

# Indo-China Independence Fighters Win Victory

## French Invader Seeks Partition By Geneva Deal

By Daniel Roberts

The fall of the French fortification of Dien Bien Phu on May 7 is an outstanding victory in the Indo-Chinese revolutionary war for independence. The Indo-Chinese peasants and workers have dealt a major political and military blow to French and American imperialism and have further paralyzed Wall Street's ability, for the time being, to intervene with U.S. troops.

Dien Bien Phu had been set up by the French invaders with the deliberate aim of inviting a Viet-minh attack that would provide the basis for a big propaganda campaign to sell American intervention in Indo-China to the American people. At the same time, the French believed they could lure large Viet-minh forces into suicidal attack against overwhelming fire-power, and thus carry out an "operation killer."

Ludwell Penny, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, disclosed on April 29 that "the French deliberately invited this battle, with Dien Bien Phu as expendable bait to slaughter Reds."

### CROOKED JOURNALISM

Every device of crooked journalism has been used to represent the defense of Dien Bien Phu as another heroic last-ditch stand for freedom and a symbol of courage in the fight for liberty.

Actually, most of the troops at Dien Bien Phu were hired mercenaries, members of the Foreign Legion, whose ranks included thousands of ex-Nazi soldiers. These adventurers and professional killers were described by NEA staff writer Fred Sparks as "professionals who fight the jungle war with cognac in their canteens" and who "were receiving their regular rations and red wine and pernod via fat-bellied planes from Hanoi."

While depicting these liquor-soaked hirelings as light-hearted, devil-may-care heroes, the same May 7 N. Y. World-Telegram that carried Sparks article also carried an account of the fall of Dien Bien Phu which claimed that "the screaming attackers apparently were 'hopped up' on potent chium (native rice wine)."

### "HEROIC" COMMANDER

The commander of the French forces, General de Castries, who was promoted from colonel during the siege, was depicted in glowing terms as an international hero of the "free world," who would go down with his troops



EISENHOWER leaving press conference after stating opposition to a proposed ban on sending U.S. troops to Indo-China without congressional consent. Americans are overwhelmingly against intervention. (See article on Page 2.)

fighting to the last man. The truth is that he was an ambitious militarist, who threatened to resign his command at the height of the battle if he was not made a general for his worth.

The May 9 N. Y. Times reported: "On April 10 Countess de Castries, who daily spoke to her husband by telephone from Hanoi, 175 miles away, said he had complained to her he would resign his commission if his promotion were held up. The censor stopped this information, but it leaked out a few days later."

General's stars were dropped to de Castries by parachute. But just the same, he wound up not a fallen hero but an ignominious captive, along with more than 8,000 other prisoners captured when the French raised the white flag of surrender under the final assault of the Vietminh forces.

### THE REAL HEROES

The real heroes of Dien Bien Phu were the bare-foot, wretchedly-equipped Vietminh troops, so imbued with hatred of imperialism and love of independence that they stormed entrenched positions held by professional troops with tanks, heavy artillery, automatic light arms, and complete air support with both napalm and explosive bombs.

The capture of Dien Bien Phu is a tribute to the heroism of revolutionary passion and conviction and to the enormous power and sweep inherent in the revolutionary movement of the colonial people.

### IMPERIALIST DEAL

Defeated on the field of battle, the imperialists — American, French and British — now would like to cheat the Indo-Chinese. (Continued on page 3)

Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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# McCarthy Admits Having Spy Network inside Government

## Kutcher to Challenge M'Carthy on His Tour

By John F. Petrone

NEWARK, May 12 — James Kutcher, the valiant victim of the witch hunt, was excited and happy today as he talked to a Militant reporter about his national speaking tour, which will begin in Buffalo on May 19.

"Sure, I'm excited," he said. "I can't imagine anything more important today than getting out around the country and talking with people about the danger of McCarthyism and what should be done to meet it. I'm very grateful to Pioneer Publishers and the local branches of our committee whose sponsorship has made this tour possible."

Pioneer Publishers is the American distributor of "The Case of the Legless Veteran," Kutcher's book about his victimization by the "loyalty" purge and his six-year fight to recover the Veterans Administration clerical job from which he was fired because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The tour will be co-sponsored by local branches of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, the non-partisan group which is handling the veteran's legal case in the courts.

TO CHALLENGE MCCARTHY  
"Of course I'm going to talk about my case on this tour, and try to get support for it, and sell as many copies of my book as I can," he explained.

"But that's not all. I'm also going to talk about broader questions — about the real meaning and aims of McCarthyism and how the witch hunt affects every American, radical or non-radical. Millions of people are thinking about these questions today, and I hope they'll be interested in hearing my ideas about them."

He laughed, "If you're not careful, I'll try out one of my speeches on you . . . Don't worry, I won't. But one of the things I'm going to do on this tour is throw down a challenge to McCarthy and McCarthyism, and I'm going to urge everybody I talk to to do the same."

### TOUR SCHEDULE

We asked how long his tour would last. Kutcher said he didn't know yet.

"You know, I went on a similar tour in 1950. I never saw Newark again for six months, and that tour lasted about nine months. I was busy all the time, so busy that I couldn't meet all speaking engagements offered me. This time my schedule is more leisurely. I'll spend more time at each stop, and this time I'm

traveling by car instead of plane and train. Only the first part of the schedule has been completed." As the schedule now stands, Kutcher will arrive in Buffalo (Continued on page 3)

## One CIO, 2 Negro Candidates Reach Newark Run-offs

By George Breitman

NEWARK, May 12 — One CIO-sponsored candidate and two Negro candidates for Newark City Council received enough votes in yesterday's election to qualify for places on the ballot in the run-off elections to be held on June 15. A second CIO-sponsored candidate did not qualify.

The strongest showing of the four candidates supported by the Socialist Workers Party was made by Irvine J. Turner, Negro candidate for councilman in the Central Ward. He led the ten candidates in this race by a wide margin, receiving 6,110 votes, almost twice the number of John Salvato, a Democratic wardheeler whom he will face in the run-off. Turner's vote was 41% of the total in the ward, but he needed an absolute majority to clinch the election yesterday.

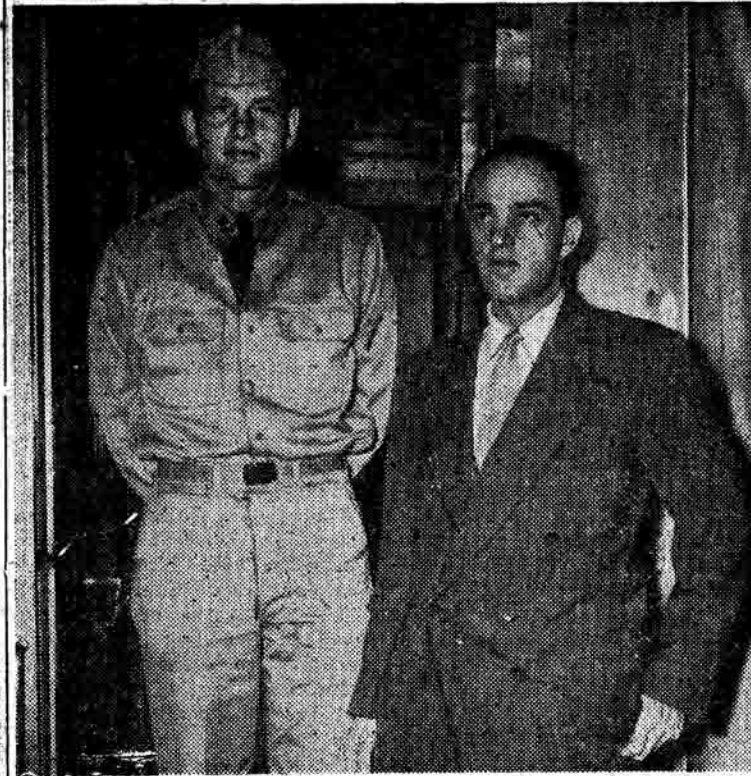
Turner might have been able to win without a run-off if the names of two other Negro candidates had not remained on the ballot. One of these, Roger Yancey, withdrew from the race almost two weeks ago after it became clear that Turner was the overwhelming choice of the Negro community, and after the CIO Council endorsed Turner instead of Yancey.

### TURNER'S CHANCES GOOD

But Yancey was unable to get his name off the ballot. In addition, the Newark Citizens Committee, a reform movement, maliciously continued to print advertisements that confused voters by calling on them to vote for Yancey. As a result, Yancey received 910 votes. A third Negro candidate, Samuel Stewart, resisting the pressure of the ma-

(Continued on page 4)

## Fascist McCarthy's Boys



Pvt. G. David Sching and Roy M. Cohn, aides to McCarthy and target of Army charges, arrive together at the Senate hearings on the McCarthy-Army feud. Both have had only brief appearances on the stand at this writing. They did a lot of the spade work in digging up McCarthy's witch-hunt smears.

## Score 'Subversive' List Of W. Coast NAACP

LOS ANGELES, May 10 — A strong protest against the so-called "subversive" list compiled by the West Coast Regional Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeared last week in the Assembly, paper of South Gate Local 216, CIO United Auto Workers.

The protest appeared in the form of a report by the local's Fair Employment Practices Committee. It urges the NAACP Regional Office to withdraw the objectionable list (which included The Militant along with five other publications and organizations) and to concentrate on the progressive purposes for which the NAACP was formed. The full text of the report follows:

### FULL TEXT

At the very moment your FEP Committee was preparing to launch a recruiting campaign among members of Local 216 as part of the National Membership Drive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we received

## Uses Fascist Methods To Steal Secrets and Blackmail Opponents

By Fred Hart

MAY 12 — McCarthy's slanderous charge that the Democrats committed "20 years of treason" was taken directly from the Nazi propaganda arsenal or, as ex-President Truman put it on May 10, it was dug up out of "the dung-hill of Hitler's writings." Hitler came to power by attacking the German republic for "14 years of shame and treason," and McCarthy is following the same objective by his own variant of this smear.

