

LABOR CANDIDATE IN CHICAGO A Trade-Unionist Bucks the Machine

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How to Evade Paying Income Tax

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## Lewis' Victory and Proposals **Create Ferment in Labor Ranks**

#### By WALTER JASON

opments.

Once again John L. Lewis is giving the American labor bureaucracy the willies. For John L. is on the move, and the thrones as well as the reputations of various labor leaders seem somewhat shaky as a result of recent devel-

At the moment the repercussions of the coal miners' great victory are permeating the entire ranks of the union movement and the popularity of the coal miners' leader, especially among the industrial workers, has risen to a new high level.

In the steel and coal mine areas which are adjacent, the discussions about the coal miners' pensions and the welfare fund, compared to the \$100 a month pension won by CIO President Philip Murray, usually end in favor of John L. LEWIS POPULAR IN UAW.

The rank and file movements to help the coal miners during their bitter struggle, and the spontaneous applause which greeted the mention of Lewis' name at the recent Chrysler strike rally of 20,000 workers in the Detroit area, testify to Lewis' popularity among the UAW members.

These signs are, of course, just symptoms of the deep unrest and dissatisfaction in the ranks of labor today with the results of the policies of their top leaders. The labor movement is in a process of ferment. The labor movement seems to be searching for a new direction and for leaders who will bring success.

Few men understand this better than John L. Lewis and thus he has begun, or more exactly, renewed a campaign that has been one of his major life ambitions: to unify the entire labor movement under the domination of John L. Lewis.

Apparently he has given up hope of achieving this ambition through maneuvers on the top level. His blistering attack on AFL and CIO top leadership policies, the sarcastic references to Walter Reuther and Lewis' bid for labor's leadership, which are expressed in the current issue of the United Mine Workers Journal, are open declarations of this aim.

#### A STRONG CASE

against the other labor leaders.

who are linked with and subservient to political parties." Of course he is referring primarily to the CIO bureaucracy and its strings to the Truman administration. It will be a long time before many of the ranks of labor forget that the CIO leaders were more concerned with saving Truman's reputation when he invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the coal miners than they were in joining openly and aggressively the coal miners' union in a united front against the Taft-Hartley Act and the Truman administration.

What Lewis accomplished in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles made his reputation as a labor baron grow, while that of other leaders like Walter Reuther diminished. Lewis took on the coal operators, the Truman administration, the Taft-Hartley law and he won. Backed by the unmatched militancy of the coal miners' ranks, he accomplished what most labor leaders, if not all, thought was impossible. Louis Stark's recent story in the N. Y. Times about Lewis' preparing to lose the 13 million dollar treasury of the coal miners'

(Turn to last page)

# **Big 2 Talk Peace Brandish Big Stick**

It has been clear for some time that an easing of the tension which had developed on a world scale between America and Russia was in the offing. At the pace at which the cold war had been developing since the start of the year, both imperialist regimes were fast approaching the danger point where shooting would take over the play of diplomacy. This was an event for which neither power was yet prepared.

The announcement of America's proposed production of the H-bomb screwed up tension to the exploding point, after which. retreat was obligatory. The Russian imperialists began the retreat, with numerous announcements of capitalist-communist "compatability," and with their concrete suggestion that a peace treaty with Japan might well be worked out between such "men of (Turn to last page)

# Loyalty Purge Gets Out of Hand FBI Plots Mass Political Arrests

By GORDON HASKELL

h, say, does banner yet wave

O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

The political atmosphere in America is getting stickier day by day. The "loyalty purge" is rapidly turning into an avalanche which threatens to engulf the very men who started it rolling.

Last week the American people were treated to an astonishing spectacle - at least one which should astonish those who believe this is the "land of the free." It was the kind of thing one has come to expect in the totalitarian lands of Stalinism. It was the spec-Lewis makes a strong case tacle of one of the foremost citizens of the land, Ambassador-at-"The miners' militancy should Large Philip C. Jessup, beating awaken a sense of responsibility his breast before a sub-committee

attempt to prove that he is and them is worthy of note and study. use in open hearings exactly the always has been loyal to the American government and is not and never has been a partisan of communism.

At about the same time citizens of this free land were informed that the Department of Justice is dictments against 12,000 persons on charges of belonging to the Communist Party. And on the same day that this fact was revealed to the public, the newsnaners also announced that the Department of Justice is pleading with Congress to refrain from at- campaign and that the Democratic activities, his ancestors, his posts taching such severe "loyalty" provisions to the proposed National Science Foundation bill as would wreck the foundation before it could get well started.

Each of these events is part of the cold war against the freedom is daily demonstrating for all to ment, Senator Theodore Francis in the weak-kneed labor leaders of the United States Senate in an of the American people. Each of see that he is simply trying to

Right now the political spot- same kind of phony "evdience"light in Washington is held by Senator Joe McCarthy and the stoolpigeon slanders-with which Senate committee which is sup- hundreds and possibly thousands posed to be investigating his of humble citizens are being concharges that there are in the State fronted month in and month out Department "fifty-seven . . . in- in the closed-chamber proceedings just biding its time to bring in- dividuals who would appear to be of the "loyalty boards" in the goveither card-carrying members or ernment services and in private certainly loyal to the Communist industry. Party."

#### THE MCCARTHY SHOW

Everyone knows that McCarthy by proving his charges completely false. To date McCarthy hasn't proved there is a single Stalinist in the State Department. But he

the same hash of rumor-gossip

In reply to McCarthy's charge that Jessup has shown "an unusual affinity for communist causes," the ambassador read to the committee is engaging in a political smear a record of his public and private majority on the committee is hop- and his titles which would fill two ing to nail him to a political cross pages of LABOR ACTION. Letters from Generals Marshall and Eisenhower praising him fulsomely were read into the record.

At the conclusion of his state-(Turn to last page)

Shachtman Debates Browder: March 30

"Is Russia a Socialist Community?"—Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St., N. Y.—8 p.m.—Adm. \$1, Students 50¢, plus tax—Ausp.: E. V. Debs Soc., Bklyn. Coll.



agent. He was referred to the of-

fice of the appointed agent, Hunt. En route to the agent's office he

was dumped in the adjacent pas-

sageway by the strong-arm payroll

And another note on Curran-

"The National Office has issued

a dollar stamp to be known as the

'NMU anti - Communist Fighting

Fund Stamp' to be sold to the

membership. The money so ac-

quired, and we quote The Pilot,

would be earmarked for any fu-

ture emergency that arises or to

defray the expenses that may

still be due from the last emer-

gency.' Since an 'emergency' in

Curran's language means any

threat to his job trust, we assume

that the election campaign will

also justify dipping into the fund

to conduct the election campaign,

maintain the armed hoodlums

the payroll as well as pay for bus-

loads. The membership of the

union defeated the Communist

candidates in the last general elec

tion in a democratic manner, and

now under the guise of fighting

communism Curran is attempting

the legislation, would be named to

the board. The Republican caucus

in the council attempted to select

someone other than Jaffe, but this

maneuver was defeated by the

The next issue in the board's

composition was whether Dr.

Sharpe, executive secretary of the

Cleveland Baptist Association, and Frank Baldau, director of the old

Community Relations Board,

would be appointed. It was gen-

erally understood that the Cham-

ber of Commerce was opposed to

these men, as they were leaders

in the fight for FEPC. The mayor's

It is still possible that Baldau

list includes Dr. Sharpe, but not

may receive some sort of position

with the new board, or he may be

sacrificed as the price of coopera-

tion from the employer group. Ac-

tually Baldau has at times been

criticized by the strong advocates

of FEPC, but at the moment when

he is under attack from the em-

ployers, his status reflects the di-

rection the city administration is

taking on the fight against dis-

Labor's three representatives on

the board are John Jurkanin of

the AFL Meatcutters and a lead-

ng member of the Citizens Com-

mittee for FEPC, James Quinn of

American Newspaper Guild, Ralph

Findley, president of the National

Association for the Advancement

of Colored People branch, is also

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the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, and William Davy of the

council as a whole.

Baldau

crimination.

a member.

SPECIAL

A BORNADD

opponent, entered Room 3 to file to perpetuate his machine in pow-

OHIO LABOR NOTES\_

H. Busch, ADA Candidate,

Anti-Curran, Anti-CP Bulletin in NMU

The group in the National Mari-

time Union which was organized

to fight both the Curran dictator-

ship and the Stalinists (Commit-

tee for Democratic Unionism) has

begun to issue a monthly bulletin

for NMU members, starting with

graphed job, presents the purposes

and policies of the CDU, and re-

ports on the threat to the hiring

hall, on the membership meeting

which voted down Curran's

charges against Vice - President

awrenson, and on the February

19 attack by Curran goons on an

opposition meeting (all of which

nave been discussed in LABOR

A new item of interest deals

with the coming general elections

in the union, for which nomina-

tions closed February 28. "Just as

an indication of how things are

shaping up, as of February 8, 58

men had thrown in for the job of

N. Y. patrolman. The figure will

probably be well over 100 when

the ballot is out. On February 28,

James Tatten, an administration

his nomination for New York

The first number, a well-mimeo- •

the March issue.

ACTION).



League.



italism





By L. G. SMITH **Business** Manager

For several weeks PRESS AC-TION has been squeezed out of the paper by more important material. During these weeks we have received compliments from all over the country on the new format of the naper. (Even our political opponents have given grudging recognition of the new improvement in the paper.) We are happy that the change

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Young Socialists Answer Acheson in Street Rally

BERKELEY, Mar. 18-4mmediate ly following Secretary of State Acheson's important foreign-policy speech at the University of California, the Socialist Youth League unit in Berkeley held a rebuttal meeting at the campus' Sather Gate, attended by 500, which was the largest meeting of the kind held since the end of the war.

The slogan of the Sather Gate meeting was: Total Diplomacy Equals Total War. The student audience listened quietly to Bob Martinson as he gave an effective socialist attack on both Russian and American imperialism and an analysis of post-war diplomatic policies.

