

## The Program Needed to Fight Unemployment

By the Editors

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

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

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

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

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

### Reasons for Present Anxiety

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

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

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

Moreover, government spending continues close to the high level of the Korean War. The May Survey of Current Business of the U.S. Department of Commerce notes that the combined federal, state and local government purchases of goods and services declined from an annual rate of \$85½ billion in the fourth quarter of 1953 to \$82 billion in the first quarter of 1954.

### Need Far-Reaching Measures

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Nationalize the basic industries under the control of the workers.**

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

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

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

**Build an Independent Labor Party.**

Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 24



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

PRICE: 10 CENTS

## Here Are Questions M'Carthy Should Be Made to Answer

### Breadline in California



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

## "No Help Wanted" Signs Face June Graduates

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

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

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

### PHONY FIGURES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Is Eisenhower Worse Threat than M'Carthy?

By Murry Weiss

Which is the greater danger confronting the American working class? The danger of a police state of the type Truman and Eisenhower have been building? Or the danger of a fascist regime from the direction of the McCarthys?

After all, it can be argued, Eisenhower is President and in this post has powers for conducting the witch hunt that greatly surpass McCarthy's powers as a Senator. Furthermore, the Eisenhower administration is using these powers to the hilt and victimizing many more people than McCarthy can.

In our opinion, it would be wrong to conclude from these facts that Eisenhower is the

greater and McCarthy the lesser danger. The greatest danger to the American workers is fascism. The whole political situation in the United States poses the alternative: either the workers will become the political power or they will be defeated by fascism.

The fascist threat is not something distant and remote. It is manifested right now in a growing fascist movement — the McCarthyite faction in the Republican and Democratic parties.

## Kutcher Hailed at Civil Liberties Rally in Buffalo

BUFFALO, June 7 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran, spoke here Friday night at the largest civil liberties defense meeting on the Niagara Frontier in many years. According to an estimate by the Buffalo Evening News, 150 persons attended. The audience was largely composed of workers, students and liberals, who gathered at the Hotel Statler to hear the story of the Kutcher case and calls for resistance to the witch hunt. The Empire State Room of the hotel was fully packed, with every seat occupied.

The meeting was sponsored by the local Kutcher Civil Liberties Committee, composed of prominent labor and liberal leaders. Among them were Edward F. Gray, sub-regional director of the UAW-CIO in this area; Rev. Robert Adams, pastor of the Salem Evangelical and Reformed Church; Prof. Clyde Summers of the University of Buffalo Law School, who is chairman of the Buffalo chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Richard Lipsitz, outstanding civil rights lawyer and chairman of the Liberal Party. The meeting was opened by the temporary chairman, Lewin T. Griswold, who introduced Lipsitz.

The committee publicized this event in a large newspaper advertisement, read by tens of thousands, which contrasted James Kutcher and G. David Schine. Part of the advertisement said:

"Hear the Story of the Private Who Didn't Ask for Privileges. James Kutcher didn't get extra passes or pictures of himself with the Secretary of the Army. Like most of us he'll never be a hotel chain heir. He wasn't important enough to get out of Sunday K.P."

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### COMMON AIMS

The McCarthys and the Eisenhower administration have certain common objectives which they share with all political wings of the capitalist class. They are all committed to Wall Street's war drive. And therefore they all want to destroy the capacity of the working class of America to resist the consequences of this drive. The war drive is the source of the witch hunt — both the Truman and Eisenhower editions.

But while McCarthyism has this in common with the "old line" Republicans and Democrats, there are important differences between them.

Truman and Eisenhower have been trying to convert the old basic structure of capitalist democracy into a more effective machine for the suppression of the workers. They want to erase the threat of working class resistance to their foreign and domestic program — but they don't want to give up the old political mechanisms from which they derive their power. They are trying to make the machinery of

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McCARTHY

## His Fascist Aims Must Be Exposed

By George Breitman  
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator

JUNE 9 — When McCarthy takes the stand at the Senate hearings, there will be an opportunity to expose his fascist connections, backing, methods and perspectives before millions of people.

