

DETROIT, March 17 — Acting with a swiftness indicating advance preparation and even collusion with the House Un-American Activities Committee, UAW-CIO

This action by Reuther is without precedent in the recent history of the UAW-CIO. It recalls the actions of Homer Martin, first president of the UAW-CIO, back in 1938. At that time Reuther was one of the union officers accused by Martin of collaboration with the Communist Party. Today, impelled by his frenzied factional desire to destroy the heart of his union opposition, Reuther has acted in Homer Martin fashion.

The formal reason given by the Reuther administration for this unprecedented action against the largest local union of the UAW was failure of the local leadership to enforce the UAW constitutional provision barring a member from holding "elective or appointive" position "if he is a member of or subservient to," the Communist Party.

Apparently anticipating charges based upon this section of the constitution, and yielding to the combined pressure of the House Committee and the International Union, Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, obtained signed "loyalty affidavits" from all but one member of the Local 600 Executive Board. The lone dissenter, Mike O'Connell, chairman of the

Backed by American banking interests who control Cuban economy and with the secret connivance of the U.S. State Department, General Fulgencio Batista on March 10

set up a military dictatorship over Cuba. Boasting "I did it with captains and lieutenants . . . we formed a military junta of fifteen or twenty of them," Batista violently overthrew the constitutionally-elected government of President Carlos Prío Socarras.

Batista, who ruled Cuba from 1933 to 1944 with a brutal military dictatorship, staged his latest seizure of power three months before presidential elections scheduled for June 1. He cynically claimed he acted to forestall an alleged attempt by Socarras to suspend the elections by "gangster" action. This claim is "accepted with general scepticism," conceded the Mar. 11 N. Y. Times, as "it had been General Batista, rather than Dr. Prio Socarras who anticipated defeat at the polls."

Formally and publicly, the U.S. State Department has adopted what the Times calls a "wait-and-see" attitude toward recognition of Batista's dictatorship. But Batista will be recognized "in due time," says the Times.

CHICAGO — A "Citizens Committee Against Law 1030" has been formed by leading liberals and trade unionists of Illinois. On the committee are AFL and CIO leaders, prominent educators, attorneys, ministers and civil leaders. The committee proposes to raise funds to help finance the Socialist Workers Party's suit against Law 1030 and secure the widest possible publicity for the case.

The Socialist Workers Party has challenged the constitutionality of this fascist-like law by filing a suit in federal court against Governor Adlai Stevenson and other law-enforcement officials of the state.

The Citizens Committee stated that it recognizes in this law "a significant limitation upon a central feature of political liberty . . . the right to petition. . . The purpose and method of this act belie the use of it. . . we are happy to associate ourselves with the case."

An advance copy of an editorial which will appear in the April issue of *The Butcher Workman* (paper of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen) has been forwarded to the Citizens Committee. The editorial characterizes the law as "vicious" and charges: "If . . . trade unionists would offer . . . as their candidate the estimable Reuben G. Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, on an Independent ticket, no one would be permitted to solicit a single secretary of Independent Voters Union. Abba Lerner, economist, I. St. Clair Drake, author, E. Sid Lens, president, Local Union. Rev. Joseph Evans, pastor Church. Dale Pontius, political science. Frank Untermeyer, board Liberties Union. Tom Slater, secretary-treasurer. Rev. Armand Guarraro, I.

In preparation for the "hearing" before the International Board, the General Council of Local 600 met in special session and voted overwhelmingly to support the local officers in their fight against an administrator and for local autonomy. Unlimited financial support was also voted. A blistering 12-page statement released by the officers prior to the "hearing" charged that Reuther and the Executive Board had "joined forces" with the House Committee "in its efforts to destroy the unity and effectiveness of Local 600, its officers and its members."

The statement concluded with the blunt comment: "We reiterate our previous statement that your actions have been conceived in a desire to destroy the most democratic union in the UAW-CIO since you have failed in every effort to take over the control of Local 600 through your cohorts and paid international representatives. You seek, through unconstitutional means, to impose a dictatorship from the top. We resent and will oppose your efforts to take over the control of Local 600 from its duly democratically elected officers."

The "hearing" of the four top officers of Local 600 took place in a lynch atmosphere. In addition—
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By Thomas Raymond

NEW YORK, March 19 — another deadline approaches the long-drawn-out steel wage dispute, the nation's steelworkers are preparing to strike, necessary, to win their demand

The United Steelworkers of America (CIO) has already postponed a strike, originally scheduled for New Year's Day, three times at the request of the government. Now, with the War Stabilization Board scheduled to hand down recommendations on the steel dispute on March 16 and with the steel strike set to begin on Sunday March 23 at midnight, no agreement is reached by the Board has asked a sixteen-day postponement.

Meanwhile, steelworkers throughout the country are preparing to pull the strike and fight the dispute out on the picket lines. Picket teams are

being organized at mills across the country. The Wall Street Journal, reporting from Youngstown, says that Local 21 of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, has set up a strike headquarters near a plant gate, and has organized nine picket squads of 400 men

each. The local, with \$50,000 in its treasury, has also named for purchasing, kitchen and public relations committees, and is setting up two kitchens to feed picketers. Testimony by local merchants in Pittsburgh, Youngstown and other steel centers shows that the steelworkers have curtailed their buying, especially on the installment plan, in preparation for the strike.

Murray Kempton, in his New York Post column on March 10, portrays Philip Murray as "sitting and waiting in his office, fingering the letters from the wives of his members that call him a coward because he has waited long. . ." Murray has called the Steelworkers Union 170-mph Wage and Policy Committee.

(Continued on page 3)

NEW YORK, March 17 — Over 400 delegates participated in the Citizens Emergency Defense Conference held in the City Center.

Casino here yesterday, for the purpose of organizing a broad committee to fight the Smith Act by defending the 16 Communist Party leaders who will face trial under that law in Foley Square on March 31.

The most significant aspect of the conference was the apparently conscious attempt by its sponsors to avoid the factional errors made by similar conferences in the past under Stalinist influence. The policy statement adopted by the conference expressed the need for a "powerful movement to

unit people of varied opinions in defense of the constitutional rights of those now facing prosecution." It declared further: "This conference looks with favor upon all movements for the repeal of the Smith Act, for the quashing of all outstanding indictments, for the amnesty and restoration of the civil rights of all persons imprisoned or penalized under the Smith Act."

LOS ANGELES, March 18 — Formation of defense guards to protect Negro victims of the bomb-terrorism that has spread to California was urged today by the Socialist Workers Party.

"Mass protest and united action by the labor, Negro and liberal movements are needed to stop the white-supremacists," said Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman of the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers Party. "Defense guards must be created to protect the lives, liberties and homes of those who are menaced by the terrorists." A public meeting will be held here Friday by the SWP to propose a program of action along these lines.

Meanwhile, public indignation is mounting against the two bomb explosions that shook a predominantly white Los Angeles neighborhood and badly damaged two homes at 4 a. m. Sunday morning.

One of the homes was occupied by a Negro family, William and Willa Bailey and their 12-year old son, who had moved in last January. The Baileys said they had not received any threats, but the former owner of the house got two telephone calls and a letter warning him not to sell it

The police did not do anything about these threats, although this is the fifth bombing reported in this same area during the last six months.

The other bombed structure, across the street from the Baileys, was also soon to be occupied by Negroes. The damage to both was estimated at \$5,000. The bombs were set off simultaneously by German devices.

Aroused by this outrage, some 1,500 people gathered at the scene on Sunday to protest, demand action against the terrorists, and offer financial aid and temporary housing to the victims.

By Monday the police announced that a detail had been set up to guard the area. But confidence in the police was noticeably lacking, and a citizens' committee was formed to stand guard on a 24-hour basis.

The FBI also announced that it was "investigating" the case. But if this "investigation" turns out like the others that the FBI has promised in the recent wave of unpunished bomb-violence in other parts of the country, the terrorists have nothing to worry about.

An Editorial the Kremlin cynically pulls the carpet out from under in which the militarists have the run of the country.

On March 10 the Soviet government addressed a note to the Western occupying powers outlining the main points of a proposed German peace treaty. This note represents a complete reversal in Stalinist policy, at least on two crucial points:

1. It proposes that "Germany shall be allowed to have national land, air and sea forces essential for defense of the country" and that it should be "allowed production of war materials and equipment."

2. It proposes that "A former members of the German Army, including officers and generals, all former Nazis, excluding those who are serving sentences passed by courts for the committing of crimes, shall be granted civil and political rights on a par with all other German citizens for participating in the building of a peace-loving, democratic Germany."

Before this, the Stalinists denounced the return of the former Nazis and militarists to political power in Western Germany (although in Eastern Germany they themselves invited these reactionary elements to join a "national front"). They appealed to the anti-militarist and anti-Nazi sentiments of the German workers, and sought in France and other West European countries to exploit the traditional fear of German militarism.