## CIO Textile Union Calls for 35-Hour Week, No Pay Cut

The CIO Textile Workers Union of America has joined the growing body of unions, AFL and CIO, in calling for a shorter work week with no loss of weekly pay.

At its national convention held in Atlantic City, the TWUA delegates on May 5 unanimously endorsed a program calling for a 35-hour week at 40 hours' pay. A number of other important unions have raised the slogan of the 6-hour day, 30-hour week with 40 hours' take-home pay.

Solomon Barkin, research director of the textile union, said that the 35-hour work-week is the "first step" necessary to "stem the tide of depression" in the textile industry.

The resolution adopted by the convention, however, did not call for the shorter work-week as a contract demand on the companies. It appealed to Congress to set up an "industry-labor-public" agency to enforce a basic 35-hour week. No real union action was proposed.

The appeal of the program for a shorter work-week with no loss of weekly income, embodied in the "30 for 40" slogan, is increasing with the continued rise of industrial mass unemployment. By finagling with the figures and including the pre-Easter seasonal rise, the Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics managed to produce a "decline" in unemployment between March 10 and April 10. They claimed a drop of 260,000 to a total of 3,465,000.

But in manufacturing — the decisive economic sector — unemployment rose another 250,000 in the same period.

Not only McCarthy's propaganda but his techniques are typically fascist. Nothing illustrates this better than the source of the FBI memorandum, doctored up as a letter signed by J. Edgar Hoover, that McCarthy introduced at the Senate probe of his dispute with the Army.

Who gave him this secret memorandum? McCarthy refused to say. How did he get hold of it? An officer in the intelligence department of the Army gave it to him, in violation of regulations. Is it unusual for McCarthy to receive secret information in this way? Not at all. McCarthy boasted, "It's a daily and nightly occurrence."

Thus McCarthy admits having a network of spies in various departments of the government, a fifth column stealing secrets and passing them on to him illegally.

### LIKE HITLER

This is one of the chief sources of McCarthy's political power (and one reason why he will not be prosecuted as an accessory to the theft of government secrets, or for refusing to name the thief). His fifth column provides him with information that enables him to pressure, blackmail and neutralize his opponents in high places, as well as with information that McCarthy twists to fit his charges of "coddling communists," etc.

Infiltration of the government with spies, agents, purloiners of documents and collectors of scandalous data about official and personal activities of government personnel — all this was standard operating procedure with the Nazis. Hitler was able several times to ward off prosecution and even possible deportation to Austria through this technique. It also enabled him to discredit, weaken and often get completely rid of officials who were opposed to turning over the government to the Nazis.

### REASON FOR PROBE

The Eisenhower administration is opposed to turning over the government to the fascist from Wisconsin, at least at present. That's what the televised McCarthy-Army probe is essentially about. The Republican leadership was willing to use McCarthy, and went far out of its way to appease and conciliate him.

But McCarthy has his own fish to fry, and doesn't give a hang for the Republican Party as such. He demanded in effect control of the Army, the largest department under the jurisdiction of the executive branch. If he could win this, the other and smaller departments would be easy game for him. Against their will, the GOP leaders in the White House had to call a stop on his encroachments and infiltration into their preserve.

The aim of the administration in this probe is not to destroy McCarthy, but to curb or contain him. That is why their charges against him skirt the main issue in contention between them and center around playmate offenses against "normal" relations between Senators and the executive branch. In this sense it is correct

(Continued on page 3)

# A National Congress of All Labor Needed Now

By the Editors

Emil Rieve, CIO Textile Workers Union President and CIO Senior Vice President, at the TWUA convention on May 5 referred to pending Taft-Hartley amendments as "neo-fascist" and declared if this legislation passes "I would propose . . . to immediately call a conference of unions affiliated to the CIO, the AFL, or independents, and lay plans for drastic measures."

That's a first-rate proposal. We've been urging it for a long time. But why wait until these "neo-fascist" measures are passed? Why wait until the club comes down?

## Three Big Reasons to Act Now

There are at least three tremendous reasons why a mighty Congress of Labor, with rank-and-file representation from all bodies of organized labor, should be called in Washington at once. There's the threat of the union-smashing drive, the supreme expression of which is McCarthyite fascism. There's the mass unemployment that is daily sapping the strength of the unions. There's the threat of imperialist war with its danger of H-bomb annihilation. And all these together reflect the mortal menace facing American labor.

On one single day, May 8, three great bodies of American

labor each set forth public demands for government action to relieve unemployment and aid the unemployed. The AFL, the CIO and the United Mine Workers all issued almost identical demands addressed to the government. They all know that unemployment is a problem of the whole national economy. They all know that only major government action can grapple with it. And yet each of these union bodies spoke merely in its own name, as a separate force, with no real plan of action.

We have another expression of the urgency of the problems pressing on labor in the meeting of David Beck, head of the AFL Teamsters, John L. Lewis, president of the independent miners union, and David J. McDonald, head of the CIO United Steelworkers. They said they discussed the unemployment situation, which is gravely affecting all three unions, and announced that they had reached some sort of accord to deal jointly with the economic situation as it affects their unions.

Let us set aside, for the time being, all speculation about other things they might have discussed, such as jurisdictional matters, raiding of other unions, etc. Just exactly what can three union heads, locked behind closed doors, do about mass unemployment? What is their plan? How do they propose to solve this problem without taking the ranks of their own unions into

their confidence and setting into motion some real mass mobilization, some powerful national union action?

How many more union-busting laws and actions in and out of Congress must there be before all organized labor recognizes that the labor-haters mean business?

How tightly must McCarthyism get its grip on this nation before the labor movement faces up to and challenges this hideous fascist menace?

How large must the unemployed army grow before the whole of the labor movement unites in action to rid the land of insecurity and hunger?

A National Congress of Labor is needed right now. Such a labor gathering would have an immediate profound two-fold effect. It would stiffen the backbones of unions everywhere and put an end to the doubts, hesitations and fears that undermine their morale at the sad spectacle of labor disunited and quiescent before the gigantic threat to unionism. It would serve notice to labor's enemies that the mightiest power on earth, the organized American working class, is mobilizing for combat on the economic and political arena to halt the union-busters and fascists, to end the rule of the billionaire monopolists and to create the conditions for a decent economic and social order.

## Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Close to \$10,000 has now been raised in the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund Drive. But our goal is \$14,000. In order to assure the complete fulfillment of this Fund, which must finance the Party's many activities in this period of the initial struggle against American fascism, we are extending the Fund Drive one month. June 15 is our new termination date.

Allentown took the spotlight in the Fund Drive this week by exceeding its quota 15%. This sets a good example for the other branches to follow. For those which have been able to complete their quotas on time, the job now is to see how much more they can raise above their original quotas.

The first branch to hit 100% and to exceed its quota was the Detroit branch. A Militant reader from Michigan sent in \$10 in the hope that he could help the Detroit branch meet its goal first. And he did. Detroit has exceeded its quota by \$20.

Buffalo and Newark have both completed their obligations and the Youngstown branch is ahead of schedule.

The concluding scoreboard on the concentrated sale of our anti-McCarthy literature will appear in the next issue of the Militant, as scheduled. The deadline for getting final scores into the National Office will be May 18.

St. Paul recaptured second place from Newark in the hot competition between these two branches. Los Angeles made the biggest leap of the week by moving from twelfth place to seventh in the campaign.

With the sale of the popular anti-McCarthy pamphlets, New York jumped into third place, following close behind St. Paul and Minneapolis. At this writing, St. Paul has sold 712 copies of the first and second editions of "McCarthyism—American Fascism on the March."

Winifred Nelson, of St. Paul, who has been my very best correspondent in this campaign, des-

(Continued on page 2)



# McCarthyism As Seen in Action

By Harry Ring

Television coverage of the McCarthy-Army hearings gives millions of Americans the chance to take a good hard look at a fascist demagogue in action.

McCarthy in his performance before the TV cameras is enacting the ideas and concepts of action propounded in Hitler's "Mein Kampf." Each new session of the hearings adds more to the picture of a man who disdains to conceal his utter scorn and contempt for the very institutions and procedures of which he is the self-proclaimed "savior."

McCarthy certainly can't be accused of being a conformist. Over the years a whole body of tradition and custom have grown up governing the public behavior of capitalist politicians. When in the public eye, they are expected to display at least a minimum degree of regard for such vote-getting virtues as simple courtesy, fair play, truth, legal and parliamentary procedures, as well as for important government institutions and prominent officials. All of these McCarthy unhesitatingly boots in the teeth.

Any one of the stunts he has pulled in the hearings would be enough to finish a "regular" politician. But McCarthy is no "regular" politician, and his much-discussed "methods" are calculated to serve his "irregular" fascist ends.

## Rudeness and Brutality

His unvarnished rudeness and unmistakable brutality have undoubtedly repelled a large part of his audience. But as his hopped-up fascist supporters sit with their eyes glued to the screen, there emerges for them the picture of a true "leader," capable of utter ruthlessness in clubbing down an opponent. For their money, this is the kind of a man who can really "run" this country.

He unrelentingly hounds and harasses his victims. Crude personal insults are his stock in trade. Secretary of the Army Stevens sits pitifully on the witness stand while McCarthy contemptuously refers to him as "Bob." Joseph Alsop, a newspaper columnist who dared to cross McCarthy, gets the treatment in the form of being referred to as "All-slop."

Obviously a defendant in the hearings, McCarthy dominates the stage with transparently phony "points of order" and lengthy interruptions. ("I intend to interrupt whenever I find flagrant dishonesty on the part of a witness.")

The "big lie" technique is an automatic reflex for this pupil of Hitler. The charge that his stooge Cohn "declared war" on the Army when excluded from a secret laboratory at Fort Monmouth is easily answered by McCarthy. Cohn got "irritated" because he was excluded from the laboratories, knowing that Communists had free access to them.

