

THE MILITANT

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TWO PARTIES SKIMP ON JOBLESS AID

'We Propose a Socialist Electoral Coalition'

Speech by J.P. Cannon Urging United Action In the 1958 Campaign

We print below the speech delivered by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, at a March 1 SWP Dinner-Meeting where he and Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party Presidential candidate, spoke. The meeting was reported in last week's Militant. The topic of the evening was "United Socialist Political Action in 1958 and the Outlook for American Socialism." —Ed.

The subject assigned to us tonight, as it appears in the advertisements, reads: "United Socialist Political Action in 1958 — and the prospects for American socialists." This two-sided subject proposes action today and suggests, at the same time, that we look ahead and try to see where we are going.

In my opinion, the two sides of the subject are equally important, and they are properly joined together. Unless we consider our outlook it's not easy to take any kind of meaningful action. On the other hand, if we content ourselves with looking at the future as we would like to see it, and do nothing about it today, take no action in the direction of our goal, we debase our vision into a daydream of mopers and idlers.

Direction without motion is just about as useless as motion without direction. If we want to do anything meaningful and purposeful in the present day, we have to look ahead and see the general direction of our goal. And if we want to reach the desired goal, without too much delay we have to get started. We have to get going. That, I think, is the double meaning of the subject assigned to us for our discussion tonight.

Our vision and our goal, to which our lives are committed and which make our lives worthwhile, is the socialist society of the free and equal. And as a next practical, experimental step on the road to that glorious objective, we ought to take a census of the socialist population of this country. We should try to find out how many people will make out their ballots for socialism if the issue is presented to them squarely. To that end we are proposing an electoral coalition of socialist forces for united socialist political action in 1958.

I believe that a survey of the present situation in the American socialist movement will show the feasibility and the timeliness of this proposed next step. There are important historical precedents for this procedure, as I will relate a little later on.

We have to start from where we are. In the discussion and exchange of views that have been taking place, particularly in the past two years, many writers in different publications have turned their attention to this question of just where we stand right now. The trend of opinion seems to range from sober to gloomy.

Some say we're "at rock bottom." Others say "we



James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party (left) and Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate, addressing a March 1 Dinner-Meeting in Los Angeles under the banner, "For United Socialist Political Action in 1958 — Against Both Big Business Parties!" Cannon's speech is published in this issue. Hallinan declared the American people will progress only if socialists "educate them in the truths, the achievements, and the possibilities of socialism. We have to tell them what socialism has done, and we have to point out all its promises and possibilities."

have no place to go but up." And then some real calamity howlers have expressed the opinion that we can't even go up or down or sideways; that all we can do is just sit there and "think," and twiddle our thumbs, and perhaps wait for a new Moses to be discovered in the bullrushes, who will lead us out of this capitalistic Egypt.

Well, I don't believe in unfounded optimism at all, but, as I see it, the reality is a little better than some socialists picture it. There is no doubt, no doubt whatever, that the present position of American socialism is far from good, and far from strong. That's obvious. But what about the other side of the present reality — what about the position of American capitalism? Well, she ain't what she used to be, that's for sure.

This small capitalist segment of the world that aspired only yesterday to rule the whole world, has fallen on evil days and everybody knows it. Even the professional boasters are singing the blues. As I read the comments, ranging all the way from the colonial world to the very centers of American power in these days, the general opinion of American capitalism is that it's in a hell of a fix. I am only telling you what I read, but I must admit that I think so too. Nobody has any confidence except Eisenhower. And he's out on the golf course and doesn't know what's going on. They say he doesn't even read the newspapers.

Now, we socialists don't need to conceal our own troubles — we have plenty of them. We who have survived the storms of these last terrible years, know very

well that we have been hurt. The socialist movement in the United States has suffered heavy blows, one on top of another, for at least 17 consecutive years.

First, there were the terrible reactionary effects on the labor movement, and on all American radicalism and even liberal thought, of the Second World War. And the cold war that followed it. And the Korean war. The effects were reactionary in all directions.

A Turn of the Tide

Then we had to contend with the conservatizing influence of the long, artificially propped-up prosperity, which sapped the strength of American radicalism in all its departments.

And then we had to put up with the devastation and terror of the long witch-hunt, which decimated the ranks of American radicalism and liberalism and all sections of the socialist movement.

And then, last, but not least, the socialist movement has been sapped by a moral sickness — the calculated lies and slanders, the suppression of free and independent thought, the violations of class solidarity, the disruption of fraternal relations and free discussion among socialists of different tendencies. All this dirty business has worked to demoralize the movement and to discredit the name of socialism.

We have been hit hard from all sides. But in spite of that — and this is our great capital for the future — a considerable nucleus of undaunted and incorruptible socialists have survived all this adversity. More than that, the adverse factors have been changing in recent times. For several years now, if we have looked closely enough, we have seen a turn of the tide.

Anti-war sentiment is stronger in this country today than it has been at any time in the last quarter of a century. The most striking proof of that is the fact that, for the first time since the early thirties, Hollywood dares to make anti-war movies again. And they are turning out to be the most popular movies on the screen today. There is a world of significance in this simple fact which the movie manufacturers never dreamed of when they were making something to sell.

Not only is the anti-war sentiment strong and growing, but economic troubles are beginning to engender a new radicalism. The unprecedented boom, propped up by military spending, was dragged out so long that many people began to think that capitalism finally had found a way to escape from its own laws. This artificial boom, according to what I read in the most conservative financial journals of the country, has entered into a decline. They call it a "recession," but they admit there are five million unemployed in this country; and that means that there are probably six to seven million actually unemployed.

And nowhere have I been able to read in the financial and economic columns of the various journals — nowhere except in Eisenhower's speeches — any promise that it will get better "next month." Or, more correctly, this

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Millions Desperate; But Democrats, GOP Are Slow and Stingy

By GORDON BAILEY

MARCH 12 — Although unemployment is admitted by Secretary of Labor Mitchell to have reached a post-war record of 5,173,000, the Democrats and Republicans

are just now belatedly taking the first slow steps — and inadequate ones at that — to meet the crisis. Actually nobody knows the true total of unemployed. It probably runs one to two million higher than the government figure. The official figure is compiled on the basis of inadequate statistics, guess, and a strong desire to minimize the true total. Only about 20 states have machinery for reasonably accurate tabulation of the jobless and their reports often reach the Census Bureau many weeks late.

The plight of the unemployed is revealed by the mounting number of those who have already exhausted their unemployment benefits. According to today's Wall Street Journal, 111,000 used up their benefits in December and 147,000 in January. "In the past six weeks, state officials report, the number of people exhausting their benefits has vaulted even more sharply."

1,800,000 NOT COVERED

In addition there are 1,800,000 unemployed workers who are not covered by unemployment compensation. Together with those who have exhausted their benefits there are thus about three million today without wages or compensation through no fault of their own.

Those unemployed workers who are still drawing unemployment compensation are receiving far less than the 50% of their earnings originally planned when the state unemployment laws were drawn up in the 1930's. The average payment today, \$28 per week, comes only to about 30% of wages.

As the situation grew more and more desperate, Eisenhower on March 8 proposed a "temporary" extension of unemployment compensation from the present 26 weeks or less to 39 weeks. No mention was made of extending unemployment benefits to the 1,800,000 jobless not covered by unemployment insurance. Galvanized by Eisenhower's proposal of a 13-week extension of compensation, the Democrats on March 11 introduced a bill in the House upping it to 16 weeks, but also on a "temporary" basis. Once again there was no provision to aid the jobless left out of the compensation system.

According to the March 13 N.Y. Times, at the AFL-CIO Emergency Conference in Washington there was "a strong current of opposition among labor leaders" to the temporary nature of both Republican and



MITCHELL

Democratic proposals on unemployment compensation.

MINIMUM DEMAND

A minimum demand for labor should be unemployment compensation for the entire period of unemployment and extension of benefits to all those needing jobs. Moreover, labor must demand that unemployment compensation be at full trade-union wages. The Kennedy-McCarthy bill introduced in the House would increase benefits only about \$10 a week. This would still leave benefits 50% or less of regular wages. How can workers, who were barely getting by on full wages, be expected to maintain their families on anything approaching a decent standard of life at 50% or less at present-day inflation prices?