When General Marshall spoke at the university over a year ago, the SYL had also answered him similarly. The size of the present meeting testified to the popularity of the Third Camp idea among the students. After 45 minutes many questions followed from the audience. General sympathy with the ideas of the speaker was frequently heard, and 14 handed in interest blanks at the end. The speaker was detained for an hour after the talk explaining and discussing his Independent Socialist point of view.

Dean Acheson's speech had been received apprehensively by the huge audience of 10,000 students and faculty members crowded into the men's gym. Martinson explained why Acheson was able to offer the students no hope, no alternative to the vista of atomic warfare and world-wide slaughter implicit in the cold war between Russia and the United States. The failure of U.S. diplomacy was placed within the context of the decline of capitalism throughout the world.

GIVES SOCIALIST SOLUTION The speech, he said, was an adSOCIALIST STREET SCENE



TROTSKYIST REBUTTAL-After yesterday's University meeting, the Socialist Youth league gave its answers to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. BOB MARTINSON, Berkeley organizer for the SYL, attacked both Soviet and American foreign policy as a few hundred students. largest Sather Gate audience of the year, listened and questioned. Martinson charged that both "Stalinism" and "American capitalism" were leading the world to another war. (Picture and caption by courtesy of the Daily Californian, student newspaper at the University of California in Berkeley, issue of March 17.)

to offer the peoples of the world gents to impose a loyalty oath on any way out of their misery short ' the University of California facof war, and at the same time a ulty, as part of the same hysteripreparatory statement to the cal nation-wide drive for "nationlaunching of an over-all American al unity." plan for world domination.

The audience was very attentive while the speaker explained that the United Nations is an area of inter - imperialist rivalry, not an independent social force capable of solving the question of war. It was pointed out that every important American diplomatic decision since the cold war started has been made outside of the UN.

The speaker analyzed the presmission of bankruptcy, of inability ent attempt of the university re- ence must be respected.

A socialist solution to the pres ent problem of war was posed. This solution, the speaker explained, must begin with complete opposition to American imperialism and Stalinism, which are both guilty in the cold war. A third socialist camp of nations and parties must be built: the revolutionary underground in the Ukraine and in Spain must be aided and the right of nations to independ-

Backs Rise In Tax Load By JOE HAUSER City workers in Ohio were threatened with further taxation this week when state Tax Commis-

sioner C. Emory Glander threat-

ened to hold down the amount of state aid to municipalities which do not impose their own income taxes. This followed a ruling of the state Supreme Court that cities could levy local income taxes. So far six Ohio cities impos such taxes, Toledo, Columbus,

Youngstown, Warren, Springfield and Portsmouth. In some cases this takes the form of a direct withholding tax on wages and, as so often happens, puts the burden on the workers, who are least able to pay

A tax of this kind is always a political hot potato, but the pressure of restricted state aid may force it on more cities. The organized labor movement can use the full force of its potential political power to stop this movement now and to repeal the tax where it now exists.

#### FOR HIGHER TAXES

Henry Miller Busch, a professor of sociology at Western Reserve and ADA's candidate for the Democratic nomination to oppose R. A. Taft in the coming senatorial race, came out for higher taxes age politician. Since he favors foreign aid, military expenditures, natural resources conservation AND a balanced budget, he has to say what so many aspirants for office deny, that he would raise taxes.

The rest of his statement was rather odd for a supposedly leftwing Democrat. Busch said that since corporations made record profits last year they should pay SOME of the increased taxes, but definitely not all of them. In other words, he wants the workers too to take on an added tax load.

#### FEPC FACES FIRST TEST

Cleveland's brand - new FEPC law faces its first test in the appointment of the new Community Relations Board, which will be the administrative body.

Fifteen of the 16 board members have been appointed so far. It was assumed from the outset that the councilmen, Carr (Democrat) and Jaffe (Republican), who sponsored

Chicago Dance Hall Jim Crow challenged by ex-CORE students

#### **By DOROTHY MALLORY**

CHICAGO, Mar 13-The celebration of "Brotherhood Week" found Chicago in the middle of a wide**s**pread campaign against Negro discrimination which reached a climax on March 11.

For several weeks a group of students, formerly members of CORE (Committee of Racial Equality), have been trying to break down the discrimination at the Trianon, one of the popular Chicago dance halls. At first they spoke to the manager and executives of the hall, but were told that Negroes could not be admitted since "it would hurt the Trianon's business."

Three weeks ago, a group of men and women, both white and Negro, went to the Trianon and tried to buy tickets. They were refused, and when they insisted, the men were thrown out. The next week they tried again; this time the women were also thrown out.

Last Saturday, eleven of the group returned to the Trianon and not only were thrown out foricbly but were arrested and charged with unlawful assembly, inciting to riot, and refusing to disperse. \* The eleven (including five women) spent most of the night in jail and were released on bail of \$150 each for the men and \$75 each for the women.

#### IT WAS A BIG BITE

Their case was to have come before the police court on Monday morning, but was postponed until April 4 on the request of the defense lawyer.

Although the group made a policy of CORE was getting nopraiseworthy effort to spotlight several establishments and plenty of such a determined effort would Secondly, the group was iso-

where. They had no organization the Jim Crow problem in the city. back of them, no publicity, no

The charges are serious, allated. It was organized by several was no violence done except by students who felt that the official the Trianon's bouncers.

### THE NEW COURSE by LEON TROTSKY The Struggle for the New Course by MAX SHACHTMAN Both in one book—Trotsky's historic essay on the weginnings of Stalinism, and Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism

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two counts were against them in funds. With a strong and organthis case. In the first place, they ized sentiment against discriminachose a poor place to start-the tion on the campus, they might Irianon is in a tense and strongly have succeeded even in as powanti-Negro neighborhood and is erful an establishment as the Triowned by a millionaire who has anon, but this too was lacking. of power behind him. It might though there was absolutely no have been better to begin on a violence on the part of the group smaller target—independent shop and there was no sign of any riot. restaurant—where the results The American Civil Liberties Un-



#### 

Arms and World Politics Discussed at N. Y. Forum

subject "Modern Armies and Modern Armaments-Their Impact on

The speakers were Horace Sheldon chairman of the West Side branch of the United World Federalists: William Sutherland, member of the executive of the War **Resisters League; and James Fen**wick, of the Independent Socialist

Mr. Sheldon presented the program of the UWF. He stressed the fact that 75 per cent of the fed-

NEW YORK, Mar. 20-Three dif- wars and preparation for new ferent points 'of view were pre- wars. His answer to the problem: sented to an audience at the La- a world federal government with bor Action Forum tonight on the a world police force. In answer to questions from the floor, Sheldon agreed that there are serious economic and political obstacles to world government, but insisted that if such a government were only established it would be possible to meet these obstacles and

overcome them. William Sutherland stated that his views are not necessarily those of the WRL. He upheld an approach of non-violent resistance similar to that advocated by Gandhi in India. Sutherland stated eral budget is being spent for past that in his opinion modern weap-

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see its influence increase and

ons have rendered any violent approach to social change obsolete, and that people must start resisting the government and its war drive in every sphere with non-violent means.

James Fenwick stressed the Marxist view that war is-a product of the conflicts and contradic tions which are part of the warp and woof of capitalist society. He pointed out that such is the degeneration of this society that it is becoming increasingly militarized from top to bottom in all countries.

Fenwick stated that the American general staff does not feel that t can hope to win a war with Russia now. The vast distances involved in such a war would beyond anything we have known Caribbean have demonstrated that line could possibly succeed in the face of the atom bomb. That is why, he said, the American general staff is determined to hold on to Europe as a staging base for war.

All speakers referred to the H-bomb as the new element in world armaments which creates the possibility of the destruction of all life on this planet. Fenwick concluded his remarks by stating that Marx had predicated the alternatives: "socialism or barbarism," but the latter had been envisioned as a gradual decline of capitalist society through unemployment and crises. Now the alternatives appear as "socialism or annihilation" as a result of catastrophic wars in which neither side could hope to conquer anything but universal ruin.

## **Detroit Housing Leader Ousted By Mayor Cobo**

#### **By JIMMIE LITTLE**

DETROIT. Mar. 20-Mayor Albert E. Cobo has dismissed the Reverend Robert L. Bradby Jr. from the Detroit Housing Commission because of Bradby's bitter "opposition to the housing policy of his [Mayor Cobo's] administration." Prior to Bradby's dismissal, Cobo had asked for his resignation. Bradby refused to give it since, as a minority member of the Housing Commission fighting against discrimination in housing, he did not wish to give up the fight.

The racial bias of the Detroit city administration is thus brought into sharp focus with the dismissal of the main opponent of discrimination in housing on the commission. In addition to the shock to the Negro community, in which strain the American economy far Bradby is a very popular member, labor circles are perturbed not pefore. The war games in the only by the racist policy involved but also because Bradby has conni invasion of a protected coast sistently fought the realty interests for more low-cost housing. It has for the most part been a losing fight as most votes of the Detroit Housing Commission since Cobo's election as mayor have been on a 3-to-2 vote against the workers' interests.

CHEMICAL UNION WINS Local 176. United Chemical

Workers (CIO), has stopped a vicious attack against its older members and voted to return to work. The strike started February 3, when Parke. Davis & Company forced retirement of 27 workers who had reached 65 years of age, and also because of numerous con tract violations.

On March 14 the company agreed to reinstate the men. It was further agreed that negotia-

tions on a new contract, which will go into effect May 1, will include pension discussions.

ANTI-STRIKE LAW HIT A court test of the Hutchinson Act which bars strikes by public employees has been started by the Michigan Federation of Labor (AFL). The fight is being spearheaded by 20 locals of the Michigan Federation of Teachers, 52 locals of the Michigan Firefighters Association and 113 locals of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union. The AFL groups charge that the act is unconstitutional and discriminatory.

#### QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE

Nash-Kelvinator has joined the growing list of companies to grant pensions to their workers. The four unions who have members in Nash negotiated jointly with the company. Each signed identical agreements providing for a trust fund to secure pension payments, to be jointly administered by the company and the union involved, with entire cost to be paid by the company alone. The four unions involved are the United Auto Workers (CIO).

representing the majority of the workers, the Mechanics Education Society (Ind.), the International Association of Machinists, and the Teamsters (AFL).

