

## How Labor Support to Truman Pays Off!

How smart and practical is the strategy of the labor leaders in assuring Truman and the Fair-Deal Democratic Party of their support, instead of organizing their political strength independently in a labor party?

We recommend a careful reading of the following excerpt from the U. S. News and World Report for January 27, a conservative, pro-business magazine of some standing.

LABOR ACTION cheerfully admits that it has an ax to grind—we're for the organization of an independent labor party by the trade-union movement. The editors of the U. S. News do not have that ax to grind; they are interested only in explaining what's what and what's happening to their reading clientele. But we could not have made the main point any more concisely and tellingly than they do. It's printed in large bold type in the quotation in the hope that visual aid will come to the assistance of thought.

Truman has turned away from labor's demands, even in promises, JUST BECAUSE he's sure of labor's support.

The corollary of that is: labor can get the most out of the old parties only when it is NOT tied to any of them. That's aside from what it can get out of its own political strength.

The labor leaders profess to be afraid of organizing their own party because they will not elect many candidates at first. Let's say that's true, and not even go into a dozen other comments on that fear which we have often made.

Still, the fact is that labor's independence can pry most out of the present setup when the capitalist politicians are afraid of labor's strength in opposition and not when they are calmly assured of labor's support, come what may, because "organized labor has no other place to go." All emphasis in the quotation below is ours.

"President Truman, with his eye on business trends and November votes, is developing a new political approach. The president is trying a 'be kind to businessmen' program. Most of the New Dealers have left his intimate circle, and he is saying nice things to business groups.

"This reversal in Mr. Truman's tactics is disclosed by what he is saying now and what he said only a year ago. Only a few months ago, in fact, he spoke rather bitterly to a business group about their attitude toward his 'Fair Deal.' But a week ago he told some private bankers that he wore no horns and had no tail, tried to assure them that he had no devilish intentions toward the business community. That typifies the new Truman approach.

"There are more than words to demonstrate this changed attitude. A year ago Mr. Truman suggested that the government build steel plants. Now he promotes the expansion of private industry. A year ago he wanted 4 billion dollars in new taxes. Now he asks for only modest tax-law changes and would reduce some excises. Once he wanted power to control prices, wages, the distribution of materials. Today he never mentions these things. Last year he asked for heavier taxes on corporate profits. Now he wants corporations to use profits for expansion.

"It all fits into a pattern, and the pattern has political embroidery. Mr. Truman is confident of continued labor support. Organized labor has no other place to go besides the Democratic Party. He hopes to keep the support of farm groups that he got in the 1948 elections. But he has doubts about the political faith of business groups. So those groups now are being wooed.

"Present counselors of the president also have a strong business bias. That, too, marks a shift in White House policy. Five out of nine of Mr. Truman's cabinet members have been successful businessmen themselves, or have had close ties with business. None of them, with the possible exception of Agriculture Secretary Charles F. Brannan, has the New Deal fervor to turn the country over to the control of a benevolent government.

"When Election Day rolls around, Mr. Truman may well be able to echo the old Coolidge slogan: 'The business of government is business.'"

### THE STORY BEHIND THE NEWS

## MARAGON AND TRUMAN

By CHRIS SIKOKIS

John Maragon, friend of Harry S. Truman and Major General Harry H. Vaughan, was indicted for perjury in January on the ground that he lied to a Senate investigating subcommittee last summer.

Maragon, according to the official White House spokesmen, was a "nobody" who insisted on coming around to the White House. General Vaughan at the Senate hearings showed his distaste for Maragon by saying that Maragon should be "pretty well fumigated." Well, let us see who Maragon really is and how the White House's description of him stacks up.

John Maragon came to Washington from Kansas City, where he had been a bootblack (and a lousy one at that, according to the local bootblacks) at about the same time that Truman came to Washington as a senator. He obtained some kind of cop's job with one of the railroads.

Shortly after Truman became president, Maragon blossomed out in the Greek community of Washington telling of his close friendship with Truman. Nobody took him seriously until he began to take acquaintances to the White House. Maragon was permitted complete freedom to come and go as he pleased. He often claimed that he had a room at the White House. Whoever met Maragon would have to listen to the story of how he was on the Roosevelt funeral train and how he accompanied Truman to the Potsdam conference.

Not long after that, Maragon produced a series of photographs of small informal parties at the White House, showing Harry Truman and John Maragon, arm in arm. Similar photographs showed the Truman family plus Maragon and White House attachés in informal poses at White House gatherings.

John Maragon is the only one to be indicted as a result of the investigation conducted last summer on the "five-percenters." The way the five-percenters obtained government contracts for their clients through connections at "the top" had been brought out into the open in a series of articles by Jack Steele in the New York Herald Tribune. Other papers picked it up and it became a national scandal. There were the honest people who objected to graft wherever it may be; then there were the businessmen who have helped build up the graft system—but who hadn't had any government contracts lately; then there were the Republican politicians who wanted to embarrass the Democrats. Everybody was screaming against the five-percenters—but to date only Maragon has been indicted, and on a perjury charge.

It is quite possible that the Republicans may try to reopen the five-percent inquiry for political purposes—and a few more Maragons may be produced. But nobody should be fooled. Every politician knows that there is a great deal of graft and corruption in government buying agencies. It is part of capitalism. Contracts for millions of dollars are handed out to companies that will make huge profits. Graft is bound to come in and with it favoritism, preferred companies and out-and-out corruption. Under the profit system it cannot be different.

in Washington found only one answer for the fact that the president had taken this bragging, ignorant, unattached and unknown individual for a bosom pal and companion. The answer, which they repeat to this day, was: "He must have something on Truman."

### PIPELINE TO WHITE HOUSE

The reactionary politicians at the Greek embassy didn't care why Maragon was Truman's friend; all that they were interested in was that Truman could be reached by a friend of theirs.