If I were a member of the Senate committee, these are some of the questions I would ask him:

"All of the avowed labor-haters, Negro-baiters and anti-Semites in this country, including Gerald L. K. Smith and Westbrook Pegler, openly endorse you and your aims. Why is it that you have never repudiated their support?"

"How much money and other material support have you received from the Texan oil millionaires? We know that you voted in favor of the tidelands giveaway program turning billions of dollars of oil over to the states. What other reasons make these reactionary white supremacists so eager to help you?"

"When you were first elected to the Senate in 1946, you said you favored breaking the current coal strike by drafting John L. Lewis and the strikers into the Army, and court-martialing them for 'insubordination' if they didn't end their strike. Isn't that still your program for handling strikers?"

### AIM: DICTATORSHIP

After McCarthy got done explaining or ducking those questions, I would try to make him tell what kind of political setup he is working to create in this country. I'd ask:

"After Attorney General Brownell accused Truman of 'knowingly' appointing a 'communist spy' to a government post, you said: 'If the Democratic leadership is lying (when it denies knowingly appointing communists), the Democratic Party should be removed from the political stage for all time to come.' My question is: Don't you believe in a one-party dictatorship, where all parties would be removed from the political stage except the party led by you?"

"You say the Democratic Party is guilty of '20 years of treason.' Since treason is a criminal activity, doesn't this mean you favor suppression of the Democratic Party and arrest of those who support it, including leaders of the labor, liberal and other anti-fascist organizations?"

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

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

### LEARNED FROM HITLER

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

"Hitler came to power as fascist dictator by attacking the German republic for '14 years of shame and treason.' Isn't that where you got the idea for your

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## New Bill Threatens Freedom of Press

By John F. Petrone

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

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

Second class mailing rights save millions of dollars for Big Business publications. For small publications, with limited circulation, they usually mean the difference between life and death.

In a few days hearings will

begin in Washington on a bill to give the Postmaster General the power to withdraw these rights from publications that do not meet the political standards of the McCarthys. Entitled HR 3317, it was introduced by Rep. Katharine St. George (R-N. Y.) and prepared in cooperation with the Justice, State and Post Office Departments.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

loss of its second-class mailing rights.

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

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

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

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

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

### "LONG FIRST STEP"

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

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



## American Labor's Oldest Battlecry

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Just Out — Spring Issue  
Of the Marxist Quarterly

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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# Reuther's Guaranteed Wage Plan

By Art Preis

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

Last fall, McDonald made known his specific plan, which was presented to the Aluminum Corporation of America. The Nov. 23, 1953, Militant subjected this plan to a careful study in the light of the workers needs and found a number of grave defects in it. More recently, the proposed auto union plan has been unveiled. A study of this plan indicates that Reuther has carefully noted shortcomings we pointed out in McDonald's scheme and has attempted in the UAW program to meet these objections. At least, he has tried to make it appear that he has met our objections.

In reality, Reuther's plan still leaves some vital questions unanswered or ambiguously answered. This is not so much in what the plan as such proposes, but in what is left unsaid or unclear.

We stated at the start in our previous discussion of this question that 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 the workers."

#### THE KEY QUESTION

At the same time we pointed out that even the best program can be distorted, misapplied or lose its potential benefits if it is "put forward by the union leaders as a substitute for other vital and immediately necessary demands, such as hourly wage increases. On 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."

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

Reuther's plan indicates this



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

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

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

At first glance, it may not be apparent that this declaration contains in it not merely a guarantee for the workers but a guarantee for the employers. We are led to this conclusion even more strongly by the statement given in explanation of the plan as introduced at the UAW-CIO Education Conference in Chicago last April. It says at one point: "The UAW's purpose is really to develop a Guaranteed Employment plan. We use the phrase 'guaranteed wage' because it is widely used and understood. But it is not a completely accurate description of what our union will propose in collective bargaining." (Original emphasis.) If we take this statement together with the actual proposal for a guarantee of "40 straight-time hours of work" it becomes apparent that what is being

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

#### WHAT CONCESSIONS?

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

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

What other concessions will Reuther offer? We can't say. But this is big enough. A large section of the American unions, including several leading CIO internationals, have raised the demand for the shorter work week. The whole AFL is on record to seek the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. In fact, this was a key plank in the program of the UAW itself until it was quietly buried in recent years although it has never been repudiated or withdrawn by any UAW convention.