With the note of March 10, the Kremlin changes its line. Just at the moment when German working class opposition to rearmament is reaching its highest point, stipulates that such conditions be granted Germany provided it is neutral. But it is the worst kind of delusion to think that a rearmed capitalist Germany

in which the militarists have the run of the country, can be neutral in a conflict between the capitalist West and the non-capitalist East. No peace treaties with neutrality provisions can possibly assure such neutrality.

It would be even more dangerous to delude oneself with the idea that the Kremlin note will split the united capitalist front and that two blocs of capitalist powers will emerge, enabling the Kremlin to play one bloc led by Germany off against another led by the U.S. and thus restore the power balance as it existed prior to World War II.

The reality of the present world is that there is not a single capitalist power prepared to challenge the United States for supremacy. Hesitantly and grudgingly the capitalist countries must accept American domination in the world because while they fear the United States, they are even more frightened of the spreading colonial revolution and of the working class within their own countries. They know that only with American help can they hope to survive.

The Soviet note indicates once again that fear of the colonial and workers' revolutions is characteristic not only of the capitalists but of the Kremlin as well. The Russian bureaucracy knows that it too is threatened by revolution, no less than the capitalists, and is seeking to stave off World War III not by reliance on the working class but by an appeal to capitalist rivalries, even at the cost of sowing demoralization in the ranks of the workers and in the ranks of their own servile parties.

'New Leader' Smears Critics of Witch Hunt

By George Breitman

The name Social Democracy used to be associated with socialism before World War I. After that war, in which the Social Democrats deserted the struggle for socialism by supporting the imperialists in their own country, talk about socialism became more and more infrequent in their papers, and platforms and they began to identify themselves openly as ideological bedfellows of democracy — capitalist democracy, that is. In fact, after they jumped on the Roosevelt bandwagon in 1936, it was hard to distinguish them in any way from the ordinary garden variety of liberals.

NEW STAGE

In the last few years, however, a new stage in the evolution of Social Democracy has been reached. Today the Social Democrats are hostile not only to socialism but also to the best traditions of capitalist democracy. Adapting themselves to the needs of capitalism, they have become the most rabid defenders of the witch hunt assaults on the Bill of Rights and the most furious antagonists of those liberals who want to preserve freedom of speech, press and assembly. Their policy on this question is now so extreme that on many issues their magazine, the New Leader, stands to the right of the N.Y. Times.

For some months the New Leader has been conducting a fierce attack on Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher. Russell, a liberal, and veteran anti-communist, had written an article in the Dec. 16 N.Y. Times Magazine ("The Best Answer to Fanaticism — Liberalism") in which he criticized the witch hunt in the U.S. and urged support for the right to doubt and differ from prevailing political and intellectual doctrines.

Among other things, he said that East of the Elbe no one is permitted to doubt "that capitalism is tottering" and West of the Elbe everyone is pressured to subscribe to the doctrine "that capitalism is the salvation of mankind." "America, which imagines itself the land of free enterprise, will not permit free enterprise in the world of ideas. In America, almost as much as in Russia, you must think what your neighbor thinks, or rather, what your neighbor thinks that it pays to think. . . . At the present time, persecution of opinion is practiced in all parts of the world except Western Europe. . . ."

"IRRESPONSIBLES"

Belittling the witch hunt, the New Leader on Dec. 24 would grant only that there may be "excesses. . . in the effort to root out the deeply-entrenched Communist conspiracy. . . on the part of irresponsibles who have always lurked on the fringes of our society." Russell hit back on March 3, asking: "Do you include among irresponsibles State education authorities and Regents of State Universities? Do you include Congress, which has sanctioned the decision that a man who seeks government employment is to be presumed guilty until he has proved his innocence?" Caught in a miserable cover-up for the witch hunters in the most

"responsible" posts, the New Leader could only answer: Yes, "no one has a monopoly of irresponsibility," not even the House of Commons or Russell himself, but after all "an aroused public opinion" can fight back against "irresponsibility" — which was not the issue under debate at all.

When Russell spoke about capitalism as the issue in the cold war, the New Leader ruled that he was "off base" because there is a "mixed" rather than capitalist economy in most Western European countries. To which Russell answered:

"But it is becoming increasingly difficult for Western Europe to maintain its independence, and I think that if we are to get our daily bread (for which we pray to Washington, not to the Almighty) we shall have to abandon such socialistic measures as we have adopted. You ask: 'Doesn't the issue of freedom vs. slavery, of democracy vs. totalitarianism enter into the equation at all?' I reply no. Not at all. That great champion of freedom, Franco, is being made welcome and it is hoped that we may all be induced to die for the sake of Chiang Kai-shek, who did not prove himself exactly freedom-loving while he ruled China."

Russell is "demonstrably wrong" in "implying that the U.S. seeks to force Western Europe to abandon socialistic measures or has made its aid contingent upon West Europe's returning to capitalism," the New Leader retorted. And then a crushing argument: "We know it is hard to forgive one's benefactors, but is it necessary also to spit in their faces?" No one stands as a stauncher guardian of the face of U.S. imperialism than the well-bred Social Democrats.

As for the alliance with Franco and Chiang, "the exigencies of the defense of freedom" are pleaded by the Social Democrats as justification for uniting with tyrants, and the alliance with tyrant Stalin in World War II is

cited as historic precedent for today's alliances.

RUSSELL REPLY

In his reply, Russell said: "I will admit at once that intellectual and political conformity is demanded far more rigorously in Russia than in the United States. . . . But I think the invasion of liberty in America is increasing. . . . I am unalterably hostile to Soviet imperialism, to Soviet despotism, and to the whole Soviet system. But I am alarmed when I see the opinion gaining ground that the Soviet state can be effectively combated only by imitation."

The New Leader thanks him sarcastically for "conceding that the U.S. is not yet as bad as the Soviet Union" and then deliberately refrains from discussion of the sentence we have underlined — that the witch hunt in the U.S. is getting worse — which was the crux of everything Russell had to say. Instead, it concludes its answer to him with a smear statement: "Anti-Americanism in England and Europe. . . serves not the cause of freedom and peace but the cause of the Kremlin."

In other words, you are a stooge for Stalin, and guilty of "anti-Americanism" to boot, if you dare to open your mouth to protest against the persecution of unorthodox opinions and the suppression of democratic rights. Don't spit in the faces of your benefactors by pleading for freedom of speech, or we, the Social Democratic lackeys of your benefactors, will pillory you as promoters of the cause of the Kremlin and enemies of the holy crusade of "democracy vs. totalitarianism."

No wonder the New Leader is now recommended reading by the ultra-reactionary U.S. Chamber of Commerce!

In next week's issue we will conclude our demonstration of evidence that the Social Democrats are among the best friends that the police-statestmen have.

THE FRANKFELD CASE: A TYPICAL HATCHET JOB

The Communist Party's expulsion of Phil Frankfeld, its former Maryland-District of Columbia organizer, who is now on trial under the Smith Act in Baltimore, was a typical Stalinist hatchet job — as vile in its own way as the frame-ups committed by the witch hunters against the Stalinists.

Nobody can tell from the lengthy CP statement announcing the expulsion (March 7, Daily Worker) exactly why Frankfeld was expelled. Deliberate obscuring of the real reasons is general operating procedure for the Stalinists in expulsions involving political differences, as the Frankfeld case apparently does.

C.P. DOUBLETALK

According to the Daily Worker, Frankfeld objected to the national leadership's estimate of Trumanism and McCarthyism, insisting that it regarded McCarthyism as the greater danger to civil liberties. The CP leadership denies this, stating that it does not view Trumanism as a "lesser evil." On the other hand, it contends, Frankfeld says that Trumanism is the greater danger. At the same time it admits that he referred to both Trumanism and McCarthyism as "twin evils."

All this becomes converted, in some mysterious fashion, into "proof" that "Frankfeld rejects McCarthyism as a real issue in our country. . . and opposes any unity with those sections of the American people who while ready to fight against McCarthyism do not as yet see the role of the Truman administration. He thus plays into the hands of the 'inevitability of war and fascism' propaganda as against the party's position. . . which stressed that a united people's coalition can still stem the tide to war and fascism."

But Frankfeld's "crime" was even worse than that. It seems that he not only differed with the party line on some question of policy but that he actually dared to write a discussion article on the question and circulate it inside the party. This makes him guilty of "an unprincipled factional approach to the National Committee," of "a factional effort to line up support to bring pressure on the National Committee," and of trying "to divert the attention of the party from providing leadership to the struggles of the working people into an internal struggle against the policies of the party."

As a result, the indictment continues, Frankfeld stands condemned both for advancing "proposals which bordered on defeatism" and for having a "defeatist and sectarian position" which

led to undermining and in many instances completely paralyzing "the central and decisive fight for peace, the struggle for Negro rights, political action, and every other phase of work" in the Maryland-D.C. district.

AND MORE YET

That would seem to be enough to settle his fate. But it also develops, according to the Daily Worker, that Frankfeld was guilty of exhibiting "the rankest white chauvinism" and a "rotten white-supremacist attitude"; of operating in "a most egocentric and bureaucratic fashion" so that "bureaucratic tendencies were fostered in all levels of leadership"; and of missing "his position as a party leader to force his attention on a number of women," treating "both party and non-party women with arrogance and contempt."