From then on it was easy. Maragon was the reactionary Greek government's pipeline to the White House. Maragon informed the president that the voters of Greece descent in the United States were for such-and-such a policy in Greece. Many government officials, congressmen and senators became chummy with the Greek embassy representatives through this White House influence.

# U. S. Reverses Anti-Franco Line; Move Will Aid Spanish Fascists

## U. S. Labor Chiefs Are 'Chagrined'

The American labor leaders who took a leading role in the recent formation of the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at London feel that they have been crossed up by Washington's about-face on Franco's fascist regime in Spain.

Maybe "crossed up" is too strong—Louis Stark, N. Y. Times labor reporter, has them expressing "chagrined" and "deep disappointment" at the "bombshell"—but the fact he reveals would well warrant stronger reactions.

At the ICFTU congress, one of the highlights was the enthusiastic passage of a resolution condemning Franco Spain and calling for its boycott by the nations. Two weeks ago, on January 11, Secretary of State Acheson personally complimented the American representatives of the CIO, AFL and miners' union on the "fine diplomacy" they displayed in London.

This compliment (a somewhat ambiguous one, it may now appear) came the same day that Assistant Secretary of State Perkins told them that the U. S. "might" modify its policy on Spain.

The labor men—Green, Meany, Will and others for the AFL, Haywood, Kyne and Quill for the CIO, and Reid for the miners—have told the press that they strongly protested in this private interview. One said:

"We inquired how labor could support the Marshall Plan, which aimed at strengthening democratic regimes, and then see our own country deal with a dictator in Spain. We said that if our policy were changed it would encourage Franco and that should be the last thing we should do."

They are no doubt thinking of what their position would have been in London if the U. S. reversal had taken place before the congress—and of what the Europeans think of their "fine diplomacy" now.

One of the most prominent U. S. delegates at London, Walter Reuther, is still to be heard from. Will labor open up a public and vigorous fight against Washington's blow at the Spanish workers?



By A. MICHEL

The Truman administration brought a long period of diplomatic doubletalk, behind-the-scenes maneuvering and hypocritical denials to an end last Thursday on the question of recognizing Franco's fascist regime in Spain.

In a letter to Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Dean Acheson declared that the United States would officially support the scrapping of the United Nations resolution of December 1946. This resolution calls for the withdrawal of all ambassadors from Madrid, and the exclusion of Franco's regime from the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Acheson's letter made it clear that Washington is not only ready to resume full diplomatic relations with Spain, but is willing to grant Franco a loan via the Import-Export Bank, and to press for Franco's admission to the UN's special bodies. Acheson also indicated that the United States will favor bringing Spain into the UN, the European Recovery Program and the Atlantic Pact if and when Franco "liberalizes" his regime.

On his side, the Spanish Caudillo is trying to help Acheson save face, according to a news dispatch emanat-

ing from Madrid the day before. The New York Times correspondent, Sam Pope Brewer, reports that Franco has let it be known he is considering some important changes in Spain's "fundamental laws." The Caudillo is thinking of dropping his title of lifetime Chief of State (the product of a referendum) and having himself "democratically" elected Regent of Spain by way of another "free" referendum. Or else Spain would no longer be a monarchy and the Third Spanish Republic would be proclaimed under Franco's Falange auspices and with Falange principles!

Washington's decision to come openly to Franco's aid has been primarily prompted by the urgency of the Spanish economic crisis. The situation has deteriorated from the impossible to the catastrophic. Agriculture, the mainstay of the Spanish economy, has declined at a feverish pace under Franco's paralyzing rule. Once an important wheat-exporting country, Spain must now import grain to sustain its population.

### ACHESON MISREPRESENTS

For the past three years the Peron regime of Argentina has filled the gap with annual loans of 250,000 tons of wheat. Entangled in its own economic difficulties at the present time, however, the Argentine dictatorship has been forced to halt all wheat shipments. Peron is demanding payment in full for any further shipments plus partial payments on

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## N. Y. to Flout Court Decisions On Feinberg Law Witchhunt

NEW YORK, January 28—Two separate decisions have been handed down by state Supreme Court justices invalidating the New York legislatures witchhunt act against teachers, the Feinberg Law; but this week the city's superintendent of schools, backed up by the city corporation counsel, publicly proclaimed that he was going to put its provisions into effect regardless.

As if to leave no doubt that the city was thumbing its nose at the judicial denunciations of the law's unconstitutionality, Corporation Counsel John P. McGrath also made clear that he was following precisely those procedures which were specifically hit by the courts' opinions, the doctrine of guilt by association among them. The Teachers Union of New York has already brought suit to stop this monstrous action by declaring it in contempt of court.

### COURT DENOUNCED IT

Quotations from a speech made by McGrath last Saturday, published in the New York Herald Tribune yesterday, showed that the "educator" was going whole-hog in supporting the witchhunt principle.

He said: "The Communists say you cannot punish on the basis of guilt by association. I say, Why not?"

Excluding the possibility that McGrath never read or heard the content of the courts' decisions, this statement is deliberately dishonest. It was Justice Schirick and Justice Hearn, of the New York Supreme Court, who voided the Feinberg Law on the ground (among others) that it was based on the doctrine of guilt by association, and not only "the Communists." The CP, of course, is not the least bit interested in civil liberties as such, except for themselves, but the issue in the case is not defense of the Communist Party. The Feinberg Law has been fought by labor, all liberals and even many conservatives because of its infringements on basic democratic processes affecting anyone even suspected of any kind of dissidence.

The statement is the first, or one of the few, open declarations by the would-be government witchhunters endorsing the totalitarian principle of guilt by association in so many words. It is, however, the basis of the Truman administration's purge system, powered by the attorney general's office, which was initiated by the Fair Deal government and has been expressed in the actual enforcement of the Department of Justice's extra-legal "anti-subversive list."