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

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

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

#### ONE BASIC FLAW

There is one fundamental flaw in every guaranteed annual wage plan that has ever been fostered and Reuther's is no exception. They are guaranteed only up to the limit of certain specific funds. Reuther's plan does provide for better financing than McDonald's and some others. But it is no different in principle, in the final analysis. It would set up a special fund and if and when that fund becomes exhausted, the guarantee folds up too.

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

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

#### ORIGIN OF THE PLAN

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

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

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

The proposal was revived by McDonald and picked up by Reuther only after the end of the Korean War and the rise of mass unemployment. They have used the guaranteed annual wage too show that they have some kind of program on the problem of unemployment. But they have chiefly pushed it as a substitute for effective immediate demands for the shorter work week and as a "long range" perspective that seeks to avoid any fighting action now.

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capitalist democracy do the work of fascism.

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

The American fascists, like their European predecessors, are not content with using the existing machinery of the state to merely suppress the working class. The fascists want to utterly destroy all working class organizations. For this they must dismantle all the traditional democratic forms of the capitalist state.

This difference between the Truman-Eisenhower type of police-states and the McCarthyite fascists must be correctly understood if the working class is to succeed in defeating both.

#### LESSONS OF EUROPE

The European experience showed the inter-relation as well as the differences between the tendencies towards a police state and a fascist movement.

By its very nature fascism plays a dual role in the period of crisis of the democratic rule of capitalism. On the one hand the fascists seek to destroy the "parliamentary system" and on the other hand they work within it, acting as the driving force in the process of police statification of the old structure.

Before the capitalists turn to the fascists for salvation they try to use the old state apparatus to destroy the workers' capacity to struggle. During such periods the fascists don't wait on the sidelines. They act as a whip to the capitalist regime, spurring it on to greater and greater encroachments against the democratic rights of the masses. In that way they prepare for their own seizure of power.

McCarthy plays this fascist double role in American politics. He has spearheaded the organization of a fascist movement which aims at destroying the Democratic and Republican parties and establishing a fascist dictatorship. But he has also played the role of witch-hunter-in-chief in both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

The two functions are inter-related. It is because McCarthy is a fascist that he is so successful in calling the tune for the witch hunt as a whole.

McCarthy's opponents in the Republican administration and among the liberal Democrats don't

## \$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	\$ 65	\$ 80	123
Detroit	500	550	110
San Francisco	700	711	102
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Oakland	250	250	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	392	98
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,145	95
New York	3,000	2,821	94
Cleveland	250	205	82
Chicago	1,500	1,218	81
St. Louis	75	60	80
Los Angeles	2,500	1,977	79
Milwaukee	250	198	79
Pittsburgh	400	312	78
Akron	100	52	52
Seattle	250	85	34
General	260	134	52
Total through June 6	\$14,000	\$12,539	90

## Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

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

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

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

campaign is over Allentown is expanding its pamphlet sales.

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

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

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

## ... Eisenhower and McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

they got his start and began to flourish under Truman.

Stephen A. Mitchell, Democratic national chairman, expressed the view that McCarthy is a danger only insofar as the Republican Party permits him to be: "Remember," says Mitchell, "McCarthy is nothing himself. He has no power they (the Republicans) do not confer upon him. They gave him his chairmanship. They voted him his funds. And, they can withdraw his power or control his methods any time they choose to do so."

In the first place Mitchell tells a barefaced lie. Both the Democrats and Republicans "confer" power on McCarthy and vote him his funds. Has Mitchell forgotten that on Feb. 2 the Senate voted 85 to 1 for McCarthy's appropriations?

But aside from this, there is a dangerous fallacy in Mitchell's point. It is true that McCarthy wields a lot of his power to the Democrats and Republicans. But McCarthy's machine cannot be broken by a mere decision of the Republican high command. McCarthy represents a new political machine in the United States — a fascist machine. It will take more than the capitalist party leaders to destroy that machine.