No trick in the book is too dirty for this fascist to use. Along with the slanders that he hurls so freely, go the crudest kind of frameups. A doctored photograph blows up in his face — he counters by calmly tossing a manufactured "letter" into the hopper.

## His Network in Government

But the hearings have revealed something even more important than the already well-documented fact that McCarthy is a crooked scoundrel. A sinister picture has emerged that blasts the notion that he is simply an individual cut-throat political gangster on the loose. Out of the mouths of the participants in the hearings, including Stevens and McCarthy himself, has come new evidence of the existence of the genuine pervasive "fifth column" he has welded together inside the government.

It is the enormous strength of McCarthy's network of agents inside the government — Army, FBI, Congress, etc. — added to his "grass roots" support in various parts of the country, that explains in good part Stevens' extraordinary tale of his cringing efforts to appease the fascist Senator. It also explains why Eisenhower remains as mum as a dummy on the whole current dispute.

McCarthy's attitude towards his fellow Republicans at the hearings shows that he is well on the way to being in business for himself. It is generally agreed that the Republican party is being damaged by the hearings and that its leadership is unable to do anything about it. And it has been clearly demonstrated that McCarthy doesn't give a tinker's dam about the welfare of the Republican Party. He is building his own political force and is ready to smash anything that stands in his way, including his "own" party.

For the hosts of anti-McCarthy viewers of the hearings, it is a frustrating experience to watch the capitalist politicians "get on the bike" as the fascist slugger bores in. What a pleasure, it would be to see a militant representative of the American labor movement in there, taking the would-be Fuehrer's measure and letting him have it right on the button.

**Chicago Public Meeting**  
**STOP TERRORISM IN TRUMBULL PARK**  
 Speaker: **BERT DECK**  
 Chairman, Chicago Local SWP  
 Sat., May 22 — 8 p. m.  
**SOCIALIST WORKERS HALL**  
 777 W. Adams St.

**NEW YORK SPRING BAZAAR**  
 Clothes for children and adults, perfumes, jewelry, leather belts, appliances, new and rare books and many other articles.  
 Sat., May 22, from noon on.  
**MILITANT HALL**  
 116 University Place (near Union Square)  
 Refreshments

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# Tremendous Opposition to War Disclosed in Indo-China Crisis

By Joseph Keller

If the Eisenhower administration drags this country into the Indo-China war, as the White House continues to threaten, it will be against the will of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

While the bought press was screaming about the "heroic defense" of Dien Bien Phu by hired mercenary troops of French imperialism, the newspapers were deliberately burying a big Indo-China war story that was happening right here at home.

This was the unexpected expression of tremendous popular opposition to U.S. military intervention against the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence.

A fuller glimpse of the real scope and depth of this opposition is disclosed by the May 7 U.S. News and World Report magazine, under the title, "Why War Talk Is Fading . . . Kick-back From the Voters Jolted Policy Makers."

## "POLITICAL DYNAMITE"

This ultra-conservative magazine, generally known as one of the fire-eaters in demanding aggressive imperialist policies against the Asian people, admits: "War in Indo-China is political dynamite in the U.S. That's what Congressmen find when they sample the mood of the voters."

It reports that "as of now," based on "word from the grass roots," if Congress were asked to decide on sending American GIs to Indo-China, the response would be: "no sale."

"This is the mood of the country," says U.S. News, "as interpreted by members of Congress after samplings taken around the cracker barrels of country stores, in talks with constituents in towns and cities, in the mail that comes across their desks."

## 99% SAY "STAY OUT"

The "chairman of an important Senate Committee" is quoted: "Ninety-nine per cent of my mail urges that Americans be kept out of any more Asian wars, such as Korea or Indo-China."

A "midwestern Republican" is cited: "If we take troops into Indo-China, the Republicans might as well not even plan a campaign for the November elections."

A Wisconsin Republican — obviously not McCarthy, who is an agent of the war-promoting Chi-

## We Want No More of This



The American people are bitterly opposed to sending troops to Indo-China. They want no more of scenes like the above of a mother meeting two of her soldier sons just returned from the Korea war, one to comfort her as she weeps over the flag-draped casket bearing the body of the other.

na Lobby and who backed Synghman Rhee's demand for continuation of the Korean War — said: "If war comes under this Administration, it could well be the end of the Republican Party."

According to U. S. News, "These are just samples. But they catch the main trend of the reaction that runs across the country. One Republican says he will have a tremendous selling job to do in his district if the U.S. should decide to send troops to Indo-China."

Last June a Gallup poll of nationwide sentiment on sending troops to Indo-China showed a six-to-one opposition. By March 1954, the ratio of opposition stood at ten-to-one. Some 85% said "no" to intervening against Indo-China in its revolutionary war for independence; only 8% said "yes."

While the capitalist politicians in the White House and of both parties in Congress must take into account these sentiments of the people, especially in an election year, let us keep in mind that the rulers of this country

have no real respect for the feelings and opinions of the people.

In June 1950, Truman, by a simple executive order without consultation of Congress, let alone the approval of the American people, dragged us into the most unpopular war in our history. Poll after poll, hundreds of thousands of pleading letters, showed the American people wanted "our boys brought home." But these appeals were brutally brushed aside.

## WHERE DANGER LIES

Eisenhower is just as capable of dragging us into another war in Asia — an even worse one than Korea. There is nothing to stop him so far as Congress is concerned. If most of these Wall Street politicians in Congress had their way, American troops would have long since been wading knee-deep in blood in Indo-China.

The usually well-informed Washington columnist of the N. Y. Post, Robert Allen, reported: "Eisenhower has won support of top Republican and Democratic leaders of Congress for sending

American troops to Indo-China — on one condition." The condition is that such intervention be given an international cover-up by the approval of the British and French imperialists.

Part of the propaganda build-up to sell the American people on Indo-China intervention will be to make us believe that "most of the fighting" will be done by other people, like the French or the Indo-Chinese themselves. Do not fall for any line about its being an "easy" war for this country in Indo-China.

## WHAT U.S. WOULD FACE

The French, with 500,000 trained troops in Indo-China, are being whipped to a standstill by 300,000 Vietminh fighters without planes, heavy artillery or the other powerful weapons which the French, supplied by the U. S., have in full measure. The French forces are in almost completely hostile territory, with the millions of Indo-Chinese people ranged against them and seeking their destruction by every means.

No, intervention in Indo-China against the fighters for independence there would prove an even costlier experience for the American people than Korea. The May 9 N.Y. Times gives a bare hint of what price we would pay in its report that "one high Western source thinks that even six United States divisions would not greatly change the difficult military and political situation in Indo-China." We can take that as a gross under-statement.

The anti-war sentiment of the American people, as shown by their reaction to the threat of being pulled into the Indo-China war, is a strong base to build on.

## LET THE PEOPLE VOTE

But we can have no guarantee that we won't be dragged in against our will unless the people themselves have the power to decide the question of war and peace. The people must have the right to vote on war or peace by popular referendum. And to the sentiment reflected in letters and polls must be added the might of organized mass opposition to war.

## ... Union Scores 'Subversive' List

(Continued from page 1) the movement for a national FEPC. The NAACP is on their list too.

Recognizing the danger to the fight for equality by the rabid witch hunters, the National Conference of the NAACP held last June lashed the McCarthyites and warned, "Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for the Negroes and other minorities to subversion or 'un-Americanism.'" How does this attitude square with the action of the West Coast Regional Office "subversive" list?

What is especially disturbing about this business is the implied criticism of Local 216 which the leaflet contains. It specifically warns against supporting "Defense" Committees without a check and double check. This obviously refers to the recent Wesley Wells case in which Local 216 supported the defense of Wells against execution for throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard. This defense movement rallied thousands of people from all walks of life and saved Wells' life.

The West Coast Regional Office did not participate. But that fact hardly makes Local 216 and the hundreds of other organizations who did, "subversive."

It is the most fatal error to try to appease the McCarthyites by copying their methods. These labor-haters and race-baiters are out to smash the unions and crucify all minority groups and political dissenters. According to them even the Democratic Party is "guilty of 20 years of treason" and is, therefore, "subversive."

Taft-Hartleyism and McCarthyism are the greatest menaces today to the existence of independent unions, civil liberties and democratic rights. Above all, it is a dagger aimed at our right for equality. Under the circumstances, it behooves an organization which calls itself an association for the "advancement of Colored People" to mimic our worst enemies.

What the West Coast Region of the NAACP needs, in our opinion, is the influx of a substantial number of union men and women who can teach the gentlemen responsible for the publication of "subversive" lists to leave such matters to the witch hunters and to concentrate on conducting a fight for equality and democratic rights.

# \$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	\$ 65	\$ 75	115
Detroit	500	520	104
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Youngstown	150	145	97
Philadelphia	400	357	89
Cleveland	250	185	74
Boston	500	353	71
New York	3,000	2,149	71
Chicago	1,500	1,047	70
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	839	70
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
San Francisco	700	450	64
Los Angeles	2,500	1,447	58
Milwaukee	250	141	56
St. Louis	75	30	40
Oakland	250	67	27
Akron	100	22	22
Seattle	250	35	14
General	260	125	48
<b>Total through May 10</b>	<b>\$14,000</b>	<b>\$9,987</b>	<b>71</b>

## ... Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

cribes the competition in the Twin Cities: "We have a local scoreboard for both cities posted across one wall of the large meeting hall in our State headquarters. This records both Militant and pamphlet scores for the campaign, and the work of the individual comrades, so you get the picture of the daily progress of the campaign at a glance."

"Our Twin Cities May 15 social is going to honor the winners in the Militant and Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign, as well as celebrate the conclusion (successful, we hope) of the Fund Drive."

As things look at this point, St. Paul will also have to honor the leading individual winners nationally, for the three top individual records are all from St. Paul with scores of 234, 177 and 148 points.

Detroit got a late start in the campaign because of the gigantic job that had to be done to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Michigan. But Comrade Bea Allen writes that the sale of Anti-Fascist Literature has begun in earnest.