How could a leader of the party carry on in this manner, evidently for a lengthy period? Because, the expulsion statement explains, "as he himself admitted, he pursued a policy of double-dealing and deception in an attempt to cover up his anti-working class thoughts, habits and deeds. With the jailing of the party leaders he considered he could now utilize the moment to bring his differences to the fore," etc.

But how could he possibly cover up "the rankest white chauvinism," the "most. . . bureaucratic" behavior and open "male supremacy"? The conclusion must be that such flagrant conduct by CP leaders is ignored or tolerated so long as they toe the party line, and that such conduct is attributed to dissenting party leaders only after and because they dare to express a political difference — or that these accusations are the false and malicious (and clumsy) attempts at character-assassination of political opponents that became the hallmark of Moscow trials and purges.

For tactical reasons, the CP announced that it would guarantee "legal counsel, court costs, etc." (for Frankfeld) during the course of the trial "where he is being prosecuted under the Smith Act. But in plastering him with a number of charges that obviously have nothing to do with his expulsion, the CP bureaucrats have committed a frameup as crude and reactionary as those concocted by the capitalist witch hunters against the CP.

How to Truman's Injunction



The Truman administration dealt another blow to the railroad workers when his Department of Justice got an injunction against the recent three-day strike of the New York Central workers. Pres. David Robertson of the Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, Grand Chief J. P. Shields of the Locomotive Engineers and Pres. R. O. Hughes of the Railway Conductors (l. to r. above) bowed to Washington again, ordered the men to return to work.

REARMAMENT POLICY WIDENS RIFT IN BRITISH LABOR PARTY LEADERSHIP

LONDON — The right wing leadership of the British Labor Party sustained a damaging defeat last week in a test of strength with the Bevan wing at a meeting of the Laborite members of parliament.

Aneurin Bevan and some 50 of his followers had voted in the House of Commons the previous week against the entire rearmament program of the Churchill government in open defiance of instructions from Clement Attlee, official leader of the party and former prime minister. Attlee had ordered the Labor Members of Parliament to abstain from the debate on the main outlines of the Tory government's defense policy were the same as those of the previous Labor government.

In debate, he and his followers only attacked the "manner" in which Churchill's conservatives were carrying out that policy and merely proposed an amendment to that effect to the Tory motion.

EXPULSION RUMORED

Immediately after the demonstrative opposition vote of the Bevanites, there were rumors that the Labor Party leadership planned to expel Bevan and his fellow "Left Wing" leaders unless they recanted. Bevan answered the threat at a public meeting in

Tredagar, in his native Wales, the following weekend. There he announced he was standing by his guns come what may; that when he resigned from the Labor government last April he was well aware of the consequences of his stand, that it was a principled stand which he did not intend to desert. He added that it would be strange indeed to see "socialists expelled from the Labor Party for opposing Tory policy."

Bevan's pointed, aggressive response to the expulsion threats of the right wing had its effect last Tuesday, when the Parliamentary Labor Party, as the body of Labor representatives in the Commons is called, met to consider the whole matter. In the name of the right wing leadership, Attlee proposed to the 235 (of a total of 295) parliamentarians present a modified version of a previously reported proposal to demand from the Bevanites a signed statement to accept official party orders within 72 hours on pain of being read out of the organization.

The Attlee resolution called for: 1. Strong condemnation of the 57 members who voted against instructions last week; 2. Reimposition of standing order forthwith, which would have made disciplinary action automatic (against the Labor rebels); 3. Signature by all members of the

party of an undertaking accepting the standing orders.

A storm of disagreement broke loose: Among those reportedly joining in the disagreement was a Mr. O'Brien (representing Nottingham), a member of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, who warned that such an action would have dire consequences in the trade union movement. Two speeches by Attlee failed to stem the tide. The situation was finally salvaged for the leadership by a motion put forward by George Strauss and John Strachey, two former Labor ministers. This motion was adopted and the Attlee resolution defeated by 162 to 73. The Strachey-Strauss motion was vague and general, and covered all parliamentarians. It read as follows:

"Believing that the disregard of decisions arrived at by the parliamentary party gravely damages the party as a whole, and makes it impossible to discharge its duties as an effective opposition, this meeting decides to impose such standing orders as will make it obligatory on all members to carry out decisions of the Parliamentary party, taking into account the traditional conscience clause."

The "conscience clause" referred to covers pacifists who traditionally have been exempt by the party from voting for military bills. The resolution as a whole is a step toward tightening discipline but, by refraining from any specific mention of the Bevanites, does not indicate what policy such discipline is to be applied to. In other words, it leaves the question of policy, which is agitating the Labor movement today, still open to debate.

BLOW TO LEADERSHIP
The overwhelming vote in defeat of the Attlee motion is regarded as an irreparable blow to the prestige and control of the Right Wing leadership. The popularity of the Bevan policy among the workers is indicated by the stand of the hardened trade union leader at the parliamentary meeting.

On the Thursday following, a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party took place. The old leadership, after its experience in parliament, attempted no further measures against the Bevanites there. On the other hand, Bevan and his small group on the Executive carried on their offensive and accused Attlee and Company of breaking a compromise agreement arrived at the national Labor conference in Scarborough last October, preceding the general election.

Bevan reminded them that the election manifesto issued then contained no word about rearmament, and that he was prepared at that time for a full scale debate which he decided to forego only when the compromise was agreed upon. No action was taken by the Executive except to issue a formal denial to the press that such a compromise had been agreed to by the Right Wing.

Bevan and his associates are said to be demanding a special party conference in May as against the regular conference scheduled for September. It is probable that this demand will be met, for the Right Wing, particularly after its defeat in the parliamentary group, apparently has lost its control over the organization. Thus, a decisive showdown affecting the whole future of the British labor movement appears to be at hand.

TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS

After the panel meetings and reports to a plenary session from the panels, Clifford T. McAvoy, chairman of the conference, closed the business session by promising that the continuations committee would give serious consideration to the suggestions made, including Bartlett's.

Delegates from four political parties — Progressive, American Labor, Communist and Socialist Workers — were among the delegates recognized and seated. It was decided unanimously that all delegates are members of the organization; the initiating sponsors will select an executive board; neighborhood, shop and student committees will be formed; a fund drive will be held; and another full conference will be called within two months.

The keynote speaker at the business session was Vito Marcantonio, who stressed the need for united action. A public meeting in the evening was addressed by defendants in the coming trial and supporters of the committee.

"We welcome your declarations

The American Way of Life

TAXES CAN KILL YOU

If you've been suffering recurrent slight attacks of nausea, especially on pay day, chances are your condition is more tax-ic than toxic. Doctors say it's epidemic among wage-earners, but not caused by a virus. They insist it's "psychosomatic" — the physical reflection of a mental or emotional state. You're apt to feel sick every time you look at your pay-check with that withholding tax sliced off.

It's like the young woman in the show "Guys and Dolls" who discovers her sniffles and sneezes are due to anxiety about her unmarried status — "from a lack of community property and a fear of growing too old, a person can develop a bad, bad cold." But unrequited love or a chronically unpaid wage are seldom as sickening as taxes. Taxes — taxes can kill you. We have it on the medical authority of the Treasury Department itself.

THE UDELL CASE

I refer particularly to the case of one Jack Udell, a former poultry processor in Delaware, who one way and another made so much money that he wound up owing the government, as far as could be figured, some \$790,000 in back taxes for income not reported on his tax returns. On Dec. 31, 1948, Udell's case was sent to the tax division of the Department of Justice with a recommendation for criminal prosecution.

When Udell found out the government was aiming to put the arm on him for close to \$800 grand and threatening to send him to jail into the bargain, he started yelling, "Murder! They're killing me!" The Treasury Department heard his piteous cry — and let him off.

Of course, Udell not only yelled, he hired a couple of attorneys, namely, Joseph D. Nunan, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and John P. Wenchel, former chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. On Jan. 7, 1949, Charles Oliphant, the successor of Wenchel as chief counsel, requested the Justice Department to return Udell's case to his office.

LIFE IN DANGER

The Treasury Department subsequently asked Udell to take a medical examination. Dr. W. L. Pierce of the United States Public Health Service, Miami, wrote to the Treasury that Udell's own doctors had submitted letters saying they were under the "impression" that he was "suffering from marked coronary artery disease." Dr. Pierce himself added that the "most outstanding feature of this man's illness is his anxiety. . . that he has typical symptoms of heart disease, therefore it is my opinion that criminal prosecution in court would endanger this man's life."

Criminal prosecution of Udell was dropped; the \$782,094 remain-

ed unpaid; and, at last report, he was still in the land of the living. According to Sen. John J. Williams of Delaware, prosecution of Udell is "now barred by the statute of limitations" and chances of ever collecting what Udell owes "at this late date are slim."

Now, in my case or your case, the government doesn't take any chances of jeopardizing our health with demands for unpaid taxes. It takes the tax every week — and without a doctor's examination either. That way, the government figures, we'll be just a little sick, but not enough to kill us. With Udell, however, the government didn't want to be responsible for killing a man over a tiny sum like nearly \$800,000.