An example of the phony anti-recession measures being favored by both parties is the \$1.8 billion "emergency housing" bill passed by the Senate March 12. It makes that sum available to banks and other lending agencies for housing loans. It also ups the interest rate allowed banks on GI home loans. Heretofore banks have practically refused to take mortgages on GI-loan homes because the interest rates weren't high enough. However, it is problematical that many people, including GIs (who will now have to pay higher interest) will be in an economic position to build homes even with the banks ready to lend. Senator Monroney (Okla.) declared the amendment on GI loans "a billion-dollar bounty for money lenders."

WAITING FOR UPTURN

After sitting on his hands for six months while the economy declined, Eisenhower last week frankly stated he was waiting for the natural forces of capitalism to turn around.

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SWP Launches \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund

MARCH 12 — The \$20,000 spring Fund drive of the Socialist Workers Party got an inspiring start in Los Angeles, March 1, with the banquet at which James P.

Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP, and Vincent Hallinan, former Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, spoke. The Fund Drive is to continue for three months to help finance expanding socialist activities.

The primary objective set by the SWP in the period ahead is to promote united socialist tickets in as many states as possible for the 1958 elections. In three states the SWP, in order to assure a socialist campaign, has proceeded with its own list of candidates — in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Michigan. In Illinois the SWP has joined with other radical groups to support a socialist candidate for the House of Representatives. Elsewhere the possibility of united socialist election activity is currently being explored.

More funds than ever before will be needed to push the cause of socialism, in a situation in this country increasingly favorable to the spread of socialist ideas.

PLAN TWO DRIVES

To meet these expanding needs, two special fund drives are planned for 1958. Despite widespread unemployment, reduced hours of work and continued inflation, the SWP is confident that the funds for expansion can be raised. Collecting greater funds than

Anti-Labor Orgy Marks Kohler Hearing

By GEORGE LAVAN

With the investigation of the United Auto Workers and the four-year-long Kohler strike, the Senate Rackets Investigating Committee has tossed to the wind its few flimsy garments of camouflage "impartiality." The resulting spectacle of labor-hating viciousness and hypocrisy in all its nakedness is enough to turn the strongest stomachs.

The UAW has from the first been a principal target of the McClellan Committee. Committee strategy was to wait until shortly before its negotiations with the auto corporations. Then the Senate propaganda attack on the union could be coordinated with the corporations' resistance. This would also allow the time needed for a propaganda preparation of the public on union corruption by exposes of the Teamsters', etc.

MCCARTHY GOAL

The late unlamented Senator McCarthy proclaimed this aim at the beginning when he declared that what the committee would reveal about Walter Reuther and the UAW would make Dave Beck and the Teamsters "small like attar of roses" in comparison.

So determined were the labor-haters that their anti-UAW spectacular should be staged letter perfect, that for five days they suspended all business over a procedural dispute. This was the objection to the staff recommendation that the hearing should open with a two-



EMIL MAZEY

hour statement first by Herbert V. Kohler (or his mouthpiece, Lyman C. Conger) followed by similar time for Walter Reuther, President of the UAW. Not wanting the public to get an overall picture of the strike at the beginning of the hearing and fearing Reuther was too able a speaker, the committee balked. Finally the four Republican members plus Democratic chairman McClellan voted that company and union statements should come at the hearing's end. This procedure permits the labor-haters better to manipulate the hearing, giving headlines to the testimony they wish publicized, etc.

Thus the hearing up till now has been marked by a parade of scabs and company agents to

the witness stand, a company movie of the strike, naturally edited to make it an anti-union horror film, and the lengthy airing of the company's anti-labor charges.

Even with a crew of Senators on the committee openly acting as Kohler agents, the situation stinks so to heaven that a few of the true facts have come out.

KOHLER PILES UP ARMS

For example, staff investigator Carmine Bellano, on Feb. 28 testified that examination of Kohler's books revealed that immediately after the UAW won the representation election, the company started buying guns and thousands of rounds of ammunition. Bellano thereupon was subjected to hostile questioning and thinly-veiled threats from the "impartial" Senators.

The stooge police chief of Kohler Village reluctantly admitted that a month after the union victory in the bargaining rights election, he made 40 picked Kohler employees special officers. The normal strength of the company town's police force had been five. It was increased to about 90. Half the new recruits he trained in the use of submachine guns and tear gas guns on the company rifle range.

In order to get around a state law limiting the weapons of a village police force to pistols, Kohler formed a phony humane society with the village police chief as the head. A humane society officer legally may possess weapons per-

mitted a state officer—machine guns, riot guns and tear gas guns.

Sheboygan County's former sheriff Mosch testified that he had been urged by the Republican County chairman to use gunfire to disperse the pickets but had refused. For this Mosch was subsequently praised by the strikers and dumped by the Republican Party which controls the county and is in turn controlled by Kohler.

LABOR SPIES

Revelations were made of the use of labor spies by Kohler, the "Bathtub Baron." At least two detective agencies were used. Labor spies were on the picket lines, working in the strike kitchen, mingling with strikers in bars, etc. Listening devices were planted to record pickets' conversations. How many of the much-publicized violent incidents with which the committee record were instigated and carried out by these spies is not known. However, in several instances the union has shown that this was the case.

It's hard to set a new low for a Senate Investigating Committee but that was done in the grilling of Robert Burkhardt, UAW international representative in charge of the Kohler strike. Labor spies arranged with the Morals Squad of the Milwaukee Police department for a midnight raid on Burkhardt's living quarters because he and his wife were not

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Program to Fight Unemployment

- (1) Organization of the unemployed by the labor movement. For union unemployed committees to fight their jobless members' grievances on rehiring, unemployment compensation, rent mortgage and installment payments, relief, etc.
- (2) Unemployment compensation to all jobless for the entire period of unemployment at trade-union wages.
- (3) A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to be the number one demand of all unions in contract negotiations. Amend federal and state wage-and-hours laws to include 30-for-40.
- (4) A giant public works program at trade-union wages to build all the schools, hospitals, low-cost housing, highways and other useful and peaceful construction needed in this country today.
- (5) Union action and FEP laws to prevent discrimination in layoffs, rehiring, unemployment compensation, public-works hiring, relief, etc.
- (6) A debt moratorium for the unemployed. No evictions or foreclosures on homes, autos or appliances.
- (7) No taxes on yearly incomes of \$7,500 or less. End withholding and sales taxes to restore workers' purchasing power. Tax the rich and the corporations.
- (8) Build a Labor Party based on the unions in alliance with minority peoples and working farmers.

... 'We Propose a Socialist Electoral Coalition'

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month—this is the first of March already, and Eisenhower is already one day down on his fatuous prophecy.

Anti-war sentiment is growing, the capitalist economy is in decline and with it the conservatizing influence of prosperity is spending its force. And also in recent years we've seen the witch-hunt slow down. It isn't stopped by any means, but the witch-hunt terror that all sections of American radicalism had to contend with in the past ten years, has been decidedly moderated. **People are raising their courage again in wider and wider numbers. All that is in our favor.**

A New Atmosphere

And no less important than these favorable turns in the situation, is a new atmosphere in the circles of American radicalism—in all circles. Socialists of different tendencies have begun to think of each other as comrades. Free discussion and fraternization, and sentiment for united action and regroupment of all the scattered forces, are the order of the day now everywhere. I say that's a good day for us and for our cause—the cause of American socialism.

It doesn't bother me at all that, in a meeting such as ours, we have some criticism of each other; and some things are said by one speaker that another can't fully endorse—that's not the significant thing about this great meeting tonight. **The significant thing is that socialists of different tendencies stand together here on the same platform and urge united action against the capitalist class.**

All these changes I have mentioned are in our favor, and we should take advantage of them. We should see in them the opportunity for American socialism to enter a new stage of revival which will carry it to new heights, on the road to victory over American capitalism.

In spite of all that has happened to discourage, to terrorize, to weaken and demoralize the movement there are still a lot of socialists in this country. The sentiment for socialism in the United States, even today, after all that has happened, is much bigger than any of the organized parties and groups; bigger than all of them put together. And the potential sentiment for socialism, which the bankruptcy of American capitalism will generate in the next period, is a hundred or a thousand times greater than the conscious socialist sentiment at this present moment. That's the real situation as I see it, and the real prospect before us. We ought to take it as the starting point in a new struggle to put socialism on the map and wipe capitalism off the map.

