

# LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MARCH 27, 1950

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

By WALTER JASON

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 developments.

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

Lewis makes a strong case against the other labor leaders. The miners' militancy should awaken a sense of responsibility in the weak-kneed 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 "compatibility," and with their concrete suggestion that a peace treaty with Japan might well be worked out between such "men of

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

By GORDON HASKELL

"Oh, say, does that star-spangled 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 spectacle of one of the foremost citizens of the land, Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup, beating his breast before a sub-committee of the United States Senate in an

attempt to prove that he is and 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 just biding its time to bring indictments 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 newspapers also announced that the Department of Justice is pleading with Congress to refrain from attaching 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 of the American people. Each of

them is worthy of note and study.

Right now the political spotlight in Washington is held by Senator Joe McCarthy and the Senate committee which is supposed to be investigating his charges that there are in the State Department "fifty-seven . . . individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party."

### THE MCCARTHY SHOW

Everyone knows that McCarthy is engaging in a political smear campaign and that the Democratic majority on the committee is hoping to nail him to a political cross by proving his charges completely false. To date McCarthy hasn't proved there is a single Stalinist in the State Department. But he is daily demonstrating for all to see that he is simply trying to

use in open hearings exactly the same kind of phony "evidence"—the same hash of rumor-gossip-stoolpigeon slanders—with which hundreds and possibly thousands of humble citizens are being confronted month in and month out in the closed-chamber proceedings of the "loyalty boards" in the government services and in private industry.

In reply to McCarthy's charge that Jessup has shown "an unusual affinity for communist causes," the ambassador read to the committee a record of his public and private activities, his ancestors, his posts and his titles which would fill two pages of LABOR ACTION. Letters from Generals Marshall and Eisenhower praising him fulsomely were read into the record.

At the conclusion of his statement, Senator Theodore Francis

(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.

# Young Socialists Answer Acheson in Street Rally

## SOCIALIST STREET SCENE

**BERKELEY, Mar. 18—**Immediately 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.

**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.)

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 admission of bankruptcy, of inability

to offer the peoples of the world any way out of their misery short of war, and at the same time a preparatory statement to the launching of an over-all American 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 present attempt of the university re-

gents to impose a loyalty oath on the University of California faculty, as part of the same hysterical nation-wide drive for "national unity."

A socialist solution to the present 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 independence must be respected.

# LABOR SCOPE

## Anti-Curran, Anti-CP Bulletin in NMU

The group in the National Maritime Union which was organized to fight both the Curran dictatorship and the Stalinists (Committee for Democratic Unionism) has begun to issue a monthly bulletin for NMU members, starting with the March issue.

The first number, a well-mimeographed job, presents the purposes and policies of the CDU, and reports on the threat to the hiring hall, on the membership drive which voted down Curran's charges against Vice-President Lawrenson, and on the February 19 attack by Curran goons on an opposition meeting (all of which have been discussed in LABOR ACTION).

A new item of interest deals with the coming general elections in the union, for which nominations 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 opponent, entered Room 3 to file his nomination for New York agent. He was referred to the office of the appointed agent, Hunt. En route to the agent's office he was dumped in the adjacent passageway by the strong-arm payroll boys."

And another note on Curranism:

"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 acquired, and we quote The Pilot, 'would be earmarked for any future emergency that arises or to defray the expenses that may still be due from the last emergency.' 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 election in a democratic manner, and now under the guise of fighting communism Curran is attempting to perpetuate his machine in power."

## OHIO LABOR NOTES

### H. Busch, ADA Candidate, Backs Rise In Tax Load

By JOE HAUSER

City workers in Ohio were threatened with further taxation this week when state Tax Commissioner C. Emory Glander threatened 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 impose 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 in a statement made in Washington recently. Perhaps Busch was a bit more honest than the average 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 left-wing 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

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 council as a whole.

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 Ohio Community Relations Board, would be appointed. It was generally understood that the Chamber of Commerce was opposed to these men, as they were leaders in the fight for FEPC. The mayor's list includes Dr. Sharpe, but not Baldau.