#### INTERTWINED

This one episode illustrates the essential mechanics of the witch hunt today and the respective roles of the McCarthyite fascists and the administration.

Thus the McCarthy witch hunt and the Eisenhower witch hunt are so closely intertwined that it is often impossible to distinguish where one begins and the other ends. Every blow we strike at Eisenhower's witch hunt is a blow against McCarthyism, and every blow we strike against McCarthyism weakens the Eisenhower witch hunt. That's why it is false to counterpose an immediate Eisenhower danger to an allegedly remote McCarthy danger.

#### DISTORTIONS

The Democratic liberals, followed by the reformist labor officials and the Stalinists, introduce a grotesque distortion into the question of the "main danger." They say that because McCarthy is the main danger, therefore the workers must support the "democratic" capitalist parties and above all the Democratic Party itself. The liberals imply that the Democrats would do better than Eisenhower in fighting McCarthy. But they neglect to explain why and how McCarthy

catch any "reds" and "spies" of his own. All he does is exploit "achievements" of others. Eisenhower publishes his "box score" in the red hunt. Truman boasts: "I'm the only man who ever sent a Communist to jail." Both Truman and Eisenhower complain about McCarthy hogging the red-hunting headlines when he doesn't have the number of "scalps" they have.

The complaint is beside the point. Who, for example, should be "credited" with Oppenheimer's "scalp"? McCarthy had only to charge that there was a "treasonous" 18-month delay in building the H-Bomb and the administration promptly handed him Oppenheimer's head. Who gets the "credit"? McCarthy, who cracked the whip? Or Eisenhower, who jumped and ordered Oppenheimer's victimization?

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By DANIEL GUERIN

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# Indo-Chinese Fight to End Colonial Slavery

By Daniel Roberts

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

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

The popularity of the Vietnam

has been acknowledged by all observers including those who write for the capitalist press. It has been taken into account by the French negotiators at the Geneva conference, who have turned down Vietnamese proposals to settle the war by means of a popular vote in Indo-China supervised by the opposing sides. The French refusal has been repeatedly cited by the N. Y. Times and the Herald-Tribune as stemming from a certain knowledge that the Vietnam would win such an election hands down.

## POPULAR SUPPORT

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

Why then have the French been

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

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

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

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

## TORE UP AGREEMENT

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

The French government was all

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

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

## U.S. GOVT. FEARS

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

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

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

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

## Guatemala's Real Enemy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Quit Persecuting Carl Skoglund!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Frameup in the Plants

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

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

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

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

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

ing the witch hunt drive in another form in the hope of "outflanking" McCarthy. For McCarthy's aim as a fascist is to smash the unions, and witch hunting is designed to soften them up.

McCarthy's enmity to the unions is a matter of public record. In 1946, shortly after he was elected to the Senate he declared in a press interview that the government ought to end the coal strike by drafting the striking miners and court-martialing them for "insubordination" if they still refused to mine coal.

Thus the N. Y. Times quoted McCarthy at the time: "... the President should use his powers to immediately draft John L. Lewis into the armed services. Lewis should be directed to order his miners to mine coal. If he does not do that, he should be court-martialed. ... If subordinates of Lewis fail to order the miners back, they should be court-martialed."

Here is McCarthy's real program, which he hopes to realize by means of the witch hunt.

McCarthy can't be diverted from his goal. But he can be defeated if he is met head on. The union leaders must defy McCarthy. They must announce that they will defend their members from frameup and firings whether conducted by the McCarthy committee or any other witch hunting agency. They must specifically endorse the right of their members to resort to the Fifth Amendment and encourage its use. They must direct their members not to cooperate with the McCarthy committee in any way.

And they must teach their members the danger that witch hunting and McCarthyism represent to the life of the union movement.

## Contend for N. Y. Central Rule



Riding same train, but different cars, Pres. William White (left) of the N. Y. Central and financier Robert Young (right) on way to stockholders' meeting to decide control of the \$2.6 billion railroad. White represents Wall Street interests, including the Morgans. Young, who claims to represent "small stockholders," speaks for new powerful money combine. Among the "small stockholders" who backed Young were Clint Murchison and Syd Richardson, Texas oil barons reputedly supporters of Senator McCarthy, who voted 800,000 shares of the 6,447,410 outstanding shares of common stock.