The Starting Point

The basic aim in rebuilding for the future, as I think all present will agree—the basic aim to which we are all striving—is to regroup the scattered socialist forces, and eventually to get all honest socialists together in one common party organization. But that can't be done in a day. The experience of the last two years shows that it will take time. We'll have to take the process of collaboration and unification in stages, one step at a time.

The starting point of the process is for all genuine socialists of all tendencies, whether presently affiliated to one organization or another, or independent at present, to recognize that we are all part of one movement, and that we ought to work together fraternally in one field of action after another. Work together against the injustices and oppressions of capitalism. That sounds almost like a revolutionary assertion after the terrible experience of the disruption of solidarity. But it used to be the unvarying practice and tradition of the old socialist and radical movement in America.

In the time of Debs and Haywood and Vincent St. John, there were many differences of opinion and different organizations, and many quarrels and squabbles and debates. But it was taken for granted, as a matter of course, that when there was an issue of common interest against the class enemy—whether it was a strike, or a labor leader arrested, or some act of injustice committed against any section of the movement—that all should work together in solidarity against the injustice.

On this point I am a reactionary—I want to turn the clock back to the good old days of solidarity and cooperation in practical action against the common enemy. Fraternal cooperation and solidarity in practical action does not exclude differences of opinion, does not exclude discussion and debate as we go along. There is no socialist life without free discussion of differences. But while we discuss our differences, we should also remember what we have in common as socialists and act together in support of it.

Many different opinions are being expressed in the course of debate on the American road to socialism. I think all suggestions and ideas should get an attentive hearing. But however one may think socialism is going to come to the United States, one thing is sure—it's not going to be smuggled in. It's a shame to have to say that, isn't it?

The cause of socialism can be advanced only by counterposing it to capitalism—simply, honestly, openly

Let's Go Forward



and, directly. Clever tricks designed to fool people into socialism are self-defeating as well as dishonest and contemptible. I think we have had more than enough of that indecent horseplay already. The revival of the American socialist movement will really begin to get under way when we get back to fundamentals and come out in the open as socialists every day in the week and twice on Sunday.

When we say that socialists should find a way to work together, especially in electoral campaigns, we mean of course real socialists, socialists who, to use the words of the Communist Manifesto, "disdain to conceal their aims." Socialists without false faces.

What is a socialist? Well, I can tell you very quickly what he is not. He is not a Republican. And he is not a Demo-Dixiecrat. And he is certainly not a shame-faced supporter of the war program of the U.S. State Department. He is not a member of or supporter of any capitalist party whatever. I'm not submitting this as an argument. I'm stating this as the summary conclusion from established facts.

Marx, Engels and Debs

Capitalism rules and exploits the working people through its control of the government. That's fact number one. And capitalism controls the government through the medium of its class political parties. That's fact number two. The unconditional break away from capitalist politics and capitalist parties is the first act of socialist consciousness, and the first test of socialist seriousness and sincerity. That's fact number three.

Where did I learn that? Marx and Engels explained it over a hundred years ago, so it's not hot off the wire. I personally heard Debs explain it fifty years ago. That's what they said—Marx and Engels and Debs.

They were very simple fellows who couldn't understand that the way to get what you want is to vote for what you don't want. They couldn't understand that the really slick and clever way to get socialism is to vote for capitalism. And to tell you the truth we don't understand it either. And we don't intend to play that game.

About 20 years or so ago there was an aviator who flew out of the New York airport on a trip to Los Angeles and landed in Ireland. They called him "Wrong Way" Corrigan, and he became a popular symbol of the man who doesn't know where he's going. That's the trouble with the Wrong Way Corrigan of politics—they don't seem to know where they're going, and it would be imprudent to follow them.

This is not a general public meeting, but a sort of invitational meeting of socialists of different tendencies. All of us present here, I take it, are socialists of one tendency or another. Now let us ask ourselves, honestly and directly: How did we become socialists? How did we acquire our certain confidence in the bright socialist future of humanity—the great vision which has transformed and inspired our lives and sustained us through the darkest days of struggle against this insane social system? Did we acquire our socialist consciousness because of our superior wisdom? I don't think so. We became socialists, each and every one of us, in the same way—because others who went before us explained it to us in earlier years. They wrote pamphlets and books, and distributed journals, and made speeches, and explained things—and from them we learned.

And the fact that we had to learn from others—does not that suggest the idea that others may learn from us? Does not that impose upon us the obligation to explain socialism to others yet to come? And if we socialists don't speak up for socialism, who will? Who will spread the inspiring word of a socialist outcome of this mad world of capitalism, if we don't? And if we have to do it, when do we begin? I believe, the sooner the better.

And here comes the importance of the subject we have under discussion tonight. The best time of all—the

most fruitful time to explain socialism—is during election campaigns, when public interest is highest, and we stand the best chance to get a hearing. The capitalist class rules this country in a complicated way, through the machinery of bourgeois democracy. They can't shut off all avenues of public communication, even to minority parties—although they try their best.

Socialist Propaganda

The Socialist Workers Party, even with its limited forces, has demonstrated in these recent years, how we can get through cracks in the wall and compel them to give us access to TV and radio audiences and to carry notices in the newspapers. We get a greater hearing for the ideas of socialism in the few months of the election campaign than in all the rest of the time put together. That makes every election campaign a socialist success.

The main purpose of participating in elections, as a socialist organization or as a coalition of socialist organizations, is to take full advantage of the expanded opportunity to make socialist propaganda. And in the economic and social storm that is now beginning to blow up in this country, with fear and insecurity about war, and making a living, or even existing on this planet—there will be more interest in social and political questions, and more people will be listening than at any time in recent decades.

What can we do to make the most of this exceedingly favorable opportunity to advance our cause? The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has expressed the opinion and made the proposal in an announcement in the National Guardian and in the Militant—the proposal that all socialists get together for united political action—for socialism and against capitalism—in the state and congressional elections of 1958. **And that this action in 1958 be regarded as the springboard for a united Presidential campaign in 1960.**

That's an outlook worth looking at, isn't it? It opens up the prospect, if accepted by other groups and tendencies, of pushing the whole socialist movement a bit forward. It is really a first-class idea, but there is nothing new or original about it. We learned that, where we learned so many things, by looking at the books and studying the history of what others have done before us. Electoral coalitions were a common practice of socialists of different tendencies in the past.

A Historical Precedent

In the year 1900, Debs was a candidate for President, not of a single party, but of a coalition—exactly what we are proposing today. A split-off section of the Socialist Labor Party, headed by Hillquit and Harriman, and the Social Democratic Party of Debs and Berger agreed upon a common election slate with Debs for President, from the Social Democratic Party, and Harriman for Vice-President, from the split-off Socialist Labor Party. The coalition ticket was supported by the Appeal to Reason and other independent socialist papers. The united presidential campaign in 1900 aroused so much enthusiasm and so much sentiment for unity, that nine months later they were able to bring the forces together in a new party. That's the way the Socialist Party of America was founded in August 1901.

There are other examples. In Russia the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were split and at loggerheads over many issues. But when it came to the elections to the Duma they conducted a poll among themselves to determine the proportion of candidates for each side, and ran a joint electoral slate in the general election. At the outbreak of the First World War, there were Bolshevik and Menshevik deputies in the Duma, the Russian parliament, all elected on a joint slate.

Besides the historical examples, some actions taken by individuals and by groups in recent times have led up to our proposal and made it realistic and timely. You

King Calls for Socialist Unity in Chicago Contest

CHICAGO, March 12—Reverend Joseph P. King, president of the Washington Park Forum, pastor of the International Church and candidate for U.S. Representative in this city's Second Congressional district, has issued a call for a meeting of socialists to map plans for building a united socialist ticket in the 1958 elections.

The meeting will be held March 13 at the Essex Community Church. Minister of the church is Rev. William T. Baird, long prominent in progressive causes and one of the sponsors of Rev. King's candidacy.