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has met with universal approval. We will be even happier when this approval expresses itself in an increased number of subscriptions to the paper. And that is the job of every reader of LABOR AC-TON: to pass the paper on to his friends, and to get them to sub-

But right now the readers of LABOR ACTION can give immediate expression to their approval of the paper and their desire to see it reach wider circles of readers. You can do this by immediately sending a contribution to the fund drive of the Independent So-

The new format, of course, has not decreased the cost of the paper to us, which remains the same. And the cost is far, far above what we get from subscribers and purchasers. The only way in which we can make up the difference is in the contributions sent us by the friends of the ISL and the sub-

Weeare not asking for your contribution just because we have a better-looking paper. We are ask ing for it because LABOR AC-TION is the only newspaper in the "United States which educates and organizes its readers for the struggle for socialism under the new circumstances of Stalinism and the universal degeneration of cap-

"The only one?" you may ask. Yes; the only one. There are other papers and movements which propagandize for "socialism." But every single one of them is either completely withdrawn from the realities of this world or represents in one form or another a greater or lesser degree of surrender to Stalinism or to our own

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## BV YETTA BARSH

#### **Fund Drive Director**

MAR. 20—Despite the fact that we are more than five per cent ahead of schedule, this week we have fallen far behind our hoped-for goal Only four units in the drive have hit the 75 per cent or better mark this week. Six more are in the 60-75 per cent class and another two in the 50-60 per cent class. The remaining units are behind schedule.

While we have assurances from branches that they will not fail we are extremely eager to have them speed up their collections We feel that this is the only way that the branches will find time during which to concentrate on "going over" their quotas. As we pointed out at the beginning of the drive, our aim is to exceed the \$12,000 mark.

#### NEWARK HITS 75 PER CENT

Newark was one of the units that achieved 75 per cent of its quota this week. It sent in \$60, once more proving that it intends not to slow down the pace it has set for itself.

Berkeley SYL's \$14 contribution

place since it thereby realized 130 per cent of its \$30 quota. The Socialist Youth League now holds the two top places on the list. The its previous contributions, thereby moving up to 54 per cent. The Socialist Youth League as a whole has thus raised \$307 (or 88 per cent) of its total quota. We would not be surprised if the SYL went over the top during the next week.

West Virginia jumped into the race with a first contribution of \$30, representing 60 per cent of its quota, and a promise that it to meet their quotas in the end, would exceed its \$50 quota before the end of the drive.

> From Los Angeles we received the sum of \$106.28 during the last week, raising its total to 64 per cent. There is a good possibility that Los Angeles will make 75 per cent of its quota before the next week is up.

#### DETROIT COMES IN

New York City, which turned in \$482 last week, bringing its total up to 63 per cent, is maintaining a fair pace but is falling short of the quota which it has been setting for itself. While 63 per cent is ahead of schedule, we feel sure that an extra push will help New

Give Now to the ISL!	
Fund Drive Director Independent Socialist League 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N.Y.	
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General

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Total

Newark SYL

St. Louis SYL

**Detroit SYL** 

Buffalo SYL

SYL (at large)

Baltimore

Pittsburgh

San Francisco Bay Area

In spite of the still difficult situation, our Detroit comrades have \$810.28. Seattle is the only ISL managed to make their first \$90 contribution this week. While race and there are a few SYL New York City SYL added \$18 to they do not expect to be able to complete their quota before the end of the drive, they assure us that they will be heading toward the top slowly but surely. \$90 is an excellent beginning!

> Another \$10 has been received from Reading with word that while they could not achieve 75 per cent this week, our comrades will not only hit 100 per cent but

will go over the top This week's receipts totalled unit which has not yet entered the units still to be heard from. We urge all of them to start sending in the sums they have collected. There are only six more weeks to go and much hard work to be done before we go over the top

Friends and readers of LABOR ACTION: do your share. Help us move the "general" total up! Fill out the blank below and send us

your contribution now!

Fund Drive Box Score				
Branch	Quota	Received	Per Cent	
Chicago SYL	\$100	\$200	200	
Berkeley SYL		39	130	
Streator		22	88	
Newark	\$250	185	7.5	
Youngstown		70	70	
Chicago		1000	67	
Los Angeles		322	64	
New York City		2533	63	
Buffalo	1000	600	60	
West Virginia		30	60	
St. Louis		55	55	
New York City SYL	125	68	54	
Cleveland		121	40	
Reading		35	35	
Philadelphia		136	34	
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Page: Three

Page Four



## Learning a Lesson

The case of Mrs. Sylvia M. Schneiderman, a New York clementary school teacher discharged for making "a false statement under oath" in relation to her political affiliations, presumed to be Communist, is of high concern to LABOR ACTION because it chalks up one more point in favor of those who are chopping away at civil rights.

The defenders of Mrs. Schneiderman's rights were the Teachers Union and the School Council of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn. Those pressing for the discharge of the teacher were such groups as the American Legion of Queens Connty, Defenders of the Constitution and various non-union teachers associations.

An argument used in the attack on Mrs. Schneiderman was that Communists have no right to teach in the public schools because they "can't\_tell the truth." LABOR ACTION does not subscribe to the contention that academic truth is associated with a definite set of political opinions, specifically, in the view of those who are conducting the heresy hunt, with the political opinion that the United States government is the only ideal of government

We don't believe the Communists can tell inimical to the progress of mankind and a travesty of the socialist goals they pretend to uphold. But holding such views, being sympathetic to them, or even being an outright party-liner does not, ipso facto, cause a per- fort to understand science. son to be a had teacher or lead to distortions of truth in the classroom. True, the views of the Communist Party are totalitarian. But the mode of thinking which would remove the espousers of these views from political, public or professional life is in itself totalitarian. Truth thus becomes associated with prevailing political opinion. The most finished example of this system of thought is Russia itself, where truth is also identified with loyzlty to the government.

We wonder what passed through the minds of two Japanese school officials, Ikkaku Matsuzawa, member of the Board of Education of Tokyo City and Shin'ichi Nakamura, Superintendent of Schools of Yokohama, who were witnessing the proceedings. These schoolmasters came here to be indoctrinated in the American way of life from a land the United States was recently at war with, the land whose prosecution for "dangerousthoughts" was held up to ridicule in contrast to American political freedom. Remember?

## **Pouring It Out**

Last week the papers printed the sensational news that General Motors Corporation made a profit of almost three-quarters of a billion dollars in 1949. Again, this week, tucked away in the financial pages of the New York Times, is a report that the Chrysler Corporation, which refuses to sign a decent contract with the striking UAW workers, paid a total of \$2,581,000 in bonuses alone to 229 of its top executives!

The Chrysler division of the UAW has been out on strike for many weeks trying to get a contract which will provide for the minimum necessities of the auto workers. They have not been able to budge the company as yet. But while the company finds it impossible to meet the demands of the union it was able to:

Pay \$2,581,000 to 229 top executives.

Pay \$1.352,000 in "fees and salaries" to its top-bracketed executives and officials, exclusive of bonuses

Pay K. T. Keller, Chrysler president, \$250,800 in salary.

Pay B. E. Hutchinson, vice president, \$225,700 in salary. Pay Fred M. Zeder, vice president, \$215,-

400 in salary. Pay L. L. Colber, head of Dodge division

and vice president, \$100,100 in salary and \$70,000 in bonus.

Pay Herman L. Weckler, general manager, vice president and director, \$175,400 in salary and a bonus of \$40.000.

And that isn't all. The company's retirement plan would pay, among others, Mr. Weekler, \$27,546, and for official Skelton \$14,904, etc.

When big business talks about preserving "free enterprise," this is what they mean: the right to squeeze out of industry huge salaries, bonuses and retirement plans for themselves. The corporations are always "too pour" to pay a decent wage to workers, and "top poor" to pay a decent pension. They are never too poor to pour it out for themselves.

We are certain that there isn't a Chrysler worker who won't understand this when he reads the foregoing figures.



#### Toward the Social Implications of Science By CARL DARTON

Second only to the need for class-conscious political and social action by the working class is the importance of understanding the meaning of science and the role it is playing in the world crisis today. There is an urgency that people in general and the working class in particular understand the proper function of science and technology. It is true that most of us will never understand the techniques and intricacies of all sciences. However, there is essentially nothing esoteric about science, and its method of thinking in no way differs from the rational approach which can be applied to all of life's problems.

No one can know all sciences but for that matter it is a byword among the scientists themselves that "We are all laymen outside of our highly specialized field." Each of our readers knows from his concrete experience what science is in its technical application. The factory worker is familiar with his precision machine of complicated design: hundreds of thousands of scientists, engineers and technicians live with science every day; the consumer is often familiar with the life history of mass-produced commodities; and the public, through formal education, radio and press, has more than a smattering of scientific lore. The crying need is not "popularization" of science but consciousness of the moral and social role of science.

Unfortunately, there are few established agencies or institutions which can give the full import of science rightly applied to man's needs. In the universities there are a few courses or lectures based upon "understanding science." But these are all from the point of view of established institutions and neglect the revolutionary impact the political truth. We believe their ideas are of science. Since science can only realize itself in a workers' democracy, the full realization of its power must await the outcome of the struggle for such a society. In the meantime until scientists and workers establish better means of association and collaboration, a portion of every class-conscious workers' reading should be devoted to an ef-

Fortunately, there are some low-priced pocket books which can be recommended as a beginning to clear the fog surrounding science. As Max Otto has written in Science and the Moral Life (Mentor Books):

"It [science in the public mind] has a good deal of magic and the miraculous about it and very little of the scientific temper. They [the public] believe in science and what the scientists tell them, very much as their ancestors believe in the church and what they were told by their priests. It must be remembered too that seen from the outside science has its sacred buildings, its mysteries, its esoteric language...but [Otto reassures us] the distorting mists of fabulous science can be blown away, leaving a clearer view of scientific method and scientific knowledge.

Once this clearer view is obtained, there can be but one choice among the alternatives outlined by Otto: "There are two ways of taking the present world upheaval. We

may take it to be the fateful disintegration of civilized life, or we take it to be a driving search for a better social orientation.