### NO LAW NEEDED

More indirectly but quite clearly McGrath also let the cat out of the bag with regard to a second totalitarian principle inherent in both the Feinberg Law and the Washington procedure: the principle that an accused is guilty until he proves himself innocent. Said McGrath:

The effect on teaching of the witchhunt drive against teachers is made clear in the course of a New York Times-sponsored survey of current-events education in the nation's schools.

"Frequently the schools do not take up controversial issues in the classroom," says the summary in the Times for January 23, "because of community pressures or because the teachers fear that they will be labeled 'Red' or denounced as 'radicals.'"

"The pressure to avoid teaching current controversial issues leads teachers to emphasize the past and to neglect the study of the problem aspects of history and the significance of current happenings, it was brought out. Unjust accusations directed at teachers for 'un-American activities' often tend to create fear and insecurity among the teaching staff."

"In one Mid-western city a teacher had been accused by newspapers of un-American activities in the classroom. He was cleared by the school board. But teachers are now afraid to discuss current issues which might even lead to the bare mention of Russia in the classroom," the superintendent said.

In Russia, on the other hand, mention of America in the classroom is not only permitted but urged—since the teacher must spew forth the government-manufactured fables. But this state of affairs is several steps further along the road than the point reached by the U. S.

"There's nothing in the Feinberg Law to prevent a person from coming forth and explaining his association with subversive organizations if he can."

This hypocritical statement ignores the admitted fact that the procedure in such cases does not even provide for the presentation of the incriminating evidence to the accused, against which he is expected to defend himself, since the "evidence" is most often confidential reports kept secret on grounds of "security."

Thirdly, McGrath also stated in so many words that, the law having been killed, he was going to put it into effect without any law. The Herald Tribune account reports: "He (McGrath) said the objective of the Feinberg Law is to 'rid schools

of teachers who follow the Communist Party line,' and he added that this objective can be obtained without any law."

This again is a frank wording of what the Washington purgers, whose practice is McGrath's and Jansen's model, are doing without any candid declaration. The aim of the Truman directive upon which the attorney general's list was drawn up was also to do that which would be unconstitutional if done through law.

The speeches by the two city officials were made before a conference of the Queensboro Federation of Mothers' Clubs, an organization rival to the Parents-Teachers Associations and widely regarded as dominated by Tammany and the Catholic Church.

### COAL, STEEL AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE—

## France and Germany Vie over Saar

By HENRY JUDD

It is clear that the new dispute between the French government and the Adenauer West German government over the Saar involves more than a revival of an ancient struggle for control over a valuable coal- and steel-producing region. The rulers of France, greatly reduced in strength and influence by a series of wars and defeats and a general decline of economic power, look with a frightened and skeptical eye upon the astounding industrial and economic revival of the West German government.

It has been the objective of France since the end of the last war to be the "steel master" of continental Europe. The coal and steel-producing factories of the famous Saarland provided a substantial margin for France, particularly in view of the former prostrate condition of the German Ruhr. The efforts of France to gain control over the Ruhr by a misrepresented "internationalization" scheme fell through, and that industrial powerhouse is running full blast once more, largely under the management and control of the German industrial bourgeoisie.

It is not so much that the French fear an imminent revival of German military aggression, and still another invasion of France. Rather they fear the economic rivalry again offered by this revived competitor,

which is now in the advantageous position of being able to produce cheaper since the tax burden of an army, armaments industries, officer bureaucracy, etc., are forbidden to it. German coal and German steel are threatening to drive the French from their markets.

### WEST GERMAN REVIVAL THE ATTRACTION

The French seized possession of the Saarland—a small area with less than one million inhabitants, but rich in coal and steel plants—immediately after the war and imposed their rule over the population. They found enough supporters to set up an administration, weaned even the Social-Democrats away from the then prostrate and occupied Germany, and set out to win over a sympathetic acceptance by the population. All their activities won unilateral acceptance or approval from the Allies, with the exception of the Russians. Schumacher and his German Social-Democratic Party condemned their fellows in the Saarland, but everyone was familiar with a long and dishonorable opportunist tradition which pervades all Saarland political life.

The French pursued a clever policy of not antagonizing the population, withdrew their troops at an early moment, and poured food into the region shortly

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### What's a 3-Letter Word for It?

Secretary of State Acheson's pretext for a change in front toward Franco Spain, the contention that the UN diplomatic boycott of Spain has strengthened Franco, not weakened him, is remarkable chiefly because there does not seem to be a scintilla of fact to support it.

Even the New York Times' Madrid correspondent, Sam Pope Brewer, in a dispatch from Spain itself, went out of his way to show it up:

"Spain has smarted under the diplomatic ostracism. . . . No matter how much is said to the contrary, there is no country that would feel more than Spain the weight of a purely moral condemnation. The claim that it strengthened Generalissimo Francisco Franco seems to have been effective abroad, but it is not supported by any evidence known to this correspondent." (Jan. 22.)



# Can the New Trade-Union International End CP Influence on European Labor?

By PEDRO BONET  
(La Batalla, December 27)

London's historic County Council has recently seen the birth of a new trade-union international. Ironically enough, the hall where the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions came into being also served as the stage for the first pronouncements of the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions) in February 1945.

Forty-eight million organized workers were represented at the congress by 260 delegates from 53 different countries. A fact of great significance was the complete participation of the American trade unions, with the AFL, the CIO, and the United Mine Workers of America represented. From the point of view of numbers, the new International begins impressively. The same cannot be said of the objectives it sets for itself—of which we shall speak later.

But first, we wish to briefly review the course of events which finally led to the creation of the new International.

