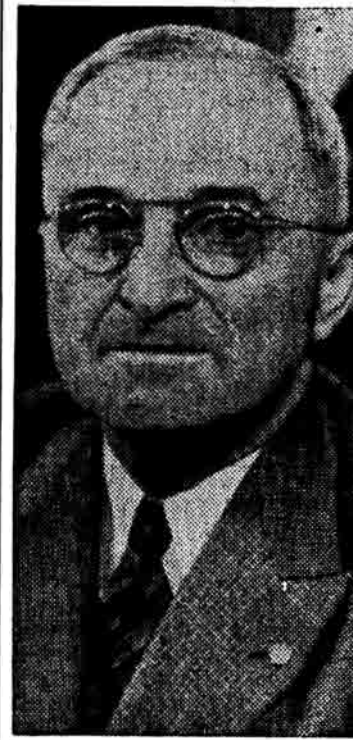
McCarthy's own record proves that you can't stop the big lie merely by showing its fantastic, contradictory or improbable character. Caught in one lie, the witch hunters merely pass on to another and bigger lie. The truth usually takes a long time to catch up, and by then the headlines are blazing with a new falsification. Most people, unable to make an independent investigation of the charges and counter-charges, are left with the vague feeling that there must be some fire where there is so much smoke. Even worse, there is a spread of fear — fear to say the wrong thing, fear to oppose the wrong men, fear to defend the wrong people.

There certainly is no sign that the Republicans are thinking of calling off the smear just because they were caught redhanded in a cheap frameup. The signs all point in the other direction.

Elated by the GOP victory in a congressional election in California on Nov. 10, made possible in great part by the smear of Truman, Republican national chairman Hall announced that his party would make "communism" the chief issue in 1954, and that it would eclipse high living costs and falling farm prices in the election debates. It is also reported

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### Witch-Hunted



TRUMAN

## Cleared McCarthy Victim Persecuted

A Fort Monmouth Signal Corps employee, whom Sen. Joseph McCarthy had publicly insinuated was a "spy" but was later cleared and reinstated on his job, is still suffering insults and persecution as a result of blackguarding McCarthy's headline-hunting slander.

Carl Greenblum, father of two children, revealed he was the man McCarthy had called his most important "mystery witness" following a closed hearing on alleged "radar spies." Greenblum said he had had an emotional upset under McCarthy's badgering following the witness' loss of his mother two days before. McCarthy had told the press the witness had "broken down" and was getting ready to "tell all."

Greenblum's name was leaked to some newspapers. He has since been the target of threats. A note saying, "Get out of town, you Nazis," was pinned to his front door. A hammer and sickle was painted on the back of his house. "My 3-year-old son David came home from play one day and said another boy had called him a 'pie.' He cannot pronounce the word 'spy' yet," said Greenblum.

## I Told Clark His Turn Would Come

By James Kutcher

On Sept. 30, 1948, I met with Attorney General Tom Clark in the Department of Justice building in Washington. The conference, which lasted half an hour and which is

described in my book "The Case of the Legless Veteran," was held at Clark's suggestion and gave me an opportunity to personally protest my "loyalty" discharge as a clerk in the Newark Veterans Administration solely because of my socialist views and my membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

It also gave me a chance to tell the Attorney General how he was flouting democratic tradition by his unfair, discriminatory method of placing organizations on his "subversive" list without telling them why and without granting them a hearing at which they could defend themselves.

Trying to show that a dangerous precedent was set when individuals and groups could be stigmatized as "disloyal" on the mere say-so of one man, I told him:

"Suppose that you are not in this office as Attorney General next year, Mr. Clark. Suppose someone else has your job, what guarantee has anyone that that man will have the same ideas that you have about who is subversive and who is not subversive?"

Clark got red and irritated at the question. He thought I was trying to needle him about the coming presidential election of 1948, which most people expected would go against the Democrats. That wasn't my aim at all. I was trying to suggest to him that his precedent could be used by subsequent Attorney Generals not only against radicals but also liberals and even conservative Democrats like himself.

"I'll have you know," he replied, "that the Loyalty Board includes a number of Republicans as well as Democrats." The implication was that a Republican Attorney General would share his undefined criteria for "disloyalty."

How wrong he was, how dismally wrong! Even he must understand this today, after his own loyalty and that of his boss, ex-President Truman, have been publicly impugned by the first Republican who succeeded him at the Department of Justice. The Democrats themselves built the

guilt-by-association gallows on which the Republicans are now trying to hang them.

### PRECEDENT FOR MCCARTHY

The GOP smear of the Democrats began long before Eisenhower moved into the White House. It really got going early in 1950 when McCarthy attacked the State Department, Dean Acheson and Owen Lattimore. These attacks so alarmed the Democrats that President Truman went on the air on April 24, 1950 to complain about the red-baiting smears directed against his party.

When I heard that speech, I just couldn't help writing a letter to Truman (printed in The Militant at the time, and in my book). I told the President that while I was opposed to the policies of his party, I was just as opposed to seeing any member of his party victimized by the witch hunters. I also tried to show him the connection between my case and the treatment he was receiving. What I wrote him then is still appropriate today, especially because of what he has said recently

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### He Was Told



TOM CLARK

## Urge United Struggle of All Unions

By Farrell Dobbs

If the former President of the United States isn't safe from a McCarthyite smear, is the labor movement immune?

Can't it be shown that Walter Reuther, George Meany and John L. Lewis "knowingly" associated with "communists" at one time or another, and endorsed organizations also supported by the Stalinists?

Of course the labor leaders can reply by pointing to their long records of redbaiting and purges of union opponents labeled "communist." But Truman could and did that very thing, and yet it didn't prevent him from getting the McCarthyite treatment.

### NO CO-EXISTENCE

Peaceful co-existence of McCarthyism and the labor movement is impossible. While some labor leaders are timidly looking for a way to duck it, the McCarthyites are preparing for the inevitable clash. The more victims the witch hunters are permitted to dispose of before they take on organized labor, the more chance they will have of crushing the unions.

Even as the witch hunters' shrieks against Truman reach their highest pitch, McCarthy personally has launched his offensive against labor. He has picked out victims in the General Electric plant in Schenectady and is moving on to other GE plants. The McCarthyites are already advancing in their Operation Smear against organized labor.

The smearing of Truman, with whom the union leaders had a hundred ties, is a further warning to the labor movement that its turn is next. It also provides an excellent opportunity for labor to assert itself and assume its rightful place in the leadership of the fight to preserve democratic rights.

### DEMAND ACTION

Members of the trade unions should demand immediate action from their leaders to meet the rising peril. The Socialist Workers Party suggests the following program:

1. Organize a United Congress of Labor in Washington, representing locals from all sections of the labor movement all over the country, with a mandate to work out a united labor and liberal struggle to save the Bill of Rights and come to the defense of all victims of the witch hunt.

2. Compel President Eisenhower, who has been trying to straddle the issue of the Truman smear, to show where he stands by demanding that he fire Attorney General Brownell, who has misused the power of his office for a crooked sneak attack on his political opponents.

3. Demand the opening of the FBI files on the case of Harry Dexter White, to determine whether or not that dead official too was the victim of a frame-up.

### NO COOPERATION

4. Announce that from now on the labor movement will no longer cooperate in any way with the congressional witch hunt committees, and will fight for their dissolution.

5. Demand the repeal of the Smith and McCarran and all other witch hunt laws, and the cancellation of all indictments and the liberation of all prisoners convicted under these measures.

6. Insist on the withdrawal of the "loyalty-security" purge orders and the "subversive" list, and the reinstatement of all government employees, workers in private industry, teachers, actors and clergymen who were smeared publicly or deprived of their jobs.

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## What Kind of Guaranteed Annual Wage?

By Art Freis

We have received a number of inquiries about our views on the guaranteed annual wage program which leaders of both the United Automobile Workers and the United Steelworkers, the two largest CIO unions, are pushing as their main answer to unemployment. A typical letter to us, from a Cleveland worker, says:

"I would like to have The Militant explain the CIO advocacy of a guaranteed wage, in view of thousands of its membership having already lost their jobs. This looks to be the worst dodge of issues ever to be handed its members by CIO. Explain how a guaranteed wage would benefit those caught in mass unemployment."

We must agree at the outset with the writer of this letter that whatever the benefits of the guaranteed annual wage, as proposed by the CIO leaders, these benefits would go only to those workers not already laid off or otherwise declared ineligible by the specific terms of the union contract. Thus, scores, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of auto and steel workers, for instance, may be laid off in the coming months long before there is the slightest possibility of the auto or steel union negotiating a guaranteed annual wage plan.

From the standpoint of keeping the maximum number of workers employed without any loss of weekly take-home pay, the program which is gaining widest currency and acceptance among the workers calls for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Under this program, most if not all workers would be kept on the job without a cut in their incomes even if production is curtailed by as much as 25%.

### A GOOD DEMAND

This does not mean that the guaranteed annual wage program is no good and not desirable. On the contrary. All of us are for guaranteed annual wages in principle. We all would like the assurance of the continuation of our full take-home pay if we are laid off, just as the corporation executives are assured full yearly salaries.