A DIFFERENT CASE

But the government isn't always so solicitous of health. Take the case of my friend who decided he could get a tax refund because he was very sick last year, in the hospital with an operation. You know hospitals, doctors and drug manufacturers aren't in it for their health. So my friend scrounged around and borrowed right and left and finally paid off a good part of his big medical bills.

He got to reading those pre-March 15 newspaper features about "How YOU Can Save Money on Taxes" and found out how he could deduct medical expenses in figuring out his taxes. Lo and behold, he was entitled to a rebate of all the taxes withheld from his pay — more than \$400. So he filled out one of the fancy forms, attached his withholding tax receipt and an itemized list of his medical expenses and kindly requested the government to give him back the dough that he was legally entitled to, but which the government had taken in advance.

Shortly thereafter, my friend got a very formal and mysterious notice from the local division of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to come in and discuss certain undisclosed matters relating to his tax return. The last time I saw him he looked pretty much under the weather. "What's wrong?" I asked him. He replied sourly, "Taxes." It seems he was asked a lot of questions about how come he could pay out so much for medical care and still meet the rent and grocery bills from the taxable income he reported on his tax return. He tried to tell them about the money he borrowed and the war bonds that he cashed, etc., but that wasn't good enough. He'd have to show proof, records, receipts, letters.

Udell got so sick from not paying taxes, while most of us feel upset from paying them, I'm not saying I get anything like Udell's "coronary occlusion." But every time I see my pay check, Oh Doctor, it breaks my heart.

— Joseph Keller

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Minneapolis Militant salesmen keep consistently and enthusiastically on the job," writes Literature Agent

Helen S. "With two weeks' supply of Militants arriving last Monday, we just put forth a little extra effort and sold every one on time, before the new bundle arrived."

"Dave, John, and Larry sold 41 on the campus and Doris, Julia, Larry and Helen sold 11 papers at the AFL Hall. Sunday was our big day when Chester, Harry, Donald, Ralph, Harold and Helen went house to house and in an hour's time sold 40 Militants, three 'Road to Peace' pamphlets, and two copies of Fourth International. It just goes to show that a lot of people don't know about The Militant and are eager to read a real working-class newspaper. Our job is to go out with our literature — interested workers are there with nickels, dollars and quarters to make an investment. Harry, Helen, Ralph and James also brought in renewals last week. Chester, by the way, was the high scorer on Sunday, selling nine papers and one pamphlet."

Chicago Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that Joe and Helen sold 40 papers in an hour in their neighborhood last week. "Marj sold five copies of The Militant to a Stalinist meeting, telling everyone about our fight against Law 1030. Bob C. has been having success with the new issue of Fourth International, already having sold seven copies to friends."

Oakland Literature Agent Frank K. writes that Bill and Lil are doing an especially good job on Militant renewals. Last week they secured five more renewals in addition to the ones which they have already brought in.

New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports that Milton, Pauline, Jack E. and George R. sold 21 Militants at a civil rights meeting Monday night. The youth group sold 11 papers, two FT's and five copies of "The Road to Peace" at a Quaker "Mission to Moscow" meeting.

Additional papers were sold at an NAACP meeting, at Community Church and at Cooper Union. Ethel says sales are continuing good on the campuses also, and that subs are coming in regularly from the Harlem and Downtown project committees.

Joyce is continuing her work as head of New York's Downtown project committee. She tells us that one fellow she sold a subscription to about six weeks ago told her when she visited him recently, how much he enjoys The Militant. He says that when they get the paper his wife reads it first, then he reads it. Then he takes it to work and gives it to a couple of fellow on the job. When they finish it they clip certain paragraphs and drop them in the employees' suggestion box. Joyce reports that the committee has had very good results so far, with many single copies, pamphlets and 25c. subs sold, in addition to the regular subscriptions.

A One-Year Subscription to THE MILITANT Only \$2

116 University Pl. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
\$2 for 6 months. Single Copies: 15¢ (or more copies): 35¢ each in U.S.;
45¢ each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-
itant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1929.

Vol. XVI - No. 12

Monday, March 24, 1952

The Reuther Purge

Reuther's bureaucratic seizure of Ford Local 600, under the pretext that the Local was being "subverted" by a "disciplined communist minority," constitutes a deadly assault on the democratic character of the CIO United Auto Workers union.

What is it that drives Reuther to an action unprecedented in the UAW and in gross violation of the deeply rooted democratic tradition of the auto workers?

The fiction that Reuther was impelled to seize the Local because its officers harbored "communists" in violation of the union's constitution is a patent fraud. The so-called "anti-communist" clause has been in the union's constitution for ten years and this is the first time it has been invoked.

The cry of "communism" in this instance is intended to screen the fact that Local 600 has been spearheading the opposition to Reuther's policies in the UAW. That is the real reason for Reuther's bureaucratic move to strait-jacket the Local and gag the opposition spokesmen. Reuther is in mortal fear of this growing opposition movement and seeks to head it off by beheading its leadership.

Reuther can no longer tolerate the existence of an opposition movement which voices the discontent of the auto workers with his do-nothing policy and expresses their aspiration for job security, decent living and working conditions. As an ardent supporter of reactionary American foreign policy, Reuther is obliged to subordinate the interests of the auto workers to the needs of the warmongers in Washington and Wall Street.

Reuther is entangled by his politics in the web of collaboration with the corporations and their political agents in Washington. Instead of struggle he preaches reliance on government boards. Instead of independent political action he advocates support of the boss-controlled Democratic party and the strike-breaking Truman administration. Instead of fighting the union-busting Un-American Committee he joins the witch hunters.

This policy can win nothing for the auto workers. It can be carried through only by bureaucratic suppression of all critics and opponents. It is a policy that cannot stand up under democratic discussion and will inevitably bring defeat and demoralization. Being unable to defend his policies in the democratic forum traditionally provided by the UAW Reuther's alternative is to stifle every voice of criticism and dissent. That is the method of the witch hunters. In adopting this method Reuther is striking at the very foundation of union democracy and surrendering to the worst enemies of the labor movement.

GREEN READY TO MAKE TRADE FOR PAY FREEZE

Wages are as effectively frozen today "as during the years of the strictest controls by the War Labor Board," AFL President William Green told the Senate Banking Committee on March 13. The committee is holding hearings on extension of the Defense Production Act, under which the Wage Stabilization Board operates.

Speaking of the retarding effect of the government's wage policy on upward wage movements, Green said that "during the stabilization period beginning in Feb. 1951," hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries had gone up no faster than during the period of the infamous Little Steel Formula and No-Strike Pledge of World War II.

WAGES FROZEN

While wages are "practically frozen," Green complained, the cost of living continues to rise and "the tax burden is inequitably distributed between the lower and upper income groups."

But Green did not propose to free labor from WSB restrictions and government wage controls. He said he was willing to support extension of the capitalist government's wage program if only Congress would make a "real effort" to ensure "equality of sacrifice."

In speaking of the "stabilization period beginning in Feb. 1951," Green reminds us of the most significant event of that date. On Feb. 16, 1951, the three labor union members of the Wage Stabilization Board demonstratively quit that body over the precise issues of which Green now complains.

"CYNICAL HOAX"

They then charged that the "wage formula is inflexible, inequitable and unworkable," that the price control program "is a cynical hoax on the American people" and that taxes bore most heavily and unfairly on the wage earners.

But the resistance of the union leaders didn't last long. Within two months they had returned to the Wage Stabilization Board, which they tried to sell as a "new, reconstituted" body, because its membership had been doubled, although the proportion of in-

dustrial and industry-dominated "public" members to labor members remained two to one. The union leaders sought to spread the impression that the workers were going to get a "new deal" from the "new" WSB.

Now, almost a year later, we have the admission of William Green that the "new" WSB has dealt no better with labor and its wages demands than its predecessor from which the unions split. If anything, labor has suffered a worse deal. But Green this time proposes no revolt. Now he asks for more of the same WSB.

When the AFL, CIO and other union leaders of the United Labor Policy Committee (since disbanded) capitulated last April to the government's wage policy, what they indicated more than anything else was their unwillingness to break with the capitalist government and with the capitalist political machines.

WINDOW DRESSING

In view of the bitter experience of labor in the past year with the "new" WSB, Green's present attitude on extension of the government's wage program constitutes a confession of readiness to accept any intolerable conditions for labor rather than break with the government and the capitalist parties.

There can be no sincere and effective fight against the wage freeze without a complete break from government wage-freezing boards. These boards have no other purpose than to prevent the workers from getting the higher wages they need to keep their living standards abreast of rising prices and profits.

So long as labor leaders participate on these boards and provide window-dressing for their anti-labor purposes and policies, the corporations will have a powerful government weapon to use against the unions and their just wage demands.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

Jobless Increase on World Scale

By John G. Wright

The number of jobless, resulting from the world-wide slump in "soft goods" which has passed into its second year in this country, continues to grow. Twenty-three areas by the first part of March have been designated as "labor surplus" by the Truman administration itself, which has been consistently playing down the full extent of unemployment.