### HOW THE WFTU SPLIT

From its very first moments, the organic cohesion of the WFTU was revealed as forced and artificial. The "modus vivendi" established under the sign of a "sacred union" between the Stalinist trade unions and the reformist trade unions could not long endure. The activity of the WFTU was paralyzed by the latest crisis, which was hastened and aggravated by the creation of the Cominform in October 1947. The strikes which erupted in France and Italy two months afterward, obviously inspired by Moscow and appropriately dubbed the "Molotov" strikes, were a new cause of disintegration.

In March 1948 London was the scene of a conference of trade-union federations of the countries receiving Marshall Plan aid, in which the American AFL and CIO participated. The conference centered on the problem of defending the Marshall Plan

against Stalinist attacks, and at the same time constituted a reply to the "Molotov" strikes. The split in the WFTU thereby became a virtual fact.

In October of 1948, the British Trade Union Congress demanded that the WFTU secretariat suspend all activity. A few months later—in January 1949—the rupture was an actual fact: the CIO, the British Trade Union Congress, and the Dutch federation withdrew from the WFTU.

The regroupment of the non-Stalinist trade-union federations followed. A preliminary conference was held in Geneva in June. The process of gestation culminated in the recent London Congress.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has spread far and wide a declaration of its purposes and tasks. The new International's charter of fundamental demands consists of a defense of democracy (the formal democracy of a capitalist regime in full force, and we already know the utmost that such a regime can give) and in the raising of the working-class standard of living. The trinity—Bread, Freedom, Peace constitute and sum up this program.

### CAPTIVE?

An examination of the documents prepared by the founding congress does not reveal any intent to infringe on the bases of bourgeois society. The fundamental aspiration of the workers' movement for more than a century tended toward the socialization of the means of production. The ICFTU has forgotten this, just as it has forgotten to mention the historic necessity to realize effective structural reforms in the actual capitalist process of production. There is not the least mention of the demand for workers' control, one of the manifestations of authentic economic democracy.

According to the program of the ICFTU, the proletariat's mission is reduced to improving its living conditions, forever subject to the regime of wage-labor, without posing the problem of destroying the all-pervasive power of the great international trusts that rule over bread, freedom, and the peace of the peoples.

"Our objective," the declaration says, "is the establishment of a world system of collective security. Therefore we accept defensive regional agreements within the framework of the United Nations against the dangers of aggression by dictators."

Another aspiration underlined is that of "reinforcing the organizations of the United Nations, and of its specialized institutions for the pacific solution of international problems."

It defends the policy of participation in all the organisms of international collaboration, such as the International Organization of Labor, the Economic and Social Council, the World Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the European Organization of Economic Cooperation, the World Bank, etc.

With such an "interventionist" program, the new International is well on the way to becoming the captive of the policies of American and European imperialism to the evident injury of the interests of the working class, of its bread, freedom, and peace.

### THE HEART OF THE MATTER

The ICFTU has risen to challenge the WFTU and Stalinist totalitarianism. However, the bourgeois institutions of the United Nations are not the best trenches from which to defend the demands of the working class.

The development and strength of the new International can signify a defeat of Stalinist influence in the ranks of the working class on one condition: that it hold high the banner of defense of the sacred interests of the proletariat in its great struggle for its own emancipation and that of all humanity. And it is undeniable that it cannot succeed in this unless it acts with complete independence in respect to the institutions tied to the employer-state as well as the police-state.

Consequently, the "constructive" mission the reformist trade unions (new style) have set themselves is neither the most correct nor the most adequate for the purpose of freeing

the working class from the criminal influence of Stalinist totalitarianism.

Walter Reuther, one of the most dynamic, most serious, and most promising figures on the American labor scene, has quite correctly said that the only effective way to attack Stalinism is by tenaciously and consistently defending the interests of the working class. In essence, this is the heart of the matter. The unrestrained demagoguery of the Cominform can only be counteracted by taking the lead in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and for a socialist peace. Not by falling into an all-too-easy dependence on an anti-Communist line which is fundamentally reactionary and anti-working class.

Notwithstanding our criticisms, we must continue to pay attention to the activities of the new International, and because of its anti-Franco declarations, to see what the result of its promises of solidarity with the Spanish workers formulated in London with so much enthusiasm and emotion.

### EISENHOWER GETS DIXIECRAT BOOST

The liberals, labor leaders and ADAers who touted Eisenhower for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1948 have to squirm every time like makes the newspaper columns. Latest testimonial to their acumen and political intelligence was provided when the head of the Alabama Dixiecrats publicly proposed that the five-star Columbia president be their candidate for the White House in 1952, in coalition with the Republicans.

Chairman McCorvey of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee praised Eisenhower as a man "who has the confidence of the American people of all classes," and added: "Every utterance that I have seen from General Eisenhower, a native of Texas, has indicated that he believes in the principle of States Rights..."

Just to place McCorvey properly in the scale of the animal world, his speech should be quoted further: "We have in the South the purest Anglo-Saxon blood in the Western Hemisphere... while in the city of New York—now listen to this—the percentage of foreign-born population and native-born population with foreign-born parents is the astounding figure of 69 per cent. Just think of people from that section of the country comparing themselves to Alabamians when it comes to considering who are the real Americans!"

### N. J. BANS PLAY TO HELP TRENTON 9

A play, originally produced by the Theatre Guild, "They Shall Not Die," dealing with the Scottsboro boys' trial of the 1930s, has been banned from being shown in New Jersey by the state director of public safety, Andrew Duch, the official in charge, refused to grant a permit for the performance, which was to take place to help win support for six Trenton Negroes facing trial. Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced the action as "bold defiance of the constitutional rights of free speech," and as "shocking and complete disregard for the right of free speech and assembly and clearly unconstitutional."

The ACLU has charged that the six Trenton defendants, accused of murder, have been denied a fair trial on the grounds that their "confessions" had been extorted from them.