A guaranteed annual wage which requires the corporations to provide all the workers with a full income equal to full-time regular take-home pay for an entire year would merit a 100% vote with both hands from all workers. But is this the kind of guaranteed annual wage UAW president Walter Reuther and Steelworkers President David J. McDonald are actually calling for and are prepared to fight for?

First, we must recognize that the best program can be so distorted, weakened and misapplied that it can lose all or most of its potential benefits. Or it may be put forward by the union leaders as a substitute for other vital and immediately necessary demands, such as hourly wage increases. Or the union officials may make impermissible and far-reaching concessions to the corporations on other issues in order to claim a victory on this particular demand.

### ESCALATOR EXAMPLE

A classic example of how a good program in principle was watered down in practice and accepted at the sacrifice of other vital demands is the escalator clause which Walter Reuther negotiated with General Motors in 1949. He accepted the company's offer of a diluted escalator clause as a substitute for the union's demands for substantial hourly wage increases to compensate for price rises already in effect. The clause itself did not provide for inclusion of cost-of-living increases into the basic wage structure and even permitted a scaling down of wages in the event of price declines.

Moreover, the scale of increases under the escalator clause was based on the government's

doctored index, which falsifies the real extent of price increases, instead of on an index maintained by union and consumer organizations. Along with the escalator clause, the GM workers in the 1950 contract were forced to take the infamous five-year clause and the intensification of speedup.

### WHAT PLAN HAVE THEY?

What kind of guaranteed annual wage plan do Reuther and McDonald have in mind and what are they ready to give away in order to get it?

The specific plan presented for study by the Steelworkers Wage Policy Committee meeting in New York last month is a clear example of how a program that is good in principle can be weakened, distorted and misapplied.

McDonald's plan contains several of the major gimmicks that union members should look out for in any proposed guaranteed annual wage clause. First of all, it does not cover a large part of the workers. It would cover workers only with a minimum of three years' seniority. In some plants, this would exclude a majority of workers. The three-year seniority provision is merely a first baby proposal. For instance, in top UAW circles, it is reported, there is talk of settling

in the end for a plan covering only 15% of the workers.

Such a plan, it is easy to see, could be used by the corporations to divide the workers, to keep one group of workers quiet and relatively satisfied while another section is being laid off. In fact, it is reported that one section of the auto industry is actually contemplating such a divisive plan.

Under a plan of this type, the tendency would be for the corporation to lay off as many as possible of the men not covered and impose a heavier work load on the remainder.

### PARTIAL PAY

The proposed Steelworkers' plan, in addition, does not provide full take-home pay in the event of layoffs of eligible workers. It calls for a guaranteed weekly wage of 30 times the workers' standard hourly rate — that is, for only 75% of the present 40-hour week's take-home pay, or counting average overtime, "with 60 or 70 per cent of his normal earnings," according to Otis Brubaker, the steel union's research director.

And the company would not be obliged to pay all of that. It would pay only the difference between the guaranteed wage

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## Is Robin Hood Guilty?

By Art Sharon

By all the rules of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, both ancient and modern, those worthies in the state of Indiana have a case — an air-tight case against Robin Hood.

Mrs. Thomas J. White of the Indiana State Textbook Commission, who demands the removal of the story of Robin Hood from the school system's books, stands on solid ground. First of all, she is backed by authority. As she told the press, she "consults with Senator Jenner on subversive books." And Senator Jenner associates with Senator McCarthy who is an expert on spotting subversion. And Robin Hood is the very stuff out of which subversion comes.

In fact if by chance Robin Hood should suddenly make his appearance out of some remaining forest thicket on the banks of the Wabash (anything can happen these days) he could be served with a subpoena to appear for questioning before an appropriate committee. And the same would go for his followers Friar Tuck, Will Scarlett and Little John.

Robin Hood just didn't advocate relieving certain fat bishops, obnoxious lords and greedy merchants of their wealth. He went out, as is well known, and committed the overt act. That's bad. Had he stopped there he would have been called a thief — maybe even a likeable, jolly thief. His story would have been perfectly acceptable to Mrs. White and her friends on the Commission. She might have even gone out and bought the book for her own children for Xmas and laughed together with them at the exploits of the jolly rogue.

But the thief turned subversive! He passed on the wealth to the poor and needy. He was conducting an operation for the recovery of stolen property. This is what raises every patriotic hair on Mrs. White's head.

Yes, Robin Hood is guilty — guilty as all hell — of downright subversion of the sacred principle of free enterprise as she is taught in the state of Indiana and the other 47 states as well.

It doesn't matter that the story of Robin Hood has been a delight to generations of English common people, to say nothing of American school children. All the more reason to purge it from the school books. Teachers and librarians everywhere will thank Mrs. White for her acute perception of subversion in what might have passed for a romantic story book. Should they disagree and continue to use the books in their classrooms, they must be prepared to face the consequences. No one can say they were not warned.

There is one way out for them, however, and that is follow the suggestion of the Superintendent of Public Education of the state of Indiana. This worthy says that the reading of the book in the school room is all right providing that the teacher gives it the proper interpretation.

This may seem like a difficult assignment and many a teacher will probably think it better to give it up entirely and substitute for Robin Hood a speech by Senator Jenner or McCarthy during the children's story hour.

But a little thought on the Robin Hood story will give the clever teacher a number of angles to subvert the inherent subversion of the tale, so to speak.

And to make certain that it is topped off right, the teacher should not fail to exploit the manner in which Robin Hood came to his end.

In the story, you will remember, Robin Hood, falling ill, went to his cousin's home for help. Pretending to help him, she opened a vein in his arm and locked him in a room where he bled to death.

What all the forces of law and order led by the Sheriff of Nottingham could not do she accomplished with one deft strike. This must be presented in its proper light and the teacher would do well to draw the moral of this tale by telling how Robin Hood's cousin was rewarded for her patriotic service by being made a member of the Board of Education in Nottingham county.

# In Defense of Harry Dexter White

By John F. Petrone

Defending himself over the radio on Nov. 16, Harry Truman denounced Attorney General Brownell for his "cowardly insinuations against one who is dead." Truman

was referring to the late Chief Justice Vinson, but Vinson wasn't the only dead man smeared by Brownell. There was also Harry Dexter White, and Truman raised no objections against the cowardly insinuations directed against White.

This is in line with the advice for liberals set forth by T. R. E. Washington columnist, in the Nov. 16 New Republic. Liberals, he warned, must not "try to defend too much," meaning that they should keep mum about the attacks on White or join actively in the "insinuations" against him, as does an editorial in the same issue of the New Republic.

I never knew White, and I don't know anything about him except what I read in the papers, but on the basis of that alone I'd like to rise in his defense, especially since practically no one else seems willing to do it outside of his own family.

### HIS RECORD

Politically, I have little or nothing in common with Harry Dexter White. So far as his public record and statements go, he seems to have been a typical New Dealer — a smart young man who was called to a bureaucratic job in Washington, where he served

Roosevelt and the capitalist class well by promoting the New Deal reform program that was designed to keep a discontented working class from moving in the direction of independent political action.

Like others of his type at the time, White favored "collective security" and collaboration between Washington and Moscow against Berlin, and was not averse to working with others, including the Stalinists and fellow-travelers, who professed the same objectives. Whether he continued to hold these views during the Stalin-Hitler pact period, or after the war, is not certain; at any rate, there is no conclusive evidence to show that he did.

But White never belonged to the Communist Party and was not the kind of man to accept its discipline. This was the testimony of one of his bitterest enemies — Whittaker Chambers, the renegade Stalinist who claimed to know him.

### HEARSAY CHARGE

At the end of 1945, when White was an assistant secretary of the Treasury, another ex-Stalinist, Elizabeth Bentley, went to the



HARRY DEXTER WHITE

FBI and said she had just quit a Soviet spy ring. Among those she named as a source of documents was White.

Bentley said she had never met White personally. But she said she was "sure" that he was one of the people from whom secret documents had been obtained by her spy ring. No proof was supplied, no documents were offered, to support this claim.

The FBI then drew up a report, sent to the White House and other places, reporting Bentley's claims. This report admitted that "it is

impossible to determine exactly how many of these people had actual knowledge of the disposition being made of the information they were transmitting." A second FBI report on White evidently contained no more proof, which seems to have been one of the reasons why Truman, on learning about it in February 1946, was at first uncertain about what to do.

Bentley was ordered to resume contact with her fellow-spies in order to learn more about White. The FBI put 500 agents to work for a whole year trying to get something concrete on White. Truman says he decided to let White retain an appointment to an international body in order not to arouse his suspicions that he was being watched.

Wires were tapped, mail was opened, all the unlawful methods of the FBI were brought into play. And still nobody was able to point to anything concrete against White by the time he quit his job in 1947.

A year later the Department of Justice took White before a federal grand jury. Bentley testified, the FBI made all its resources available, and yet the jury, which indicted the top 12 Stalinists under the Smith Act, refused to indict White, and threw out the charges against him.