"Yesterday I didn't work so Rita and I planned to go to the campus and Paul wanted to come along. What a sale! In 20 min-

utes the three of us sold 25 of the new anti-McCarthy pamphlets and eight Militants. This was in competition with a rally to keep football on the campus — sound trucks blaring by, free leaflets, and a big rally with a jazz band across the street calling all the students over. We sold everything we took with us and were very pleased with the conversations we held with some of the students."

## Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	Youngstown	289
2	St. Paul	262
3	Newark	691
4	San Francisco	520
5	Minneapolis	868
6	New York	1000
7	Los Angeles	959
8	Pittsburgh	71
9	Milwaukee	146
10	Philadelphia	156
11	Buffalo	222
12	Cleveland	70
13	Detroit	83
14	Allentown	34
15	Chicago	200
16	Oakland	47
17	St. Louis	18
<b>Total</b>		<b>6,246</b>

# SWP Nails 'Subversive' Smear in Detroit Case

DETROIT, May 10 — The latest victim of the witch hunt here is John Lupa, 40-year old machinist who publicly announced last week that he was fired from the Detroit Arsenal last month as a "security risk."

Two things that distinguish the Lupa case are: (1) Lupa has decided to put up a fight to regain his job; (2) Lupa is not even accused of ever having belonged to any organization on any so-called "subversive" list.

The charges against Lupa were that his name appeared on a list of names maintained in the Detroit files of the Socialist Workers Party; that he attended a meeting of the SWP in 1949; that he had a subscription to the Militant which expired in 1942; and that from 1933 to 1940 and in 1949 he was "a close associate" of an alleged member of the SWP, Ernest Mazey.

By Army standards, such normal and legal expressions of interest in politics made Lupa a veteran with 12 years' voluntary service in the armed forces and honorable discharges from the Army, Navy and Air Force, into a "security risk." And so he was fired.

## "I WAS CURIOUS"

Lupa does not deny that he attended a public meeting of the SWP and once subscribed to The Militant. "I was curious about the outfit," he explains. After attending the meeting, he was invited by phone to another, but declined. He points out he had no control over the inclusion of his name on a contact list, nor even knowledge of it.

As for his "close" association with Mazey, Lupa points out he never moved to Detroit until 1937, so he never even met Mazey until after that date. Their main association was as fellow delegates to the Wayne County CIO Council, as a result of which they had dinner at each other's homes once or twice. Lupa says it was Mazey who invited him to go to the SWP meeting he attended in 1949, although he had never known Mazey as an

SWP member, and that he hasn't even seen Mazey since 1949. Mazey, by the way, issued a statement last week denouncing Lupa's discharge, and saying, "I am not a member, nor have I any association whatsoever with the Socialist Workers Party."

## DOUBLE APPLICATION

Thus Lupa is a victim of a double application of the doctrine of "guilt by association and accusation": (1) He doesn't agree with the ideas of the SWP, and he has never belonged to it, but he is treated as if he did merely because he attended a public meeting, read a paper and knew a man alleged to be a member. (2) He is made to suffer because the SWP was arbitrarily included on a "subversive" list — without any proof, without any hearing.

Nothing has been proved against the SWP — it has merely been accused. And nothing has been proved against Lupa — he too has merely been accused. The only thing he is "guilty" of is exercising his democratic rights to satisfy his curiosity about an organization and a paper. Yet as a result of these two unproved accusations, Lupa has been fired from his job and his name is under a cloud.

## REAL SUBVERSION

"The idea that citizens of this country no longer have the right to freedom of political thought and action is itself a subversion of the basic rights of citizenship set forth in the Constitution."

"This is the idea that is being fostered by the Clardy committee which is presently holding hearings here in Detroit. It is the idea that was spawned by the Dies Committee under the Roosevelt administration, that was given administrative authority under the Truman administration, and that has become the stock-in-trade of McCarthy and his ilk under the Eisenhower administration."

"John Lupa is only one of thousands of such victims in this country today. The purpose of such victimizations is to intimidate the American people and shackle them to the two-party system. The witch hunters are preparing to attack all independent organizations — particularly the unions."

## SWP STATEMENT

In reporting the case of John Lupa, the Detroit Free Press stated that he denied ever belonging to the Communist Party, the SWP "or any other subversive organization." This implication — that the SWP is "subversive" — was immediately denounced by Frank Lovell, SWP state chairman, in a statement prominently printed in the Free Press on May 6.

"In every case where (this charge against the SWP) has been challenged in the courts the false allegation has gone unsubstantiated," Lovell pointed out. Specific examples he cited were the case of James Kutcher, legless veteran, who was fired from a Veterans Administration job in Newark because of his SWP membership, and the case of the Trucks Law in Michigan, under

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Twin Cities Militant salesmen report good results in their current campaign to sell the paper along with other socialist literature.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "I am very glad to send the enclosed five one-year and five six-month subscriptions. Returns on renewals are coming in exceptionally good. We are putting particular emphasis on selling 'America's Road to Socialism' to Militant subscribers."

"Bob W. and Ralph are out in front in the Militant campaign with 93 and 45 points respectively. Julia, Helen, Larry, Norman and Bob A. each have 30 points. We are giving one point for a single copy sale, 15 points for a six-month sub, and 30 points for a one-year sub."

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson reports, "Paul and I went out last Monday night and brought in these three renewals in addition to selling some pamphlets. So St. Paul's scoreboard now looks like this: Paul, 130; Winifred, 30; Bill B., five; and Jack, one."

Detroit comrades have found an encouraging response to recent issues of the Militant, according to Literature Agent Janet MacGregor. She writes, "Sales are increasing. Sherry and Bob covered their route in the project and sold 12 copies of the paper. Kev, who has followed up his route steadily, has sold nine almost every week. One week when he was ill and couldn't make it one of the readers on his route came to his house to get the paper. He is out of work and can't afford to, take a sub

but manages a dime every week. This is true of many of the people on Kev's route. They are very anxious to start a discussion group around the paper."

"Rita and Frank covered a meeting at which Bishop Oxnam was speaking and sold 18 anti-McCarthy pamphlets and five Militants. Al and Sara sold four copies at a union meeting. Sherry and Frank sold three copies at another small union meeting."

Literature Agent Dolores Seville reports recent sales in Oakland as follows: Leonard, four Militants; Lil, two Militants; Bill K., two anti-McCarthy pamphlets and seven Militants; and Dolores, three anti-McCarthy pamphlets and nine Militants.

Baker writes, "We were able to sell 96 copies of the Militant with the article on the NAACP. We sold 77 on special mobilizations, with our new comrade Ann the star salesman. One of our friends we made on the route took 10 copies to sell to his friends; and another reader sold six to his friends. Ann and I sold three at a union meeting; and I put 10 on our regular newsstand. Frank took 10 to sell to his friends and we will take the remaining copies to an NAACP meeting tomorrow night."

J. W. C., a reader in Louisiana, writes, "I like the Militant. I became a socialist in 1904. That gives me 50 years of real life."

Mrs. K. W. of Minneapolis writes, "I have been a Militant subscriber for several years and find your treatment of the news, which is so different from that of the capitalist press, very interesting and enlightening."

Many thanks to A. S. of Milwaukee, Wis. for his donation of \$1 to help pay the printing costs of the Militant.

# THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN

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# Rise and Decline of a 'Self-Made' Capitalist

By Reba Aubrey

**GIANT BUSINESS, Threat to Democracy** — The autobiography of an Insider, by T. K. Quinn. Exposition Press 1953. 321 pp., \$3.75.

I suppose anybody who ever worked for a living has heard that if you've got what it takes you can start at the bottom and work your way to the top. Personally, I've been convinced for years that the idea is a fake. So when I read a review of T. K. Quinn's book in Labor's Daily that said he climbed from the very bottom to the very top of General Electric's hierarchy in only 24 years, I was surprised. What was his gimmick? I decided to check his story. I almost put the book aside, however, when I saw the title of Mr. Quinn's first chapter, "I Decide to be a Genius."

### OBSTACLE NO. 1

But within a few pages, I learned that this "genius" entered the business world at \$7 a week in a "smelly, humdrum factory (ten hours of it)" and that kept me reading. Mr. Quinn didn't become discouraged — he had a formula. "A young man," he says, "... has to overcome a number of obstacles as a factory worker. The first one is to find somehow a good boss." Being a "genius," Mr. Quinn managed that "somehow" and was "given a chance as a stock clerk" which he considered "a big promotion."

### A NEAT TRICK

His formula called next for a "discovery" — in his case, a discovery dealing with a stock short-

age of about \$100,000 — a neat trick if you can do it. He claims that "it is never pleasant to make discoveries like this," but still, while the boss raised "hell" with certain employees, he also raised something else — Quinn's salary.

The formula worked out by the young genius also required thinking up suggestions to save the company "appreciable sums of money." There's nothing a company likes better. You may have to add, as Mr. Quinn did: "Please note that there was no relation between my increase in salary and the amount my suggestion was saving my employer."

And so Mr. Quinn was promoted to credit manager, to sales manager, to manager. Of course, "There was no time for play," he confesses, "nor any desire for it." A rather stringent approach to life, if you ask me.

### FLY IN OINTMENT

Mr. Quinn became "a, if not the, top-ranking GE Vice-President" and Mr. Quinn was "busier than anyone ought to be..." He doesn't tell us to what extent he shared in the profits of the billion-dollar concern, but he was regarded as GE's "white-haired boy." So he was probably making enough to live on.

Then Mr. Quinn, now "next in line for the Presidency of G.E.," discovered a fly in the ointment. "My whole present and future was in the hands of one man — Gerard Swope, the President," although he didn't exercise "that power unreasonably." Rags were now far behind in Mr. Quinn's career, riches very close. Maybe that is why he felt resentment over a reprimand from his su-

perior, the reprimand being "for taking a day off" to attend his "father's funeral."