# WORLD POLITICS

## A Lesson from Australia: Break Capitalism or Break Labor's Power

By JOSEPH WILLIAMS

The Australian Labor Party government, headed by Joseph B. Chifley, was recently defeated by a Liberal-Country Party coalition led by Robert G. Menzies. This Labor defeat, together with a similar labor ousting in New Zealand, has been heralded (generally with great joy) in the daily press as a symbol of the coming defeat of all labor political forces, particularly of the British Labor Party: the great spirit of Anglo-Saxon pride, thrift, independence and ingenuity has revolted in the Antipodes and is spreading like wildfire over the globe so that by February 23, at the very latest, it will reach England and save the British people, as it saved the Australians, from regimentation, restrictions, scarcity and the dole.

This past week Philadelphia citizens were treated to a series of articles in the *Evening Bulletin* by staff writer Morley Cassidy, entitled "The Upset Down Under." Cassidy's articles were compiled from interviews with "the man in the street" in several sections of Australasia. The reader is left with no doubt that "the man" had certainly decided that "the street" led directly to some version of the Russian-style police state.

However, as in all the more competent and sophisticated anti-labor propaganda, there is a great deal more than a kernel of truth in the reports and it is important for those interested in the political action of labor to attempt to sift these reports and to see the causes for the defeat of the Australian Labor Party.

This writer recently had the opportunity to hear and question a representative of the Australian Labor Party and also an American unionist who has recently returned from a 14-year residence in Australia. Neither of these, familiar as they were with the Australian Labor Party, could name any one exclusive or dominant factor in the defeat.

One should remember that the defeat was far short of overwhelming, since Labor received 48 per cent of the popular vote while the conservative coalition (Liberal and Country) got 52 per cent. Parliamentary results were more one-sided because of a reapportioning of districts, with an increase from 75 to 128 seats in the lower house.

### FACTORS IN THE DEFEAT

Factors contributing to the defeat were: the proposed nationalization of ALL banks (not nationalization in general), continued gasoline rationing (Laborites had previously promised to remove this), the appeal of the conservatives' promise of increased child endowment, the feeling for "a change" (Labor has been in office since 1941), and difficulties which the Labor Party experienced in the field of labor-industrial strife (not the special issue dealing with the Communist Party-controlled unions).

Completely discounted were claims made by Cassidy that it was a revolt against socialism or nationalization, a reaction against handouts, an anti-Communist rout (the Conservatives' program calls for outlawing the CP, as it did in 1940), and the claim that irate housewives played a special role in support of the Conservatives.

The "irate housewife" claim is particularly interesting in view of the following facts:

## The Militarization of America—VI MILITARY RULE FASTENS ON U. S. COLONIAL LANDS

The army and navy have been fastening militarism on American colonies and possessions as well as on South America.

In Puerto Rico, for example, the navy has decided to depopulate one of the oldest communities in the Western Hemisphere, the fertile island of Vieques, and turn it into a military training base. The navy ordered half of the inhabitants or about 5,000 people to evacuate within a few months' time.

This action meant the crippling of the agricultural economy since the island produces 20,000 tons of sugar annually and supports four sugar mills. To Puerto Rico, which does not have enough arable land to support a dense population, the navy's action is a real calamity.

In the Pacific the navy rules territory which includes 2,000 islands or islets given to the United States in trust for the United Nations. Most of the islands are small but some are well known like the Mariana, Carolina and Marshall island groups.

A secret government report of a survey of these former Japanese islands, by the United States Commercial Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, reveals that "the islands are worse off now than they were under Japanese rule." The report "hints that the natives are being forced to work against their wishes." Naval spokesmen refuse to allow the publication of the report or its summary [Los Angeles Daily News, Feb. 16-18, 1948].

### INVESTIGATION ASKED

The report claims that the navy has dispossessed natives of good but scarce farmland in order to establish golf courses and naval recreation areas. Natives have been refused access to farmland near abandoned air strips.

The navy has not only restricted imports from the United States but has placed high tariffs on goods imported from other areas. Wages paid to the natives are five to seven cents an hour for common labor and nine to 11½ cents an hour for skilled labor.

Senator Guy Cordon as a result of numerous questions about navy rule in the Pacific introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of navy rule. At a meeting of this committee on July 7, 1948, representatives of the Interior Department argued for administration by a civilian agency.

The navy spokesman asked for a closed session of the committee in order to present their arguments for naval control. The congressional committee decided to postpone action un-

This is one of a series of articles on the militarization of American government and life, based on the findings of a committee of nationally known liberals.

This committee, organized as the National Council Against Conscription, in February of last year published the booklet "New Evidence of the Militarization of America." All the information and quotations used in the present series of articles comes from this booklet.

til members could tour the islands and recommend legislation.

In addition to the island possessions of the United States and the military missions to Latin American countries and the Philippines which Congress has authorized, the military wants to maintain missions in a number of other countries.

General Marshall as secretary of state tried to get from Congress on behalf of the army, navy and State Departments, authorization "to detail military and naval missions to any foreign government whenever in the discretion of the president the public interest renders such a course advisable..."

He advocated this not only "from the viewpoint of maintenance of international peace" but also from "that of strictly American interests in the field of economic development..."

As justification of such a program General Marshall added: "Abstinence from politics, a principle inculcated in and observed by U. S. army and navy officers, makes them particularly well qualified to instill that principle into the minds of the military and naval personnel of other countries." [Memo dated Feb. 25, 1947.]

In thus appearing to abstain from politics, the army is able with a strong hand to influence Congress regardless of who is elected. If the army really intended to abstain from politics, it would not attempt to influence congressional decisions or persuade the public about legislation in which it is interested.

Real power in a republic does not lie in the ability to influence elections so much as it does in the ability to influence important national decisions regardless of who the elected officials are. Likewise, the military serving in military missions in other countries can wield tremendous influence without actually incorporating those countries into a colonial system.