White died soon after. Then Whittaker Chambers produced his

"pumpkin papers" and claimed that some of the memoranda among them were written (in 1938) by Harry Dexter White.

### FALSE CLAIMS

Brownell calls these memos in White's handwriting "the conclusive evidence" against him, and J. Edgar Hoover says they are of "an uncontradictable nature." They are also the reason why his liberal associates shy off from defending him today.

But in the first place, several reporters on the capitalist press, including Republican papers, have publicly stated that there was nothing in these memos that was secret or unknown to reporters and other generally well-informed people in Washington at the time they were written.

In the second place, what evidence is there that White wrote these memos for a spy ring? Isn't it conceivable that he wrote them as part of his official duties, and that they were stolen by Chambers or someone else who passed them on to Chambers?

In the third place, isn't it possible that, like many other Washington officials who sought a "good press," White gave them to Chambers in the belief that he was a journalist (which Chambers then pretended to be)?

### HIGHLY CIRCUMSTANTIAL

In other words, the "evidence" against White — after his death, and to this day, so far as we know — remained far from "conclusive" and "uncontradictable." On the contrary, it was highly circumstantial and questionable, the kind that a judge usually throws out of court in cases involving embezzlement, robbery, etc.

Truman's moral indignation about the smear on himself would ring better if he had spared a little for the treatment of White.

The liberals' cowardly willingness to throw White to the wolves on charges that are no more proved than those against Truman, which the liberals reject, puts them in an indefensible position. Their protests against one smear are, to say the least, weakened by their silence or assent to the other smear.

### OPEN THE FILES!

The tradition in this country is that a man has the right to be considered innocent until proved guilty. Harry Dexter White has the right not to be branded a spy when no one offers any proof that he was. And proof is just the one thing that neither the FBI nor anyone else has produced.

There is one way to establish the truth in this matter, and that is by opening the FBI's files and letting the public know everything that it contains about Harry Dexter White.

Hoover and Brownell are afraid to do this. Their claim that it would "damage the national security" is phony to the core. How could it hurt the United States to reveal facts that Hoover and Brownell claim would support their charge against White? The only damage that could possibly be done would be to those who committed a frame-up against White, Truman and others. Is that what Hoover and Brownell are afraid of?

The American people have no reason to be afraid of such revelations. They can only profit from learning all the available facts about White, and about the sinister way in which Hoover's secret police operate. They should demand that Brownell and Hoover open the FBI files, or publicly apologize for their defamation of a dead man and resign: the high offices they are abusing for political ends.

## I Told Tom Clark His Turn Would Come

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about McCarthyism, and I'd like to quote part of it:

"I think you have now gotten a small taste of how I and the Socialist Workers Party felt when you put the SWP on your 'subversive' blacklist and fired me... From the tone you used (over the radio), it was clear that you don't like the taste of the smear medicine that your administration has dispensed rather freely to people like myself who advocate socialism as the alternative to capitalism and Stalinism. I use the word 'taste' because what is being done to you and other targets of McCarthy is by no means as bad as what you did to me and my party..."

"Has it occurred to you, Mr. President, that the arbitrary methods you used against me and my party encouraged and emboldened McCarthy to imitate you and use similar methods against your administration? He probably figures that if you can smear your opponents without being required to submit proof, why can't he do the same?"

### WHAT'S AT STAKE

I hope no one thinks that I recall these two incidents for the purpose of gloating. It is true that there is a certain element of poetic justice in the sight of the initiators of the witch hunt being smeared as protectors and promoters of spies. But that is only a minor aspect of the whole picture.

If the only things at stake were the personal reputations of Harry Truman and Tom Clark and the political fortunes of the Democratic Party, the big smear launched by the Republicans would be bad enough. But much more is involved.

Wherever anybody gets framed-up, fired or arrested by the witch hunters, it's a blow at the liberties of all the American people. This is true no matter which party the victim belongs to, whether he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Democratic Party, or no party at all.

Every frame-up, firing and arrest is a victory for those who want to turn this country into a police state. It makes them bolder, it whets their appetite, it encourages them to aim their guns at new targets. It also spreads fear among new circles, making it more difficult to enlist support for the fight to save the Bill of Rights.

### STOP THE CONTAGION

That is why it is necessary for the American people, and especially the labor movement, to come to the defense of all victims of the witch hunt, high or low, popular or unpopular. That's the only way to stop the deadly contagion of McCarthyism from spreading further.

To do it, of course, will require the repudiation and abandonment of the Democratic Party's policies — and especially of its claim (which it shares with the Republicans) that "communism" is the chief enemy of the people of this country. This claim is false from top to bottom.

The chief enemy of the American people today is the small clique of big financial interests, and its political agents in both major parties, who are using the "communist issue" to whip into line and to shut the mouths of

anybody and everybody who wants to fight against war preparations, the threat of depression, racial persecution, speedup and conformism.

I don't want to get cocky just because one of my predictions proved correct. But I think it is safe to say that someday Eisenhower himself will be on the receiving end of the smear machine. If a tried and tested red-baiter like Truman isn't safe, why should Eisenhower be?

After all, it has now been

revealed that Eisenhower had a meeting with Harry Dexter White in 1944; that as chief of staff his office received an FBI report on White the same time Truman did and he did nothing about it; that he was very chummy with the Russians when they were allied with the U.S. during World War II; that his rise to fame was due to an appointment by the same administration that appointed White, etc., etc. Don't think for a minute that McCarthy isn't filing all this "damag-

ing" stuff away for future use when he's ready to try to replace Eisenhower in the White House. The smear of Truman and Clark shows us the vastness of the danger and the lateness of the hour. As The Militant said last week: Destroy McCarthyism before McCarthyism destroys us. And the only way to destroy McCarthyism is by uniting all the labor and liberal forces which cannot survive the triumph of McCarthyism around a program to defend the rights of ALL.

## Truman Hits Frame-up; Witch Hunt Will Grow

(Continued from page 1)

ed that Brownell plans to release a new "White-type" smear against the Democrats once a month until after next year's elections.

Temporarily, the advantages lie with the Republicans. They have control of the federal government and access to its files, which they can exploit or continue to suppress as they see fit. They also have the services of the all-powerful J. Edgar Hoover (who owes his power to the Democrats) and a friendly press. They remain on the offensive. Truman's proofs that he personally is not disloyal only gives them a bigger forum for their charge that he was lax, soft or blind to the menace of "communism."

Moreover, in the Democrats they have an opposition that plays into their hands at every turn. If it is true that "communism" is the greatest danger facing this country and that this danger is so pressing as to override all other considerations, then the question of how to wipe it out really seems to be secondary. That is what McCarthy contends, and his action in accord with this contention is the source of his growing strength.

But the Democrats — what do they say? Most of them agree with McCarthy's basic premise, or are afraid to challenge it openly. As a result they are unable to meet him head on — that can be done only by those who reject his basic premise — and are restricted to complaining about McCarthy's "bad methods," especially when directed against the Democrats. This puts them perpetually on the defensive, and in the unfavorable position of appearing to be carping over the method for carrying out a program that they concur in.

### TRUMAN AND WHITE

The disadvantages of the Democrats' approach is illustrated in Truman's line on Harry Dexter White. (See article above for the facts about White.) Truman's explanation was that when he was faced with "unverified accusations" against White and others, he decided to let White keep his job in order not to alert him to the fact that the FBI had him under close surveillance. White quit his job a year later, after "the necessity for secrecy concerning the intensive investigation by the FBI came to an end."

However, there was one fact that Truman did not try to explain, and that was the letter of praise he wrote White when the latter left the government service for good in the spring of 1947. Since the Republicans are sure to plague him with this letter as a fatal contradiction to his explanation, it's worth some consideration here.

### TAKE POLITICAL ACTION

8. Condemn the Democrats for continuing to defend the monstrous witch hunt methods the Truman administration set in motion through its "loyalty" purges, "subversive" list and Smith Act trials. Repudiate the Democratic-Republican lie that the way to preserve democracy is by introducing the practices of the police state.

9. Recognize that the smear of Truman is calculated to help divert attention from the Republican-Big Business attack on the living standards of the workers and farmers. Understand that the smear campaign is a desperate political device to prevent a Republican defeat in the 1954 elections, and organize, accordingly, to build an independent Labor Party that will put candidates in the field pledged to oppose the witch hunt which was started by the Democrats and is now being extended by the Republicans.

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Why did Truman write such a letter? There is only one explanation that does not contradict his general account, and it is this: Truman must have known that nothing had been uncovered against White after a year and a half of work by 500 FBI agents to get something on him; evidently regarding him as innocent, because not proved guilty, he saw no reason not to write him the customary letter of thanks.

But that was 1947, and this is 1953. In between it became the normal practice in Washington to

condemn and purge anyone subjected to "unverified accusations" without bothering to try to verify anything (Truman himself took the lead in this). And, in between, White was further smeared through the Chambers' "pumpkin papers" (although they proved nothing against White either).

And so Truman today does not dare to take credit for his decent gesture of 1947, and in fact will be smeared further on account of it. And all because he stands committed to the McCarthyite principle that the accused is automatically guilty until he proves his innocence (except when this principle is employed against Truman himself).