The reprimand rankled. It even sprouted a seed of doubt. Our genius began to question the value of his 24-year achievement. He even went so far as to read books on company time, seeking an answer. He became still more bothered. "I could not find in my reading any historic character worthy of respect or admiration who had devoted his life to making money or being important."

Mr. Quinn's "reading" raised another question: "What did I really want to do in life?" A little late to be asking such a question perhaps, but it thoroughly unsettled his brilliant career. With his fingers on the rung occupied by Mr. Swope, Quinn suddenly let go.

### NEW "ADVENTURES"

His 24-year stretch with General Electric now behind him, Mr. Quinn tried his hand at "the Presidency" of a national advertising agency, but left this "adventure" to "become the dollar-a-year Director-General of the War Production Drive." How this paid off in contacts and money, the author fails to mention.

After he left Washington, several "safe" positions were offered to him but he "chose instead a new and unexplored venture in the distribution of electrical appliances." He "personally advanced about \$100,000" to help set up a little "venture" together with a friend. This was in 1945. By 1947 net sales "were close to

\$100,000, or about \$20,000,000 at the list, consumer price." Mr. Quinn "contemplated doubling these figures in 1948-49."

"All went well until the steel shortage appeared like a venomous serpent over the horizon. It didn't hurt the big fellows." But "every obstacle was stacked against the little fellow." "Small companies went broke for want of the steel which Big Business monopolized." Quinn's "venture" was swallowed by the venomous serpent.

### NEW MENTAL CRISIS

This threw Mr. Quinn into a new mental crisis. He assures us that he believes "deeply in our American system;" yet will "never cease raising" his "voice against such rank and crying injustice." Mr. Quinn becomes almost subversive in language, going so far as to openly advocate putting "more rings in the noses of hogs."

Mr. Quinn admits that he did not "get religious" on the side of Small Business until he "actually engaged in it." You've got to hand it to him though — as soon as he learned that life is not just a bed of roses, even with \$100,000 capital, he took up the cudgels to plead eloquently for Small Business. In real reform style, he berates "Wash-

ington" which "speaks sentimentally of Small Business, with an eye to its vote, but does little or nothing." He berates the "monster corporations," General Electric among them.

"When I think," he says, "of the 90-odd companies absorbed by General Electric... I cannot help but think also of the men who have been subordinated, of the presidents whose identities have been lost and whose freedom of action has been restricted to the point where it may be said of them with Kipling, 'some of them lived but most of them died.'"

But to get back from Mr. Quinn's soapbox to the rise and decline of Mr. Quinn himself. He probably thinks to this very day that it was reading books that saved him from ending up as president of General Electric. I wonder. Could it have been that reprimand Mr. Swope gave him for taking time off to go to his father's funeral?

Perhaps that is all it took to stir up in his conscience the advice which his father, an admirer of the Socialist, Eugene V. Debs, had given him years before and which he had rejected: "My boy, get into the labor movement. It won't happen in my time, but in yours the labor men will be running the country."

## ... McCarthy's Spies

(Continued from page 1) to say that the White House is still coddling McCarthy, even while it tries to restrain him.

### MCCARTHY'S STRATEGY

But McCarthy won't voluntarily be restrained. His political power depends upon his ability to maintain his image as a man who can't be controlled. For him the probe is a defensive battle in which the victory will be his, no matter what the investigating committee may eventually rule, if he can convince the public that the effort to tame him failed. And though it is a defensive battle, he is waging it with an offensive strategy — by smearing and discrediting Stevens (which is not a hard thing to do).

In fact, McCarthy has already damaged Stevens so heavily in the probe that the White House has had to reconsider its initial decision to cut it short and get it off the air somehow or other. After negotiating on this matter for more than a week (after all, the probe isn't doing either wing of the GOP any good), the White House and the Pentagon decided that cutting off the public hearing now would leave McCarthy so far out in front on points that the thing would have to be recorded as a clear-cut victory for him.

So they decided to prolong the public phase of the probe — at least long enough to give them a chance to return some of McCarthy's blows. If they no longer seem to expect to actually contain or restrain McCarthy (as their earlier intention of shortening the show would indicate), they still want to inflict enough damage on McCarthy to be able to claim a draw.

And so the investigation will most likely continue for a while, unless the administration sees it is hurting itself more than McCarthy. But whether it ends soon

or late, there is no longer even the flimsiest basis for the hope and prediction of the liberals that it would hand a serious setback to McCarthy or McCarthyism.

### OLD PARTY BANKRUPTCY

Although it is too early to prepare the final balance sheet of this probe, it is already possible to draw certain conclusions: (1) The menace of McCarthy-



MCCARTHY

ism will never be removed by the Republicans. Believing that they may have to make further use of McCarthy themselves, they cannot go further than applying pressure on him for some form of co-existence. They have neither the will nor the intention of smashing him politically.

(2) The Democrats know that the victory of McCarthyism would mean the outlawing of their party and the incarceration of their leaders in concentration camps, but they are just as impotent as the Republicans when it comes to engaging McCarthy in serious combat. The basic reason for their failure to expose the fascist character of McCarthyism and to summon the people to a mortal struggle against it is that they share McCarthy's view that "communism" must be destroyed by fair means or foul.

Subsidiary reasons are their fear of being branded as "coddlers of communism" and the incredibly stupid belief of some of their leaders that McCarthyism is a purely Republican problem and none of their affair.

(3) The liberals have become so confused that they think they are performing a big service for democracy and liberalism when they extol and cheer for a Republican administration that is marching steadily forward to a police state at the same time that it is engaged in a dispute with McCarthy. (See, for example, Brownell's advice to the employers on how to fire any unionist as a "security risk" and his appeal for legislation to outlaw alleged "communist-infiltrated" unions, both made in the middle of the McCarthy probe.)

(4) The fate of McCarthyism is in the hands of the labor movement and its allies. Either they will stop relying on parties that daily exhibit their bankruptcy against McCarthyism, and will begin to fight McCarthyism on their own — independently and politically, with something more substantial than resolutions and with a party of their own — or else they will end up as slaves of fascism.

## Brownell's Union-Busting Bills

"Anti-communism" is the banner under which the whole anti-labor, union-busting drive is being waged today. The crippling and destruction of the labor movement is the real ultimate aim of all the witch-hunters. This is further confirmed by two new bills affecting unions which Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. sent to the Senate and House on May 10. These bills, Brownell said, have been approved "by the White House and other departments concerned."

The purpose of these bills, according to Brownell, is to outlaw so-called "communist dominated" unions in private industry and to give the government virtually unlimited power to exclude alleged "subversives" from any plant or industry which might be either directly or indirectly related to "national defense."

These bills are so worded that it would be child's play for any employer to smash a union, even the most conservative, and to kick out any union militant or union leader or any worker that a boss might want to get rid of for any reason.

The "Communist-Infiltration Organizations Act" would empower the Subversives Activities Control Board, set up under the McCarran-Kilgore Internal Security Act, to "investigate" any union that the employers charge is "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled" by a "Communist-action organization or by a member or members thereof."

If the board should determine that a union is "substantially" "Communist-dominated," the employer would be absolved from bargaining with the union, from maintaining union shop, seniority and other contract provisions and from any charges of unfair labor practices no matter what kind of discriminatory policies he

might carry out. The organization would also be denied access to the NLRB.

All an employer would need to do to bust a union under this law is to run to the hand-picked, corporation-dominated, McCarthyite "subversive control" board. It would do the rest. It could just pin a "red" label on the union and its contract would be annulled by orders of the government.

The other bill proposed by Brownell is entitled the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." It is intended to extend the government's power to drive from industry any worker charged with being "subversive." According to Brownell, it is designed to bar from plants anyone who "may reasonably be believed to be disposed to commit acts of sabotage, espionage or other subversion."

Are you a strong union leader or a good union man? Brownell wouldn't have to prove you have actually committed sabotage or espionage or even "subversion," whatever that may mean. He would just have to "believe" that you're the type who might be "disposed" to commit such acts sometime in the future and he could legally have you booted out of your job.

These laws, moreover, would not apply only to plants under government contract producing war equipment. They would affect any plant or industry that might be claimed to have even the remotest connection with the "security of the United States."

Any unionist who thinks these proposed laws are not intended for him or his organization is kidding himself. These laws must be fought tooth and nail. Even in the hands of a Brownell they could be tremendously damaging to all unions. In the hands of the fascist McCarthyites, these anti-labor legal weapons could pulverize the labor movement.

## Plain Talk on Political Action

A publicity release from the CIO United Automobile Workers, which is headed by CIO President Walter Reuther, emphasizes the political action aspect of the recent UAW National General Motors Council conference in Detroit.

The statement from Reuther's publicity department speaks of the 225 delegates "recognizing the need for coupling their economic demands with an all-out campaign to elect in 1954 a Congress responsive to the needs of all the people — not just a privileged few." And it cites as one of the major points of the program adopted by the conference: "Mobilize maximum political strength toward electing those representatives whose attitudes and actions will reflect a desire to build peace and plenty for all the people."

At first glance, these sentiments seem mighty grand. But if you study the above-quoted phrases more carefully, they sound more and more vague and hollow. What do they really mean?

Precisely what party and what candidates should the workers support in the 1954 elections to get "a Congress responsive to the needs of all the people — not just a privileged few"? Who are these "representatives whose attitudes and actions will reflect a desire to build peace and plenty for all...?"

Do the UAW leaders mean the Republicans? There's no sign of that. They haven't mentioned some other party, so they must mean the Democrats. Well, why don't they say so? Why don't they admit it? Because they know that the majority of the people would recognize it as bunk if they tried to represent the Democratic Party, any more than the

Republican Party, as "responsive to the needs of all the people."

These phrases are designed to fool and mislead. They are intended to conceal political bankruptcy behind verbal splendor. They offer the workers nothing by way of a new, clean effective political program. They leave the workers politically disarmed and empty-handed.