In a letter announcing the meeting, Rev. King said, "while I have agreed to run, as proof of my seriousness in this matter, I am ready to withdraw if the labor movement, or a more broadly representative group of socialists will select a candidate that is pledged to break all ties with capitalist politics."

NON-EXCLUSIVE COMMITTEE

Describing the projected meeting, Rev. King said, "It is proposed that the meeting consider the organization of a United Socialist Election Campaign Committee . . . that this committee be non-exclusive; that it include radicals of all tendencies, affiliated as well as non-affiliated. It is further proposed that this committee will not be identified with any party, and independent of all parties."

Commenting on the programmatic statement that he issued, Rev. King said: "I have announced the essentials of the general program that will guide me as a candidate. . . . How-



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

ever . . . this program is not presented as an ultimatum, but as my contribution to the discussion which is beginning among all socialists in connection with the current election period."

The five-plank program presented by Rev. King calls for socialist opposition to the bipartisan cold war, friendship to the countries of the Soviet orbit and support to the colonial independence movement. It demands a halt to nuclear tests and dismantling of nuclear stockpiles.

To combat depression it calls for a shorter work week without pay reductions, effective government aid to the unemployed and conversion of the armaments program into a pro-

gram of public works. Other planks call for labor support to the struggle for Negro equality and an end to the witch hunt. One plank declares for political freedom in the Soviet bloc.

Reverend King's background adds effectiveness to the campaign in this interracial district which has a long radical tradition.

Born in Baton Rouge, La. in 1909, Rev. King spent his youth in Texas where he worked as a laborer, porter and deliveryman. Like many other Negroes he then moved north to Chicago where he has worked in the stock yards and steel mills.

For 22 years he has been prominent in the fight against Jim Crow. He was a leading figure in the huge Chicago protest movement at the time of the brutal killing of Emmett Till. He has actively supported such witch-hunt victims as Claude Lightfoot of the Communist Party and Paul Robeson.

A writer and poet, Rev. King attended Dunbar Trade School, classes of the Mid-Western Writers conference and the Illinois Institute of Technology. He is a graduate of the Twentieth Century and Faith Seminars.

CLEARs BLOOD CLOTS

A mold extract which seeks and destroys fresh blood clots in minutes was discovered by Dr. Mario Stefani. The substance given by injection, furnishing quick relief for sufferers of heart attacks, has been used with excellent results on 25 patients after experiments on animals.

recall that in 1956, the SWP, at the cost of tremendous effort and sacrifice, and the immeasurable labor of comrades bucking the reactionary election laws to get on the ballot, ran a Presidential slate of Dobbs and Weiss. In that election campaign a new note of socialist solidarity was sounded. Whereas, for many years in the recent past no socialist or radical party ever cooperated with or supported or helped another party, in that election campaign in 1956, Vincent Hallinan in San Francisco and Clifford McAvoy in New York came out in support of the SWP candidates.

That was the first break in the log jam. Then again last year, in the municipal elections in San Francisco, where Frank Barbaria and Joan Jordan, ran as candidates of the SWP, Hallinan and Billings and Hitchcock and Olshausen and others, all not members of the SWP, differing with us on many points, nevertheless recognized the importance of a socialist vote and endorsed our candidates and helped the campaign. The National Guardian supported the SWP candidates in Detroit, New York and San Francisco on the same grounds. The National Guardian played a role in this progressive development similar to that of the independent Appeal to Reason in the early days.

It seems to us that these new developments, taken all together, have set the stage for another step forward. The SWP National Committee has taken the initiative and made the proposal for a more formal electoral coalition after full deliberation. We mean every word we say, and we are ready to go through with it. The matter is now under discussion throughout all sections of the movement, and we hope for a favorable outcome.

Take Heart and Hope

The American socialist movement has been badly battered in the storms of recent years. But the new events, which I have briefly summarized, show that the movement is still alive and kicking and is even looking up a bit. The prospects are brighter than they have been for a long time. We should take heart and hope, as Debs used to say, and work diligently in the coming days to turn the bright prospects into new achievements and new advances.

The forces for an imposing demonstration of socialist sentiment in the 1958 elections are already present. They are waiting for the go-ahead signal. They need only to be aroused and encouraged and organized. **And for this, as is almost always the case, there is no eloquence equal to the eloquence of action. United socialist political action in the 1958 elections will be the right action at the right time.**

By James P. Cannon

America's Road to Socialism

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Vol. XXIII — No. 11

Monday, March 17, 1958

A Substantial Accomplishment

It's pretty well known that socialists are capable of putting in hard work for their cause. This was demonstrated again by the Michigan Socialist Workers Party members and supporters who gathered a record-breaking 30,000 petitions in two months of cold weather to place a socialist ticket on the ballot. They completed their drive two weeks ago.

But when a small group can roll up that kind of a score there is something more involved than hard work. And it isn't necessary to speculate about this. Layoffs in Michigan are providing much food for political thought. The bulk of the petitions were gathered in front of unemployment compensation offices where a record number of signatures were obtained. The petitioners found growing

disillusionment with both major parties. Obviously, the majority of the 30,000 signers were not yet convinced socialists. They signed for a variety of reasons — some to support the democratic rights of a minority party; others to protest against the layoffs; and a significant number because they are against the two-party monopoly. Among the signers were many who already fully support a socialist program.

Michigan is a significant indication of what can be expected elsewhere in the country. The growing crisis is creating a new audience for socialism. Michigan socialists have blazed the trail in getting out to win a hearing from that audience. 1958 certainly looks like a year of progress for the socialist movement.

Lost Manhours

During the course of the recent national strike of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, some of the news commentators included statistics on how many man-hours were being lost in their accounts of the strike. There was nothing unusual about that. Some gave the lost production in terms of the value of garments that weren't produced because of the strike.

But somehow it never occurs to these capitalist reporters to sum up the man-hours lost due to unemployment. Perhaps these figures would be too astronomical for limited imaginations to handle. Or perhaps it's just plain bias. They don't mind reporting production losses caused by the workers' struggle for a better living standard. But production losses caused

ed by the employers when they lay off workers is better left unmentioned.

We understand the difficulties in making estimates of losses in production due to unemployment. But we offer the following tiny segment of the problem. The 1957 Statistical Abstract of the United States gives the following number of man-days lost due to work stoppages: in 1954: 22,600,000; in 1955: 28,200,000 and in 1956: 33,100,000. However, unemployment in February is estimated at 5,173,000. Using a five-day week for our calculation, that meant 103,460,000 man-days of work lost in February alone.

In addition millions of workers during the month were put on a short work week. How many man-days this lost in production is anybody's guess.

Whose Word Do You Take?

A New York Times dispatch (March 10) from Washington, D.C. states: "The administration practice of having gumshoes shadow reporters to detect their sources for delicate news stories continues unabated here." It then went on to tell how phones are tapped and how one correspondent, who knows from experience because he has previously covered Moscow, reports he is getting the full U.S. shadowing treatment including detectives following his wife during her shopping in the supermarket.

Pretending amazement, White House press secretary Hagerty the next day declared: "This is the first I have heard of anything like this. I just don't believe it." He said he had checked with the FBI and been informed that no shadowing of newspapermen had been authorized. This is far from unequivocal answer. But it is all that will be forthcoming from the

FBI, Secret Service, T-Men, Army or Navy or Air Force Intelligence, the Central Intelligence Agency, etc., etc., ad infinitum.

But if J. Edgar Hoover himself, escorted by his two most honorable chums, Walter Winchell and Sherman Billingsley, denied it a hundred times, we'd still take the word of the newspapermen who assert they are being tailed by government gumshoes.

After all, for 13 years the FBI repeatedly told courts and administrative agencies that it absolutely had no transcriptions of its original talks with informer Louis Budenz. Only this past January a federal court backed demands of attorneys for the Communist Party that FBI agents make these denials in sworn affidavits. Then some truth came out. The FBI discovered that it did have such transcriptions all along.

Foster Group Wins CP Control But Faces Further Opposition

By HARRY RING

The now-united Foster-Dennis faction in the Communist Party leadership has captured control of the party apparatus; but it still faces sizeable opposition in the ranks and leadership. This fact emerges from additional information now available about the proceedings of the February meeting of the party's national committee.