## SPECIAL TRAIN

ANNUAL MEETING  
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ALBANY

## By Fred Hart

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

Now it's 1954, and the Stalinists have published a draft program, "The American Way to Jobs, Peace and Democracy," which brings them full circle and all the way back to—"Browderism."

The crassly class-collaborationist character of the CP program has been exposed in previous issues of the Militant (March 15, March 29, May 3, May 10). Here we want to deal only with the perspective that the Stalinists today hold out for the Negro struggle.

## DEMOCRATS' ROLE

The Democratic Party is traditionally the party of white supremacy. Its Northern wing spouts fine talk about FEPC (to woo the Northern Negro and labor vote) but its Southern wing (Dixiecrats and non-Dixiecrats alike) always vetoes FEPC and other anti-Jim Crow legislation. There is a division of labor between the two wings, and when Northern workers and Negroes help to put the Democrats in power nationally, they thereby give the Southern Democrats, by virtue of their greater seniority, the chairmanships of congressional committees and enable them all the more effectively to block all progressive legislation.

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

The next big step the Negro movement must take in order to exert its political influence against the Jim Crow system is

to break with the Democratic Party.

Yet that is what the Stalinists fear and want to prevent at all costs.

## PERRY'S FEARS

One has only to read the article by the Stalinist leader, Petis Perry, discussing the CP's draft program in the May Political Affairs, to see how determined they are to keep the Negro movement trapped on the Democratic merry-go-round.

The Democrats had better wise up and get on the ball, Perry says; and if they don't know what's good for them, he's ready to advise them.

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

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

## THE QUESTION

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

"Unfortunately," Perry continues gloomily, "when this question is raised, some people, including our own, ask the question: How would it be possible

for the Negro people to desert such an alliance? Where would they go? Obviously the answer to that question is that it is possible that in the midst of such a situation the Negro people may decide to go it alone. This, in our judgment, would be wrong."

That's why the Stalinists are begging the Democrats to get a new and less embarrassing look. That's why they are exerting all the influence they have to pervert and channelize back into the Democratic Party the current promising developments toward independent political action among Negroes, today taking the form primarily of movements for Negro representation in office.

And that's why militant Negroes have to fight the Stalinists as well as the capitalist politicians if they want to raise the Negro struggle for equality to a higher political level and to equip it with a program and a perspective capable of bringing victory.

## WHY THE WORRY

The Stalinists profess horror at the prospect of Negroes "going it alone" — that is, breaking with the old parties — because it conflicts with the Kremlin's aim of seeking a deal with U.S. capitalism by penetrating the Democratic Party. But militant Negroes have no reason whatever to be frightened by such a prospect.

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

The question is: Must the Negroes mark time patiently until the labor leaders eventually get pushed off their seats and into motion for a Labor Party? Or can Negroes even now take independent action to hasten the Labor Party development?

## MUST NEGROES WAIT?

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

movement, because they don't believe that Negroes by themselves are capable of leading or decisively affecting political developments.

Our view is altogether different. A minority group like the Negroes cannot abolish the Jim Crow system by itself, but it can hasten its abolition, and win the necessary allies to assure its abolition, by following a bold, militant and independent policy of struggle. That's what happened in the fight against slavery. And that's what can happen in the fight for a Labor Party.

As we pointed out in this paper last Feb. 8, a break of the Negro people with the Democratic Party would have thoroughly progressive consequences. For one thing, it would put heavy pressure on the labor leaders "who know how difficult it would be for them to help elect their Democratic candidates without the support of the Negro voters. If the labor leaders can be shown that the Negro people are no longer going to vote Democrat and that as a result the Democrats will stand little chance of being elected, then the result would be to weaken the alliance between the labor leaders and the Democrats and to force the labor movement into at least considering a new political policy. This course of action could strengthen the pro-Labor Party forces in the unions."

By breaking with the Democrats, as we urge, the Negro people can speed up the formation of a Labor Party. By sticking with the Democrats, as the Stalinists and Democrats advise, the Negro people can't change the present trend appreciably or at all let alone improve their conditions.