The plain truth is that the UAW leaders — and most of the other conservative union leaders — are preparing to push the workers once more into the political swamp of the Democratic Party, where the independent might of the labor movement will be sucked under and submerged. The Democratic Party — a corrupt capitalist political machine linking the big city bosses with the Southern white supremacists — has already demonstrated it has no real program of "peace and plenty," but only "war and want." A party whose liberal wing could vote unanimously in the Senate to give McCarthy all the funds he has demanded for his witch-hunt, is no party for the people.

What's needed is a completely new party, a party that represents not "all" the people, but just the 90% who work for a living — a labor party. Only candidates directly from the ranks of organized labor and its allies, the racial minorities and working farmers, only candidates directly responsible to labor's own party and in uncompromising opposition to the capitalist parties and politicians, can give us a Congress responsive to the only people who count — the overwhelming majority, the working producers.

## "Dollar Signs in the Atomic Clouds"

Workers often describe a profit-hungry boss as the kind of a guy that would kill his own grandmother for a dollar. This description applies to the capitalist class as a whole, and it covers their attitude towards the entire human race, including their own grandmothers. To demonstrate the point we reprint verbatim the following news item from the April 28 issue of The Retailers Daily:

"Washington, April 27 — A top business economist took a long look at the H-bomb today and saw dollar signs in the atomic clouds.

"Walter E. Hoadley, Jr., economist for Armstrong Cork Co., Lancaster, Pa., solemnly told the annual U.S. Chamber of Commerce meeting that the H-bomb could contribute to economic growth by increasing 'the tendency of many individuals to adopt a shorter term outlook on life.'"

"To Mr. Hoadley, this means consumers will now proceed to increase their living standards substantially over the years ahead, worrying more about increasing their comforts now than securing their futures.

"It apparently was the first time any economist of stature has translated the awesome proportions of the hydrogen bomb into an encouraging sales potential."

We can easily envision the Armstrong company launching a high-powered new sales promotion campaign around such slogans as, "You can't take it with you," "Get that new

kitchen floor covering today — tomorrow may be to late." Or possibly the classic, "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow..."

Hoadley's speech might be dismissed as the product of a twisted and depraved mind. But his words are not simply the rantings of a lunatic. They constitute the "judgement" of "an economist of stature." And despite his incredible crassness, Hoadley represents the basic viewpoint of the capitalist class.

This is demonstrated by the record. American capitalism plunged us into two world wars for the preservation and accumulation of the almighty dollar. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were wiped out by atom bombs so that American dollars might rule the Orient. Korea was reduced to a vast rubble in the American march towards world economic domination. American bombs right now are raining death on Indo-China in the desperate hope of continuing to coin dollars out of the tin, zinc and blood of the Indo-Chinese people.

It is this bloody record of capitalist slaughter for profits that makes Hoadley a legally sane person. He simply expresses the logic of bankrupt capitalism. If it's all right to plunge the world into horrifying wars for the sake of dollars, then what's wrong with seeing dollars in atomic clouds? Hoadley is only as insane as the capitalist system he represents. And that's just one of the reasons why we're working to replace that system with a rational socialist society.

## ... Indo-Chinese Victory

(Continued from page 1) through a slick deal that might be negotiated at the Geneva Conference with the Stalinists of Moscow and Peking.

The French imperialists, backed by Washington and London, demand the partition of Indo-China, since they do not believe they can grab all of it, at present, despite their 500,000 troops in that country. They also call for disarmament of the Indo-Chinese revolutionists in all but the territory completely held by the Vietminh forces.

This would leave the bulk of Indo-China under the domination of the French foreign invaders.

French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, author of the French plan, calls the Vietminh forces in Laos and Cambodia "invaders" and wants them withdrawn. These states were carved out of Indo-China by the French imperialists and artificially separated from the eastern part of Indo-China where the Vietminh has won back large areas.

### PEOPLE FOR VIETMINH

The truth is that the Vietminh has the overwhelming support of the people in all parts of Indo-China. Dr. Phan Quang Dan, a former political adviser to Vietnamese Chief of State Bao Dai, a French puppet, complained in an article in the April 12 Christian Science Monitor of the "active aid or passive encouragement that many local groups give the rebels..."

Bidault's demand for a "regroupment" of the Vietminh forces into the areas completely under their control and for disarming the Vietminh guerrilla fighters, a major source of Vietminh military strength, can be seen in its true light only if we understand the disposition of forces and the real military situation.

For instance, in the strategic and heavily-populated delta region around Hanoi, a French-occupied city in Vietnam, the French are nominally in control. But General Rene Cogny, French commander in North Indo-China, has admitted that the Vietminh in this area has 30 battalions of regular troops, 15 "regional battalions," 100 "district" companies and about 50,000 guerrillas. Included in these figures is a powerful underground army inside Hanoi itself.

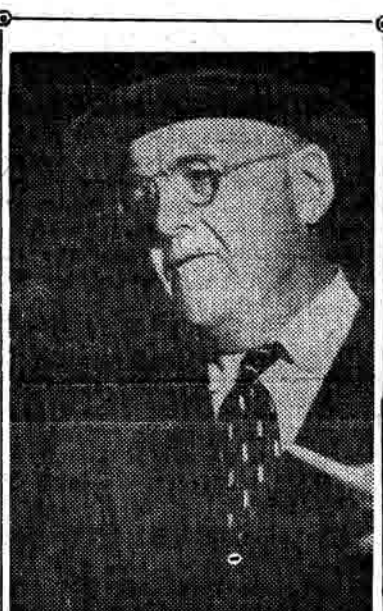
### THE DECISIVE FORCE

"In Hanoi and the villages," wrote Associated Press Foreign News Analyst William L. Ryan on April 20, "these troops would rise from the straw-thatched huts, out of the fields, even out of the city sewers, if the signal were given to attack. For the time being they are laying low."

It is these revolutionary masses, these "irregulars," constituting the decisive strength of the Vietminh and representing a potential mass insurrection that could sweep away the French in the area, whom the French insist must be disbanded.

In short, the French demand nothing less than that the Indo-Chinese revolution bind itself hand and foot and deliver itself to its enemy.

While rejecting the outrageous



DULLES, who wants to set up a pro-imperialist Asian military alliance.

French terms, the Stalinist negotiators have revealed every inclination to strike a deal with the imperialists on terms that would enable the imperialists to maintain their base in Indo-China and would betray the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese people for economic and social betterment.

It is reported that the Stalinist negotiators are offering the French: 1) coalition governments with the French-sponsored puppet regimes which represent the

hated circles of native landlords and capitalists; 2) independence of the three Indo-Chinese states within the French Union, the name for the overall colonial set-up of the French Empire; 3) the retention of capitalist property forms in general and ties with the French capitalists in particular.

These proposals are similar to those contained in the 1946 agreement between the Vietminh regime and the French government. That agreement arrested the Indo-Chinese revolution, gave the French imperialists a breathing spell and opportunity to strengthen their military forces and finally emboldened them to tear up the treaty with their bayonets and launch the eight-year war.

### WHAT MASSES WANT

The Indo-Chinese masses, however, have other aims in mind. They want genuine independence, land for the peasants, and an end to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. They will not get these under the conditions the Stalinists appear ready to accept and have accepted under similar circumstances in the past.

In the course of the still-continuing bitter struggle, these masses may yet sweep beyond the objectives set by the Stalinist leaders, whose concern is with the interests of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China, and may force the revolution into its authentic channels.

## ... Kutcher to Challenge M'Carthy

(Continued from page 1) on May 19 and stay in that area until around June 3. Then he'll drive to Detroit, (June 5-21) and to Chicago-Milwaukee (June 22-27). The rest of the schedule is still being worked out, but includes, among other places, an extended stay in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Kutcher is looking forward keenly to his stay in Buffalo and Detroit.

"Not only because of the pleasure of meeting once again some very good friends I made there in 1950, but because of what I hear about the civil liberties fight in those cities." He referred specifically to the recent repudiation of McCarthyism by the members of Cheektowaga Westinghouse Local 1581, IUE-CIO, and to the "security" purge of John Lupa in Detroit (see other story in this issue). Kutcher wants to learn more about these events so that he can help publicize them nationally.

### "THOSE BUREAUCRATS"

The only trace of bitterness that Kutcher showed appeared when we asked him about the present status of his case in the courts. Or maybe it was disgust rather than bitterness.

"The case is almost six years old now, you know," he said. "I'm still trying to get a decision from the courts, but those people down there in Washington — meaning the Department

of Justice — "are still doing everything in their power to obstruct and delay a decision. If those bureaucrats had their way, I think they'd like to drag the business out until I die of old age."

In 1952 the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled unanimously that the government had erred in firing the legless veteran merely because of his membership in an organization on the Attorney General's arbitrary "subversive" list (the Socialist Workers Party). But instead of restoring him to his job, they ordered him to start the proceedings all over from the beginning at the administrative level.

By the middle of 1953, Kutcher had retraced his steps back to the U.S. federal district court in Washington, where his eleventh appeal was filed last October. Brownell's Department of Justice countered by asking the court to throw out this appeal on the ground that Kutcher had no legal basis for it. Thus the case has been tied up while the court considers whether or not to consider it.

I have to laugh when I hear the McCarthy show described as "long" and "drawn out," he continued. "McCarthy knows how to filibuster, but he doesn't have anything on the Department of Justice in that respect. Or on some of these other characters in the government and the courts. I can tell you from sad expe-

rience that if you're in a hurry about something, you'd better not go to court with it. Unless you're an employer looking for an injunction against strikers."

That reminded him about his other case, his appeal in the New Jersey courts against the misnamed "loyalty" oath for federal housing project tenants, in which he is represented by the American Civil Liberties Union.

### "I SOMETIMES WONDER"

"That case was filed over 15 months ago," he recalled, "and the arguments were completed about a year ago. I sometimes wonder what the judge is doing with that case. Is he still pondering it? Is such a thing possible for a whole year? Or does he think about it only once a week? Or is he busy with other and more important matters? I wonder if he's ever heard of the old saying: 'Justice delayed is justice denied.'"