At that meeting a number of key Fosterite objectives were approved by a vote of 32 to 21, with three abstentions. The vote came on a resolution by Eugene Dennis who dropped all pretense of "independence" and joined with the old-line Stalinists.

Counterposed to Dennis' resolution was one by Claude Lightfoot of Chicago and Carl Winter of Detroit. Reportedly, it is an amended version of a strongly anti-Foster resolution previously presented by the Northern California District Committee.

"MAIN DANGER"

The Dennis resolution finds the "main danger" within the organization to be "revisionism" — a Fosterite label for those who favor ideological independence from the Kremlin, democratization of the party and participation in the socialist regroupment process. It also calls for restoring tight political control within the party by a small political secretariat.

The difficulty confronting the Dennis-Foster combination is that it is still unable to establish its control over the opposition. An account of the national committee meeting in the

March 9 Worker, drafted by a subcommittee of the national executive committee, reports that it was possible to elect only nine members to a new 15-member NEC because "some comrades in the minority took the position of refusing to participate in such a leadership." The only prominent anti-Fosterite to accept was Mickey Lima, chairman of the Northern California district.

The continued existence of widespread opposition has compelled the Fosterites to proceed with a measure of caution. For example, the Worker account of the Dennis resolution asserts that it is a continuation of the convention policy of combating the "twin evils of left-sectarianism and right opportunism," and appropriate quotations are presented to substantiate the claim.

OMISSION However the key point in this section of the resolution is omitted from the Worker report. The omitted clause reads: "Without a decisive repudiation and defeat of the revisionist trend . . . we cannot carry on a systematic and effective struggle against left-sectarianism and dogmatism . . ." The "revisionists" — who now must be defeated first — represent a near or actual majority of the party.

On regroupment, the resolution declares: "The Party is not . . . a holding operation . . . The Party is here to stay. Without it . . . the victory of socialism is inconceivable." This formulation was first put forward by Dennis at an NEC meeting last December. Sid Stein then characterized it as

follows: "What do you mean by a holding operation? The difference here is between those of us who believe that the Party as it is, is for evermore the organization that will lead the American working class to Socialism, and those of us who believe that this party can rebuild itself . . . in bringing about a Socialist regroupment in the United States . . ."

The present Fosterite advance has brought a further crippling of the New York party apparatus. At a meeting of the state committee which endorsed the Dennis resolution, George Blake Charney resigned as executive secretary, George Watt as organization secretary, and William Lawrence as treasurer. They declared the line adopted made it impossible for them to function as party officers.

The Dennis resolution pictures the party as "still in the critical state into which it has been plunged for some time . . . For the most part, the Party has been unsuccessful in breaking out of its isolation. Basic ideological differences continue to exist within the Party, and the Party leadership is itself sharply divided, and therefore largely immobilized . . ."

LONDON'S WATER

Eight million Londoners may be drinking poison with every sip of water and every cup of tea — but all details of the tests concerning radioactive water, and its results, are secret. These ominous facts have been discovered by Labor Councillors in Hornsey and were reported in the Feb. 22 Newsletter.

(We reprint below a tribute to Jack Wright, socialist candidate in the recent Seattle city elections, that appeared in the March 6 Labor's Daily under the title "The Craggy Saga of Jack Wright." Ralph Friedman is the author. — Ed.)

I see by the pages of Labor's Daily that my good friend Jack Wright is running for a city council post in Seattle. I suppose I ought to wish him well — but I don't know. Jack is too precious a character to be tossed into politics.

You have to know Jack Wright to believe him — to believe that his kind is still around, hasn't vanished from the earth, along with some rare birds and animals which civilization has made extinct.

Jack is from the old school of trade unionism — the nameless, unafraid, self-sacrificial blood, sweat and guts bunch that built the labor movement. "I was working in a foundry when I was 14," says Jack, who has been a seaman, logger, farmer, miner, factory worker, moulder (which he still is), and a hundred other things.

Frankly, I never believed Jack. I don't believe he waited until he was 14 to go to work. Or that he and his family could afford to keep him home idle that long. My conception of Jack is that he was born standing next to an anvil, that he came into daylight with a hammer in his hands, and that his first words were: "Sorry, I was late. Where's the meeting?"

CUT FROM JACK LONDON

Jack is of the earth-born, with stars in his eyes. He is of the cut of Jack London, whom he knew well, without London's

Barleycorn weakness. He has been a worker all his life and a reader all his life; he is a laboring stiff, a pondering man, and a plain-talking man.

By now you have gathered that Jack is not a fancy fellow. He always looked ill at ease in his stiff, "store-boughten" black suit, covered with ashes from his pipe.

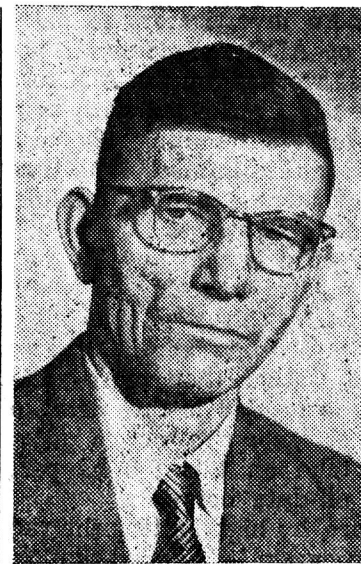
When I first met Jack, six years ago, in Oregon, he had already been everywhere. Talk to him about Hells Canyon, and he remembered some awful hairpin, rock-bedded whiskey-stricken meanderings he rumbled over in his Model A, when he was mining in the Seven Devils. Name a peak in the Rockies, and he had trapped at its base. Bring up a river and he had fished on it, or felled trees above its bank.

I always believed that, if you took everything away from Jack but his clothes and shoes, and gave him just a pocket-knife and a bit of wire to survive on in the wilderness, he'd make a go of it. Come back in a few months and he'd have a house put up, a garden growing, and a few pets.

I have to tell you how I first met Jack. It tells the caliber of the man better than a hundred eulogies.

TALE STARTS IN '49

The tale goes back to 1949 when Jack, who is a white man of Irish stock, married Mary Dews, a Negro. Jack developed chest trouble and the couple moved from Los Angeles, where



JACK WRIGHT

they had wed, to Bandon, Oregon, Jack's boyhood home. There they received cordial treatment, but the dampness on the coast played havoc with Jack's chest, so the pair took off in an old, battered car and a small, stuffed trailer, and drove east, looking for a town with a dry climate.

The first night they reached Sutherlin, a sawmill town and farming center at the southern tip of the Willamette Valley. But no motel would rent them a unit. Jack had one engaged, but when the proprietress saw Mary, the lady screamed: "How dare you! You know this is a place for whites only!" When they tried to buy food, three groceries contemptuously refused them.

"That night," Mary Wright

recalls, "was the most horrible of my whole life. We drove a little way out of town and parked off the road and made a bed in a ditch. A whole bunch of people started toward us swearing and calling us filthy names. They threatened to run us out of town. They said we couldn't stop in Sutherlin."

The ironmolder Jack Wright had been through some of the bloodiest labor struggles in California. He had known the brass knuckles of goons, the clubs of cops and deputy sheriffs. But now he felt his last hour had come. "When they started to close in," he remembered afterward, "I got my hand axe out and I told Mary, 'I'll die for you but I'll be damned if they run us out of town.'"

"If the people had been half-way decent," he continued, sticking out his determined jaw, "we never would have thought of stopping. I know there are towns in Oregon that don't let a Negro stay overnight. But I was damn mad. We decided to stay."

FOUND A JOB

The next morning they looked around and found a store willing to sell them groceries. In the afternoon Jack went in search of a job and found one at a small forge. The owner had heart trouble and was glad to get an experienced metalworker.

Unable to rent a house, the Wrights decided to build one. They made a down payment on a lot, but under pressure from leading citizens the owner cancelled the sale. Undaunted, they made a payment on another lot and started construction of a house. Until Jack Wright had laid the floor, he and his wife slept on the ground.

A group of us, University of Oregon students and town folks, were sitting around one night, chewing the fat, when someone mentioned the tough time the Wrights were having. We wondered if the situation was true, so one of our number, a railroad man, decided to go down the next day, since he would be off, and check up on the story.