The previous government estimate of "distress" centers was 18. The new figure therefore represents a jump in the last few weeks of almost 30% over previous estimates. Since last June the number of these critical areas has admittedly doubled.

This is significant because government statisticians disregard altogether part-time employment and do not bother to include in their "labor surplus" list any cities or areas where the jobless number less than 6% of the total labor force, which includes professional people as well as bankers, farm and commercial employees as well as industrial workers. Because the new government listing includes major cities in various parts of the country (New York, Detroit, Providence, etc.) it is not hard to roughly estimate the recent leap in unemployment, which is now admittedly nationwide.

JOBLESS INCREASE

Taking the "total labor force" at more than 60 million, 6% would place the jobless total well over the 3½ million mark. Meanwhile the previous Washington figure set unemployment at about 2½ million. The ranks of jobless have therefore swelled in the last period by approximately one to one and a half million. A very serious situation for as many working class families.

As in the past, the capitalist hopes hinge on a "spring revival," the Easter season in particular. But with spring in the offing there have been few signs of any pickup. On the contrary, "layoffs at fabric mills continue," reported a nationwide survey by the Wall Street Journal on March 5. Rayon synthetic yarns, booming a while ago, have been caught up in the slump. "American Viscose will close four plants for two or three weeks (idling 1,700 more workers). Celanese is slowing construction of a new factory." In Pennsylvania, as in New England and in the South, shutdowns of textile plants continue.

The shoe industry shows no sign of revival. "New England makers of men's shoes are on a short work week," continues the Journal survey, adding that "TV set production continues at a snail's pace," that a "slackening"

is in sight for factory construction and that the auto market gives "signs of sluggishness" with "used car lots in depressed Detroit" reporting "sales 30% to 75% behind a year ago."

In such big cities as New York construction workers are being laid off, some 7,000 in February alone, according to union spokesmen. Retailers are cutting their sales force, with some big New York department stores showing reductions of 5% in payrolls as against last year; Chicago, Dallas, Pittsburgh and other cities report similar cuts.

PARALLEL ABROAD

These conditions find their parallel abroad. Belgian cotton mills, which have been on a three-day week, closed the first week in March "because of lack of new orders." Belgian wool industry is operating at half capacity, while rayon has also been hit. In Lancashire and Yorkshire, Britain's main textile centers, production cuts have been heavy and mass unemployment has grown in proportion. Japan's textile output has been slashed 40% and further cuts appear unavoidable inasmuch as the export backlogs keep dwindling, just as in the case of India and Britain, the two other biggest exporters of cotton textiles.

In Australia, the mill-owners and the unions have "warned the government that collapse of that country's textile industry is entirely possible." According to the Wall Street Journal of March 3, the reports of its U.S. and overseas correspondents "wear a pattern of out-and-out depression among textile concerns, the like of which hasn't been witnessed since the 1930's."

Barring a sudden outbreak of all-out war, such a critical situation cannot be easily or quickly remedied. All the less so because factory capacity, in textiles and soft-goods generally, has proved far greater "than expected" both in the U.S. and abroad. This post-war increase in productivity hasn't benefited the American, let alone the European, workers. The AFL contract with American Woolen, for example, calls for a 50% increase in the work load. Meanwhile, technological unemployment is today a factor feeding unemployment on a greater scale than in the period prior to the 1930's.

NEED PROGRAM

As The Militant has repeatedly stressed an effective program to combat joblessness is vital for organized labor. Put the official union leadership has twiddled its thumbs and even today limits itself to pleas for more "defense contracts," as, for example, has the Amalgamated Clothing Work-

ers-CIO and Reuther of the UAW-CIO. This will avail nothing. One of the few union leaderships to advance a bold program of action to fight unemployment is Ford Local 600, the first auto local to suffer from mass layoffs and now under attack by Reuther and the witch hunters. Local 600 has demanded the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and a minimum \$60 weekly unemployment benefit. It has organized behind this program its unemployed members along with those who are still working. Similar action on a local, state and national scale is long past due.

Hob-Nobs with Greek Monarch



Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower (L.), head of America's "European Army" and presidential aspirant, dining at the royal palace, Athens, with the reactionary Greek monarch King Paul. Eisenhower was in Greece as part of his drive to wring more military funds out of the pro-U.S. governments in western Europe despite the worsening living standards.

Strong criticism of U.S. interference in the internal political affairs of Greece was evoked when U.S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy on March 14 put pressure on the Greek government leaders to end the system of election by proportional representation, which permits smaller parties to get a voice according to their popular support. He proposed the undemocratic "two-party" system in which one of two leading capitalist parties would get complete control, even though it lacked majority support.

Even Sophocles Venizelos, acting Premier and head of the Liberal party, rebuked Peurifoy for his flagrant interference and reminded him that "it is the privilege of the Greek people and the Government to decide about the electoral system by which the country will be governed."

A Revolutionary Army in 1776

By Harry Frankel

RAG, TAG AND BOBTAIL, The Story of the Continental Army, 1775-1783, by Lynn Montross. Harpers, 1952, 519 pp., \$5.

This new history of the American revolutionary armies of 1776 offers further testimony to the popular and democratic character of the uprising that founded this nation. Mr. Montross begins his narrative with the Articles of Association, of 1774, which he describes as follows:

REVOLUTIONARY BODIES

"Ostensibly a nonimportation, nonexportation and nonconsumption agreement, the measure actually set up the machinery of insurrection by recommending 'that a committee be chosen in every county, city and town . . . whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association.' These few words sowed the dragon's teeth, and there sprang from the American soil hundreds of little revolutionary governing bodies. Generally known as the committees of safety, they were also called committees of inspection or observation in some localities. Every village, every town, every county soon had its own committee or came within the orbit of one; and over all was an elected council for the entire colony, usually dignified with the name of a convention or even legislature."

"These committees took charge of the limited supplies of arms and gunpowder, and they enforced the measures of a Continental Congress which possessed neither legislative nor executive powers. 'The committees of safety, in short, provided the local machinery of military administration which enabled the colonies to take the initiative after Lexington.'"

A further touch is added to the picture of the revolutionary armies by this information: "The Revolutionary soldier was also an individualist who despised both discipline and routine. As he interpreted the dialectics of 1775, an officer was a sort of military foreman elected by his men and governing by consent of the governed. This attitude is reflected in the very first entry, dated June 29, 1775, of the journal kept by Private Aaron Wright of a Pennsylvania rifle company:

"We were sworn to be true and faithful soldiers of the Continental Army, under direction of the Right Honorable Congress. After that, we chose our officers. . . . When on parade our Lieutenants came and told us we would be glad if we could excuse him from going, which we refused; and, on consideration, we concluded it was better to consent; after which he said he would command us, for whose mind can change in an hour, is not fit to command in a field where liberty is contended for." In the evening, we chose a private in his place."

Mr. Montross' book, which relies heavily upon previously untapped rank-and-file sources in the form of letters, journals and diaries, gives an interesting picture of the development of the insurrectionary armies. In one important respect, the book is superior to most treatments of the same period by American historians: his treatment of the radicals in Congress and the Gates-Schuyler feud.

holding patrol, was another general of the Continental Army who, from all accounts, was very unpopular with the Northern troops. The New Englanders, among whom the rebel and levelling spirit was strong, resented the haughty "aristocrat" from New York, who made no secret of his disdain for the ranks.

The feud between these two officers was thus a reflection of the clash between radicals and conservatives within the rebel camp, and Gates had the full support of the radical wing in Congress.

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SCHUYLER AND GATES

Horatio Gates was a revolutionary general who, from his record, was not only competent, but was closely identified with the New England regiments which he was called upon to command in the Northern war. Philip Schuyler, a New York land-

NO WAY OUT BUT WAR FOR U.S. CAPITALISM

The present armaments "boom" in the United States has never been surpassed except in the final two years of World War II. Yet the country is once more experiencing the beginning symptoms of what the capitalist press terms a "shakeout" or "recession." Here are the signs:

Unemployment: The March 5 Wall Street Journal reports that its "check across the nation finds many a town and many an employer with work forces well below post-Korea highs . . . behind the Government figures on today's 'full employment' . . . you'll find a lot of idle hands."

Inventories: Retail inventories are up three per cent and wholesale up seven per cent over this time last year. But manufacturing inventories have increased a sharp 26 per cent over the high figure of a year ago. Goods are beginning to back up into the "pipe-lines."

Retail Sales: The Federal Reserve Board reports a drop of 15 per cent in the nation's department store sales for the week ending March 1 and 11 per cent for the first three months of 1952 over the same period last year. Once more consumer-goods production, although at reduced levels because of war diversions, has outstripped mass purchasing power.

Commodity Prices: Wholesale commodity prices — often reflecting anticipations of speculators — on March 7 declined the Bureau of Labor Statistics daily index to 304.8 from 381.9 of the year before. This has not yet been felt in retail prices. But it indicates a "softening" of the market.