It is still possible that Baldau may receive some sort of position with the new board, or he may be sacrificed as the price of cooperation from the employer group. Actually Baldau has at times been criticized by the strong advocates of FEPC, but at the moment when he is under attack from the employers, his status reflects the direction the city administration is taking on the fight against discrimination.

LABOR'S three representatives on the board are John Jurkanin of the AFL Meatecutters and a leading member of the Citizens Committee for FEPC, James Quinn of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, and William Davy of the American Newspaper Guild. Ralph Findley, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People branch, is also a member.

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# Arms and World Politics Discussed at N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Mar. 20—Three different points of view were presented to an audience at the Labor Action Forum tonight on the subject "Modern Armies and Modern Armaments—Their Impact on World Politics."

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 Fenwick, of the Independent Socialist League.

Mr. Sheldon presented the program of the UWF. He stressed the fact that 75 per cent of the federal budget is being spent for past

and preparation for new wars. His answer to the problem: a world federal government with 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 that in his opinion modern weap-

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 contradictions which are part of the war 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 it can hope to win a war with Russia now. The vast distances involved in such a war would strain the American economy far beyond anything we have known before. The war games in the Caribbean have demonstrated that an invasion of a protected coast 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 predicted 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.

# PRESS ACTION

By L. G. SMITH  
Business Manager

For several weeks PRESS ACTION 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 paper. (Even our political opponents have given grudging recognition of the new improvement in the paper.)

We are happy that the change 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 ACTION: to pass the paper on to his friends, and to get them to subscribe to it.

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 Socialist League.

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 subscribers to L.A.

We are not asking for your contribution just because we have a better-looking paper. We are asking for it because LABOR ACTION 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 capitalism.

"The only one?" you may ask. Yes, the only one. There are other papers and movements which propagate 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 decaying society.

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It is not easy to remain firmly and unflinchingly devoted to the ideas and ideals of socialism in these times. But you who read LABOR ACTION and who want to see its influence increase and its ideas reach wider and wider circles—you can and must do your part. Twenty dollars, or ten, or five or even one dollar, sent now to the ISL fund drive, will help us to keep the paper going, to improve its quality and to widen its circulation.

**So don't put off sending in your donation. Sit down right now and write out the biggest check you possibly can. Make it out to Yetta Barsh and send it in at once.**

# FUND DRIVE NEARS 50% WITH SIX WEEKS TO GO

By 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 to meet their quotas in the end, 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

this week moved it up to second 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 New York City SYL added \$18 to 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 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 York City set new records.

# 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 the commission. In addition to the shock to the Negro community, in which Bradby is a very popular member, labor circles are perturbed not only by the racist policy involved but also because Bradby has consistently 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 178, 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 contract 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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# 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 widespread 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), has 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 forcibly 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 praiseworthy effort to spotlight the Jim Crow problem in the city, two counts were against them in this case. In the first place, they chose a poor place to start—the Trianon is in a tense and strongly anti-Negro neighborhood and is owned by a millionaire who has several establishments and plenty of power behind him. It might have been better to begin on a smaller target—independent shop or restaurant—where the results of such a determined effort would probably have been very successful.

Secondly, the group was isolated. It was organized by several students who felt that the official policy of CORE was getting nowhere. They had no organization back of them, no publicity, no funds. With a strong and organized sentiment against discrimination on the campus, they might have succeeded even in as powerful an establishment as the Trianon, but this too was lacking.

The charges are serious, although there was absolutely no violence on the part of the group and there was no sign of any riot. The American Civil Liberties Union has supplied a lawyer for the defense, and there are reliable witnesses to the fact that there was no violence done except by the Trianon's bouncers.

## THE NEW COURSE

by LEON TROTSKY

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by MAX SHACHTMAN

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# Editorials

## Learning a Lesson

The case of Mrs. Sylvia M. Schneiderman, a New York elementary 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 County, 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 the political truth. We believe their ideas are 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 person to be a bad 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 loyalty to the government.