## Toward a Stalinist Thesaurus

Gleaning among the reams of printed paper devoted to Stalin's birthday behind the Iron Curtain, the following beginnings of a Stalinist Thesaurus can be put together. Speeches and articles for Pravda, Izvestia, Scanteia, Szabad Nep, and any other Eastern European paper can be quickly and cheaply composed by judicious combinations of the following elements:

- Stalin is—
- the greatest political leader and statesman of the world.
- the most inspired leader of the world proletariat.
- the greatest teacher.
- the wisest guide.
- the great friend of mankind.
- the greatest strategist and army leader in the whole world.
- the father of sixteen daughters
- the sixteen Soviet republics.
- the beloved.
- the liberator.
- the symbol.
- the deep well of all wisdom.
- the source of all happiness.
- the bright sun of mankind.
- the friend of the sun who will disarm all his foes.

In small return for these services, the people of the world owe to Stalin—

- warm love.
- infinite gratitude.
- greatest devotion.
- supreme respect.
- tremendous loyalty.
- wholehearted joy.
- boundless attention.
- unshakable fidelity, etc.

Anyone who wants to venture off the above beaten track is aided by the bad standing of Freudianism in the Stalinist world. Thus:

"The Soviet Union is the dream of every girl." (From the Hungarian daily Szabad Nep.)

If done delicately enough, the religious note can be struck: "The great Stalin is our people's glorious savior." (Albanian premier Enver Hoxha.)

Even the reincarnation believers can be appealed to. In Moscow it was recently proclaimed: "Stalin is Lenin!"

## Readers Take the Floor...

to answer the collector's summons promptly. There was evidence of prejudice by the jurist against Americans of Japanese ancestry. Actually, the judge was mad that Jim refused to pay his income tax.

After Otsuka served his time, he was due for release December 29. A U. S. Tax Commissioner on that day, in Ashland, Kentucky, ruled that he would have to stay in jail until he paid the \$100 fine plus \$40 court costs. As \$140 constitutes one-third the value of Otsuka's assets, and he has not changed his mind after 90 days' reorientation of his tax-refusal views, he is still in the Ashland penitentiary.

The warden would not speak to a mixed delegation which had come to Ashland to welcome Jim on the outside. He was shocked at the effrontery of Mrs. Wallace F. Nelson, who wanted him to give her some information! Nor would he allow any of the ministers among them to see Jim (during regular visiting hours).

The welcoming committee thereupon set up a picket line, and drew up two sets of picket signs (the first set were destroyed by the Kentucky "colonels"—state troopers).

Our Workers Defense Council here protests this \$450 injustice and permanent persecution of peace-loving citizens, and is glad to express its solidarity with Jim Otsuka. Albeit in different ways, we too are fighting the permanent war economy.

Tad Tekla, Secretary  
Cleveland, Jan. 11

## PRESS ACTION

By L. G. SMITH  
Business Manager

During the past two weeks LABOR ACTION subs have been coming in at what appears to be about the "normal" rate. If the branches of the ISL continue to get about the same average of subs during the year as they have during the past three months, there will be a slow but substantial increase in the number of LA subscribers.

This will take effort. Probably a number of branches have already gotten subs from their closest contacts and sympathizers. But in the long run this effort will prove of great value to our propaganda league. All literature agents and branch organizers are urged to continue a steady pressure on the members of the ISL to get subs.

The scoreboard for the past two weeks is as follows. (As usual, two points are scored for a year sub, and the right-hand column indicates the number of individuals subscribing.)

Branch	Sub Score	Single Sub
Los Angeles	1	1
Detroit	4	3
Cleveland	1	1
Chicago	11	7
San Francisco	6	4
Reading, Pa.	1	1
Buffalo	2	1
Philadelphia	1	1
New York	13	10
Newark	4	2
West Va.	2	1
Boston	2	1
Akron	1	1
Miscellaneous	6	3
Total	55	37

We are considering raising the subscription price. LABOR ACTION is the only paper in the country of similar size selling at a dollar a year. Its closest rival in the field has a subscription price just double that of LA. This is just a tip. If you have any hot prospects for subs you might pass it on to them and get their subscription before the price goes up.

### Threat

Daniel Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters, predicted that a third party would be formed in this country if the effort to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law failed, in a speech in Indianapolis on January 21. He castigated the Democrats for failure to get the act repealed.

### Democrat Did It

Jan. 23—The Fair Employment Practice bill, a key measure in the civil-rights legislative program before Congress, was shunted aside in the House today when Speaker Sam Rayburn refused to recognize a motion to bring it on to the floor from the Rules Committee which has it bottled up.

Rayburn, though from Texas, is no Dixiecrat, but a leading Democratic Party stalwart in Congress.

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# Editorials

## The Two McGraths

The attorney general of the United States, appointed by Truman to succeed Tom Clark, is Howard McGrath. The corporation counsel of New York City is John P. McGrath. These two gentlemen have more in common than their names.

The former is the generalissimo of the Truman administration's government purge. The latter has just come out with the frankest statement of the purge system and its "theory" that has yet been publicly aired, in his speech last Saturday reported elsewhere in this issue.

We are quite ready to admit that the New York corporation counsel's speech was stupid. But the stupidity consisted only in openly stating precisely what both McGraths were actually doing and not trying to conceal it with doubletalk. The boss of neither McGrath, Howard's Truman or John's O'Dwyer, would permit himself to be guilty of such frankness.

The city's McGrath bluntly said that the administration's educational system is going to act on the basis of the principle of guilt by association, clearly put the burden of proving innocence on the accused rather than on the accusers, candidly admitted that he was going to act without law since the Feinberg Law had been killed. Superintendent of Schools Jansen stated that he "probably" will act along these lines. The fact is that he has already taken steps to act along these lines.