### NEED NEW PROGRAM

All these are reasons why the labor movement, the ultimate and decisive target of Big Business reaction, should be careful not to model its fight against McCarthyism on the premises, methods or policies of the Democrats. The Democrats can't stop McCarthyism, and labor won't be able to stop it either if it acts the way the Democrats are acting. A new program is needed — along the lines proposed by the Socialist Workers Party in the article by Farrell Dobbs on Page 1.

The Republicans have the upper hand for the time being, but it would be a mistake to overrate their position. It should not be forgotten that they rushed into the Truman smear as a measure of desperation three days after they got a trouncing in the Nov. 3 elections.

The smear has occupied the headlines ever since. But have these headlines made the workers forget that prices have reached an all-time high while overtime work and weekly take-home pay have dropped? Have these headlines made the farmers forget all about falling farm prices?

### CAN'T EAT HEADLINES

Temporarily, perhaps, it has had this effect on some. But this distraction from basic economic conditions can't last forever — especially if the ruling class continues to impose heavier burdens on the workers and farmers. People can't eat headlines, and they will get angry if that's all they're offered for nourishment.

The Republicans, therefore, are taking a gamble, and they can suffer a severe defeat if it doesn't pay off. Continuation of a downward economic trend will hasten that defeat, and adoption by labor of a militant program of action will guarantee it.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant salesmen found a good response on their first national mobilization to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the paper. A total of 69 subs and 432 single copies were sold at union meetings and street sales, door to door and on the campus.

Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "The Minneapolis comrades endorsed wholeheartedly the plans for national Militant mobilizations. All of us feel that this is a good time to take The Militant out and talk to workers about socialism."

"For our first Mobilization we are sending in 163 points toward the Twin Cities score. Our local scoreboards show Harry and Fannie in the lead with 52 points each and Pauline with 26 points. They visited three Militant readers and brought in three renewals. Bob, Larry, Millie, C. R., Donald and Dave sold 33 single copies of the paper. Larry sold to passers-by on the street with the kind of success which makes him now a strong advocate of street sales. Other papers were sold at union meetings and to individual friends."

San Francisco Literature Agent Nick Benneft writes, "In our work around the recent election campaign we found that we can sell the paper to at least two out of three homes visited. For future sales we plan to go into the areas where the largest vote was cast for socialist candidates in the recent elections. Two techniques we have found effective are the route system and the distribution of back copies with a letter attached for students."

"We have been selling at Berkeley University, at UAW meetings, and at ILWU Warehouse meetings," reports Oakland Literature Agent Dolores Seville. "Also since the opening of the national Militant mobilizations a number of us went house to house. Ada sold four; Lil, six; Leonard, six; and Dolores, four. This was in less than an hour. Leonard and I didn't quite cover one side of a block. The reception is good and we hope to sell many subs before the campaign is over."

Seattle Militant salesmen have divided into two competing teams for the 25th Anniversary sales.

Comrade Baker writes, "George is captain of one team and Dan is captain of another. The winning team will celebrate victory at a beer party given by the losing team. A very clever poster was made by our new friend Ann. It is one of the cleverest and most original we have had in a number of campaigns. On our first mobilization eight of us went out and sold four subs and 25 single copies. In addition we received a 25c. contribution from one reader."

New York reports a highly successful sale on their first Militant mobilization. Campaign Director Tom Denver reports, "Work was concentrated mostly in a low-cost housing project. Here comrades sold 121 copies of The Militant and one six months sub to people previously unacquainted with the paper. We plan to revisit these readers each week and discuss the paper with them. Toward the end of the campaign we will ask them to subscribe. Two comrades who went out on renewals sold subs to four out of five people visited. We are confident that in this campaign we will exceed our total in the sub drive last spring."

Scores so far in the campaign are as follows:

New York	520
Los Angeles	514
Twin Cities	348
Cleveland	338
Seattle	207
Philadelphia	135
Detroit	104
San Francisco	104
St. Louis	78
Milwaukee	72
Boston	52
Buffalo	52
Chicago	52
Newark	45
Oakland	20
General	52

Among the pace-setters nine comrades have scores of 52 points or more. They are Jean S. of Cleveland with 130 points; Harold R. of New York, 80 points; Oscar C. of New York, 56; and Dick of St. Louis, Art S. of New York, Bill K., Harry and Fannie of the Twin Cities, and Mac of Cleveland, all with 52 points.

Attorney General Brownell is reportedly trying to get a federal bill pushed through to make wiretapping evidence legal. It's one aim of his "spy" scare.

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## Where to Find the Economic Facts

By this time next year or even sooner, brother, you may be out on the street looking for a job so your family won't starve. That's not to scare you; it's a plain statement of fact.

It's mighty important, therefore, for you to know what's going on in this country's economy. You have to know because unless you get together with your fellow workers and act on the real situation, you and millions like you are going to be out in the cold — and we mean literally.

How are you going to find out the facts? Well, we'll tell you first how you won't find out. You won't find out by reading the capitalist press propaganda and the "inspired guesses" of the business executives.

Here are four such guesses within the past six weeks.

Thirteen industrialists meeting in the week of Oct. 19 at Pebble Beach, Calif. with Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, gave it as their joint belief that business activity next year will drop only 5% over 1953.

The Oct. 2 U.S. News and World Report summarized a wide range of speculations and statistics by assuring us that we are in for only a "mild adjustment" and that the "accepted view is that activity will not drop more than 10%."

Subsequently, G. Rowland Collins, Dean of the School of Business, New York University,

offered his solemn assurance that the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production will fall from last September's level by a mere 15%.

Then the Nov. 14 Business Week declared that "signs of business softening must be evident to everyone" and that "industrial production, by next summer, may quite possibly be as much as 20% below this year's peak."

You can see from the above cited guesses, that the capitalist "experts" don't know what they're talking about and don't agree among themselves. The one thing you can bet on is that American capitalism is riding the toboggan toward depression and the slide is ice all the way to the bottom of the hill.

Whether we get a 5% "softening" or 20%, it's going to mean mass unemployment of anywhere from four to 14 million. If the 20% figure proves correct, it means one out of every five workers will be tossed out of a job.

That's one very good reason why you ought to be getting the Militant every week. Our paper has a well-founded reputation for digging out the truth about the problems of the workers under capitalism, including all the straight information about layoffs and depression. Subscribe today.

You will be better able to foresee the economic trend, and you will be better prepared to join with other workers to meet the situation.

## Unions and Political Parties

President David J. McDonald of the CIO United Steel Workers recently told a conference of his union that he is opposed to formation of labor's own party. He declared: "I will not take this union down the road to nationalism, socialism, Marxism, communism or into a labor party, which would lead to the capture of this union by a political party."

Just what McDonald means by "nationalism," and the connection between this and "socialism, Marxism, communism," and what all four have to do with a labor party, McDonald does not make clear. He has picked up what he thinks are very prejudicial phrases and tagged them to the idea of a labor party in order to discredit it through "guilt by association." This is the McCarthyite technique applied in the field of ideas.

But the real joker in his statement is his claim that a labor party "would lead to the capture of this union by a political party."

McDonald himself is sunk up to his neck in politics. Only it's the system of politics fostered by the corporation bosses, like U.S. Steel's Benjamin Fairless, with whom McDonald is making a joint tour of the steel plants to tell the workers how the capitalists just love labor and there's no reason to fight, fellows. Virtually all the unions, including McDonald's, are dominated by officials who are tools of the Democratic or Republican parties, both controlled by the capitalist class that exploits labor.

While McDonald claims to be worried about the imaginary danger of the unions being "captured" by a labor party, the

union movement almost in its entirety for two decades has been the captive of the Democratic Party, which has demagogically capitalized on labor's aspirations and broken all its promises to the workers. Capture of the unions by a political party has never been of concern to McDonald so long as it is a party controlled by labor's class enemies.

Besides, what would be so terrible about the unions being "captured" by a genuine labor party? A labor party would be based on the unions; union members would control and lead it. Would they be any less apt to advance a political program to benefit the unions and the working class than the Democratic Party of big city bosses and Southern bourgeois to which McDonald pays allegiance?

We have heard all kinds of arguments against a labor party, but this takes the cake for phoniness. That this argument comes from a spokesman of the industrial union wing of labor makes it more reprehensible. Even conservative AFL leaders like George Meany and Dave Beck today acknowledge the possibility of an American labor party in the future and do not oppose it in principle.

One of these days, we feel sure, the steel workers are going to tell McDonald (who never worked in a steel plant in his life) to wise up about labor politics or get out. The workers have a lot of serious problems to contend with and they can't tolerate the leadership of pontificating fools who talk about a labor party "capturing" the unions while they themselves play stooge for the corporations and their political parties.

## On the Agenda at Bermuda

Next week the Big Three are scheduled to meet in Bermuda. According to the Oct. 15 N. Y. Times, "it appears that at Bermuda the Big Three will be concerned chiefly with mending Western fences against the threat of Communism."