We wonder what passed through the minds of two Japanese school officials, Ikkuaki 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 "dangerous thoughts" 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 ludge 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, \$253,800 in salary.
- Pay E. 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. Weckler, \$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 poor" to pay a decent wage to workers, and "too 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.

# YOU and SCIENCE

## 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 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 effort to understand science.

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):

"If [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 Attitude*. 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-Hartley. 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 national-emergency 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 one."

"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 end of 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?"

"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):

# WORLD POLITICS

## 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 "decentralization" 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 often expressed their opposition to the State Department's policies in

"T.—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 more powerful position..."

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!

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 especially 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.)

An ex-liberal turned reactionary (the magazine specializes in these characters) emits a cry of anguish 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."



## 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 \$4 1/2 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 the average rental of \$240,000. The department store gains the use of the building AND of the \$4 1/2 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 income 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 income.

(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-I-win, tails-you-lose basis, with the government always the loser. If the 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 would otherwise have to pay up to 82 per cent in some categories.

(6) FAKE FOUNDATIONS. The fabulous 95,000-acre Montana wheat ranch of Tom Campbell, America's largest wheat farmer, was sold for \$2 million to a "charitable trust," the U. S. Wheat Corporation which was set up recently by an Omaha lawyer, Gordon Diesing. The earnings of the ranch, formerly taxed up to 38 per cent, are now tax-free, the money going to Diesing's new trust. After paying Diesing's salary, expenses, etc., the remaining income is slated to go to another charitable corporation, the Sacred Heart Foundation Fund.

This organization, it develops, is also run by Diesing, who is listed as president, secretary, treasurer, chairman of the trustees, counsel and resident agent. In addition to the Campbell ranch, Diesing also bought for still a third "charitable" trust which he heads the 38,000-acre 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 \$2 1/2 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 deployed the untaxed profits some of their churches are making on properties which include such non-religious tenants as taverns and pool halls.

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# 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 and 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 social-democratic 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 subjective idea was flat-tended—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

A recent Congressional report which received the cold-shoulder treatment from the nation's press reveals that four organizations, lobbying in Washington allegedly in the interests of small business, are actually the tools of giant industries and are supported by them.

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 mentioned in the newspapers. The report and the discussion brought these facts to light.

The National Small Businessmen'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 stomped 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.

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# Loyalty Purge Out of Hand - -

(Continued from page 1)

Green, Democrat of Rhode Island, turned to the ambassador with 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 fellow 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 McCarthy hearings. And even those newspapers which tend to support the "loyalty purge" as a whole (as Jessup does) are noting with regret that McCarthy's irresponsible behavior may bring the whole loyalty program into disrepute.

On March 17 the New York Post stated that Raymond P.

Whearty, acting assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal 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 under 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 it 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 indictment, 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 to make such criticism?

## CONGRESS GOES TOO FAR

On the same day that this threat of mass political arrests was made public, the Justice Department warned Congress that it has gone

too far with the witch-hunt. In passing a bill to create a National Science Foundation, the House 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 judge and jury over the hapless scientists and would bar from scientific work "innocents" who long ago had joined organizations they believed to be loyal 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 his "liberal" advisers would prefer not to have a law on the

books which could be challenged in the courts? Is it possible that these lovers of freedom prefer to carry on with the administrative procedure which leaves the victims, those accused of "disloyalty," 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 sniffing into people's personal and political affairs, past and present. It is planting its stoolpigeons and informers, gathering its files of gossip and anonymous slander. Isn't it high time that 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 courage are still to be found in the "home of the brave."

# Acheson's Speech - -

(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. In a "... report about the tensions between the United States 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 of 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 is wasted in hypocritical speeches) will resume at various points—continued discussion of the Austrian treaty, resumption of UN meetings, etc.

In this world divided between two monster powers, it is clear that things cannot proceed in a direct or straight line. If this had been the case, war would have come long ago. At given periods, the two governments can—almost by tacit agreement—come together on the need for a temporary retreat and stock-taking of their situation as they face each other. As Stalin requires a pause to batter down Titoist and nationalist tendencies in the Iron Curtain region and Asia, so does American imperialism require a pause to readjust its aid program to Europe, or prepare a new program for Asia.