Let the Stalinists go into the Democratic Party if they wish. But don't let them mislead a single militant Negro or worker into following them! The job of militant Negroes and their white allies is to break with the capitalist parties, not to infiltrate those parties in the illusion that they can be reformed. Our job is to work for a Labor Party and to help guide the growing movement for Negro representation in office in such a way that it won't become swallowed up in the mire of capitalist politics.

## ... Queries of M'Carthy

(Continued from page 1)

"20 or 21 years of treason charge?"

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

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

## FASCIST NETWORK

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

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

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

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

## WHY HE FEELS SAFE

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

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

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

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

## WILL THEY BE ASKED?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## In Reply to a Reader — Part 3

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

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

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

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

and nationality groups against each other.

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

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

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

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

## Children in Court

By Joyce Cowley

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kids get trained for just one thing — a life of adult crime.

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

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

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

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

## Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VOLUME XVIII

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1954

NUMBER 24

# THE MILITANT

## Bitter Strike Struggle



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

## ... Kutcher Hailed at Civil Liberties Rally

(Continued from page 1)

All he did was lose his legs in battle in war." The committee also sent out a letter which gave details of the Kutcher appeal and urged support and attendance of the meeting.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to applauding Kutcher's speech, the audience responded with the purchase of 34 copies of his book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," and with \$120 collection and further pledges for the future.

At the close of the meeting Kutcher received a silver wrist watch from a group of friends and supporters. Dorothy Haines, the young Negro woman who made the presentation of the gift, said in the course of her remarks:

### BEST TRADITIONS

"You have all read how Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia said that he would not enforce the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing school segregation. He said it would take the U.S. Army to do it. Here is a man who openly threatened violence, not only against us 15 million Negro people, but against the government itself, including its very army. But our good Attorney General hasn't put him on the subversive list. No government agency has labeled him as disloyal or a security risk. The FBI didn't investigate him."

There was a burst of applause for this and for her statement that Jimmy Kutcher "symbolizes in our eyes the best and most militant traditions in the long uphill struggle for freedom."

Kutcher's visit to Buffalo caused considerable discussion among labor, liberal and academic circles in the community. Outstanding among them was Buffalo State Teachers College, where the Kutcher committee placed a small advertisement in the student paper, the Record. Although the advertisement was finally accepted, it was later learned that a heated controversy had taken place as a result of reactionary pressure exerted upon the editorial staff from undisclosed sources. In the issue of the Record in which the ad was printed there was also an editorial which in part stated:

**"A LITTLE ASHAMED"** "Freedom of the press is one thing we've always taken for granted around the Record office. . . . That's why it was so upsetting (understatement) when we sat down and analyzed our reactions to the insertion of a particular advertisement in this issue of the Record. . . . The staff spent an entire afternoon on the phone contacting everyone from the Grosvenor Library and the Socialist Workers Party (no answer) to the FBI. . . . But, concluded the editorial, "Stronger than our doubtfulness is the affirmation that . . . everyone still has a right to be heard. And we are a little ashamed of our suspicions."

At the Kutcher meeting there was a substantial representation of the student body of Buffalo State Teachers College as well as several other universities and schools.

## New Political Shift Shown In California Primaries

Early reports on the California June 8 primaries reveal a number of significant developments:

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

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

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

The Tenney machine conducted a frenzied campaign along fascist lines, claiming that the liberal labor and minority opposition was a plot of "organized Jewry."

(3) James Roosevelt won a six-to-one victory in the Democratic primary for Congress from the 26th District in Los Angeles. He ran second in the Republican primary. Roosevelt was opposed by the Democratic National Committee just as Condon was. He has been under fire from a combination of Democratic and Republican right-wingers, who conducted a big smear campaign involving his marital difficulties.

The N. Y. Times saw in the Roosevelt candidacy a test which "may provide clues to a number of questions far beyond the boundaries of the state." Among these the Times lists: "How great, at this political juncture, is the appeal of the New Deal political philosophy, as expounded

ed here by a namesake of its author?" and, "How much political magic still clings to the name of Roosevelt?"

The 26th Congressional District is largely working class and lower middle class in composition.