He laughed again. "Well, one good thing about going on a tour is that I won't have to think about the courts for a while."

Another good thing about it is that it will give people throughout the country a chance to meet a man of rare courage, principle and modesty.

Those who want to know more about Kutcher can order his autobiography, "The Case of the Legless Veteran" (\$1) from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

A One-Year Subscription to THE MILITANT Only \$3 116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.



# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Apartheid — U.S. and S.A.

The real issue behind the Jim Crow school cases before the U.S. Supreme Court is more than the constitutional question: Is it a violation of the United States Constitution for states to require racial separation of children in public schools?

That constitutional question may or may not be settled by the decision of the Supreme Court, but to characterize it as articles in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune and other papers have done, as "Jim Crow's Last Stand" and a "Final Battle on Segregation," is not correct. Jim Crow's last stand will not be over segregation in the schools, and it will not be settled by the Supreme Court. The final battle over segregation will be settled when the separation of Negro and white labor is totally eliminated and the class division between labor and capital is ended in society. No supreme court dedicated to upholding capitalism — in any form — can settle the question of segregation.

The idea that segregation can satisfy the requirements of justice by providing separate but equal facilities for those segregated has dominated court rulings in the U.S. for many years. But both the dangers and the implications of this theory can be seen in sharp outline in South Africa today.

A very interesting article on "Apartheid [segregation] as a theory and in practice," by Herbert Tingsten, appeared in the May 6 issue of the Manchester Guardian Weekly, a far-from-radical British publication. This article, together with an interview with Prime Minister Malan of South Africa which appeared in the April 16 issue of U.S. News & World Report,

gives a clear picture of the theory by which those who favor segregation in South Africa justify their actions. And that theory is not different in any essential way from the theory of our own American white supremacists.

Under all the froth by the liberal professors of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs headed by Professor Gerdener (the leading theologian of the Reformed Church), about the independence and equality which total apartheid will eventually give the blacks, the true class nature of the relationship emerges.

Prime Minister Malan, in his U.S. News interview put it bluntly: "It's an ideal [total apartheid], but it's not practical. We need their labor."

He is quoted similarly in the Manchester Guardian article, to the effect that segregation should be enforced as much as possible, but not to such an extent that it "harmed the need for labor in the European areas."

To the capitalist ruling class, whether in South Africa or in the United States, their basic relationship to the colored people is that of profit-makers from the labor of the colored workers. The more they can segregate colored workers from white workers in order to keep their standard of living lower, the less they have to pay them and the greater profits the capitalists can make from their labor.

That is why the last stand of Jim Crow will not be over segregation in schools, but rather when labor — undifferentiated on a basis of color, sex, age, religion, etc. — organizes production on a rational, socialist basis, for the needs of all mankind, rather than for the profit of a few.

# Patriots or Sinners?

By Joyce Cowley

A resolution passed by the recent National Catholic Family Life Conference asserted that "untold millions of married women are actually helping in the destruction of the very homes they seek to serve" by obtaining employment on the "frequently false plea of economic need."

Ministers, Congressmen and popular writers have joined the Catholic hierarchy in denouncing selfish women who "desert" their families to compete in the labor market.

Curiously enough, during the last world war and the Korean war no one seemed aware that these women were destroying the home. There is a significant connection between the Korean truce, rising unemployment and the sinister role of working wives.

Some people think of clergy and other moralists as stern, unbending types with fixed ideas of right and wrong. But actually, no one could be more flexible and standards change so rapidly that some women may not fully understand why last year's patriot is this year's depraved mother, the principal cause of divorce and juvenile crime, neglecting her children on the false premise that they need to eat.

From current reports you get the impression that until a few years ago the American woman's place was always in her home. But a closer examination of the facts reveals that her "place in the home" applied only when there was an abundant supply of male labor.

In the early nineteenth century when the first cotton factories were calling for operatives, women were accused of "eating the bread of idleness" if they refused to obey the call. "It was a common assumption," says Hannah Josephson in *The Golden Threads*, "that girls and young women who were not incessantly occupied were subject to temptation and vicious

habits, as well as being a drain on their parents and a burden to society."

In 1831, fifteen thousand women were making shoes in the factories of Massachusetts for sixty cents a week. Thousands were employed in the cotton mills and thousands more worked with a needle fourteen hours a day, for an annual wage of fifty dollars. Men were going West to find new land, male labor was scarce, and it never occurred to anyone that woman's place was not in the sweatshop. But fifty years later, when immigration brought an oversupply of male labor, woman's sacred duty to the home was rediscovered.

The fact is that, in spite of the variable status of their moral "right" to work, the number of women in the labor force has increased steadily the last eighty to ninety years, and the proportion of married women is greater each year. It's true that the most rapid increase came during the first and second world wars. But contrary to expectation, the number of women working continued to increase after the first world war and after the second world war. They were denounced, they were cajoled, they were called a lost sex. Lovely pictures were presented of all they had left behind — the contented hours at a kitchen stove and a washtub. But the women bought prepared foods, took their clothes to the laundry and kept on working.

Women workers are here to stay. It's about time they escaped the classification of an emergency labor force, ready to volunteer during a shortage and meekly "retire" from the labor market when things get tough, while moral authorities push them into the home or pull them out of it with every fluctuation in the labor force. A job is an elementary human right, and a woman herself is the best judge of how much she needs or wants a job.

# Notes from the News

**U.S. TROOPS BURNED BY H-BOMB:** Thirty U.S. soldiers have been hospitalized after exposure to "moderate amounts of radiation" from the H-bomb test explosion on March 1 at Eniwetok in the Pacific, reported an April 30 United Press dispatch from Honolulu. The men include Army, Navy and Air Force personnel.

**PRE-NATAL DAMAGE BY A-BOMBS:** An extremely high incidence of birth failures, death or damage to offspring was found in a study of thirty pregnant women who suffered radiation injury from the U.S. atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945. There were three miscarriages, four stillbirths, three babies who died within the first month of life, three who died within the first year and one at two and a half years. Four of the surviving 16 children were mentally deficient. The study was made by three American doctors and reported in the current American Journal of Diseases of Children, published by the American Medical Assn.

**NEW H-BOMB EXPLOSION:** Two Japanese scientists reported on May 7 that the U.S. had apparently exploded a fourth hydrogen bomb at Bikini, between April 25 and 27. Geiger counter tests of rain which fell over widely separated areas of Japan showed a big increase in radioactivity. If such an explosion took place, news of it was suppressed by the U.S. authorities, who have been bombarded with world-wide demands to discontinue the dangerous tests that have spread radioactive dust clouds over hundreds of thousands of square miles of the Pacific and its islands.

**NERVE GAS VICTIMS:** At least 70 workers at the Rocky Mountain arsenal in Denver, where the new G-gas is manufactured, have suffered mild exposure to the deadly gas but have escaped permanent injury, according to a May 6 United Press story. Lethal doses of the gas completely destroy the human nervous system. The ex-

posed workers report a variety of very unpleasant effects, including tightness in the chest, blurred vision, nausea, headaches, difficulty in breathing normally, cramps and twitching. They told of wild dreams and nightmares, anxiety and jitters, and reckless decisions.

**SALES DOWN — PROFITS UP:** First-quarter profits of 616 leading corporations ran slightly ahead of a year ago despite a considerable drop in sales, according to a May 7 Associated Press report. Among the corporations showing gains in profits, although they sold less, were General Motors, Du Pont, General Electric, Douglas Aircraft, B. F. Goodrich and U.S. Rubber. Thus, according to J. S. Armstrong, Baltimore Sun financial editor, "elimination of the excess profits tax brought even better results than had been expected."

**BILLIONAIRES CLUB GROWS:** There were 63 U.S. corporations with assets of more than a billion dollars in 1953, one more firm than in 1952. In the 1920 boom year there were 20 members of the "billionaires club." By 1941, 12 more had joined. Then the membership nearly doubled in the next 12 years of big war spending.

**HUSH-HUSH:** McCarthy and his stooge Cohn worked up quite a froth last week about the case of a mysterious government employee which involved such a delicate matter of "security," they said, that he could be referred to only as "Mr. X." McCarthy insisted that the "Mr. X" affair went to the "heart" of his case against the Army. It seems that in 1941 "Mr. X" made his lawn available for a fund-raising party to aid Spanish refugees. After Cohn put on a big show about the importance of not revealing the identity of "Mr. X" for "security" reasons, it was revealed that four days previously, at an open hearing of the Senate investigations subcommittee, "Mr. X" had been identified publicly as a Mr. Sherrod East — by Cohn himself.

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# THE MILITANT

## Announce Unemployment Pact



Shown in Washington after announcing they had conferred privately and reached an accord to act together on unemployment are (L to R): Pres. David J. McDonald of the CIO United Steelworkers, Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, independent, and Pres. David Beck of the AFL Intl. Bro. of Teamsters.

## Calif. AFL Delegates Discuss Shorter Week

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3 — How the shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay operates to keep more workers employed was described at the 7th annual state AFL conference held in Santa Barbara from April 26 to 30.

The conference discussed the problem of unemployment. The program was arranged by the Institute of Industrial Relations of the California University system in conjunction with the State AFL.

Among the subjects covered were: What Do We Actually Know About the Amount of Unemployment; What Can Be Done at the Collective Bargaining Table to Insure Full Employment; Annual Wage Proposals; and Hour Reduction and Work Sharing.

### DISCUSSION HIGH-LIGHT

In the minds of the delegates, discussion on the last topic was the high point of the Conference. O. T. Satre, Business Agent of the Painters Union in Los Angeles, explained how the 7-hour day had worked out for his union.

In 1950, Satre reported, the Los Angeles painters won the 7-hour day for 8 hours' pay in a 28-day strike. The 7-hour day, a 12 1/2% reduction in work time, resulted in about a 10% increase in the work force, the number employed.