Thus, periodic retreats and cooling off episodes must be expected. But no one should be deceived by them. They cannot usher in any fundamental change in the situation. The rumor that Stalin desired a vast settlement, based upon a "division of the world" between the two powers, was probably of fellow-traveller origin. We must note, at any rate,

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 points," effectively squelched such a conception. Both sets of imperialist leaders know that temporary 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 relations had arrived, they uncovered a small part of the real story and revealed the perils which exist. The fact that the American labor leadership, in all its branches, remains silent only assists those who cover up the true situation. If labor will not uncover the truth, then who will? If labor will neither comment upon, nor denounce the Acheson speeches for what they really mean, then the task must be performed by the revolutionary socialist groups until that day arrives when others take up the same call for action against the imperialist fabricators of lies and war.

# Lewis' Proposals - -

(Continued from page 1)

union and yet continuing to struggle, reflects guts which unfortunately seem lacking in most other labor leaders.

## CHALLENGE TO REUTHER

The offer to aid the Chrysler strikers with a \$1,000,000 loan was calculated to put Walter Reuther on a spot, and it did. For it was not so much the matter of the money involved as the suggestion that Lewis was prepared personally to aid the Chrysler strikers that created a stir in Detroit labor circles. The result of the eight-week-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 helped 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 more embarrassed than any other individual in the top CIO leadership. Lewis knows as well as the next man that Reuther's fear of antagonizing Philip Murray has forced him to retreat on point after point in his over-all program. Likewise Lewis knows that the contempt of the steel workers' union officialdom for the "Red-head" is the factor which he might well utilize, and thus the sarcastic

references to Walter Reuther in the United Mine Workers Journal are calculated to inflame antagonisms within the CIO bureaucracy.

The UMW Journal stated that Walter Reuther "when not beating his breast over the air waves in behalf of some utopian scheme or other, functioned as president of the UAW." It adds in referring to Reuther's letter rejecting the million dollar loan, "The Reuther epistle contains some fancy phrases about mass solidarity and working unity in labor ranks which he had evidently picked up while idling away a few hours in the public library."

## WHAT THE JOURNAL SAYS

Another part of the UMW Journal attack refers more to the Reuther program than to that of any other labor leader. "In fact, it is our considered opinion that the preponderance of thought among labor union members is rapidly developing a clearcut dislike and distrust of the abundant gestures of expressed international goodwill of their leaders who at the same time indulge in a self-glorified siesta on the domestic front."

It is very unlikely, in our opinion, that anyone in the AFL or the CIO, with the exception of Walter Reuther, can begin to take up the challenge presented by Lewis' bid for over-all labor leadership. It is in this context that both the Chrysler strike and the coming negotiations with General Motors assume great significance not only in terms of elementary interests of the auto workers' ranks, but also in relation to the problem of labor leadership in America. Although the rivalry in the sense of jockeying for position

in the top labor bureaucracy deserves the contempt and criticism of the ranks because it is exclusively a concern with jobs, the competition between two men like Lewis and Walter Reuther based on the question "Who can service the rank and file best?" has potentialities of good for the men and women who pay the dues.

## A MATTER OF POLICY

It becomes increasingly difficult for the CIO top leadership, for example, to justify its subservience to the Democratic Party when another labor leader like Lewis, who plays the role of a political maverick, can achieve better results. It becomes increasingly difficult for a man like Walter Reuther to sell modest pension plans and routine contracts with the argument "This is the best that we could do under the circumstances," when the rank and file has the idea in the back of its mind: "Well, maybe John L. could do better."

Conversely, Lewis' plea for labor unity must raise among the coal miners the question "If labor unity is so good, why are we independent of both the AFL and the CIO?" and the assistance that the CIO unions gave to the coal miners surely raises the question among the coal miners: "Why the hell aren't we in the CIO, where we belong and which we founded?"

All in all, the clash of ideas in terms of policies and programs among the top labor leaders must reflect itself in the thinking of the ranks below and this signifies a period of reorientation and the beginnings of new directions for the American labor movement.