Another Mentor Book worth reading is Man in the Modern World by Julian Huxley, an eminent British scientist. Clearly discussed are such subjects as the development of the natural and social sciences, an objective view of religion, and eugenics and society. Huxley gives a positive credo for a scientist today and demolishes the old bromide that war is unalterably a part of human nature.

To further illustrate that a rightful understanding of science can do much to aid in solving today's problems, we quote from A. N. Whitehead's Science and the Modern World (Mentor):

"At the present moment a discussion is raging as to the future of civilization in the novel circumstances of rapid scientific and technological advance . . . the problem is not how to produce great men, but how to produce great societies. . . . It is the business of the future to be dangerous, and it is among the merits of science that it equips the future for its duties. The prosperous middle class, who ruled the 19th century, placed an excessive value upon placidity of existence. They refused to face the necessities for social reform imposed by the new industrial system, and they are now refusing to face the necessities for intellectual reform imposed by the new knowledge." Several other readily available and low-priced books on science,

which should be of interest to our readers, are: American Mentor Books (35 cents each): J. W. N. Sullivan,

Limitations of Science. English Pelicans (40 cents each) : C. H. Waddington, The Scientific Atttiude. H. S. Hatfield, The Inventor and His World.

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## Reading from Left to Right

SECRETARY TOBIN MEETS THE PRESS; transcript of a "Meet the Press" radio broadcast. (American Mercury, March.)

We quote the section in which the secretary of labor tells newspaperwoman May Craig, one of the interlocutors, why he's against Taft-Hartlev. As he and Truman have said before, it's because it hasn't got sharp enough teeth!

"Craig-Mr. Secretary, how are you going to prevent strikes which affect the national interest unless you have something like the Taft-Hartley Law, with an injunction for nationalemergency cases?

"Tobin-Well, the best answer to that, Mrs. Craig, is that the Taft-Hartley Act was used in eight instances and was not effective in a single

"C.--Would you do nothing in the national interest?

"T.---I testified that the president of the U.S. would have the power to act in a national emergency. Now, everyone gives the public the impression that the Taft-Hartley Act would protect the public against strikes. Actually, after a period of 80 days, any union that wants to can go on strike. There's no power to secure an injunction except one, and that the power of the chief executive. Under Taft-Hartley alone, the American public has no protection in a grave national emergency after the 80-day waiting period has elapsed.

"C .-- Isn't the Taft-Hartley Act really the only thing John L. Lewis is afraid of?

"T.-I'm not sure that he's afraid of the Taft-Hartley Act. If John L. Lewis or any other labor leader wanted to go on strike, at the endof 80 days there would be no law on the books that could in any way interfere with their striking, for just as long as they wanted. But I have always contended, as has the attorney general, that in the event of a grave national emergency arising from an interruption of work, the president of the U.S. would have innate executive powers that would enable him to handle the situation.

"C.-Then why, if he has the powers, do you object to outlining those powers in a law? Is that the American way to do it?

more powerful position....

#### THE QUARTER'S POLLS, reports on straw votes taken during the quarter year. (Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter 1949-1950.)

"If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged to: the middle class, lower class, working class, or upper class?"

That was a question asked last August by the National Opinion Research Center. Here are the replies: working class 61 per cent, middle class 32 per cent, upper class 3 per cent, lower class 2 per cent, don't know 2 per cent. It's the first and last figures that are espe-

An ex-liberal turned reactionary (the magazine specializes in these characters) emits a cry of anywish at the cold shoulder given to The Road Ahead by John T. Flynn (another of his kidney) and to Human Action by Ludwig von Mises, both exponents of unreconstructed "free enterprise." How far to the right ex-liberal Chamberlain is now may be seen from his

unique complaint: "Twenty-five years ago no socialist author could get a fair initial hearing in the daily or weekly 'capitalist' press. Today the shoe is on the other foot: it is the avowedly capitalistic author who can't count on a fair exposition of what he has to say.'



#### Labor Heads Make Feeble Proposals on U.S. Ruhr Policy By EUGENE KELLER

A dispatch from Geneva in the New York Times of March 12 informs us that the leaderships of the AFL and CIO have formulated a program with regard to the control and ownership of the Ruhr industries which attempts to counteract present American policy. This program, the dispatch states, advocates a "mixed economy... embracing both the elements of planning and competition and public as well as private ownership, all under international control."

The more important points of the program include: (1) the extension of the scope of the International Ruhr Authority to include all the iron, steel and coal industries of Northwestern Europe; (2) giving representatives of international labor a greater voice in the affairs of the authority; (3) making the latter independent from the Allied High Commission; (4) preventing the return of the Ruhr industries to private ownership and retaining Military Government Law No. 75.

The present American policy, which stresses "decartelization" and "deconcentration," is opposed on the basis that it cannot prevent eventual collaboration with the Russians by the old reactionary Ruhr magnates; and that it may also alienate the non-Communist German labor movement (i.e., the Social-Democrats, who comprise or control its great majority).

#### AFL-CIO POLICY

In their internal discussions, in what few releases are printed by the daily press and in their rare statements of policy on the issue, officials of the AFL and CIO have

I-win, tails-you-lose basis, with the government always the loser. If the A recent Congressional report which received the cold - shoulder speculator makes profits, he pays only the 25 per cent capital-gains tax; if he suffers losses, he deducts them from his regular income on which he treatment from the nation's press Germany. Thus, for example, the most retrogressive elements reveals that four organizations. exchange of letters in January and Germany. This is not only eviwould otherwise have to pay up to 82 per cent in some categories. denced by such frightful instances lobbying in Washington allegedly February, 1949, between General (6) FAKE FOUNDATIONS. The fabulous 95,000-acre Montana as the recent eviction of anti-Nazis wheat ranch of Tom Campbell, America's largest wheat farmer, was in the interests of small business. Lucius Clay, then U. S. military governor, and Matthew Woll, in from a Stuttgart housing project sold for \$2 million to a "charitable trust," the U. S. Wheat Corporaare actually the tools of giant intion which was set up recently by an Omaha lawyer, Gordon Diesing. dustries and are supported by by "denazified" former SS storm which the latter charged that the The earnings of the ranch, formerly taxed up to 38 per cent, are now them. attitude of the military governtroopers, or by the release of Ilse tax-free, the money going to Diesing's new trust. After paying ment discriminated against Ger-Koch from prison, but is evidenced Diesing's salary, expenses, etc., the remaining income is slated to go to man labor and that the AFL, if in an even weightier manner by another charitable corporation, the Sacred Heart Foundation Fund. faced with a choice between free- the impending developments in

enterprise government which is anti-union and a democratic tradeunion movement which did not advocate free enterprise, the AFL mer owners. would unhesitatingly choose democracy and human freedom as against anti-union free enterprise.

At an informal conference, held last summer and participated in by top representatives of the AFL, CIO and liberal organizations, support for the German Social Democrats was practically unanimous, the main question at issue being the method by which the State Department might be persuaded to support them. Walter Reuther, too, be due to the absence of a powerhas come out openly several times: in their support.

That this implicit and explicit opposition to American policy in but in order to grow into one it Germany has remained rather in- cannot do without the support of effectual as far as the general. trend of affairs in that country is ternational labor movement. This concerned, need hardly be stressed. The old reactionary and discredited German bourgeoisie is being rehabilitated and restored to its equivocal fashion. former positions of social and economic power, not on the basis of its own moral or material strength. all of which it lost during World important facets of the issue, and War II, but solely because this has been the policy of the United States for the past few grears.

#### SOMBER SENSE OF FUTILITY This policy, far from being in-

fluenced in the direction of demooften expressed their opposition to cratic aims, has on the contrary mentally with those officially emthe State Department's policies in proven favorable to the socially ployed. (Continued next week)

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"I.-Well, in the event that you outline them specifically in a law, both management and labor know exactly the maneuvers to make in order to gain their own particular points. But if they are not certain what the president of the U.S. is going to do in a national emergency, he is in a

Tobin's last point is absolutely correct. One reason the Russian GPU is so much feared is that, not being bound by law, one never knows just how it's going to respond to any given act!

cially interesting. Who said the workers insist on thinking of themselves as middle-class Americans And only a few had difficulty thinking of themselves in term of class at all.

#### SMOTHERED WITHOUT DEBATE, by John Chamberlain, (Plain Talk, January.)

the Ruhr which all too clearly point to the restoration of the in-

In a dispatch from Duesseldorf to the N. Y. Times dated December 3, Drew Middleton, its correspondent, wrote: "There is a somber sense of futility among labor leaders, British officials and democratically-minded Germans in the Ruhr as they watch the big bosses of other days don their dinner jackets to dine in Duesseldorf's new and resplendent hotels."

This sense of futility can only ful opposition movement. Perhaps the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) is potentially such a movement, significant sections of the free insupport must be overt and it must oppose American policies in Germany in a determined and un-

The proposals of the AFL and CIO outlined above are neither; they are vague, remain silent on there is little likelihood that any serious effort will be made to press for their acceptance. They must be discussed nonetheless inasmuch as the potential of American labor is here associated with views on foreign policies differing funda-



#### How to Avoid Paying Your Taxes

The railroad unions' weekly Labor has given some publicity to a survey of how moneyed interests duck paying the taxes due from them, mostly on the basis of House Ways and Means Committee hearings. Nine ways and means of tax evasion are listed.

(1) LEASEBACKS. By this arrangement a university makes its own tax-exemption available to a corporation for the purpose of avoiding tax payments by both. It buys a property from a corporation and then leases it right back to the same corporation.

For example, Yale University, through a subsidiary academically named Connecticut Boola, Inc., bought the \$41/2 million building erected for itself by R. H. Macy & Company in San Francisco. It then promptly leased the building back to Macy's for 31 years at an average rental of \$240,000. The department store gains the use of the building AND of the \$4½ million working capital. The university gains tax-exempt income. You pay.

(2) DEPLETION ALLOWANCES. An operator makes a gross income of \$1 million from oil and gas sales. One loophole allows him to deduct \$450,000 for "operating and development" costs. That leaves a net income of \$550,000 "before depletion." Because he becomes poorer by using part of his resource, the law allows him to cut this sum in half,leaving a net income of only \$275,000 "after depletion." But now to encourage him to look for more oil, an incentive provision allows him to deduct the remaining \$275,000 for "drilling additional wells."