(4) For the first time in over 40 years of the cross-filing system in California, the Democrats, according to present indications, completely captured the Democratic column in a primary election. In recent years the Republicans have frequently captured the Democratic primaries.

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

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

These new anti-reactionary tendencies in the political mood of the working people receive the distorted expression of shifts between the two old parties. These shifts, and the disappointments that follow them, will continue as long as labor permits the capitalists to maintain their monopoly, control of politics through the two-party system. The working people's demands will not be satisfied until they build a party of their own, a Labor Party.

## RACISTS EXPLODE MORE BOMBS AT TRUMBULL PK.

CHICAGO, June 5 — "We've done everything possible to maintain order at Trumbull Park. The police officers are on the job and they are doing a good job," said Mayor Kennelly last Friday.

This, in effect, is the mayor's answer to the warning of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that there would be a mass march on City Hall unless he took decisive action to end the racist terror that has been going on at Trumbull Park, federal housing project, since Negro families first moved into it ten months ago.

The NAACP-sponsored Citizens Committee for Action on Trumbull Park, composed of representatives of labor, church and community organizations, met on May 26 to discuss action proposals. Almost everyone present spoke in favor of the proposed march on City Hall. Many agreed, "I've been to 30 or 40 meetings like this, and all we do is talk. I say let's get down to action!"

The two men were searched illegally and charged with carrying concealed weapons. Their trial came up May 25 and was continued until June 9 at the request of Captain Barnes, head of the police detail in the project.

Police Commissioner O'Connor, in a meeting with NAACP representatives, agreed to call Captain Barnes in to discuss charges that the police detail stationed in the project to protect the Negro families is falling down on the job and working under restrictions. It has been reported by Negro residents in Trumbull Park that a police officer cannot arrest anybody causing disturbances without getting permission from police headquarters.

States Attorney Gutknecht informed the NAACP that it was out of the jurisdiction of his office to get evidence against the rioters in Trumbull Park for a grand jury investigation. He said that only if the evidence was brought into them would an investigation be feasible.

**NO DATE YET** A representative of the CIO Packinghouse Workers made a motion that a definite date be set for the march on City Hall. The chairman ruled him out of order on the grounds that the report was not completed.

Another motion was made to send a mailing to all the local unions in the city asking their support for the demonstration. Willoughby Abner, vice president of the NAACP, and Sam Parks, district anti-discrimination director of the Packinghouse Workers, opposed the motion on the ground that local unions should not be consulted over the head of the CIO Council and "besides the Council has the only available mailing list." The motion was defeated by a small majority.

A motion was made and passed to send for NAACP secretary Walter White and NAACP counsel Thurgood Marshall. One

## OPPOSITION TO REUTHER WINS IN DODGE LOCAL 3

DETROIT — The opposition to President Walter Reuther won six posts out of seven in the elections held in Dodge Local 3 of the CIO United Auto Workers on May 26 and 27. The opposition slate

was headed by incumbents Joe Cheal and Pat Quinn, reelected president and vice-president respectively. The only post won by the Reutherites was that of trustee. All officers were elected for a two-year term.

The anti-Reuther grouping also elected 25 of 30 delegates to this month's Michigan state CIO convention.

### LOCAL 3'S PROGRAM

Dodge Local 3 has been in the forefront in the Detroit area in organizing the unemployed and setting forth their demands. The local's program to combat unemployment is:

- (1) The 30 hour week at 40 hours pay;
  - (2) the establishment of rank and file unemployed councils in all the locals;
  - (3) the holding of regular weekly meetings of the unemployed;
  - (4) the formation of a city-wide unemployment council based on the local council which would agitate for a public works program and higher rates of unemployment compensation, fight against evictions and push for other measures to protect the jobless.
- The program of Dodge Local 3 is making headway throughout the UAW in Detroit. At a recent meeting of UAW presidents a directive was issued to all locals to establish rank and

### James Kutcher Tour Schedule

Detroit	June 5-21
Chicago	
Milwaukee	June 22-July 6
Seattle	July 14-26
Los Angeles	Aug. 1-20
San Francisco	Aug. 22-Sept. 18
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Other dates will be published soon.	