None of all the economic indicators, dividends on corporation stocks — the division of profits — have continued to new highs. January 1952 payments were two per cent over January 1951. Total dividends paid last year were the greatest in history.

ECONOMIC JITTERS

These economic developments by no means add up to an impending depression or even a good-sized "recession." What they do indicate is the instability of

U.S. capitalism, which cannot escape the economic jitters even with the present stupendous doses of war spending by the government. The expenditures must be jacked up higher and still higher, like the dosages of a dope addict, with all the growing evils of inflation.

In 1939, the Roosevelt administration "primed the pump" to the extent of \$8.5 billions a year. Today, armaments spending is reportedly running at the rate of \$4.2 billions a month. But that has not sufficed to prevent a rise in unemployment, a decline in the purchase of consumer goods and a growing backlog of unsold commodities.

PUMP PRIMING

"If it weren't for the defense program, we'd be in a very serious situation now," the Feb. 26 Wall Street Journal quoted a White House economist. "The Journal observes that 'a year from now the Government, still in the midst of a huge arms buildup, may be doing its best to prime the pump for civilian business.'"

What the \$81 billions spent for war in the last 19 months has been — "pump-priming" on a colossal scale.

No more evidence is needed to prove that U.S. capitalists have no way out but the all-or-nothing expedient of total-war. They can go on for a year or two or three, perhaps, piling up arms and arms plants on a vaster scale. But, in the end, they must seek their salvation — the preservation of their profits and privileges — by atomic world war.

The alternative to atomic destruction is the elimination of the profit system and the building of a non-profit, planned, co-operative socialist economy. This is the alternative which the Socialist Workers Party alone will present in the 1952 elections.

WAGE BOARD SEEKS TO HEAD OFF STEEL WORKERS STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

Washington meetings beginning on Thursday, March 20, the day the WSB is due to hand down its rulings. These meetings will make the final decision as to whether the strike goes on as scheduled or whether another postponement is granted.

The request for a postponement, originating with WSB chairman Nathan Feinsinger, read as follows: "that the steel companies and the steelworkers will continue work and production and that if by April 4 a mutually satisfactory agreement has not been reached and the union intends to strike thereafter, it will give 96 hours prior written notice to the companies."

WSB STALL

The steel union, asking for a substantial pay raise and a complete overhauling of its contract, which has not been altered in five years and contains many archaic working conditions, is being hamstrung by a triple-threat governmental campaign. Firstly, there is the campaign of stalling, which has reached the stage of a fourth stall request. Secondly, there are the threats of governmental "seizure" of the plants, in case of a steel strike. The government can seize the plants under the Selective Service Act, or it can seek an injunction against a strike under the Taft-Hartley law. And thirdly, there is the government campaign of hypocritical "alarm" at the "harm" which a steel strike might do to the "defense effort."

Although steel and most steel products are no longer in short supply, Manly Fleischmann, head

of the Defense Production Administration, stated on Monday, six days before the present strike deadline, that a steel strike might hamper atomic energy and other "defense" projects. His remarks are an obvious effort to raise prejudices against the steel strike, since it is clear that, whatever construction projects might suffer from a steel shortage, atomic energy, too, priority on all lists, would be the very last to feel a pinch.

THREE-PRONGED ATTACK

This three-pronged government anti-strike movement, reminiscent of the methods used by the Truman administration to break one railroad strike after another, is having an effect upon the bargaining position of the union in the drawn-out steel negotiations. The steel barons have made it clear, time and again, that they will yield to the steelworkers' demands only under the pressure of superior power. The steelworkers have no power of coercion other than their strike weapon. Thus the government anti-steel strike campaign emboldens the steel corporations to present an ever stiffer and more arrogant front to the workers.

With a showdown drawing ever closer, it is plain that the Murray leadership of the steel union will soon have to make up its mind which way it will jump. A victory in steel is the immediate need of the whole union movement, and such a victory can be won only by brushing aside the endless government stall and intimidation tactics and confronting the steel companies with the power of the ranks.

New York

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St. Paul Branch Organizer

Speak on

"Back to the Bill

of Rights!"

Friday, March 28, 8 PM

10 S. 4th St., Minneapolis

— Admission Free —

Negro Press Week

By Jean Blake

For observance of Negro Press Week (March 10-16) this column is late, but since the role of the Negro press in American life and in the Negro struggle deserves understanding and appreciation all year around, and not just during the official week, we'd like to discuss it with our readers today.

The Negro press — that is, the press owned and published by and for Negroes — originated in American slavery 125 years ago. In 1827 the first Negro newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, was founded by two New York abolitionists, John H. Russworm and Samuel E. Cornish, who dedicated it to the freeing of the slaves.

The abolition of chattel slavery through the Civil War, however, did not mark the end of the Negro press. Instead it continued to grow in numbers and circulation, becoming today a firmly established institution in American life.

The main reason for this was that the Civil War did not free Negroes from the special type of discrimination they suffered in this country; it only changed the forms of that discrimination. That is why the chief function of the Negro press — to voice the grievances and demands of an oppressed minority — remained, and will remain as long as the Negro is denied full freedom and equality, full integration into American society.

The Negro press also provides the best available mirror of life in Negro communities. Ignored in the white capitalist press, practically every aspect of Negro society, from the abject misery at the bottom to the most privileged strata, and all trends in thought among Negroes are reflected in the Negro press.

The net effect of this picture of an excluded section of the population, of a society within a society, is a powerful indictment of the hypocrisy of capitalist democracy.

At the same time, the editorial comment, columnists, special features and other articles representing serious thought and opinion on local, national and international problems as they affect Negroes provide a revelation for many white readers.

I recall an experience I had with a Southern white worker in a shipyard during the war. We had discussed race prejudice for months, starting from the fact that he was a union militant bothered by the conflict between the prejudices he had been taught from early childhood and the weakness of a divided working class. He had finally reached the point of agreeing theoretically

with the arguments against Jim Crow, but fell back on the old saw: "All this may be true, but the Negroes aren't really dissatisfied. I'm from the South. I've lived with them more than you have. I know they're happy as they are until people like you stir them up."

I asked him how he knew what Negroes think, whether if he were a Negro he would go around telling Southern white men his opinions. Then I brought him copies of the Negro press to show him what Negroes think and say in the organs in which they can express their opinions more freely. The Negro press overwhelmed him.

"You mean they write these articles?"

But it is not only the Southern worker who can learn much from the Negro press. White workers and liberals in the North must also look to the Negro press for the truth behind all the sweeping statements of the apologists for American imperialism about the progress being made in the elimination of segregation. A good example of this is the recent official statements of top Army officials appearing in the capitalist press that they are moving toward complete elimination of Jim Crow units. Only the Negro press exposes the true situation, the continuation of orders for the establishment of segregated units.

Primarily, however, the Negro press is not published for the education of white readers, but as the voice of the Negro readers, and for their education and agitation.

These weekly newspapers are far from perfect. Published as small capitalist enterprises, they must make money for their owners, or they cannot remain in business very long. They depend on advertising for their existence, and are subject to all the pressures of graft, bribery and corruption of other capitalist institutions. But they are also subject to another pressure — the pressure of the Negro masses, their readers. Any editor who forgets that or ignores it deprives his paper of its base.

For some of the bravest and most principled Negro thinkers these weekly papers provide a challenge and an opportunity. Financial rewards are not great, and the trials and tribulations of putting out a small weekly are considerable. But there is satisfaction in being able to speak out about the wrongs of a people, to tell the truth about their plight, to provide leadership in the day-to-day struggles against injustice, and to build their self-confidence and understanding for the decisive battles ahead.

These are the people who deserve recognition when Negro Press Week is observed.

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1952

NUMBER 12

Dunne Urges Students to Fight Reaction

MINNEAPOLIS, March 8 — Vincent R. Dunne, speaking here yesterday before the Socialist Club at the University of Minnesota, called for resistance to the growing attacks on freedom of speech in all spheres of American life.

The veteran union and Socialist Workers Party leader spoke on "Ten Years of the Smith Act." He himself was convicted in the first Smith Act trial in 1941. "We predicted at that time that the Smith Act would provide the framework for a new, modern witch hunt in this country," he recalled, "and it has become just that — to an extent which most liberals would not have thought possible."

Dunne explained that the capitalist class had launched the witch hunt in order to cow the population so that it would not dare to oppose military adventures to preserve the capitalist system abroad. He predicted, however, that the American people would not succumb to the drive for a police state.

JOINT ACTION NEEDED

Warning that it was not the McCarthy's alone who are responsible for the attacks on the Bill of Rights, Dunne showed that the Smith Act had been launched under the Roosevelt administration and first enforced by Attorney General Francis Biddle. He stressed the need for joint action by the labor, liberal and Negro movements "to defend the elementary democratic liberties and traditions which are indispensable if they are to maintain their living standards, hard-won rights and efforts to achieve progress in the future."

Colonial Revolts Hailed in Speech By Grace Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS, March 14 — Grace Carlson, speaking here tonight on "Colonial Revolt at Flood Tide," told her audience that while the future looks dark for the grandiose dreams of the American imperialists, the future is bright indeed for those true internationalists who want to "end all barriers of race, color and creed and unite the human race against imperialism and oppression."