Churchill, the senile representative of a half-buried imperialist empire; Laniel, the politically bankrupt millionaire; and Eisenhower, the representative of the billionaire rulers in the U.S. are gathering to discuss how to put down the coming revolution that threatens them all with final catastrophe.

None of these gentlemen has an easy sure-fire formula to destroy the socialist revolution. It is clear that if anyone had such a formula it would have been put to work long before this. The pressure of an anti-capitalist working class, organized in mass Socialist and Communist parties in Europe; the pressure of colonial uprisings; the pressure of working-class restiveness within England and the United States — these pressures are felt by all three. In addition, trade rivalries and clashing imperial ambitions sharpen relations among the capitalist powers. These forces tend to create breaches in the counter-revolutionary accord of the Big Three.

France and England are slipping out of the positions assigned to them by Washington. The revolutionary mood of the French workers reacts on the French capitalist rulers. Without a secure base, with the hot breath of revolution on their necks, the French capitalists are

reluctant to carry out their assignment of waging the Indo-Chinese war to "complete victory." They are nervous about ratifying the European Defense Community project of building a counter-revolutionary all-European army.

The British capitalists have their own troubles. The working class of England is moving steadily to the left. The Conservative victory last year did not halt this process. The masses of English people have nothing but hatred for Wall Street's war plans. And the British capitalists, for their own reasons, dread the course events are taking under domination of the mad American capitalist drive for war against the Soviet Union. The capitalists in Europe and England are gripped by defeatist moods. Two world wars have reduced their imperialist power and brought them to the brink of disaster. Another war can finish them.

Along with these moods of defeatism in the capitalist class is the thought that perhaps, once again, they can be saved by a deal with the Kremlin. But Wall Street is opposed to a deal at this time. American Big Business — driven by an economy that demands vast new areas for capitalist expansion — requires nothing less than the total destruction of the non-capitalist world and its exploitation by the idle capital accumulating in the U.S.

Thus at Bermuda the representatives of Wall Street will attempt to beat their allies into line, to assert their authority in the coalition and to push ahead with their plans for another world war.

# French Stalinists Seek Unity With Capitalists

By Murry Weiss

The current line of the Communist Party of France was set forth by its leader, Maurice Thorez, in an interview published in the Parisian liberal-neutralist periodical L'Observateur on Oct. 29. This was the first interview Thorez has given since his return from Moscow. The substance of the Central Committee's resolution, adopted at its meeting on Oct. 23, was contained in this interview as follows:

The central political question confronting France is national independence. The main danger is represented by the agreements and treaties that are being negotiated between the West German government and France. These agreements must be stopped at all costs. All policy will be bent to this purpose. The French CP is working for an anti-United States National Front that will include all classes. Thorez says, "we are determined to associate ourselves with all Frenchmen, whoever they may be, who are opponents of the Bonn and Paris agreements." (Emphasis in original)

### LINE IN GENERAL STRIKE

This "rightist" policy of French Stalinism is not new. It was applied during the general strike of August to speak only of a recent example. During that strike the Stalinists stifled all revolutionary initiative from the rank and file CP workers. They deliberately refrained from raising a single political slogan when the question of workers' power was posed by the action and will of the whole working class. This was a policy of betrayal. Its source was the Kremlin bureaucracy and its diplomatic maneuvers with the fate of the working class.

The Stalinists are preparing to derail the next upsurge of the French workers. The Kremlin bureaucracy has a firm grip on the leadership of the French Communist Party. The Kremlin's instructions are to make a deal with all French capitalists, including Daladier and De Gaulle, who will oppose the entry of France into the European Defense Community or who will give lip service to French neutrality in the "cold war." The independent interests of the French working class and its aspiration to overthrow the decrepit capitalist ruling class must be sacrificed to this diplomatic need of the Kremlin.

Thus the workers are sacrificed and not a single gain is made for the international interests of the workers anywhere including



THOREZ

the Soviet Union. After all the cynical diplomatic deals the workers go down to bloody defeat.

### EXAMPLE OF IRAN

A fresh example of this type of treachery is to be found in Iran. There too the Stalinists claimed that the struggle for national independence required the subordination of independent working class politics to maneuvers with capitalists "whoever they may be." They maneuvered with Mossadegh. They subordinated the workers' struggle to these maneuvers. What was the result? A counter-revolutionary coup d'état was prepared by the monarchists. The mass workers movement led by the Stalinists could have taken power at any time over the past two years. But the Stalinists stalled and maneuvered. The counter-revolution struck.

Now the workers of Iran are being subjected to bloody punishment for the crimes of the Stalinists. Thousand of workers are rotting in the dungeons of the Iranian landlords and capitalists. Let anyone who thinks the French Stalinists are too smart to allow this to happen ponder the example of Iran. And Iran is only the most recent example. The record of the past decades is full of the tragic consequences of Stalinist betrayals.

### PRESENT SITUATION

Will France go the way of Iran? One thing is certain. It would be the height of irresponsibility to think that France is immune to a counter-revolution-

ary overturn. It is true that the French capitalists are weak. It is true that they have no mass base. It is true that the French middle class is not oriented toward fascism. But all this adds up to the fact that France is in a pre-revolutionary situation. It means that the workers will be able to take the power, given a courageous and decisive leadership. But as Trotsky taught, pre-revolutionary situations that are not transformed into revolutionary victories are sooner or later turned into counter-revolutionary situations.

We have already commented in previous articles on the ominous signs of a counter-revolutionary mobilization around a military colonialist clique in France, highly reminiscent of the Franco gang in Spain. It would be folly to ignore these signs. They are a warning to the working class — in the struggle against capitalism it is victory or death. Therein lies the monstrous nature of the Stalinist betrayals, and of their criminal policy of National Front.

### COUNTERFORCES

There is a process at work which can defeat Stalinist treachery. First, there is the nucleus of the French workers' revolutionary party, the Trotskyists. These are forces who conducted themselves brilliantly during the August strikes. They raised high the banner of revolutionary struggle during those days and developed a wide influence among the mass of Communist workers. The newspaper of the International Communist Party, section of the Fourth International, La Verité, called on the Communist and Socialist workers to fight for a workers and farmers government, based on the two mass workers parties. This slogan made a deep impact on the workers' consciousness, for it posed the issue point blank — force your leaders to carry out your revolutionary will!

The second factor working against Stalinist betrayal is the awakening discontent of rank and file CP workers with Stalinist policies. There are numerous signs that this discontent is producing a major crisis in the French CP. The fusion of the Trotskyists, who represent the conscious program of revolution, with the militant cadres of the Communist workers, will crush the Stalinist betrayers and liberate the revolutionary workers of France from its domination. And with the fusion of these forces a genuine party of the workers will be forged that will lead the workers to victory.

# LSSP in Ceylon Fights Stalinist Split-Disrupters

The Trotskyist Lanka Samasamaja Party of Ceylon is conducting a victorious struggle against a group of Stalinist splitters and disrupters of the mass workers movement.

The LSSP led the splendid anti-capitalist "hartal" (general strike and close-shops, close-schools movement) last August.

The group of Stalinist splitters in the LSSP were dragged along by the August movement. But they walked out of the national conference of the LSSP last month. They took with them a demoralized faction of disoriented pro-Stalinist elements. The splitters were given inspiration by the group of ex-Trotskyists led by Pablo in Paris. They covered themselves with quotations from Pablo and Clarke (another former Trotskyist) and refused to vote for a conference motion criticizing the Kremlin from a revolutionary socialist standpoint.

The splitters launched a campaign with all the earmarks of Stalinist hoodlums. They tried to "expel" Samasamajist leaders from their union posts by holding rump meetings of union executive committees. They raided union offices to pilfer the workers' property and disrupt the functioning of the LSSP-led unions. They called for attacks against LSSP meetings and demonstrations. And they formed a "united front" with the official Stalinists to conduct a campaign of slander against the LSSP.

All this has been met by firm and effective counter-attacks. Far from disrupting the workers' organizations the Stalinist splitters are isolating themselves from the anti-capitalist masses. The union disrupters were called to order and disciplined by their organizations. The LSSP broadened its campaign among the workers for an anti-capitalist government. They answered the Stalinist slanders and disruption with a political counter-campaign to make clear to the masses the political issues involved.

The Stalinists sent gangs into the streets to harass and abuse the distributors of the Trotskyist press. This attack turned into a fiasco and boomeranged. Samasamajist, newspaper of the LSSP, reports: "Instead of reducing our sales, this has only served to increase them. Firstly, the public immediately sympathizes with us. Secondly, the fighting spirit of our sellers is roused . . . abuse was met with political slogans. Threats did not deter our sellers. In the end the abuse stopped. Our sales went on."

Ever since the "hartal" the

Stalinists have redoubled their attacks on the Trotskyist leaders of the masses. The role of the Stalinists in the "hartal" is clearly depicted in a dispatch from Ceylon which appeared in the Indian paper, Socialist Appeal, of late September:

### ROLE IN "HARTAL"

"It is interesting to study the role of the various opposition parties in the August uprising. The Lanka Samasamaja Party (Trotskyist), the leading working class party of Ceylon, played the leading role in the struggle. Of the 500 people arrested during the struggle more than 450 were its members, sympathizers or members of its Youth Leagues. Several of its national leaders, for example, Chomondy Goonewardene, Socialist member of Parliament till 1952, were arrested in the struggle. The main centers of the struggle correspond to the main centers of LSSP mass influence."