There is no doubt about one thing: the principles espoused by the city administration and put into practice by the Fair Deal administration are principles of totalitarian justice, long denounced as such, long condemned as completely contrary to the U. S. Constitution, incompatible with the Bill of Rights. The Feinberg Law itself was voided twice because the law implied these principles, in the opinion of two state Supreme Court justices.

### Totalitarian Principles

To underline the practical meaning of the Truman and O'Dwyer administration's system, listen to some remarks by John P. McGrath not included in our news story:

"If I frequent Ebbets Field, it's a fair assumption that I am a Dodger fan. If I attend Communist Party meetings and hold a Communist Party card, it's a fair assumption that I am a Communist."

First disentangle the element of sheer stupidity from that gem. McGrath's coupling of a "Communist Party card" (presumably a proved one) with "fair assumption" is simply muddled-headedness, not surprising even in a lawyer when that lawyer is a Tammany hack. The point McGrath is trying to make is that a person who "frequents" the CP must be "fair assumption" be considered a "Communist," just like the Ebbets Field frequenter. (The analogy, of course, shrieks its own absurdity, since McGrath seems to be unaware of the fact that not all Brooklynites are Dodger fans—leave it or not.)

Even if the "fair assumption" is warranted, the whole point of the law is that no one can be convicted on an assumption, even a "fair" one. If there is no exception or two or three, that is enough to make further evidence necessary. Otherwise you have an approach to the totalitarian principle that it is better that a number of innocent people be convicted rather than one guilty person escape.

But McGrath's acceptance of the totalitarian principle is even more explicit in another section of his statement: "A teacher lacking in the primary essential of an employee's unflinching devotion to the interests of his employer should be dismissed," he said.

Is that the qualification for a teacher? Or is a teacher supposed to reserve his unflinching devotion to truth, the education in thinking of his charges, and the intellectual development of his students? How far is it from "unflinching devotion to the interests of his employer" (which, formally, is the city) to unflinching devotion to the existing regime, its ideas, its standards and its leaders? Does a Hitler or a Stalin have less right than McGrath, O'Dwyer or Truman to insist on "unflinching devotion to the interests of the employer"?

### Poisoned in Principle

But even aside from McGrath's "fair assumption," even the possession of a Communist Party card has been thrown out by the courts as a basis for discharging a teacher. The city education officials now say they are going to effectuate their unconstitutional practices even without a law, through administrative action. As we have pointed out before, this line was blazed by the Fair Deal when Truman and Tom Clark set out to do exactly that which brought a storm of protest against the notorious Mundt-Nixon bill: a government purge—but without any law.

Those labor leaders and liberals who rose up in horror against the attempt to write the witch into law have by and large kept quiet about the Fair Deal's substitute. Yet that substitute is twice as poisonous in practice and ten times as insidious in principle.

It is worse in practice because it gives the victim no obvious recourse for challenging the procedure. A law can be tested in the courts. The Truman-Department of Justice procedure was designed to get around this little difficulty. The state sets itself up as accuser, judge, jury and policeman. This is the poisoned principle.

This is the principle of the police state. The existence of the full-blown Stalinist totalitarian monster is a boon to the Fair Dealers and their liberal apologists in more than one way. What—they chorus, together with their fringe of ex-radical, ex-rational defenders of the lesser evil—you talk about a police state in the United States, last bastion of democracy? Just compare this country with what a real police state looks like—in Russia! Oh, there are defects here, we know, but how can you equate the two?

The United States could go a long way toward a real police state and still fall far short of the U. S. and Russia. Without the mind-muddling talk about "equating" the U. S. and Russia, these people would have fear, nothing at all to say.

### Where Are Their Voices?

There is no "equating" American capitalism and Russian Stalinism today. In the latter, there are no TRENDS to a police state—it is the fully blossomed article. What should be of concern to labor when confronted by the McGraths is not the consolatory view that we haven't gotten there yet, but rather the necessity of fighting against taking the first, second and third steps along the road.

Where are the voices raised from the CIO, from the AFL, from every section of the labor movement, against the principles of the police-state as embodied in the actual practices of the administration they so largely support in Washington? Where are the voices raised from the CIO and AFL in New York, who have recently grouped their political forces to support O'Dwyer, against the actual proclamation of the police-state principle by the officials of the administration they support in the City Hall?

We have no doubt that many, if not most, have little or no sympathy with the "extremism" of McGrath. They may even mention to friends of labor O'Dwyer that he ought to do something about his underlings' "stupidity." They may even "deplore" it. But shall they embarrass "their" administration by publicly fighting it as it must be fought?

The labor movement is the best, and in the end, the only defender of democracy. It must not abdicate. It cannot afford to wink at the monstrous practices which are growing apace, and which undercut its own basis of being. It cannot let a bleary-eyed view of political expediency keep its mouth sealed when such things are going on. It has to break with the capitalist parties, Democratic and Republican, which are the channels for this galloping gangrene of democracy. Unless it fights this, it cannot even effectively fight Stalinism (which battens on its own phony fight against the trends) or else it can fight Stalinism only with methods which themselves hasten and intensify the evils of corruption and bureaucratization.

# FILMS AND IDEAS: An Appraisal of — Hollywood's Four Films on the Negro Question

By SUSAN GREEN

In rapid succession Hollywood has produced four Grade A movies about Negroes. Whether it will continue to use the running social sore of the Negro question as material for its pictures remains to be seen. These four pictures—Home of the Brave, Lost Boundaries, Pinky, and Intruder in the Dust—have been seen and will be seen by tens of millions of people in this country's movie houses, and presumably also by people abroad.

LABOR ACTION has had excellent review and comment on some of these films. We will in this article attempt an evaluation of the job Hollywood has done in all four and of the possible impact of these films on audiences.