Elaborating on the loopholes used by oil millionaires, Thomas Lynch, general counsel of the Treasury, told Congress that 10 individuals, whom he did not name, had escaped paying taxes on almost \$50 million of incomê during a recent five-year period. Another exhibit showed that 20 unnamed corporations using the same loopholes had escaped taxes on almost \$500 million in profits in 1947.

The 10 individuals had incomes of \$63 million from 1943 to 1947, of which \$52 million came from gas and oil operations. By using the custom-tailored technicalities, they paid taxes on only \$14 million of the \$62 million. One of them, who made almost \$20 million from oil, gas and other enterprises, paid total taxes of only \$80,000 during this 5-year period. Ordinarily, this would be the tax on about \$150,000 of

(3) COLLAPSIBLE CORPORATIONS. A movie producer, the stars. sometimes the writers and others, form a corporation to make a single movie and take their pay not in salaries but in shares of the corporation's stock. After the movie is made, the corporation is liquidated and its assets are distributed to the shareholders. They sell the assets, report their gains, and pay only the 25 per cent tax on their profit.

In an actual case cited, the profit on one picture was \$615,000. Ordinarily, the tax on this would have been \$445,000. But by using this device, the capital gains tax was only \$154,000, the government losing \$301,000 on the deal.

(4) NON-RESIDENT ALIENS. Under this loophole, aliens here "temporarily"-even though "temporary" means years-can avoid paying taxes on profits made here. For example, one case cited is of a man who fled Hitler Germany just before the war and was in the U. S. from 1939 until after V-E Day in 1945. During that time he made \$600,000 in profits trading on the U.S. security and commodity exchanges. As a "non-resident alien," he was able to return to Germany without paying a penny in taxes.

(5) ONE WAY STREET. This gimmick encourages speculation by the wealthy in such things as stock, land and business property on a heads-

This organization, it develops, is also run by Diesing, who is listed as president, secretary, treasurer, chairman of the trustees, counsel dustries located there to their for- and resident agent. In addition to the Campbell ranch, Diesing also bought for still a third "charitable" trust which he heads the 38,000acre cotton tract in the San Joaquin Valley run by California's cotton king, Russell Giffen

> (7) DEATH CONTEMPLATION. To avoid stiff inheritance taxes, rich men transfer all or part of their estates to their heirs. It can be stopped only if the government proves the old moneybags was "contemplating death" at the time of transfer. So far the courts have interpreted this to mean that the tax collectors have to prove mind-reading powers, and the game goes on.

> (8) INCOME FROM U. S. POSSESSIONS. The radio show "Duffy's Tavern" recently made the news by moving to Puerto Rico, in order to avoid tax payment. Reason: to encourage new industry the island offered tax exemptions for a long period to any concern moving there. In addition "Duffy's Tavern" escapes paying the U.S. income tax, since another loophole provides that income derived from a U.S. possession (Puerto Rico, Guam, Canal Zone, etc.) is tax exempt.

> (9) CASHING IN ON RELIGION. Milwaukee estimates it is losing \$21/2 million a year in revenue because churches and fraternal organizations have become such large property owners. Publishers of religious magazines are claiming tax exemption. Methodist officials have deplored the untaxed profits some of their churches are making on properties which include such non-religious tenants as taverns and pool halls.



## Not in the Headlines

#### Politics

The capital's second biggest industry-party giving-has slumped from the war years but a big party still will cost as much as most government officials make in a year and the guests will eat and drink the price of a good-sized house in the course of three hours, including 50 cases of assorted liquors and 700 pounds of fish, lobster, goose liver, etc.

"The biggest parties in Washington...still are given by business groups and national associations. . Quite a few of the Washington parties are paid for with dollars put up by the American taxpayer. ... Businessmen entertain government officials to keep relations on a first-name basis ...." So says the U.S. News and World Report, March 3.

#### Voice of Moscow

The underground pro-Cominform radio station broadcasting to Yugoslavia is emphasizing attack via economics. Under the name of "Yugoslav Revolutionary. Emigrés," the Kremlin gang urges sabotage of the economic life of the country. "If the Titoists lose the economic battle, they will have to capitulate in the political field also.... The sabotage of production is the best weapon.... Every badly manufactured or non-manufactured article will bring the day of victory over Tito nearer...."

#### For the Defense

Latest new writer for the socialdemocratic New Leader is Albert Goldman, whose article on "The Communists and Civil Liberties"

appears in the March 11 issue. The article itself is on the Smith Act and the Minneapolis case, and comes out against the trial of the 11 CP leaders. The New Leader editors added a box giving a sketch of Goldman's political biography. It ends: "But if there is a moral to Albert Goldman's story it is this: Do not moralize: 'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone.

With this "vindication," Goldman can say "The Lord protect me from my friends....'

#### Times Are Terrible!

First week in March, S. L. Avery, the Montgomery Ward head who was carried out of his office by soldiers during a wartime strike, told the stockholders of U.S. Gypsum (which he also runs) that the company is operating "under an uneconomical political situation" and has been for 20 years.

At the same time he had to explain that in the past three years the company has boosted its cash reserve from \$19 million to \$55 million.

#### Wild-Eyed Visionary

At a meeting of U.S. Steel stockholders at the end of February, one stockholder actually got the floor to propose a motion calling for a ceiling of \$12,000 a year on executives' pensions and demanding that any official getting \$20,000 a year or more help pay for his own pension.

The subversive idea was flattened-a majority of the proxies were held by the very gentlemen who will get the big pensions.

### SMALL BUSINESS

#### **GIANT CORPORATIONS USE SMALL BUSINESS LOBBIES AS FRONTS**

#### **By JESSIE KAAREN**

The organizations mentioned are the National Small Businessmen's Association, the Small Business Economic Foundation, the National Tax Equality Association and the National Associated Businessmen. A discussion took place in Congress which was also not men-

ioned in the newspapers. The report and the discussion brought these facts to light. The National Small Business-

men's Association is headed by DeWitt Emery, who receives a salary of \$18,000 annually plus expenses. Among the 70 corporations which contribute to this organization are such "small" businesses as: Standard Oil of New Jersey, U. S. Steel, Standard Oil of Indiana, Socony-Vacuum, the Texas Company, Sears - Roebuck, the Chrysler Corporation, Republic Steel, Goodyear Tire & Rubber and more than a dozen other firms whose assets were in the over one million dollar bracket.

The important part of these revelations as far as labor is concerned is that organizations like the NSBA become most vocal whenever news of a strike hits the press or when labor demands are being raised. It is then that these organizations cry out in ten-thousand - dollar full - page ads that "small" business is being damaged and the consumer is being made to suffer because of labor's selfishness

DeWitt Emery has a very smelly record as an anti-labor publicity man and a pro-fascist. His organization opposed the Wagner Act and stumped for the Taft-Hartley

Act. Last February, in a series of newspaper advertisements addressed to Philip Murray and William Green, the organization set out to prove that the Taft-Hartley Law was actually a good thing for the workers. The NSBA then announced that its initial ads had been so well received by the "public" that enough money came in to enable them to place the ad in 161 newspapers throughout the country, including such national magazines as Time, Newsweek and Liberty.

Comic books are also published by Emery in his capacity as head of the Small Business Economic Foundation, twin of the NSBA These comic strips urge greater production from the workers at lower wages and end up with "OK. Let's go back to work."

According to the Congressional report which the newspapers did not consider interesting enough to give space to, the four groups involved are devoted exclusively to attacking organized labor and are acting as a smokescreen for giant industries.

The second set of twin organizations, the National Tax Equality Association and the National Associated Businessmen, Inc., are aimed at destroying the cooperative movement. The National Tax Equality Association raised \$500.-000 in 1949 to propagandize for a "tax-equality" program. The main sources of these funds are the private utility and insurance interests, large grain, dairy, fertilizer and lumber producers, and hardware and metal products manufacturers.

Interested? For information about the INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE Write to 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

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LABOR ACTION

# Labor Candidate in Chicago

## A Militant Trade-Unionist Bucks the Democratic Party Machine

#### By R. L. FERGUSON

CHICAGO-Moving for the first time in its own name into open conflict with the Democratic Party machine here, the Chicago CIO has recently given unanimous support to the candidacy of one of its own leaders, Willoughby Abner, for the office of state senator from the 5th Scnatorial District (South Side) in the Democratic primaries on April 11.

Goaded into this unprecedented action by the contemptuous rejection of all its nominees by the machine "king makers," the CIO-PAC has refused to endorse any of the local machine candidates in the primaries and has instead turned all its energies into support of Abner's candidacy.

That this labor-directed break away from one of the notorious big-city machines is only partial and not based on a political rupture with Democratic Party "Fair Dealism" is undisputed. That this particular development is a FACT is, however, likewise indisputable. It is therefore worthy of note by those forces in the labor movement such as LABOR ACTION, which aim for and work toward the complete political and organizational independence and separation of labor from the politics and parties of capitalism.

Were it not for the fact that the Chicago CIO has in Willoughby Abner a militant unionist who built his 1st Congressional District PAC club into a year-around functioning organization after the 1948 elections, instead of letting it fall into disuse and remain on paper like 99 per cent of other PAC groups about the country, the local CIO would be hard put to find even this one effective outlet for its rising resentment against the shabby treatment dealt out to it by the Truman-Arvey Democratic machine, which is always anxious for workers' votes but sternly objects to workers' representation in office.

#### PAC Club Threat to Dems

The mere permanent existence of this PAC club, composed predominantly of Negro workers from auto, steel, packinghouse and other CIO unions, has constituted a threat to the Democratic machine, since its existence obviously implies that labor no longer continues to rely solely on electioneering promises but is quietly mobilizing an independent organizational formation where political issues might be discussed and acted upon between elections.

Abner himself is vice-president of the Chicago Industrial Union Council and is the United Auto Workers' regional director of education and political action. As one of the most prominent Negro unionists in the UAW, he has for some years been associated with many militant activities in behalf of civil rights both locally and nationally, and in the UAW itself has an excellent record of fighting the Stalinists from the point of view of union democracy instead of red-baiting.