"The Communist Party, the bourgeois press played leaders of the 'hartal' with the intention of presenting the struggle as Moscow-commanded and Moscow-led, participated together with the LSSP in the 'hartal' committee which prepared the August 12 strike, but did not play any outstanding role in the struggle. In the main center of its influence, around Galle, the emergency measures were quickly lifted, no mass uprisings having taken place. While emergency measures were still in force in the centers of mass uprising, and the whole opposition press suppressed, the government allowed Mr. Keuneman, main CP-leader, to make a public speech on the radio. He was certainly not considered as the UNP's (capitalist government party) enemy No. 1."

### "A GOOD TEST"

"The August uprising therefore furnishes the Ceylon masses with a good test as to the willingness of the different opposition parties to engage in a serious struggle against the reactionary capitalist government. To talk about left unity is one thing. To be willing to forge left unity in mass action against the class enemy, that is quite something else! The LSSP has shown itself the only working class party to lead the fighting masses on that road, onwards to the overthrow of the capitalist government and the building of an anti-capitalist workers' and peasants' government."

The latest issue of Samasamajist hails the 25th Anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party: "To our comrades of the SWP in the USA and to their leaders James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne, who are also celebrating their silver Jubilee as Trotskyists, Samasamajist sends revolutionary greetings! It is our privilege to fight side by side with such valiant comrades for socialism."

# Jomo Kenyatta Tells About His People

By Ralph Carlton

FACING MOUNT KENYA, by Jomo Kenyatta. British Book Centre, 339 pp., \$4.

Today Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union, accused of directing the Mau Mau Society, is in prison, serving a seven year sentence. His appeal to a higher court has been rejected. The Mau Mau struggle continues, and so does repression by the British. Kenya no longer is the white man's paradise in Africa.

Kenyatta, a brilliant student of the London School of Economics, wrote his book shortly before World War II. What he has to say is even more interesting when it is republished in 1953 since he makes us understand the cause of the desperate struggle of Kenya's one million-strong Gikuyu (not Kikuyu, as the newspapers spell it) people — no gang of savages but a community with an ancient republican constitution, a carefully organized society ruined by the imperialist occupiers.

### TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Gikuyus have no noblemen. Every family in this agricultural society has the right to acquire land and to develop it. The universal tribal membership is not based on property. There exists (or existed) a council of elders; and, in order to avoid despotism of any kind, a rotation system of generations. The men between 18 and 40 all belong to a clan of warriors for the defense of the soil. The Gikuyus have their own criminal and civil law. Every man is obliged to get married, because their society rests upon a family structure. He can have several wives, each wife and her children having her own hut and fields but sharing certain tasks in common with the other wives. Women are highly respected.

No serfdom or wage-workers were known before the arrival of the whites in the 19th century. Iron ore is found in the sand and was used from time immemorial for making spears, mainly to fight the wild animals. Native education and instruction are rather informal and admirably suited to the needs of tribal life.

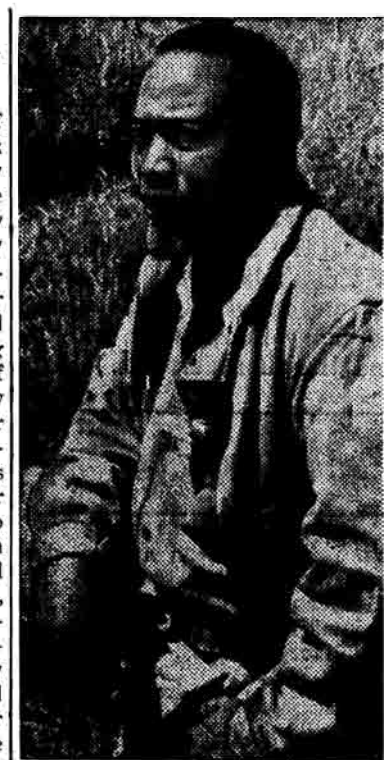
And despite the indignation of many missionaries and the lack of understanding expressed by other Europeans, some of the sexual habits of the Gikuyus show a higher and healthier morality than those of the capitalist world.

While the Gikuyus' social order does not include any communal land property (the land being owned by families), the idea of sharing everything is generally accepted and a strong feeling for collectivism and national solidarity makes numerous families grant temporary cultivation or building rights on their land to other families. To help others in this way seems perfectly natural to them; and in this respect, too, their morals are certainly superior to those of capitalist landowners. A family whose property includes a salt-lick, a mineral spring, pasture lands, roads or public places will not try to use them for private profit but allows the entire community to benefit from these conveniences.

### LANDS STOLEN

The British therefore considered these collectively-used but privately-owned properties communal land, and seized them, declaring that all communal lands belonged to the English Crown. This was the beginning of the big steal which ultimately drove the Gikuyus to revolt.

The white colonialists seized an ever-increasing area, transforming many farmers into tenants.



JOMO KENYATTA

and dispossessing the Gikuyus of their best agricultural soil, condemning them to starvation, serfdom or a miserable half-slavery in the white man's towns. Moreover, the Gikuyus' democratic system of government was destroyed by the British who introduced corruption and bribery and also demolished the democratic mechanism of native justice.

The Gikuyu chiefs repeatedly complained in London about the

British land robbery; and Kenyatta, the grandson of a seer and magician and son of a landowner, familiar with African and European civilization, was their spokesman before the Royal Commission set up to investigate the case. His eloquent defense of his people's rights could not, however, prevent the imperialists from pursuing the destruction of the Gikuyus' economy and thus provoking their militant resistance.

We recommend the Gikuyu leader's highly stimulating and well-written book to all those who wish to learn more about Kenya than the imperialist press wants them to know.

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# NAACP Recruiting

By Donald Chase

CHICAGO — Membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "is running 15% ahead of last year," Gloster B. Current, the NAACP director of branches, said the other day.

Nevertheless, the NAACP is nowhere the size it reached at the end of World War II, and it is still far from the membership it could and should have to accomplish the job for which it was created.

In Chicago, for example, approximately one out of every 100 of the Negro population is a member. This revealing fact was disclosed at a recent kick-off rally for the Chicago membership drive. The meeting, attended by about 300, heard that there were 6,000 enrolled in the local branch, and that the goal for the month's recruitment campaign is 1,500.

A state officer scolded the meeting for the low attendance. But neither scoldings nor intense activity during the month's campaign will make the NAACP the large and representative organization it should be. To do this, the NAACP must meet the needs of the Negroes of this city.

Their needs are great. Their problems many. But current NAACP policy depends too much upon "people of good will" and its fight is too limited to legal court channels. Their actions affect primarily the professionals and the more privileged section of the Negro community. These things tend to isolate the organization from the great bulk of the Negro workers.

Chicago is the city of "Cicero" and "Trumbull Park." It is the city of the Labor Day tenement fire that snuffed out 18 lives. It is a city absorbing an annual increase of 20,000 Negroes a year from

the South. A bold program to meet the problems of discrimination, housing and employment, presented in a way to encourage rank-and-file participation, could win huge support for the NAACP.

The Trumbull Park incidents showed how directly the Negro struggle is linked with the trade union struggle. When Negro families were moved into an all-white public housing project, racist elements stoned and harassed them. At the same time Negro workers at a nearby steel plant were beaten.

These efforts to divide the workers along race lines benefit the capitalist class. But they menace both the labor and Negro movements. Both will lose ground unless they unite to stop the white supremacists.

The NAACP should have taken the initiative and appealed to the steel union to join it in creating defense guards to protect the tenants and the workers. Such a step would have been an effective blow against Jim Crow — and a tremendous boost to the prestige and membership of the NAACP.

The NAACP needs the Negro community, and the Negro community needs the NAACP. Both can play their proper role if the NAACP will overcome the weaknesses of its program and of out-of-date organizational methods, and present the Negro community with what it is looking for — a fighting outfit, spearheading the struggle to smash Jim Crow and the other obstacles to decent living conditions.

Militant workers of all races should support and join the NAACP and help turn it into a more effective instrument of struggle by the Negro and labor movements.

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## Irvin Wins New Hearing In Frame-up

Walter Lee Irvin, Negro farm hand who has twice been sentenced to death on the false charge of raping a white woman in Groveland, Fla., filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington through the NAACP on Nov. 7. This is the second time the case has gone to the Supreme Court.

The frame-up began in 1949, when the white supremacists decided to terrorize Negro workers who were asking for wage raises. After the rape cry was raised, a reign of terror lasting for several days drove the whole Negro community out of their homes. One Negro was lynched by a sheriff's posse. Irvin and Samuel Shepherd were convicted by a lily-white jury in a lynch atmosphere.