Quoting from the special issue of *Life* magazine of Feb. 17, 1941, in which Henry Luce wrote in glowing terms about the "American century," the speaker compared this optimistic outlook with the gloomy prognosis contained in the latest issue of *Life*. While imperialism of another day enjoyed centuries of world domination, the "American century" is coming to a close before it has really begun she said, and added:

"The imperialist powers of the past have all used the argument that their colonial slaves were unfit for self-rule. The Romans, the Greeks, the British and now the American have regarded the oppressed colonial peoples as incapable of handling their own affairs."

"But the colonial peoples of the present take a different view of the situation," she said. "American democracy, about which the colonial peoples have heard so much, is getting the acid test in Korea. The type of 'liberation' demonstrated there is not of a quality that other oppressed peoples want to see duplicated in their own lands."

"The subject inspired a lively discussion, which continued during the social hour."

— A New Pamphlet —

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

New Dangers and New Tasks Facing the Negro Struggle

By GEORGE BREITMAN 10c

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Parents of Pfc. Warren McConnell, 20-year-old GI from Alloway, N. J., who was court-martialed to 10 years in prison for napping on the Korean front after being three days without sleep under fire. They are appealing for "simple justice." They learned of Warren's plight after he wrote from a California prison that he wasn't even given a chance by the brass to tell his side of the case. Army officials are trying to block an appeal.

U. S. NEEDS SOCIALISM, SAYS GEORGE CLARKE IN DEBATE OVER RADIO

AKRON, March 12 — An impressive defense of socialism was made here last Wednesday evening by George Clarke in a debate with Leonard Bertsch, proxy for Republican State Senator Fred Danner, on the subject: "Does the U.S. need a socialist type government?" The debate was presented over radio station WCUE.

"The continued existence of capitalism in the world can only mean misery, hunger and poverty," Clarke said. "The people are in revolt against it from China to Egypt and Paris. The majority of the people of the earth have pronounced themselves for socialism or communism."

"The choice before the American people is no different. The present prosperity of the U.S. is illusory. We escaped a depression thanks only to the war in Korea. We exchanged 110,000 casualties and the hatred of the people of Asia for five to ten million unemployed."

ALTERNATIVE IS SOCIALISM

Attacking the war plans of imperialism, Clarke predicted further grinding taxes on the workers, "all guns, no butter," and the loss of the war by the U.S. "The only alternative is socialism. Take the big banks, big industries, big natural resources out of the hands of the monopolists, put them under collective ownership, under control and management of working people in the common interest of all, not for the profit of a few," he concluded.

Bertsch didn't agree that the present prosperity is illusory. But quite unexpectedly, during his first rebuttal, he said: "I'll grant one point to my opponent — socialism might be necessary for the world of the poverty-stricken world of Asia, Africa and Europe." He defended U.S. intervention in Korea on the curious ground that it is "a fight for the freedom of those people, including their freedom to choose socialism."

Clarke also spoke at successful meetings in Akron, where a number of rubber workers attended a Socialist Workers Party meeting for the first time, and in Youngstown, where several steel workers were present.

BOSTON, March 17 — George Clarke, editor of *Fourth International*, depicted "The Coming International Showdown" to an attentive gathering of students at Harvard University Friday night under the auspices of a campus current events club.

Clarke pointed out that the current witch hunt arises from the efforts of American capitalism to silence working class opposition to war. The fact that one-third of the world is no longer within the capitalist orbit, and that Europe, the Middle East, and Africa are in a state of revolutionary tension, forces world capitalism into counter-revolutionary wars in a desperate last bid for survival.

The strong impact of Clarke's

House Committee Smears More Detroit Unionists

DETROIT — The House Un-American Activities Committee returned here Mar. 10 for a three-day visit and turned its stoolpigeon spotlight mainly on CIO United Auto Workers Ford Local 600.

At the conclusion of its previous hearings, the witch-hunt committee had expressed indecision about a return. But the witch-hunters were encouraged to return, and to direct their fire at Local 600 and its leadership, by the tacit support given the Committee by reactionary top labor officials like Walter Reuther and the lynch atmosphere created previously, which led to the forcible ejection from plants and the firing of persons named in the earlier hearings.

The first day of the renewed hearings was devoted largely to a prolonged examination of former Democratic State Senator Stanley Nowak in an attempt to link him with various Stalinist front organizations. Nowak insisted on his rights under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and refused to answer many of the Committee's questions.

LOCAL 600 HIT

On Tuesday, Mar. 11, the first broadside against the Local 600 leadership was delivered by admitted ex-Stalinist Lee Romano, now a UAW International Representative. Testifying as a

"friendly" witness, Romano reviewed his personal record in the Communist Party from 1942 until 1946. He outlined a long list of Stalinist crimes against the labor movement in an obvious attempt to deodorize his smelly role as an informer and finger-man before the anti-labor Committee.

He alleged that more than a score of Local 600 active unionists had been Communist Party members. In answer to questions relative to the four top officers of Local 600, Romano could not claim knowledge of Communist Party membership for any of them. However, he was quick to add about each: "He was a very active member of the Progressive Caucus" (mass anti-Reuther caucus in Local 600). Apparently, the witch-hunters and Romano regarded this as sufficient grounds for persecuting a worker as a "communist."

The Committee then grilled James Watts, Fair Employment Practices Director of Local 600, and Paul Boatín, chairman of the Motor Building Unit of Local 600. Both had very heated exchanges with the Committee. They were denied the right to make full replies, although Romano had been accorded extensive privileges. Both witnesses aggressively answered the Committee members and caused the Committee considerable discomfort and embarrassment by taunting it for its anti-Negro and anti-labor character.

Boatín managed to point out that Committee Chairman Wood and most members of the Committee had voted against a 75-cent minimum wage bill in Congress.

ANOTHER FINGER MAN

Joining in the work of fingering the Ford Local leadership was Shelton Tappes, former Recording Secretary of Local 600 and once prominent as a Negro spokesman for the Stalinist line in the UAW. Tappes, now a UAW International Representative, denied membership in the Communist Party, but detailed his own experiences with the CP and named a number of Ford workers as alleged Stalinists.

Dave Averill completed the job for the Committee. Averill, an admitted ex-Stalinist and formerly editor of *Ford Facts*, described himself as a mere copy-boy and charged that the paper was in fact under Communist Party control. He too named names and cooperated with the witch-hunt committee. Two days later, Averill, repeating his role, lent himself to Reuther in the move to place an administrator over Ford Local 600.

The House Committee was friendly and cooperative to the informers who appeared before it. Unlimited time was granted such witnesses to speak on many subjects. This was in sharp contrast to the treatment of hostile witnesses who were constantly

interrupted and pressed for "yes-or-no" answers.

GLARING CONTRAST

Probably the most glaring contrast in the treatment afforded "friendly" as against "hostile" witnesses was seen in the treatment of Archie Acciaccia, chairman of the Dearborn Stamping Plant of Local 600. Acciaccia had been named as a "Communist" by a number of witnesses. He appeared before the Committee without an attorney and stated he "did not come down here to stand on the Fifth Amendment but to tell the truth, the whole truth." He reminded the Committee of its frequent offer to permit "statements" if a witness would admit membership in the Communist Party. He asked that he be permitted a statement at the conclusion of his testimony. He was assured he would have this right.

Hurrying through his testimony, recording his membership in and disillusionment with the Communist Party, Acciaccia finished his testimony at 5:57 p.m. The hearing was scheduled to adjourn at 6:00 p.m. He opened his file and began to read his statement. "Mr. Chairman, I can't do this by 6:00 p.m.," he pleaded. "You said yesterday you would stay until midnight and listen to the others if they would answer the questions, and I've answered. I want to prove that I'm as loyal as any American. I'm sorry if you gentlemen are going to miss your plane to Washington, but I want to prove that."

IGNORE PLEA

Committee Chairman Wood ignored the plea and walked out. Representatives Potter and Jackson of the Committee offered to stay for a time and listen. After protesting that he and his family were being injured by the statements before the Committee, Acciaccia launched into an attack upon Lee Romano. "Romano is not as saintly as he professed to be," declared the witness and offered to present the Committee documentary proof of this fact. Committee members Potter and Jackson quickly objected to "injecting union politics." This after days of smear and witch-hunting against the Local 600 leadership. When his documents were offered the Committee Counsel refused to show them to the press as "they had not been entered in the record."

This incident, coming at the conclusion of the present hearings, points up sharply the considerate, tolerant attitude toward the informers and stoolpigeons and the hostile, malicious attitude toward those hostile to the aims of the committee.

With this revealing finale the committee adjourned its sessions confident that its job had been sufficiently well done to enable Walter Reuther and his cronies to "carry the ball" from here on.