The next night, Saturday, he returned, and told us that what had been reported minimized the difficulties the Wrights were having. The following morning a group of us piled

into a car, the trunk loaded with tools, and set out for Sutherlin, 70 miles away.

An hour after we had reached the Wright lot, and fallen to work digging a new trough for the outhouse, and helping Jack raise the sides and roofs of a cabin he was constructing, two carloads of Negro section gang laborers from Wilbur, south of Sutherlin, arrived and joined the operation.

Well, you should have seen the procession of cars that came down that country road. You would have thought the most amazing things on earth were taking place. The bug-eyed drivers just crept past the house, and all the passengers were rubber-necking out of the windows. What a strange incredible sight — white men and black men working together to build a house, white women and black women preparing a meal together. How out of place in the Home of the Brave and the Land of the Free!

When we were back in Eugene we passed the word around among our friends up and down the state. And Jack and Mary Wright had visitors from half a dozen counties, bringing blankets, clothes and food.

Jack always said he wanted to write a book about workers he once knew: selfless, penniless, unadorned men who broke the West for the labor movement. Men who walked 15 miles to a meeting or who crawled into guarded company towns to bring news of the union to the workers. Guys who were beaten and herded naked, but who came back to the struggle, always returning, until TB or a vigilante's gun cut them down.

It isn't necessary for Jack to think of a book in terms of other men. All he has to do is write his autobiography. But he won't — he doesn't think he's important enough.

Anyway, Jack, old friend, I don't think you ought to get elected. You'll drive the town nuts. Seattle will go crazy trying to figure you out. This society can take crooks, hypocrites, hucksters, and hacks in stride — but it shudders and raises its porcine quills when a simple, honest man stands at its threshold.

How Socialism Would Eliminate Depression

By MYRA TANNER WEISS

MARCH 10 — "Our country is far too wealthy to require that any persons who genuinely want to work should go hungry — or be forced to stand in bread lines — because of a temporary drop in production and employment," the N.Y. Times editors assure their readers today. No truer words could be spoken. Yet hunger and bread lines are beginning to plague the nation as they do in all depressions.

The United States is indeed the richest country in the world. It has the highest productivity. It has the highest production capacity. It has a highly developed science, a large and well-educated working class and an agriculture that annually piles up huge surpluses. In other words, the United States has the capacity to produce a continuously rising living standard for its population. There is no reason in nature or technology for human suffering in this country. But there is suffering. And all the proposals of capitalist politicians consist of nothing more than staving off complete destitution. None of them propose plans to restore lost income or to assure that no future losses will be incurred by American workers.

SUFFOLK COUNTY PLAN

Nowhere is the thinking of capitalist politicians more clearly revealed than among officials of Suffolk county, New York, who are currently congratulating themselves on the "success" of their relief program. Adrian Mason, Suffolk county Democratic leader, March 8, said that ten percent of the county's breadwinners were jobless. The relief plan consists of having men work for their relief checks. Jubilation over the "success" is caused by the report that "men had welcomed the chance to become active" and that "it had bolstered their self-respect."

But don't think this plan will enable the men on relief to make normal wages. They are paid between \$1.25 and \$1.85 per hour. But work is only part-time, strictly limited to the equivalent of a relief check — bare subsistence. And of course work is done only on "projects not ordinarily done by regular town" businesses.

No employer will be confronted with competition. The men are restricted to the "ennobling" work of clearing brush from public cemeteries, etc. Socialists have always scored the stinginess of capitalist dole and the degradation of make-work projects. They have always held that the needs of the individual and not profits should be the paramount concern of society. Socialists consider the right to a job as the most elementary human right.

But the socialist program goes much farther. The workers have a right, not merely to a job, but to a continuous rise in living standards. Technological



Scene in the early 1930's when thousands of laid-off workers were reduced to selling apples on street corners. Sign on the post reads, "MR. GLAD will be at this corner this afternoon at 4 o'clock to distribute ONE THOUSAND NICKELS to One Thousand needy Men."

progress should mean more goods to consume and more leisure to enjoy this wealth. An economic system that cannot yield this result — isn't worth a thing.

In the post-World War II years capitalism, sustained by a war economy, made a great leap forward in the productivity of labor. A substantial beginning was made toward the introduction of automation in industry. Technically this meant the possibility of the creation of vast wealth with relatively little human exertion. However, instead of bringing a great extension of human well-being, many people now find themselves in greater poverty than before the introduction of automation.

THE OBSTACLE

Neither nature nor the limitations of science stand in the way of progress. The obstacle to well-being is the economic system with which we are still saddled. Production is tied to profit for the benefit of a small minority in America.

For the profiteers, this system is good. For the really big ones, even a depression is good. A lot of annoying competitors get shoved out of the way. Workers, fearful of their jobs, can be pushed all the harder. If things really collapse, cost for materials are drastically reduced. A perspective of even bigger rates of profit on capital invested seems possible. The bosses' love for the "free enterprise" system is understandable. Their hatred for socialism is also understandable. It would prevent them from capitalizing on the misery of the many.

But what about the casualties of the depression — unemployed workers, part-time workers, bankrupt farmers, bankrupt

Calendar of Events

LOS ANGELES

Dr. Scott Nearing, who returned in January from a four-month trip to Europe and Asia, will speak on "History Challenges Socialism." Saturday, March 22, at 8:30 P.M. City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive. Auspices: The L. A. Eastside National Guardian Committee. \$1.00 Donation.

NEW YORK

John T. McManus, General Manager of the National Guardian, will speak on "What Road for Socialists in the 1958 Elections?" Thursday, March 20, 8 P.M. Hunts Point Palace,

Southern Boulevard and 163rd St. Auspices: Bronx Socialist Forum, affiliated with American Forum for Socialist Education. Contribution \$1.00. Unemployed Free.

Young Socialist Alliance celebrates the victory of Morton Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz. Speaker: Helen Sobell. Also film strip of TV interview with Mrs. Sobell. Fri., March 21, 8 P.M. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, March 22, 8 P.M. — "A Marxian Views Anthropology" by Evelyn Reed, writer and lecturer. 1145 Polk St. Ausp.: Labor Forum. Adm.: 50¢.

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JOHN HAMILTON

Chairman, Washington Park Forum; past Vice-President, Local 116 Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL; a founding organizer of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union

REV. JOSEPH P. KING

Pastor, International Church; President, Washington Park Forum; 1958 Candidate for U.S. Congress, 2nd District

HOWARD MAYHEW

Organizer, Chicago Branch of Socialist Workers Party

Topic:

"Prospects for United Socialist Political Action in 1958"

Saturday, March 22

Forum Hall, 777 W. Adams Street

Dinner — 7 P.M.: \$2

Meeting only — 8 P.M.: \$1

For Reservations, call DE 2-9736 or write to Forum Hall Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

New Job for Cops

By PATRICIA STALL

It seems that the city of Detroit — like so many individuals today — is having trouble balancing its budget. Not enough money coming in and too many places to put what little there is. A familiar story. The first solution the city government has offered for this situation is to lay off some employees and cut down on social welfare. Another familiar story.

The latest victim of "Operation Economy" is Aid to Dependent Children, a tax-supported program established under the Federal Social Security Act in 1937 which provides care for children deprived of parental support by death, by continued absence from home through divorce or by desertion or incapacity of a parent.

Recently, loud protests and hysterical editorials confronted readers of Detroit's newspapers. "Widespread chiseling by parents receiving public funds to aid dependent children is costing Detroit and Wayne County taxpayers a huge sum, a state welfare official declared today. The cheating, made possible by insufficient case investigators, may read as high as \$2,000,000 a year."

It is charged that "there are some women with concealed sources of income who use their assistance funds to stage drinking 'ADC parties' when they get their checks at the first of the month."

Repeated over and over again is the demand for more investigators to patrol the activities of ADC recipients. It was shown that case workers on the ADC program were greatly overloaded with work — 108 case workers handling 120 cases each. There is an estimated 40% turnover in case workers and new, qualified workers are not in sight.