The Supreme Court reversed the convictions in 1951 on the ground that the events surrounding the trial did not "meet any civilized conception of due process of law." Then a sheriff, transporting the two prisoners from the state penitentiary, shot Shepherd to death and severely wounded Irvin. The sheriff went scot-free.

The second trial again denied Irvin due process of law. The NAACP appeal lists 22 errors of legal procedure at the trial which doomed Irvin a second time.

## Safety Violations Kill 7



A dazed longshoreman awaits first aid beside an ambulance in Boston after a series of chemical explosions on the Norwegian freighter Black Falcon killed seven men. Most of the dead fell back into the flaming hold as they tried to climb to safety. The International Longshoremen's Ass'n charged safety violations were responsible for the blast.

## Youngstown SWP Celebrates Founding of Party

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Nov. 14 — A meeting in celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Trotskyist movement in America was held last night at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Jack Wilson, speaker of the evening, recounted the history of the difficult struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party in this country in opposition to the powerful movements headed by the Social Democrats and Stalinists.

The decision of James P. Cannon and his collaborators in 1928 to break from the Communist Party which they had helped found was of historic importance, he said. It assured the appearance on a world-wide scale of the truth about Stalinist degeneration in the Soviet Union.

This made it possible to revive the emancipating program of Marxism and to organize combat parties of the working class capable of opening up the road to socialism.

Wilson told how the pioneer American Trotskyists created the Socialist Workers Party, withstanding all pressures, whether from the forces of capitalism or Stalinism, even though from time to time they found reflection in the ranks of the party itself.

The latest struggle of this type came to a successful conclusion within recent weeks, he said. Like its predecessors it was a struggle over program. A minority grouping, leaning in the direction of Stalinism, sought to "junk" what they called "the old Trotskyism."

As in previous cases, the struggle ended in victory for the orthodox program of Trotskyism, which is the name Marxism is known by today.

## "MOON IS BLUE" IRKS CENSORS AND BIGOTS

By Trent Hutter

"The Moon is Blue" is another movie condemned by the Catholic Church and the Breen Office, the self-censorship board of the movie industry. It is drawing good

audiences throughout the country despite, or perhaps because of, the ban by the professional bluesmen and conformists.

Is it a political comedy? Does it attack the witch hunt? Does it mock religion or the Church? No, it is not at all concerned with politics, the witch hunters, or Cardinal Spellman's legions. It's a comedy about sex. Oh, a bedroom farce? Something like the Parisian boulevard plays? No, not at all.

It's perfectly "moral," even if we identify morality with the standards of Puritan behavior. For nobody, in this comedy, goes to bed with a woman without being married to her. Compared to the average French or Italian picture, it's pretty tame stuff. Nor is it a world-shaking work of art, although it is witty and pleasant — a nice and entertaining play transferred to the screen with clever craftsmanship.

### WHY THE BAN?

But what's wrong with it in the opinion of the arch-conformists? Well, there are many jokes about sex and the relationship between the sexes. No dirty or vulgar jokes, however. On the contrary — some of them deal honestly with problems everyone faces in one form or other. And that's precisely what is wrong in the eyes of reactionary fanatics.

Any half-way sincere discussion of sex is taboo at the Breen Office; but with the Breen Office's benediction and the Catholic Church's tolerance innumerable

Hollywood films aiming at sexual excitement in a sugar-coated, dishonest fashion are launched every year.

It is true that no sexually "immoral" things are permitted to happen in the usual Hollywood movies approved by the Breen Office and the Church. But while an adolescent can only get a few sensible ideas about sex from "The Moon is Blue" and will definitely not be corrupted by it, dozens of pictures blessed by the Breen stable show, glorify and indirectly encourage sadism, violence and murder and probably help push many desperate neurotics who are not under a competent doctor's care, to crime and utter misery.

### AGAINST CENSORSHIP

We do not advocate any form of censorship but oppose all its forms. Complete freedom for the creators of better pictures is the only method to raise the level of average productions. Once the public gets used to good pictures, it will increasingly repudiate the bad ones. Thus, the public can be educated.

But the present witch hunt and anti-intellectual conformism make this education impossible on a large scale. First the political and ideological trend has to be reversed. Yet, even now, thousands of people wish to see a better movie when they have the opportunity to do so — which in the average American city is not too often. The tremendous success of "From Here to Eternity" substantiates this thesis.

# NAACP Files Brief in War on Racist Schools

By Manuel Rodriguez

The long, hard legal battle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end segregation of Negro children in schools has once again forced the

issue to a hearing by the U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 7-8. An historic legal decision on segregation is within sight.

To put pressure on the Supreme Court, the Southern bourgeois are preparing to brazenly circumvent any "adverse" decision by organizing a Jim Crow "private" school system. Governor Talmadge of Georgia has given the signal for such a maneuver in the Georgia legislature.

The NAACP attorneys filed a 240-page brief with the Supreme Court on Nov. 16. A small army of 130 lawyers and experts spent 22 weeks preparing the brief, using the combined talents of authorities in all parts of the country.

The brief presents the answers of the NAACP to five questions posed by the Supreme Court last June 8. At that time the court ordered the whole case of segregation in schools to be re-argued. The court will hear appeals on five cases which were decided in favor of Jim Crow in the lower court of South Carolina, Kansas, Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia. The NAACP says in its Nov. 16 press release: "The issue involved in all five cases is whether the states and the District of Columbia have the constitutional power to segregate white and Negro students in separate schools in the elementary and secondary school levels."

The school boards argued their case in the lower courts on the notorious Jim Crow "separate but equal doctrine." In this way they sought to evade the clear intent of the Fourteenth Amendment to destroy all caste and color legislation in the United States.

### NAACP CASE

The NAACP attorneys argue that segregation is in effect unconstitutional and is therefore unconstitutional. They contend that the "Fourteenth Amendment prevents the states from according differential treatment to American children on the basis of their color or race." The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified July 28, 1868. It provides that "no state shall make any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of any citizen of the United States . . . nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The five questions posed by the Supreme Court deal with two points. First, what was the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment when passed? Was it meant to rule out the practice of segregation in schools? Second, in the event that the court decides against segregation, what measures should be taken to implement this decision? Should segregation be stopped immediately, or "may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?"

### DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY

The NAACP brief answers the first set of questions by citing the fact that the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment were men

with a well defined background of Abolitionist doctrine dedicated to the "principles of real and complete equality of all men." The brief shows how the Supreme Court "in a long line of decisions has made it plain that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a state from making racial distinctions in exercise of governmental power."

On the second set of questions, concerning the implementation of a decision overthrowing segregation, the brief takes an unambiguous position in favor of the immediate enactment and enforcement of the law without any "gradual adjustment" formulas. In view of the mobilization of the Southern plutocracy against the legal threat to their Jim Crow system this question of implementation is crucial. Governor Talmadge, in his address to the Georgia Legislature on Nov. 17, said, "But if an adverse decision is forthcoming, there is no reason to believe such a decision would apply under any circumstances to private educational institutions."

Certainly, if the racist strategists are preparing such a sneaky gimmick to defy a decision unfavorable to their Jim Crow rule, there can be no thought of a "gradual adjustment" process for eliminating segregation. The whole concept of "gradualism" in the fight against Jim Crow is the invention and rationalization of the white supremacists.

### BOURBON STAND

Talmadge gave the Georgia legislature his "solemn promise . . . that as long as I am your Governor there will be no mixed schools and colleges in Georgia." This is the challenge that the anti-discrimination forces must meet.

The NAACP court fight is an important step forward in the struggle. But the reactionary racist forces will not be defeated by court action alone. What the South needs is a militant labor movement to establish democracy by direct mass action. A court decision eliminating segregation in the schools will give a powerful impetus to the fight against Jim Crow. But only the mobilization of the entire labor and minority movement can enforce a legal decision that the Jim Crow forces are determined to obstruct at all costs.

## Louisiana Student Reinstated by Court

The U.S. Supreme Court, on Monday Nov. 8, granted a motion to permit Alexander P. Tureaud Jr., 17-year-old Negro student, to continue his studies at Louisiana State University. This order sets aside temporarily a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals decision reversing an injunction under which Tureaud was enrolled at LSU.

A Louisiana District Court had enjoined the University to permit Tureaud to attend on the grounds that it offered courses unavailable elsewhere. The Supreme Court will now review the entire case on Tureaud's petition.

## Women Not Counted

By Joyce Cowley

"I am the mother of three small children, trying to collect my unemployment checks. This week I took my oldest with me to sign for a check. This seemed to incense the clerk, who told me since I have children, I have no business trying to collect my checks. I am very puzzled — what have my children (who are the reasons I work) got to do with this?"

I read this letter in the N.Y. Post some weeks ago and decided the clerk must be one of those men who think mother's place is always in the home, ignoring the fact that millions of mothers are the main breadwinners for that home.

I was wrong. I found out today that this was not an isolated remark by a prejudiced clerk. It's a national policy of discrimination against working wives and mothers.

"JOBLESS TOTAL LOW," says a headline in the Sunday Times. Then — "JOBS HARDER TO GET." There's a contradiction here. Usually, when the jobless total is low, jobs are fairly easy to get. The labor force has not grown in the last year. In fact, it has declined a little. Yet unemployment has dropped to an all time post-war low. "What," asks the Times, "has happened to the 500,000 to 700,000 'normal' additions to the labor force?"