On more than one occasion he has expressed the need for the unions ultimately to form their own labor party. More recently he lays greatest stress on the necessity of building PAC into an actually functioning political machine.

Given the successful existence of his PAC club and his recognized leadership abilities and personal popularity, it is no wonder that the CIO State Executive Board and state PAC finally endorsed his candidacy unanimously, after what might be described as more than "waverings" on the part of important CIO bigshots who at first favored giving support to non-labor white liberals for the post.

#### Student Groups Back Abner

Geographically, the 5th State Senatorial District is composed of more than 60 per cent Negro voters west of Cottage Grove Avenue on the South Side, adjacent to the University of Chicago-Hyde Park white area which has a middleclass liberal-ish political tradition. Since in this latter area no CIO-PAC group exists, the supporters of Abner have secured the assistance of the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI), local affiliate of ADA, to press the campaign, as well

as that of a broad committee of student organizations at the University of Chicago, composed of Students for Democratic Action, the Politics Club, United World Federalists and others.

In the segregated "Black Belt," Abner's PAC club is carrying the brunt of the campaign. It had expected endorsement by the AFL Council of Negro Unionists, but this was not forthcoming when Joseph Keenan, head of the AFL's Labor League for Political Education, indicated a favorable reaction to Abner's main opponent, Marshall Korshak, the white Democratic machine candidate.

It is understood that the sole reason for this non-support of Abner is that he will not promise political jobs, while the machine candidate has them to offer and does just that. Otherwise, in the Negro neighborhood Abner's candidacy is attracting favor on the basis of aiding Negro rather than white representation in the Democratic Party, based on distrust of the Truman Democrats' fraudulent posturings for civilrights measures.

Marshall Korshak is a typical lawyer-politician of the Democratic Party, whose personal story might be written as "Up from Ward-Heeler to Party Hack in 20 Years." His selection as the machine candidate comes primarily as a reward for his years of service in the old Kelly-Nash machine, which has of course in recent years been taken over and only slightly polished up by the Arvey crowd.

#### Who Has Squatters' Rights?

In a debate with Abner and other primary candidates recently, Korshak made it clear that his only publicly-claimed title to the Democratic nomination is his years of activity as a party hack. He did not discuss the issues placed before the voters by Abner, but confined himself to repeating, "I don't disagree with anything you say, Bill." The main burden of his remarks was a sour-grapes attack on IVI-ADA for not endorsing him as a "liberal," since they have been backing such political types as Senator Paul Douglas, Governor Adlai Stevenson and Alderman Robert Merriam. He intimated that the labor-liberal coalition behind Abner consisted of "Johnnycome-latelys" without any "squatters' rights" in the Democratic Party, which belongs to his cronies and himself.

Abner's speech was confined primarily to setting forth a "positive" program for the state senate, including those planks which PAC and ADA have fought for unsuccessfully in the past. These include:

(1) A constitutional convention to revamp the state voting apportionment to reflect the population shift to urban communities since 1901.



(2) Revision of the whole tax structure to place the tax burden on corporate and financial elements rather than on the small real-estate owner.

(3) Increased unemployment compensation and disability insurance.

(4) Support to bills sponsored by the Crime Commission to control the vast wealth garnered by the gambling syndicates which are a notorious factor in corruption in South Side politics especially.

(5) Greatly expanded public housing (just defeated in the Chicago City Council by a Democratic-Republican coalition).

(6) And finally, civil-rights legislation such as FEPC laws with real teeth in them.

In reply to Korshak's plea to back the machine on the ground that the "Democratic Party has given more social legislation than any other in history," Abner remarked that "no social group has a program more liberal than labor's." For himself he stated that he has not just "adopted" a program for the purposes of this election, but that this is labor's program which he has been fighting for actively for years, and that the machine has not cooperated even with its "liberal" governor Stevenson on many vital issues.

Attacking the generalities and evasiveness of Korshak and other candidates, Abner termed them "rationalizations and excuses for vested interests and for political reasons." In this sense he demanded specific committals on state rent control in the event of the probable death of federal rent control in Congress this summer. He exposed the ignorant remarks about FEPC of another anti-machine candidate in the symposium, an unknown Democrat named Garritty, as being Jim Crow.

All in all, Abner's presentation and understanding of the issues discussed at this meeting stood head and shoulders above that of his opponents-a not very difficult feat in the circumstances, since labor's domestic reform program customarily stands on the side of greater progress even when lacking a conscious socialist orientation.

#### **CIO-PAC** Leery of Open Fight

It should be recalled to the CIO-PAC that, in supporting a genuine unionist like Abner as a candidate for a comparatively minor office such as state senator, it is not "edging in" too appreciably on the preserves of the Democratic machine. Might it not, for instance, have been possible to run Abner against the machine's head man in the 1st Congressional District, Congressman Dawson, in the 1950 elections?

On a matter like this the PAC would probably give this timid opinion: "While we know that Dawson as head man of the machine may be put ting the hooks quietly to Abner's present campaign for state senator, we cannot yet risk a head-on collision with him because of his outstanding Fair Deal voting record in Congress. We must strengthen and test our independent organizational strength first for this lower of-Martin St. Statested fice."

In any case entrance into the Democratic primaries self-evidently limits PAC's campaign to that relatively smaller section of the electorate which participates in primary elections. As an independent labor candidate in the fall elections, Abner could have espoused labor's cause to the whole voting population, irrespective of traditional political affiliation, and thus found a larger and truer measure of the response to his program.

Yet, should all the enthusiasm and work now being generated in behalf of his candidacy in the primary be defeated in the April 11 voting -an outcome not at all inevitable nor to be wished for-the same over-all needs for labor representation in the state senate would remain. In that case it would clearly be the duty of CIO-PAC, in spite of all encrustations of "CIO policy," to extend its fullest support to an independent labor candidacy by Abner against the Democratic machine and the Republican candidate.

#### arch 27, 1950

# The Story of Hawaii's Military Dictatorship: Or-Civil Liberties Under the Brass Heel

Few Americans realize what the army means by its planning for "total war." They read of total mobilization conscription of men and women, labor and capital. without any clear picture of what this would do to our civil liberties. Yet during this past war the army provided us with an illustration of army rule in Hawaii.

In these islands of about 425,000 people, many of them American citizens, the army decreed that people must work or go to jail, carry personal identification cards, get military passes to be out after 10 p.m. and observe a host of other army rules.

Any violation of army law was judged by a military provost marshal whose decisions were rapid and whose punishments were frequently severe. One of America's precious rights, that of access to a court and trial by a jury of one's

-0

own peers, was suspended. When Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941, the territorial governor, J. B. Poindexter, under the stress of the emotion and danger of the day, asked the army to proclaim martial law. A few weeks later, when General Emmons assumed control of Hawaii on Dec. 17, he assumed all the prerogatives of military governor without further proclamation from the civilian governor. Before another year had elapsed, news began to filter through to the mainland that the civilian population was chafing under army rule and was asking for the return of freedom. The New York Times reported on December 8, 1942, that Hawaiian newspapers had complained of the suspension of "many civil liberties, such as freedom of speech and press."

The Times also reported that the congressman from Hawaii, Joseph . Farrington, had said that continuance of military rule was not enly contrary to every American tradition "but in face is a positive detriment to the total war effort." As a result of the growing complaints and dissatisfaction with army rule, President Roosevelt in January 1943 announced "substantial restoration of functions to the appropriate civilian authorities." Martial law including the suspension of the write of habeas corpus remained in effect, but censorship of civilian mail, price and rent control, rationing and certain other problems were turned over to the civil authorities.

Among the army abuses of civilians was the arrest of hundreds of loyal civilians, frequently on petty charges. For example, the army arrested a member of the territorial senate on the charge of possessing a Japanese flag, though there was no law forbidding such . The senator publicly burned the flag but was continued in army detention.

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This is one of a series of articles on the militarization of American government and life, based on the findings of a committee of nationally known liberals, the National Council Against Conscription, including Pearl Buck, Albert Einstein, Victor Reuther, Ray Lyman Wilbur, the presidents of Fisk University and the University of Detroit, etc.

The series is based on the amphiet published by the NGAG in February 1949, "New Evidence of the Militarization of America." The quotations and information in the present series come from this booklet.

When the Honolulu Central Labor Council (AFL) asked that all labor control in Hawaii be delegated to the civil authority, General Richardson, the military governor said, "Both the army and navy are of the opinion that vital defense projects which are now under construction . . . (must remain under) the existing stabilized labor program which includes wages, hours and employment regulations."

General Richardson later referred to a Supreme Court decision approving the army's removal of Japanese-Americans from California as justifying "the army in retaining control over labor on military projects. .

The most celebrated controversy between civilians and the military arose over the army's suspension of the write of habeas corpus. Two Americans of German ancestry who had been interned by the army, were granted write of habeas corpus by U.S. District Court Judge D. Metzger. However, when U. S. marshals attempted to serve the papers on General Richardson, they were forcibly prevented by

military police from doing so. The New York Times reported that 1.479 persons had been in terned in Hawaii and that there had been no information about legal proceedings against any of them, with one exception. If the army could be forced to accept the jurisdiction of a court in two cases, it would have to do so in the case of all of its internees.

Judge Metzger ruled the general to be in contempt of court for failing to produce the two internees in court. The general retorted that "Hawaii is a theater of war in which (my) determination as military commander as to what is necessary for military purposes is conclusive and not subject to review by this court." General Richardson was backed by the War Department in his position.

The general then forbade anyone connected with any court from habeas corpus, making violation tion of recent decades." by Judge Metzger or anyone else subject to a five-year sentence and a \$5.000 fine.

The issue became so hot that it looked as if Congress would be forced to decide. The War Department then got together with the Justice Department and as a facesaving measure. General Richardson was requested by Washington to withdraw his military order forbidding court action. It was reported in the press that Judge Metzger might be asked thereupon to withdraw his contempt citation against the general.

The situation was temporarily resolved or rather avoided by the army's transferring the two internees out of Judge Metzger's jurisdiction to the mainland, where reduced his contempt citation against the general to \$100.