Last year, said Satre, his union was able to add a clause to the effect that if work decreased to the point where 15% of the men were out of work, they would go on the 6-hour day, with no loss of pay.

The number of jobs that might be made available through a shorter work week was indicated in the figures cited by Charles Stewart of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. He said that the reduction of average weekly hours worked in manufacturing industries from 41.7 hours in Jan. 1953 to 40.6 hours in Jan. 1954 kept an estimated 400,000 more employed. Unfortunately, this was at a loss in take-home pay.

All the delegates, however, were agreed that a shorter work week with no loss of take-home pay is the best immediate answer to unemployment.

### GUARANTEED WAGE

The delegates also participated in an informative discussion on guaranteed annual wage plans. Dr. Joseph Garbarino, of the University of California at Berkeley, described various GAW plans being proposed by unions. He characterized them as private unemployment compensation plans and suggested that the best use that could be made of these plans was as pressure on employers to withdraw their opposition to liberalization of state unemployment compensation payments. He called unemployment compensation a "guaranteed semi-annual wage."

Dr. Carl Uhr, of the University of California at Los Angeles, stressed the fact that the state systems of unemployment compensation have never stood a real test, as they were not put into operation until after 1938. Even the small depression in 1949-50 practically broke the unemployment compensation fund in California.

The conference was attended by more than 100 delegates from about 75 local unions and councils. It took no action on any specific program.

### Taxed for Working

"Suppose you are a married man with two children and an annual income of \$4,000. If that \$4,000 income comes from stocks you own, your federal income tax bill is \$115. But if that \$4,000 income is earned by the sweat of your brow, your federal tax bill is \$240. In other words you are penalized \$125 because you work for your income." (International Woodworker, April 13.)

## 8,000 Strike As Philco Tries To Slash Contract

PHILADELPHIA, May 4 — 8,000 production workers sealed the Philco Corporation yesterday with mass picketing that shut all ten plants in this area. Only skeleton maintenance crews were permitted through.

The strike is being conducted by Locals 101 and 102 here, and Sandusky, O., Local 701, CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE).

Six weeks of negotiation proved fruitless. In fact the company insisted on reductions rather than improvements in the contract. It demanded modifications reducing severance and pension pay plans, including retirement of all workers over 65. It refused to even consider a wage increase. Only at the last minute did the company offer to continue the contract — as is.

Facing this adamant attitude, the union committee was forced to return to the members with a strike recommendation. A detailed report of the drawn-out negotiations brought immediate response from the full membership meeting last Friday afternoon. Worker after worker rose to denounce the company and demand strike. "Let the company take away one part of our contract and they will pick away at the others until we will be back where we were in 1932," declared one militant old-timer. Stormy applause greeted this view.

Round-the-clock picketing is in operation here. At the key hours of 7 to 10 a.m., four to six thousand pickets mass shoulder to shoulder barring any admission. In one case a few company officials tried to sneak through, but they found themselves gently but firmly lifted up and deposited in the middle of the street. No further entry attempts were made.

At this point it appears that the strike will be a bitter one. The company expected the union to capitulate and maintained constant pressure hoping fear of layoffs and recession would cow the members. However, the boss underestimated the fighting spirit of the workers.

# Chicago Mayor Gets Ultimatum to End Race Terror

By C. Houston

CHICAGO, May 7 — "A city-wide demonstration on City Hall to be followed by a continuous demonstration," unless Mayor Kennelly takes decisive action to end the terror campaign against Negro

families in the Trumbull Park federal housing project, was called for by the Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here last night. The ultimatum was adopted at an NAACP-sponsored meeting of more than 200 representatives of labor, civic and church groups. They also called for a special county and federal grand jury investigation.

This ultimatum was issued on the heels of the resolution passed by the CIO United Packinghouse Workers at their 5th biennial convention in Sioux City, Iowa, which urged action by organized labor to end the fascist-like anti-Negro terrorism at Trumbull Park.

Although the Donald Howards, first family to move into the Trumbull Park project and who braved the terrorism for nine months, left the project last Monday, ten other Negro families who moved in later have issued a statement saying they will remain.

Five of the signers of this statement were at the NAACP meeting.

The White Circle League, a notorious, local fascist group, sent a threatening telegram to the NAACP that read: "News of your mass meeting was in the Daily Calumet [local fascist sheet]. Do you think the people of Chicago will stand for this sort of thing? The sooner you race mixing organizations learn this the better..." Several of the Negro families on the project have received unsigned postcards with obscene white supremacist threats.

Bert Deck, chairman of the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party, today pledged his organization's whole-hearted support for the NAACP's proposed action. He said: "We hail the proposals made by the NAACP and the CIO United Packinghouse Workers. We warn that the mayor will try to doubletalk himself out of the ultimatum as he has done in the past. We call on the entire labor movement to rally behind the NAACP's campaign to defend the victims of Trumbull Park."

# Howard Family Tells Own Story

By L. F. Brown

CHICAGO, May 8 — The Donald Howards have left Trumbull Park. They were the first Negro family to move into this federal housing project. They were then the target

of a nine-month attack by white race terrorists and fascists who nightly set off bombs in the area and organized a number of mob assaults in their attempts to drive the Howards out.

"I want everyone to know we were not frightened away," Mr. Howard stated in a personal interview today. "My wife only works intermittently and I am unemployed. All our savings were completely depleted after nine months at Trumbull Park."

Some publications have claimed that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "sneaked" the Howards into the project in the dead of night. Mrs. Howard explained today: "One day while driving in the neighborhood we got lost. We saw this sign with all the vacancies and I asked Donald to stop and see about it."

"He didn't see any need since he'd been registered at the downtown Chicago Housing Authority office since January, but the

next day I called and I was told to come into the office. This I did. I filed an application and it was accepted."

I asked about the Chicago Housing Authority's attempt to evict them because they had allegedly misrepresented their financial status when they signed the lease. Mrs. Howard said: "When I applied only Donald was employed. However, when we moved in six weeks later I was employed but Donald had been laid off by the post office." I asked if any other tenant had been evicted on the same grounds. Mr. Howard answered: "The NAACP has investigated and finds that mine is the first case."

When asked what he thought should be done about the Trumbull Park terrorism, Mr. Howard said: "If you want to print the truth, print this — all the Negroes in Chicago ought to go down to Trumbull Park, but if they go they should go prepared to defend themselves."

# ... CIO, Negro Candidates in Newark

(Continued from page 1)

local. He brushed aside suggestions to hammer away on his CIO sponsorship in order to distinguish himself from the other 14 candidates in the ward. Instead, he chose to rely on his endorsement by the Citizens Committee and on the alleged appeal his name would have among Italian-speaking voters.

As a result, Leopaldi got lost in the shuffle, and ended up in fourth place — out of the run-off. The Newark Star-Ledger said today that his "poor showing... was a surprise to most City Hall observers."

### CALLAGHAN PLACES

James T. Callaghan, organization director of District 4 of IUE-CIO, did better. He was running for one of the four councilman-at-large posts, on which the whole population votes. Since none of the 20 candidates for these seats got a majority, there will be run-offs among the top eight. Callaghan got about 27,000 votes, 22% of the total, finishing in sixth place.

Harry Hazelwood Jr., former president of the NAACP branch and the only Negro at-large candidate, also made the run-off by taking seventh place with about 25,000 votes. Hazelwood had the support of Negroes all over the city and CIO endorsement. His vote was the highest ever polled by a city-wide Negro candidate.

Callaghan's strategy was somewhat more aggressive than Leopaldi's. For one thing, he spent a lot of time in front of plant gates, talking to the workers and trying to convince them they need a labor candidate in office.

But his campaign was not greatly superior to Leopaldi's. He too relied too much on his Citizens Committee endorsement.

Other reasons why Callaghan, reached the run-off while Leopaldi failed were: (1) he is better known both generally and as a CIO leader; (2) the voters had four choices they could make for the at-large seats (and only one for the ward seats).

### UP-HILL BATTLE

Callaghan and Hazelwood face an up-hill battle for the run-offs. The top candidates among the eight at-large contenders yesterday ran 16,000 votes ahead of Callaghan. The full weight of the Democratic machine, and probably of the Republican machine, will be thrown against Callaghan and Hazelwood. The big money will back the old-line candidates, and will make use of anti-CIO smears and Negro-baiting to elect them.

The truth is that some of the CIO leaders did not have their heart in it this time. Some of them think it was a mistake to run independent CIO candidates, and that Callaghan should have accepted a place on the Democratic machine's slate when it was offered to him. Others took the mistaken view that the Citizens Committee's endorsement would be enough to settle the outcome.

CAN STILL WIN  
The CIO can still win this election. But first it will have to get rid of the spirit of defeatism and dependence on the Citizens Committee that has paralyzed support among some leaders and locals. If it understands the true political significance of this campaign, and the possibil-

ities that will be opened to the labor movement if it elects candidates in opposition to those of the old party machine, it will be able to arouse the enthusiasm and participation not only of the ranks of labor, both AFL and CIO, but of other non-capitalist sections of the population.

The Turner campaign demonstrated that an initial lack of money is not at all decisive. A campaign based on a principle, as Turner's was, attracts all the money that is really needed. And if it doesn't get a lot of money, it compensates for that by attracting people and imbuing them with a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion that leads them to volunteer service that the capitalist party politicians can get only by paying for them.

Let the CIO loudly proclaim the principle that labor should elect its own candidates and that the election of labor candidates will promote the interests of all of labor's allies, and put Callaghan, Hazelwood and Turner in office on June 15. With this policy they can get a genuine voice on the new City Council. And at the same time they can lay the foundations for future independent labor and Negro campaigns — a progressive development that will strengthen the movement for an independent Labor Party, the real need of the workers in this city and country today.

An independent committee for the election of Callaghan, Hazelwood and Turner was formed tonight to promote united action between white and Negro workers in the run-offs.