REUTHER SEIZES FORD LOCAL 600; WITCH HUNT GIVES HIM PRETEXT

(Continued from page 1)

tion to the executive Board members of the International Union. Reuther had invited a number of presidents of Detroit UAW locals and many international representatives. Undoubtedly, the entire proceeding was designed both to "brief" the Reuther machine on how to move against opponents who can't be defeated in a legitimate manner and at the same time provide a warning of what's in store for anyone with the courage to break from the machine as Stellato did just a year ago.

Reuther personally assumed the mantle of "prosecutor." The Local 600 officials were subjected to a three hour denunciation. The request of Carl Stellato for a postponement of the hearing and a bill of particulars, so that the local could prepare its defense, was flatly denied by the Board.

David Averill, former editor of *Ford Facts*, was called by Reuther as a "witness" and repeated the stoolpigeon role he had played before the House Committee. Stellato and Hood, officers of Local 600, were denied the right to cross-examine Averill. After sessions lasting late into the night, the International Board made public its decision naming an administrative board consisting of the four top officers and the two West Side Regional Directors of Detroit, to administer the local. No action of removal of any officer of Local 600 was announced at that time although the "administrative

board" was authorized to make such removals as it saw fit.

PURGE FIVE OFFICERS

On Sunday, the "Administrative Board" held a lengthy meeting with the Local 600 officers. Following the meeting, it was announced that five unit officers, Paul Boatín, chairman of the Motor Unit, John Gallo, recording secretary of the Motor Unit, Edgar Locke, chairman of the Plastic Unit, David Moore, vice-chairman of the Axle Building Unit, and Nelson Davis, vice-chairman of the Dearborn Iron Foundry Unit, were removed from office as "either members of or subservient to the Communist Party line."

At the same time it was announced that all functions of the local, including the holding of executive board, general council, and membership meetings, were suspended.

In addition, while formally permitted to retain their offices, Local 600 president Carl Stellato, vice-president Pat Rice, recording secretary William Hood and financial secretary William Grant, were saddled with a four-man administrative committee with a Reuther hatchet-man assigned to each officer. It is clear the officers have retained their titles but little more.

The action by the Reuther leadership has resulted in widespread resentment in the Ford plants and among UAW members throughout the city. The auto workers were somewhat cowed and confused by the hysteria engendered by the House Un-

American Activities Committee hearings. The "cooperation" of the UAW leadership and its criminal silence during the House Committee hearings gave the witch-hunt a certain appearance of "legitimacy" in the minds of many workers. The anti-labor aims and motives of the committee were not clear to the auto workers.

SEE THROUGH PLAN

However, they saw in a minute the aims of Reuther's intervention in Local 600. They know that Stellato has been leading the fight against the Reuther administration since the last UAW convention. They know that Stellato had earned Reuther's hostility first, because of his opposition to the Reuther dues increase proposal at the last UAW convention and second, because Local 600 had taken the lead in demanding action to solve the unemployment problem. They see that the purpose of the present move is to destroy the Reuther opposition and to intimidate and gag all Reuther opponents.

With this widespread feeling, and in the face of the continued critical unemployment problems with 102,000 still unemployed in the Detroit area, an aggressive fight by the Local 600 leadership tied in with the struggles of the auto workers on a city-wide scale can yet defeat the Reuther dictatorship move. Militant auto workers must rally to the defense of the democracy of the UAW and join with the workers of Ford Local 600 to defeat the Reuther machine.

CP Finds 'Peace' Candidate

By Daniel Roberts

SEATTLE, Mar. 15 — The Seattle municipal elections wound up on March 11 with the election of Allan Pomeroy as mayor of Seattle over the Republican incumbent for the last ten years, William Devin. Pomeroy is a Democrat, but too reactionary to even gain the support of the Americans for Democratic Action, who are not too squeamish in these matters.

His financial backers are reputed to be underworld elements. One of his campaign managers is State Senator Joseph Kimball, the author of the State's "anti-subversive" law which bears his name. (In the primary elections, the Socialist Workers Party challenged this police-state measure in the courts.) The rest of Pomeroy's bi-partisan committee included others of Kimball's stripe plus a few labor leaders present as window dressing.

The above-cited facts did not deter the editors of *Peoples World*, Northwest Edition — a West Coast Stalinist newspaper — from throwing their support behind Allan Pomeroy. He was their "peace candidate" — living model of the kind of politician the Stalinists are proposing to endorse and campaign for throughout the country in line with their policy of electing "champions of peace" regardless of party labels, providing they are not revolutionary socialists, of course. The election of men like Pomeroy, the Stalinists contend, will be a

means to building a "broad people's coalition for peace."

Pomeroy was awarded the peace label by the Stalinists on the strength of his promises to curb police brutality (by replacing the present chief of police) and to promote peace-time industries in Seattle as a means of creating more jobs.

Pomeroy began his campaign in January with no stated program whatever, although it is generally believed that his main commitment — then as now — was for an "open town" (legalized gambling and prostitution). He then proceeded to throw out a welter of issues in all directions to see which ones would get a favorable response and enough votes to defeat Mayor Devin.

In the closing weeks of the campaign, Pomeroy decided to place major stress on the issues of police brutality and peace-time jobs, since they were proving to be vote-catchers for him. He cited instances of jail killings and beatings by the police, instances of police "rolling" of prisoners, and wholesale violations of civil rights. He accused Devin of running a "police state."

But Pomeroy's campaign oratory does not change the fact that he is the spokesman for a machine of witch hunters, race haters and labor baiters. This "peace candidate" will show his true colors the moment he gets into office.

Notes from the News

PHILIP MURRAY is reported to have ordered an end to the negotiations between the CIO Retail union and the independent Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (an amalgamation of unions that quit or were expelled from the CIO during its purge in 1949). Murray wanted the DPOW leaders, who favor a return to the CIO, to give a blank-check endorsement of U.S. foreign policy before they would be readmitted. They are reported to have assured the CIO officials that there will be no trouble on this score after they are admitted, but that wasn't enough for Murray, who wants a loyalty oath in advance.

CICERO POLICE CHIEF Erwin Konovsky, who encouraged the anti-Negro riot last summer that gutted the apartment house veteran Harvey E. Clarke was trying to move into, was acquitted of "misconduct" at the direction of a Cook County Criminal Court judge on March 12. The Jim Crow police chief still faces trial on a federal indictment charging he violated Clarke's civil rights.

EVEN REDBAITERS get red baited, complains Frederick Woltman, Scripps-Howard "expert on communism." It seems that Joseph P. Kamp, fascist demagogue, is denouncing Woltman as "Red Fred" and in other ways challenging his anti-communist orthodoxy. Woltman doesn't think it is funny and defends himself by raising aloft the Pulitzer prize he got for "reporting and exposing communism" and the "heartiest" congratulations he got from FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover.

"BLOOD WAS SMEARED against the walls, over bed linen and on the spattered floor" when a Washington, D. C., police detail got done beating, clubbing and kicking six members of a Negro family in their apartment on March 8, the *Pittsburgh Courier* reports. A fire in the Green home at 5206 Bass Place had attracted a crowd, which a cop began to disperse brutally. When people protested, he put in a riot call which brought a squad that went to work on the Green family in just the same way that Nazi police treated Jews.

THE UNITED FRUIT COMPANY'S fight against its banana plantation employees and the labor laws of Guatemala ended in a compromise. The corporation agreed to pay \$650,000 in back wages to employees fired in violation of the law; payment will be in three installments over a two-

year period. It also agreed to rehire them and restore production on the hurricane-wrecked banana plantations. In return the union agreed to dismissal of an embargo and auction of the corporation's property, and to accept a three-year contract at present wage scales; before the hurricane the union had been asking for wage raises.

A WHITE WOMAN who remarried a Negro can have custody of her child after all, the New York State Court of Appeals has ruled. This reverses a lower court decision that Mrs. Ann De Carava would have to turn her child over to its grandmother, who had accused the mother of raising the child in an "undesirable" (inter-racial) neighborhood and of engaging in "communist" activities, which the mother denied.

AT LONG LAST Volume IV of Karl Marx's *Capital*, edited by Karl Kautsky, is beginning to appear in English. In this country the first of the three parts of this volume, translated by Terence McCarthy, has appeared under the title: *HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THEORIES from the Physiocrats to Adam Smith* (Langland Press, \$5). And in England Lawrence & Wishart recently published selections from the volume under the title, *Theories of Surplus Value* (25 shillings).

CASH DIVIDENDS paid out by U.S. corporations came to about \$750,000,000 in January. Commerce Department officials think it is too early to predict whether or not the year's total will reach the \$12 billion mark set last year.

THE U.S. SENATE has ordered "contempt" prosecution of Abram Flaxer, president of the United Public Workers, who refused to turn over union membership lists to the McCarran witch hunt committee. McCarran demanded the prosecution on the ground that Flaxer had an "insolent, disorderly and recalcitrant" attitude. It's becoming dangerous to even act resentful when your democratic rights are invaded.

60,000 MEMBERS of the CIO International Woodworkers will take a strike vote to answer employers whose "offer" of a new contract rules out any changes in wages and working conditions. The policy committee of the CIO United Rubber Workers met in Cleveland last week to formulate new wage demands, expected to amount to a 10% increase.