General Richardson and Admithat the military should have the Security Acts. power of martial law. They pointtroi the army would lose the right starvation are becoming more fre- Imperial Valley and Texas' Rio

enter private homes, to confiscate prohibited articles, to control labor and to interne dangerous citizens.

An article in the December 1943 California Law Review which discussed the habeas corpus controversy, stated, however: "Many high-ranking officers of both the army and navy have openly said the danger of invasion had passed: for some time now the people have gone about their business in a manner normal for any community in wartime. . . . The mere fact that Hawaii was attacked on December 7, 1941, is no justification for the continuance of martial law two years after."

Judge Metzger continued civil ourt functions in Hawaii by ruling that military government of the islands was invalid. The secretary of war shortly thereafter stated that he felt martial law still necessary

Before long, the federal Circuit Court was brought into the controversy through an appeal by the provost marshal of the army. A civilian lawyer who appeared before the court declared that in one period before the court declared that in one period "819 people had the hardihood to plead 'not guilty and stand trial" before provost coursts. "You would be amazed to know how many were convicted-819. People were deprived of their constitutional rights. They were judged by people who never were in a law court before. . . . A lawyer who tried to object would be locked up in jail.' '

The White House in October 1944 finally ended martial law and restored the right of the writ of habeas corpus. The president had, several months earlier, in April, pardoned General Richardson of the contempt charge, though the

press reported that the cabinet was of a divided opinion about the matter

Despite the pardon and the ending of martial law, the controversy did not stop. The U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee in January 1946 recommended by unanimous vote that an injuriy into the administration of martial law in Hawaii during the war would be held.

Many complaints had been received of injustices at the hands of the army. Only a few months later American citizens were to sue army generals for illegal arrest. One suit by Alfred B. M. Smith was for illegal arrest and detention in prison from December 7, 1941, until July 31, 1943, without any specification of charges.

Nothing more was done by the Senate committee until March, 1947, when the chairman named a subcommittee to consider an investigation of martial law in Hawaii. Despite the appointment of a subcommittee, no further action was undertaken and the investigation was never held. Some congressmen have stated their belief that army influence was responsible. A powerful figure in the army, Major General Thomas H. Greene. now judge advocate general of the army, was, as a colonel in Hawaii, the man who carried on the system of martial law.

Although the Congress failed to act, the courts finally rendered a decision. The Supreme Court, after months of delay, ruled in a six-totwo decision that the military had no power to try civilians. In brief, the decision held "that the only relationship that can constitutionally subsist between the civil power and the military in connection with law enforcement is one in

which the latter has the role of an adjunct police taking orders from the former.

Justice Black, speaking for the court, noted that (1) conditions in the islands at the time of the military trials had not required the evacuation of civilians from any areas where the civil courts did business; (2) Hawaii was not enemy territory and was loval: (3) no interference with the enforcement of military orders was involved: (4) the term "martial law" is not mentioned in the Constitution and has never been defined by Congress.

The Harvard Law Review (July 1946), in comment on the Supreme Court decision, said that in the opinion of the late Chief Justice Stone trial in a civil court would no more have endangered the public safety than the gathering of the populace in saloons and places of amusement which had been permitted by the military authorities. "Military thinking runs to absolute solutions.

Although the Supreme Court decision is a significant one for civil liberties, it has by no means settled the problems which Americans face at the hands of the military. The army not only does not want to acknowledge its mistakes in Hawaii or permit a civil investigation of its acts, but it has promoted the officer who adminislered martial law in Hawaii to be the head of the army's legal sys-

In addition, the army continues its planning for what it calls total war. This planning, judging from the army's own publicity, is aimed at military control over men, women and children, over capital and labor, production and distribution, and numerous other civilian activ-

## No Prosperity for Farm Labor — There's Starvation in the U.S.!

The farm workers of the United States are still the "forgotten men" of the country, too little noticed by the rest of the labor movement and under - publicized by liberal opinion, while their conditions still constitute a major plague spot in the nation. These conditions are again underscored by the report for 1949 recently issued by the National Sharecroppers Fund.

The sharecroppers' fund bluntly speaks of the "imminent economic crisis threatening not only the livelihood but the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. Farm workers are the only major group applying for, issuing, serving or that has been almost completely accepting a plea for a write of excluded from the social legisla-

On almost all fields the men, women AND CHILDREN who produce the food for the country and much of the world live under conditions which most Americans think exist only in parts of wartorn Europe. The report brings the story up to date.

HOUSING: The tents and flimsy shacks are still there. "The sale of the government-owned migrant camps has again been postponed until June 30, 1950, but the large farm-owner groups are exerting pressure to force the government to relinguish them."

the new farm bill passed by Con- ers forced the small growers to act gress, Department of Agriculture figures show a 1 per cent increase them with pickax handles and adin the cost of farm products and monitions to use them against the they were freed. The judge then a simultaneous decrease of 1.4 per strikers." cent in farm wages. At the same time, Congress again refused to include farm workers under the ral Nimitz maintained throughout Fair Labor Standards and Social

"With the growth of unemploy-

quent. . . The price of food and clothing in the stores where most farm laborers are compelled to make their purchases has not declined appreciably, and they cannot afford even substandard subsistence.'

#### STARVED TO DEATH

Last November it was announced that there were 11 known children's deaths due to malnutrition in one county of California. Not publicized was the fact that in December in the same county there were 28 similar deaths. inese statistics were not erately suppressed," says the re- wages lower than the average port, "but an investigation indicates that there seemed to be a Department of Agriculture." tacit agreement among Californians that repeated publicity was 'not desirable.''

Special attention is focused on California and the Southwest. Of the more than three million farm workers, a half million live in California alone. Bright spot in the picture was the successful cotton pickers' strike in September against a wage cut of 16 per cent, under the leadership of the National Farm Labor Union (AFL). Their victory, with the help of small growers, "contrasts with an unorganized cotton pickers' strike WAGES: As inevitable result of in 1937, when the Associated Farmas strikebreakers, even supplying

The situation of the "wetbacks" (illegally imported Mexican farm laborers) is now worse than ever. "This group is now so large that in some places it has lowered weekly wages to a shockingly low ed out that if the military lost con- ment, cases of malnutrition and point," especially in California's

Grande Valley

"The sheriff's department in El Paso assumes the importance of a major industry during the two big yearly roundups of wetbacks. . The sheriff receives \$1 for each day he houses a federal prisoner. In the first three months of 1949 this revenue reached a record \$27.-948

#### THE UNION GIRDS

As for the legally imported, government agencies claim they get "prevailing wage rates," but "investigation has shown that the contracts wage rates listed nationally by the

In the Mid-South, conditions worsened during 1949: "Banks, cotton-gin operators and farm owners are extending no credit or 'furnish' to sharecroppers and labor. The Welfare Departments are beseiged by technically ineligible families in desperate need. The school free-lunch programs are inundated with increased reauests.

The NFLU has been the main force aiding the farm workers. At its last convention a minimum program was adopted, including: (1) Demand on Truman to end the agreement with Mexico on importation of farm labor and to ban the hiring of wetbacks.

(2) Prohibition of city and county ordinances restricting free speech and civil liberties, and a national FEPC.

(3) Public works program for periods of unemployment. (4) Housing and educational aid for form workers.

(5) Inclusion of farm workers in social-security and minimum-wage legislation.

## Loyalty Purge Out of Hand --

(Continued from page 1) Green. Democrat of Rhode Island, words which we think are worth quoting:

"I congratulate you on the way you have so thoroughly cleared these so-called charges made against you. You are an established man and you have friends who have come forward.

AN APPALLING HARM

"But what would have happened to you had these charges been made when you were young and unknown? It is an appalling harm that might have been done-and may yet be done to young men now in the service."

In his testimony, Jessup pointed out that he had never been a radical not even when he was a young man. When he graduated from school he went right to a job as assistant to a bank president. But what would the fate of this man have been if he had come from poor and humble immigrant parents, had been compelled to toil for his living with his hands, and had at some time organized a union of his follow workers or led a strike or been involved in a demonstration of

unemployed workers for relief? Of course, he never would have been an ambassador at large. He would have been in the same boat, perhaps, as the workers at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo who were railroaded off their jobs and branded as "poor security risks" and by implication as "disloyal" and "subversive" by an arbitration board which didn't even pretend to look into the "evidence" against them.

#### **TO INDICT 12.000**

The Democrats and Republicans are having their fun with the Mc-Carthy hearings. And even those newspapers which tend to support the "loyalty purge" as a whole (as to make such criticism? Jessup does) are noting with regret that McCarthy's irresponsible behavior may bring the whole

loyalty program into disrepute.

general in charge of the criminal turned to the ambassador with division, has told a congressional committee that the Justice Department is preparing to indict 12.000 members of the Communist Party The government is waiting for the Supreme Court to uphold the conviction of the eleven CP leaders undēr the Smith Act before it swings the clubs. Whearty told the committee that

the FBI actually has 21.105 cases pending in its "internal security section" and the only reason the government isn't going to go after all of them is because "they can't be proven for the reason that the sole witnesses to the cases are confidential informants and cannot be used as witnesses and those cases have to be cancelled out."

Whearty pointed out that if the Supreme Court upholds the conviction of the eleven Stalinists, the CP will in effect be an illegal organization. The Smith Act makes t unlawful for a person to be a member of an organization which is held to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence

#### REIGN OF TERROR

And it doesn't really matter too much, as far as civil liberties and political freedom in the country are concerned. The mass indict ment, trial and imprisonment of 21,000 or 12,000 men and women in the United States on the sole charge of having joined a political organization will be quite enough. Such a reign of political terror is calculated to silence anyone who dares criticize American foreign policy or the capitalist system of exploitation, no matter how much he may abhor and oppose Stalinist totalitarianism. For hasn't the attorney general already placed on his list of "subversive" organizations ALL those who dare

#### **CONGRESS GOES TOO FAR**

On the same day that this threat of mass political arrests was made

Whearty, acting assistant attorney too far with the witch-hunt. In included provisions which would require the FBI to pass on the "loyalty" of every student or scientist. American or foreign, who would be employed or subsidized by the foundation. The FBI would have to certify that each and every one of them is "loyal," believes in the United States system of government and had not at any time been a member of an organization declared subversive by the attorney general.