The latest word is that key lawmakers of Michigan are proposing a "watch dog plan" to catch "chiselers" who allegedly live the life of Riley on ADC checks. They feel that, rather than more social workers, what is needed is the hiring of ex-policemen as snoopers or to allow patrolmen to take on this job as part-time work on off-duty hours.

Furthermore, by highlighting the rare abuses of the program it is hoped that the public will be persuaded to take the attitude, "The only thing to do is get rid of the thing altogether!"

What I think is this: Rather than dump the ADC program because of a few alleged chiselers, dump the real chiselers. Dump the chiselers that run our city governments against the better interests of the majority. And dump the handful of chiselers that own and control the resources of our nation and that force mothers, out of charity, to depend on such handouts as ADC.

Notes from the News

MR. JOBLESS, the typical unemployed worker, is likely to be between 25 and 34, married, with children, an unskilled or semi-skilled steel, auto or machine-shop worker, according to a survey by the Wall Street Journal. He has been out of a job for about two months, his unemployment benefits will run out by summer, and his plant shows no sign of rehiring him.

A PERSON who works as little as one hour a week is counted as employed and is not included among the 5.1 million unemployed reported by the Labor Bureau as of mid-February.

ABOUT THE ONLY PLACE these days where there is no unemployment is at the unemployment compensation offices. In all major cities they have been hiring extra help to cope with the swollen volume of benefit applications.

IN YOUNGSTOWN, if you want to buy on the installment plan, says the Militant Steelworker, the banks and finance companies do not ask "How much money can you pay down?" The first question is "How much seniority do you have?"

THE RECESSION is shortening the U. S. lead over the Soviet Union in the production race. With U. S. steel plants running about 53% of capacity, Soviet production of 14 million tons in the first quarter of 1958 may equal 75% of American output. Last year it equaled one half. If the recession deepens,

Soviet coal production may in a few months exceed American output for the first time in history.

LOS ANGELES TV STATION KTLA has held up plans to project subliminal advertisements on its viewers' screens. A heavy and negative mail response from the public and lack of a clear cut position on the question from the FCC led to the decision.

THE U. S. GOVERNMENT has rejected a request of Japan that American nuclear tests scheduled for April in the Pacific be cancelled.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO this week all banks in the U. S. were closed in the greatest financial crisis in American history. On March 5, 1933, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation ordering a four-day bank holiday. Banks were forbidden to pay out any money, or to transfer any gold, silver, or currency. It was the most drastic financial measure ever taken by the government in peacetime. The move was made, to avert a complete collapse of the banking system.

A STRONG MOVEMENT to allow women to serve on juries has been launched in South Carolina. Along with Alabama and Mississippi, South Carolina is one of the remaining states that still discriminates against women in this way. Asked how he would like to sit beside a Negro juror, a leading fighter for women's rights replied she would certainly prefer to sit next to him to not having the right to sit in the jury box at all.

... Democrats, ... Kohler Hearing

GOP Skimp Aid

(Continued from Page 1)

alist economics to produce an upturn.

Democrats are no more prepared to bring real relief to the jobless than are the Republicans. Speaking before the AFL-CIO emergency economic conference on March 11, President George Meany blamed both parties for the crisis. He condemned the administration for shortsightedness, and asserted the Democratic-controlled Congress need not have waited for administration leadership. Congress does not act, he charged, "because the Democrats can make capital out of talking about the recession and doing little about it."

The N.Y. Times Review of the Week (March 9) observed: "The fundamental Democratic strategy involves an effort to create a public image of Democratic action against a picture of Republican inaction. But the danger of going out too far too fast... is also recognized. This explains the fact that Democratic public demands for action have not thus far been much greater."

(Continued from Page 1)

didn't mean "murder" in the technical sense.

In addition to smears using sex, charges of murder and "subversion," the Senate Committee tried to whip up religious feeling against the union. Emil Mazey had testified that Kohler's influence in the area extended even to the clergy. He mentioned several priests who publicly had taken an anti-union stand. Sen. McClellan suggested the word "integrity" and Mazey repeated it. Thereupon Sen. Mundt, assuming the pose of defender of the Roman Catholic Church, declared that Mazey's was "the most shocking statement" he had heard in 17 years on committees in Congress. Mazey later modified his remark to a questioning of the pro-company clergymen's "judgment" rather than "integrity."

BY NATURAL CAUSES

Senator Mundt tried to smear the union with the "murder" of a non-striker. UAW attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., immediately produced a copy of the man's death certificate showing not only that he had died 16 months subsequent to the first fight he had been involved in, but that death resulted from "heart disease, arterio-sclerosis and congestive failure." Mundt thereupon mumbled that he

didn't mean "murder" in the technical sense.

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Attempts to bring out the anti-labor history of Kohler, including the previous strike in 1934 by an AFL union in which the company police killed two and wounded 47 pickets—all of them save two were shot in the back as they were fleeing—were stifled by the "probing" senators. This is part of the attempt to maintain the publicity picture of Kohler as a model employer and the company town he named after himself as a model community. An example of this is the following excerpt from the N. Y. Herald Tribune (March 2): "Previously (to the current strike) the industrial community, named Kohler, Wis., had been regarded as a model—well-scrubbed—and peaceful." Actually the overwhelming majority of those living in the model homes hold supervisory positions in the company. Strikers living in the village were served with eviction notices.

Similarly the Senate probers had little interest in the report of the NLRB examiner who found Kohler guilty of numerous unfair labor practices and recommended reinstatement of most of the strikers.

NEED BUSINESS

British industrialists are negotiating an informal trade agreement with East Germany.

J. Janosco Defeats Deportation

LOS ANGELES, March 6 — An important gain for civil liberties was chalked up this week when the witch hunters of the U.S. Immigration Service failed in their effort to deport John Janosco, western field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers and a member of the California CIO Council. The government is attempting to deport Janosco to Hungary on the charge of membership in the Socialist Workers' Party during the years 1937-40. Special hearing officer Leone ruled that deportation proceedings against the union leader be dropped because the prosecutors had not substantiated the charge of "intentional and real" membership in the SWP. Ass't District Director Urbano of the Immigration Service said the ruling will be considered for possible appeal. This must be within ten days.

Janosco, 49, was born in Hungary but has lived all but the first year of his life in the U.S. He has been active as a union official in Minnesota and on the West Coast for the past 20 years. He is the first person faced with deportation under the McCarran-Walter Act on charge of membership in a political organization other than the Communist Party. Janosco denied membership in the SWP. He admitted attending several meetings of that party in connection with his union activities in Minneapolis.

His fight against deportation has the support of his union, the United Packinghouse Workers, the California State CIO Council, the Los Angeles chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and other bodies. His attorney is Marshall Ross, chairman of the Lawyers' Committee of the local ACLU.

The recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Rowoldt case that membership in an organization within the purview of the McCarran-Walter Act must be proved to be a "meaningful" association apparently influenced a favorable outcome in the Janosco hearings.

Rowoldt-Heikkinen Victory Celebration

MINNEAPOLIS, March 8 — Nearly 100 people attended the Rowoldt-Heikkinen Victory Celebration held here last night. The affair was held under the auspices of the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the organization that fought for their rights.

Charles Rowoldt, whose deportation order was reversed last December by the Supreme Court was the honored guest of the evening. Knut Heikkinen, whose five-year conviction on a charge of failure to obtain travel papers was reversed by the high court in January, was not able to be present because he is still under threat of deportation.

Abner Green, executive secretary of the ACPFB cited new victories by the Committee on the basis of the Rowoldt decision.

They Showed They Wanted a Union

By AN ILGWU MEMBER

The general strike of dressmakers connected with the New York market is over. It lasted six days, involved 105,000 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in seven Northeastern states, and was settled by a three-year contract providing an 11% package increase plus tighter rules for enforcement of area-wide union conditions. The wage raise should bring the New York City dressmaker's average for a 35-hour week up to \$79.50 from its present \$73.00.

As far as showing the solidarity of the workers, this strike was more than 100% successful. Not only did all the union members called out respond with good spirit, but at least 50 non-union shops were signed up in the course of the strike.