The next paragraph of their own report answers this question. "Women, older men and youths leaving the labor market are not counted as unemployed. Finding jobs harder to get, they are withdrawing from the labor market or not coming into it. The housewife decided to become a full-time homemaker, the older man chose retirement, the teen-age boy was not so easily lured from school. Among this margin-

al group, the decision to work or not to work is contingent upon the easy availability of jobs."

This is, of course, a slick way to conceal the true figures on unemployment. The "homemaker" who got laid off and can't find a job is not unemployed — she "withdrew" from the labor force. The Times admits this withdrawal will mean a cut in family income. I wonder how many families, with prices and taxes what they are today, voluntarily accept a cut in income? And the older person who "chose" retirement — possibly, according to the Times, because social security has afforded broader protection the past two years. My mother's social security went up from \$47 to \$60 a month, yet this magnificent increase did not induce her to retire. In obvious defiance of national employment policies, she considers herself unemployed.

About a year ago women, older men and youths were not "marginal groups." They were a great new source of labor power to man factories for defense. Articles extolled their outstanding contributions and pointed out how much it helped the individual, too, to feel that he was an essential part of our economy.

But this year there's a cease-fire in Korea and in spite of the armaments program and the drive toward war, we have surplus people again. Why don't they go back to the kitchen, or stay in school, or retire to a home for the aged? Official figures on unemployment dwindle as women are shifted to the status of full time housewife, but I don't believe that working women are going to meekly accept this sleight of hand. They know when they're unemployed and they'll speak out.

## Notes from the News

A CONSERVATIVE AFL leader, James A. Campbell, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, said about the 1,456 people purged as "security risks" by the Eisenhower administration: "Most of them were fired simply because the present administration thinks that anyone who ever worked under Roosevelt or Truman ought to be fired."

TAFT-HARTLEYISM IN ACTION. The Fur and Leather Workers Union has brought suit against the NLRB to restrain it from putting into effect a new ruling. The ruling deprives unions of the right to participate in collective bargaining if any of their officers are under indictment for falsely signing the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. Ben Gold, President of the Fur Workers Union, is under such an indictment. The Taft-Hartley Law requires non-Communist oaths from union officers. The first move against the unions under this law was to lift a union's bargaining rights if its officers failed to sign the oath. Now, under this new rule, the mere accusation that an officer of the union falsely signed the oath is sufficient pretext to open a union-smashing drive against it. It was announced that the Justice Department is "studying" the non-Communist affidavits of 500 union officers.

JAMES BURNHAM was forced to resign from the advisory board of the Partisan Review because of his pro-McCarthyite position and activities. The magazine announced in its recent issue that it couldn't tolerate "neutrality" on the issue of McCarthyism. Burnham contended that McCarthyism was invented by "Communist tacticians" for purposes of "diversionary semantics."

PROGRESSIVE PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, Vincent Hallinan, was convicted of income tax evasion on Nov. 14, in San Francisco. "The prosecution," said Hallinan, "did everything possible to prejudice the jury against me by mentioning political activity, red-baiting

and political jibes. I think we can assume that those things influenced the jury. These are parlous times." Hallinan is an attorney and has been actively associated with the defense of Longshore Union leader Harry Bridges.

AN FBI STOOL PIGEON attacked McCarthy for interfering with his "undercover work" and undermining his effectiveness as an informer. Paul F. Hacko, of Gloversville, N. Y., is the stool pigeon. He is employed by the General Electric company and has been stooling on the workers for the FBI since August 1952, according to his statement. McCarthy hauled him before his Subcommittee on Investigations in the course of the hearings on the General Electrical plant in Schenectady. As a result of the questioning, Hacko's stool pigeoning was inadvertently revealed. The FBI has refused to comment on the case.

FINGERPRINTING OF LONGSHOREMEN in New York and New Jersey, required by a new law, has run into an ironic snag. The N. Y. World Telegram, Nov. 17, reports: "So many (longshoremen) have been maimed in accidents or by arthritis that the commission is finding it difficult, if not impossible, to fingerprint many of them. . . . Twenty percent of the applicants for port watchmen have a finger missing. . . . The skin on the fingertips of many dockers has been worn so smooth by tussels with cargo that the fingers give up no prints at all."

THE UAW-CIO WAS FINED \$20,000 in Columbus, Ohio, as a result of a struggle on the picket line in the North American Aviation Co. strike. The union was charged with violence against eight strike-breakers. Two pickets were injured. One car was seriously damaged. The fine was suspended on condition that the union Local 927, observe "total and complete" conformity to a previous court order limiting picketing.

# What Kind of Guaranteed Annual Wage?

(Continued from page 1)

and the amount the worker gets from state unemployment insurance for up to 52 weeks. The plan would be financed by a special trust fund, amounting to 10 cents for every hour worked. If the trust fund gives out, the company is no longer liable to continue the plan.

Under such a plan, it can readily be seen, the employers could put the workers on a reduced, part-time schedule of 30 hours a week at the old wage rates and speed them up, while laying off those workers not covered. The only way to prevent such a use of the guaranteed annual wage plan would be to enforce a 30-hour week, 40 hours' pay demand.

It is far from excluded that some of the big corporations are seriously considering a "modified" guaranteed annual wage plan along the lines McDonald proposes. It was General Motors itself, remember, that offered the "modified" escalator clause plan to Reuther in return for certain big concessions from Reuther. Similarly, U.S. Steel and General Motors, with the connivance of the union officials, can cook up a profitable deal on the guaranteed annual wage.

A hint to this effect is given

by Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the N. Y. World Telegram, leading Scripps-Howard newspaper, in his Oct. 20 column. He observes that "corporations are in a better position to move in on the guaranteed annual wage idea today than ever before. They have done a great deal toward diversification of their operations and they also have built up rather large cash reserves. Many of them could establish funds of fixed amounts, from which withdrawals could be made for insurance payments to long-term employees should they be forced into unemployment."

"Any such payments undoubtedly would be tied in with unemployment insurance already provided for by the government. They would be designed, in fact, to supplement government payments, and it is entirely possible that employees may be asked to make contributions to such insurance funds along with corporations."

### TOO "FLEXIBLE"

Here we see the same emphasis on such factors as "established funds of fixed amounts" and "long-term employees" as is contained in the McDonald plan. In addition, there are the provisions for the employees to be required

to pay into their own guaranteed wage fund — that is, they pay their own wages if they are laid off. There is no assurance that McDonald or Reuther won't buy this feature also.

Indeed, Otis Brubaker described the proposed steel union demand for a guaranteed annual wage as "flexible." "We are prepared to bargain out the proposal, but we can't do that so long as industry is frightened by the idea," Brubaker told the steel union's wage policy conference. If the union officials are ready to "bargain out" an already weak proposal, what will the plan be like by the time it is reduced to dimensions where industry won't be "frightened by the idea?"

Of equal importance is what McDonald or Reuther may propose to give up in exchange for such a plan. As far back as the steelworkers founding convention in May 1942, the proposal for a guaranteed annual wage was used to cover up for the union leaders' retreat on hourly wage demands. At that time, the steelworkers were demanding a one dollar a day wage increase and their demands were before the War Labor Board. Murray then raised the guaranteed annual wage idea simply to divert atten-

tion from the then live issue of a one dollar a day increase.

Shortly thereafter, the War Labor Board handed down its infamous "Little Steel Formula" which was used as the basis of a wage freeze not only in steel, but in all industries. Murray and his lieutenant McDonald bowed to the WLB and then put the guaranteed annual wage idea into mothballs. Has McDonald raised it now, 11 years later, to sidetrack other important issues of does he intend to really push the demand for the annual wage?

### NO READINESS TO FIGHT

Even at the Wage Policy Committee meeting, McDonald showed no readiness for a fight. He laid the basis for hedging. "I don't predict the guaranteed wage will come overnight," he said and indicated that the demand will not be pushed as hard as some others for improved pensions and social insurance. McDonald appears more interested in establishing "harmony" between capital and labor, as shown by his "good-will tour" with U.S. Steel head Benjamin Fairless around the steel mills, than in leading a struggle of the steel workers for better conditions.

In any event, if the guaranteed annual wage does become a

serious issue of the negotiations of the steelworkers next year and of the auto workers in 1955, it is my personal opinion that Reuther and McDonald may turn the proposal into a "give-away" program. It is not beyond them to make vital concessions to the corporations on wages, hours and working conditions in exchange for some phony "limited" or "modified" guaranteed wage plan, such as the one presented to the steelworkers wage policy committee.

The workers would do well to examine any proposal for a guaranteed annual wage with a gimlet eye, and to keep pressing, in all cases, for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. It would be hard for the corporations and the labor fakery to foul up the demand for a reduced work week and higher hourly wages without the workers seeing through their game at once.

Readers are invited to send us their opinions on the guaranteed annual wage and 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, and reports on what the workers in the plants are saying about these issues.