The Justice Department warned Congress that this would bar many competent scientists from working for the foundation. Further, that it would "effect an extremely radical and undesirable change in the basic responsibilities of the FBI' and would "bring about a departure from American concepts of justice and democratic government.

It would give the FBI the power to be judge and jury over the hapless scientists and would bar from scientific work 'i'nnocents" who long ago had joined organizations they believed to be loval but had quit and denounced them when they discovered otherwise.

#### UNAMERICAN CONCEPTS

This is trying to lock the barn after the horse is stolen. The loyalty purge has already affected any number of such "innocents. If such a procedure is contrary to "American concepts of justice and democratic government," then President Truman and the Department of Justice have been guilty of putting "unAmerican" concepts into force the day they issued the subversive list and began hounding people from their jobs on the basis of it.

Then why does Truman's Department of Justice oppose the loyalty provisions of the Science Foundation bill and why is it urging Congress to go slow on the Mundt-Ferguson bill?

Is it possible that Truman and On March 17 the New York public, the Justice Department his "liberal" advisers would pre-Post stated that Raymond P. warned Congress that it has gone fer not to have a law on the

books which could be challenged passing a bill to create a National in the courts? Is it possible that Science Foundation, the House these lovers of freedom prefer to carry on with the administrative procedure which leaves the victims, those accused of "dislovalty." without such protection as the courts might give them?

The events described above are just part of the witch-hunt which during the past week has appeared above the surface. The real dirty work is being done out of sight.

Every day, every night, the FBI is snooping and sniffling into people's personal and political affairs, past and present. It is planting its stoolpigeons and informers, gathering its files of gossin and anonythat the extent of this activity, the

methods used and the number of the innocents fired from jobs or placed under a cloud of doubt and suspicion be made public?

Last week LABOR ACTION suggested a public hearing, under a commission of prominent liberals and labor leaders, to go into the whole question of the loyalty purge, the subversive lists and the damage being done to civil liberties in America by them. We repeat our suggestion. We know that in the sticky political atmosphere of today it will take real courage to organize such a commission and to hold such hearings. But surely men of such political mous slander. Isn't it high time courage are still to be found in the "home of the brave."



(Continued from page 1) good will" as the genial Stalin and the "mad haberdasher" from Missouri.

Our equally genial Secretary of State responded to this Stalinist bait by casting some of his own. points," effectively squelched such In a "... report about the tensions between the United States rialist leaders know that tempo and the Soviet Union," he laid down a so-called seven point program based upon "principle" which allegedly establishes the basis for a resumption of negotiations with the purpose of cooling the fires of the cold war. All this outlining of "common ground" has been described at great length in the press, and while its details have a certain significance they should not be taken too literally. The real bait in Acheson's California speech is the remark that, "Our attitude is not inflexible, our opinions are not frozen, our positions are not and will not be obstacles to peace. But it takes more than one to cooperate." Let us. says Acheson. resume negotiations and work out whatever specific arrangements we can on one or all of the seven points stated.

#### CALL FOR TOTAL SURRENDER

The "seven points" are, of course, the maximum American program, and call for no less than a total surrender of Stalinist imperialism. Stalin, of course, has responded with a total rejection this maximum set of demands. But we can rest assured this is far from an end to the story. Each set of imperialist scoundrels has paid his tribute to the cause of "peace." Each has assured a trembling world of his utmost devotion to that cause. The issues of principles and long-range objectives have been published. It is more than likely that now the other kind of negotiations (where principles are more fluid and no time at all which he had evidently picked up ence to the Democratic Party will resume at various pointswhile idling away a few hours in when another labor leader like continued discussion of the Austrian treaty, resumption of UN

er on the need for a temporary retreat and stock-taking of their situation as they face each other. As Stalin requires a pause to batsame time indulge in a self-glori- coal miners the question "If labor ter down Titoist and nationalist tions had arrived, they uncovered fied siesta on the domestic front." unity is so good, why are we in- tendencies in the Iron Curtain re- a small part of the real story and It is very unlikely, in our opin- dependent of both the AFL and gion and Asia, so does American revealed the perils which exist. imperialism require a pause to The fact that the American labor the CIO, with the exception of the CIO unions gave to the coal readjust its aid program to Eu- leadership, in all its branches, rerope, or prepare a new program mains silent only assists those

pected. But no one should be de-

its resemblance to the specific foreign policy of Henry Wallace and his wing of the Progressive Party.

Acheson's speech, however, with its emphasis on the "seven a conception. Both sets of imperary agreements - even rather broad agreements - in no way eliminate ultimate and unbridgeable differences. And the actions that accompany their words, while not ruling out the almost guaranteed resumption of negotiations, prove this point since these actions are linked to their long-range imperialist objectives.

#### STALIN PREPARES CAMPAIGN

Stalin, for example, is preparing a renewal of his campaign to seize Berlin and then advance upon Western Germany. Far from showing a line of retreat in the battle for Germany, he is clearly preparing for new and more aggressive struggles. His continued ruthless campaigns in the occupied countries is another part of the long-range Stalinist program.

At the same time, Acheson advanced another important aspect of "positive" American policy in his other California speech which expressed America's aim to apply Truman imperialist doctrine to China and Southeast Asia. Acheson's other speech is worth studying in and of itself. It must be understood as the Asiatic replica of the Marshall Plan and a North Atlantic Pact, only in its embryonic stage. Thus we see that each power relentlessly pursues its world objectives, each in its own way, even though this does not exclude "discussions and negotiations" at the very same time. In fact, it would be hard to conceive of one without the other!

Does all this have anything to do with the real cause of peace Only if we understand that all this is directly contrary to that cause. Would experience not teach us, as a matter of fact. that the more desperate the negotiations. the more urgent the activity for concluding agreements, etc., the more serious is the real situation, and the closer are we to actual warfare.

#### MUST TELL TRUTH

When Senators McMahon and Tydings, prominent Democrats, spoke of the dangerous point at which American-Russian relawho cover up the true situation. Thus, periodic retreats and If labor will not uncover the cooling off episodes must be ex- truth, then who will? If labor will neither comment upon, nor ceived by them. They cannot ush- denounce the Acheson speeches er in any fundamental change in for what they really mean, then the situation. The rumor that the task must be performed by

# Lewis' Proposals - -

(Continued from page 1) union and vet continuing to struggle, reflects guts which unfortunately seem lacking in most other labor leaders.

#### CHALLENGE TO REUTHER

ally to aid the Chrysler strikers that created a stir in Detroit labor circles. The result of the eightweek-old Chrysler strike now becomes very important to the reputation of the Reuther leadership on a national scale, for comparisons between the coal miners' contract and any Chrysler contract are inevitable.

For years Walter Reuther has been talking about a national emergency conference of the AFL, CIO' and independent unions to unite the labor movement into one powerful body. It was part of his program which won him overwhelming support in the UAW and heiped him gain undisputed control of the auto workers' union.

Now that Lewis suggests a mutual aid pact and maneuvers to assist the UAW, Walter Reuther is head" is the factor which he might

references to Walter Reuther in in the top labor bureaucracy dethe United Mine Workers Journal serves the contempt and criticism are calculated to inflame antago- of the ranks because it is exclunisms within the CIO bureaucracy. sively a concern with jobs, the The UMW Journal stated that Walter Reuther "when not beat- Lewis and Walter Reuther based ing his breast over the air waves on the question "Who can service The offer to aid the Chrysler in behalf of some utopian scheme the rank and file best?" has potenstrikers with a \$1,000,000 loan was or other, functioned as president tialities of good for the men and calculated to put Walter Reuther of the UAW." It adds in referring on a spot, and it did. For it was to Reuther's letter rejecting the not so much the matter of the million doflar loan, "The Reuther money involved as the suggestion - epistle contains some fancy that Lewis was prepared person- phrases about mass solidarity and for the CIO top leadership, for working unity in labor ranks example, to justify its subservithe public library."

#### WHAT THE JOURNAL SAYS

distrust of the abundant gestures could do better." of expressed international good-

next man that Reuther's fear of both the Chrysler strike and the ed?" antagonizing Philip Murray has coming negotiations with General All in all, the clash of ideas in

competition between two men like women who pay the dues.

#### A MATTER OF POLICY

It becomes increasingly difficult Lewis, who plays the role of a political maverick, can achieve meetings, etc. better results. It becomes increas- In this world divided between Another part of the UMW Jour- ingly difficult for a man like Wal- two monster powers, it is clear nal attack refers more to the Reu- ter Reuther to sell modest pen- that things cannot proceed in a ther program than to that of any sion plans and routine contracts direct or straight line. If this had other labor leader. "In fact, it is with the argument "This is the been the case, war would have our considered opinion that the best that we could do under the come long ago. At given periods, preponderance of thought among circumstances," when the rank and the two governments can-almost labor union members is rapidly file has the idea in the back of by tacit agreement come togethdeveloping a clearcut dislike and its mind: "Well, maybe John L.

Conversely, Lewis' plea for lawill of their leaders who at the bor unity must raise among the ion, that anyone in the AFL or the CIO?" and the assistance that Walter Reuther, can begin to take miners surely raises the question more embarrassed than any other up the challenge presented by among the coal miners, "Why the for Asia, individual in the top CIO leader- Lewis' bid for over-all labor lead- hell aren't we in the CIO, where ship. Lewis knows as well as the ership. It is in this context that we belong and which we found-

forced him to retreat on point af- Motors assume great significance terms of policies and programs ter point in his over-all program. not only in terms of elementary among the top labor leaders must Likewise Lewis knows that the interests of the auto workers' reflect itself in the thinking of Stalin desired a vast settlement, the revolutionary socialist groups contempt of the steel workers' ranks, but also in relation to the the ranks below and this signifies based upon a "division of the until that day arrives when othunion officialdom for the "Red- problem of labor leadership in a period of reorientation and the world" between the two powers, ers take up the same call for ac-America. Although the rivalry in beginnings of new directions for was probably of fellow-traveller tion against the imperialist fabwell utilize, and thus the sarcastic the sense of jockeying for position the American labor movement. origin. We must note, at any rate, ricators of lies and war.