One of the things about this strike that most impressed me, as an old-timer, was the way in which the picketing was supported by the younger workers. For example, in my shop, there is a young woman just a few years up from the South. She had no experience with the union before. She has a family and never works Satur-

days. But on the Saturday of the strike, when picketing was not compulsory, she showed up. When I asked her why, she just said, "We have to picket to win, don't we?"

SHIPPING CLERKS HELP

The picketing was also supported by the shipping clerks' union, an affiliate whose contract was not directly involved in this strike. The shipping clerks local takes in the help-ers, handymen, piece-goods workers, and stock handlers who are mostly younger Negro and Puerto Rican workers and whose wages don't go much higher than the Federal minimum. Before the strike, I had often heard these men (they are almost always called "boys" by those who give them orders) complain bitterly that their union was nothing but a dues collection agency. Yet, during the strike, they were among the most spirited picketers.

The daily papers all emphasized the "peaceful" nature of this strike, contrasting it with the violence of earlier years. Actually, the last dressmakers' strike, in 1933, was also a quiet one. It was in the even earlier struggles, where attempts were made to break the picket lines, that trouble occurred.

But the class struggle was not completely subdued, even in this strike. For example, the cops at the main entrances to buildings looked "bored" as reported in the newspapers, but at some of the freight entrances, special giant-sized police were stationed. At one such entrance, I watched a boss try to take a rack of dresses past the picket line. The half-dozen women pickets on duty there let up such a howl that the street was soon crowded with onlookers, most of them sympathetic with the pickets. One out-sized cop finally told the boss: "I know you're with-in your rights, but if you don't want to start a riot, take those dresses back inside."

WILLING TO FIGHT

All the workers, old and new, skilled and unskilled, in New York City and in the outlying areas, showed that they want a union, and that they are willing to fight for it.

Now the question is: will they be disappointed with the results? If things go as they have ever since World War II, only the 20% of the workers who are paid on an hourly rate, will get something substantial out of this settlement.

As for piece-rate workers, as

soon as the new contract goes into effect, a new piece-rate price on each garment will be set, reflecting the raise. But in the next two or three weeks, the boss will change the style, set a new, more difficult rate, and they will be back where they were.

MIGHT TEND TO JOB NOW

Many of the workers, even the old-timers, think that now it will be different. This kind of chiseling was the main issue in this strike, so now maybe the union will really enforce the conditions. Dubinsky, for example, criticized some of the business agents at a mass meeting the first day of the strike and said about them, "So they won't go so much to the movies instead of to the shops." But the workers have cause to be skeptical. For example, the union has experts, called adjusters, who are supposed to settle disputes over piece rates in individual shops. But the standards by which they figure the rates are kept secret, and the workers cannot directly check whether the adjuster has allowed the boss to cheat. The adjusters are now commonly called "injusters," and many workers simply avoid calling them in on disputes.

The real problem is to fight for democracy within the union. But on that, the workers, in New York, at least are really skeptical. "How can you have democracy," said one, "when you can't even criticize a union official without being called a 'Communist'?" Talk was much freer during the strike than it usually is, and it surprised an old radical like me to see how widespread that sentiment is, even among politically conservative workers.

AUSTRALIA UNEMPLOYMENT

The Australian government is under fire from the Labor Party with 75,000 now unemployed out of a total work force of four million. The Labor Party is demanding an accelerated public works program.

Cleveland
"UNEMPLOYMENT — CAUSE AND CURE"
Speaker: Edward Shaw
Detroit Organizer, Socialist Workers Party
Sat., March 22 — 8:30 P.M.
10609 Superior Ave.
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THE MILITANT

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They Fight for the Union



Wives and children of Los Angeles bus drivers organized their own demonstration in support of the drivers' 54-day strike last January. Headed by two-year-old Jimmy Denmark, the picketline was an impressive demonstration of union-consciousness and solidarity among American working class families.

Ohio Auto Workers Hit by Unemployment

By BOB KINGSLEY

CLEVELAND, Feb. 26 — Uppermost in the minds of the UAW workers in this area is not the contractual negotiations with the corporations to begin in the spring, but the hardships imposed by the layoffs and the short work weeks and the fear that more layoffs are inevitable.

The daily papers are now campaigning against Reuther's "profit-sharing" plan. But it is significant that the few letters to the editor from rank-and-file auto workers are those concerned with the systematic drive of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce to pass a "Right to Work Law" by referendum, vote and the plaguing problem of unemployment.

Our future is today, when we have to clothe and feed our families and educate our children.

"This can be attained only by a realistic wage increase where one doesn't have to be a college graduate with a slide rule to figure out his pay."

International officials beat down local opposition to Reuther's "profit-sharing" plan. But the feeling is — and it is not isolated to one local union — that the plan will not see the light of day in the coming negotiations. It is even admitted by the local officials who support the Reuther proposals that the "profit-sharing" plan was devised to counteract the hostile "public opinion" to a wage increase at this time. In the opinion of some officials, the coming negotiations will boil down to a fight for the minimum demands of a 3.9% productivity increase.

A correspondent for the Ohio edition of "Solidarity" described a Detroit Chrysler conference. He wrote, "Hanging like a pall over the conference were heavy layoffs throughout the company; widespread short work weeks that have eaten into the income of some 30,000 Chrysler workers and company-forced production-standards disputes which have brought UAW-Chrysler relations to basement levels."

These changed conditions are now the concern of the rank and file auto workers here.

Chrysler, UAW In Agreement on 40-Hour Week

By E. MARSHALL

DETROIT, March 8 — The dispute over production standards in the Dodge Main plant culminated in an agreement reached last Monday by negotiations in which Walter Reuther and Chrysler Corporation president Colbert participated. The dispute became critical last Jan. 20 when the company opened up a speed-up drive, insisting that it would settle for nothing short of bringing Chrysler production standards in line with other "UAW represented employees."

Workers were fired, scores of workers were given disciplinary lay-offs. The union charged that the company was applying economic pressure by providing an average of 11 hours work per week for the remaining Dodge workers in order to break resistance to speed-up and to provoke a strike to circumvent payment of unemployment and SUB benefits.

According to the text of Monday's agreement, the only issue that was somewhat resolved in favor of the workers was the demand of the union that the company schedule 40-hour weeks for the workers it needed and lay off the rest so they could collect unemployment pay. The company promised to do this "so far as practicable." The grievances and discharges are to go through the long drawn-out grievance procedure.

PRODUCTION RATES

On rates of production, which is the key and central issue in the dispute, the agreement reads as follows: "The rates of production at which employees were producing on Jan. 19, 1958, including improvements in performance since that date, will be used temporarily as a basis for resuming operations." (Emphasis added.) This language doesn't kid the Dodge workers. It simply means that the standards the company was able to crack in the course of the five-week speed-up drive have been accepted by the union.

The agreement further provides: "The union will join with the company in an immediate effort to work out ad-



REUTHER

justments on jobs where the facts demonstrate performance is out of line.... To that end the union will use its industrial engineers working with the industrial engineers of the company." (Emphasis added.)

One might ask, what has become of the holy pronouncements of the Reuther leadership—as recently as the UAW convention and more recently at the Chrysler conference — that "We reject all so-called scientific systems for setting such standards?"

And one might also ask: Out of line with what? The Chrysler corporation wants GM slave standards instituted at Chrysler plants and to this end the company will utilize the findings of its "industrial engineers," with their stop watches and precision instruments. The Dodge trim department, which has been the primary target in the current fight, has always settled standards through negotiations and never on the basis of clocking workers. Under this agreement this important principle has been compromised.

Ohio Bars SUB

Steel and auto workers whose unions won Supplementary Unemployment Benefit schemes in contract negotiations with the companies, still cannot draw SUB in Ohio. The politicians in power ruled that SUB are earnings and cannot be drawn by anyone receiving state unemployment compensation.

The anger of unemployed workers entitled to a few extra dollars from SUB, but forced to exist on the measly compensation benefits (maximum \$39), apparently had its effect on Judge Maiden of Youngstown. He ruled on March 5 that workers could draw both. The victory was short-lived for the Ohio Director of Compensation immediately announced the ruling was being appealed to a higher court. This delaying action has the full support of Gov. O'Neil. Official figures admit over 300,000 unemployed in Ohio. In the Youngstown area steel production hovers around 50%.

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