### Home of the Brave

Home of the Brave, the first of these films, tells the plausible and dramatic story of a young Negro soldier who, overcome by a sense of guilt at the capture and brutal death of his white buddy, succumbs to a psychomatic lameness. No less gripping than the incidents in the South Pacific jungle are the scenes between the army doctor and his patient, in which the former tries to treat the latter by rational methods.

The final cure, however, comes only with a sort of shock treatment when the doctor shouts "Walk! You yellow-bellied n...r!" This foul name is the crux of the whole situation. It is these words—"You yellow-bellied n...r!"—used by the white laddy and changed to "nitwit," too late to undo the damage, which unloosed the psy-

chomatic stream in the Negro. His sense of guilt stemmed from what he thought was his revengeful satisfaction at his buddy's capture.

One wonders why the guilt feeling of this Negro soldier should become the central theme of practically the first movie involving the Negro question. No doors of understanding of the social issue are opened to us by this theme, for the simple reason that it is too singular and individual a story.

It is a different kind of guilt feeling on the part of Negroes that often enters into the complexities of the social question, namely, that manifested by those Negroes who feel there are too many "bad" Negroes and that if only more were "good," white people would treat them better. This is a combination of religious self-flagellation and Uncle Tom orientation, and it could indeed be the central theme for a powerfully revealing movie.

Again, since Negroes are more sinned against than sinning, the whites more naturally fall heir to a guilt feeling. One can imagine, almost in the identical war context of Home of the Brave, a twist of events resulting in guilt feeling on the part of one of the white soldiers of a more normal kind, rooted in the human being's repudiation of his own anti-human conduct.

### MAYBE FOR THE GOOD

The above criticism does not imply that Home of the Brave may not have positive value. People learn in devious ways. The easy comradeship between the Negro and his white buddy radiates a warmth good for people to feel, and the latter's "You

yellow-bellied n...r" may produce real consternation in audiences. (Those who know something about the background of racism know how deep are its roots.)

Perhaps the most impressive propaganda against racism, is made indirectly. The ex-businessman in the group is the most outspoken Negro hater. The antagonism aroused against this low character—who is a loud-mouth, has no sensitivity, and is in general a louse—can extend itself to opposition to racism as well.

More of this kind of emotional impression is made by the crippled white soldier who has a quiet, matter-of-fact humanism. When he goes off with the Negro, perhaps to open a business with him, and the Negro quotes from a poem, "Coward, take a coward's hand," this demonstration of friendship can be stirring.

Some critics have said that this film bears out the false contention of anti-Negroes that Negroes would not stand up in combat. This did not occur to me, although I can see how some might react in this way. Actually the film shows the Negro to be the only real volunteer in the group, to be as brave and as competent as any. His situation is presented as rising not from lack of stamina in combat—as the phrase goes—but from deep hurt and confusion as a member of a Jim-Crowed race. His impassioned "Nigger, nigger, nigger" as he beats the ground in desperation evidences this point.

In summary, while the subject matter of Home of the Brave may be justly criticized, the impact on an average, well-meaning but somewhat anti-Negro audience might well be for the good in the sense of arousing some emotional approval for friendship between black and white.

### Lost Boundaries

While Home of the Brave presents a purely personal crisis in the life of one Negro soldier, Lost Boundaries has a wider scope. Dr. Carter, the white Negro of Lost Boundaries, sets up as a white doctor in a New England town, doctoring in the family's race origin even from his children. Economic forces are shown to be the battering ram finally beating down his resistance to crossing the color line.

For Dr. Carter the opportunities were even more limited than for the man of whose race there is no doubt. For those hospitals that employ Negro doctors want them to look like Negroes, and those that bar them bar also Negroes who look like whites.

The white Negro, torn between loyalty to his suffering race and the lure of less suffering for himself if he crosses the color line, is indeed caught in the maelstrom of racism as are all Negroes. Though sympathy goes out to him, we must be aware that only if he himself treats his plight as part of the whole race question does it take on social importance. And as Dr. Carter does not do this, the film consequently deals with only a specialized and peripheral aspect of the whole Negro situation.

Since Lost Boundaries is told as a true story, criticism must be directed first against Dr. Carter. It is his character that reduces his story to something of little weight in the present situation. His whole concern was with himself and his family, in the narrow materialistic sense, aiming to be ac-

cepted as a good doctor and a good member of this New England community—on its side of the color line. The problems of his race were neatly swept from his door as was even the deeper personal problem of what might happen to his children if they discovered their origin.

Dr. Carter is an escapist who tried to salve his Negro conscience by secretly giving some time to a Negro clinic. It comes almost as a deserved nemesis when the banished race question reappears and upsets his apple cart after the U. S. navy rejects him on the ground of race.

### BAD CHOICE

Hollywood chose this story presumably as an object lesson in what is called race tolerance. The New England town, under the guidance of its pastor, does not oust its white Negro doctor when his secret is discovered. Admittedly this community exercised "race tolerance" and suppressed its prejudices in order to keep its doctor. But what is the impact on an average, well-meaning, somewhat prejudiced audience viewing this film?

The Negro here is not just any Negro. He is a white Negro. He is an educated professional man. There is no competition for his job as doctor. He has not come to plague the townspeople with the Negro question and with social solutions. All he wants is to be allowed to remain quietly at his job. He is a nice, respectable white Negro, of whom the superior whites can find it in their hearts to be tolerant.

Hollywood may retort that this is a true story and why tell it. Why not? Well, because it tends to draw distinctions between nice, respectable Negroes and others, between white Negroes and black Negroes. What of the uneducated Negro worker who competes with white workers for jobs, whose clothes are shabby, who lives in a slum, whose skin is black? The lessons to be taught are those of social equality, not of tolerance for "nice" Negroes—nor of "nice Jews" who are "our friends." Did Hollywood make an honest bad choice—or did it know the score?

### Pinky

Pinky is another film about race loyalty, about crossing the color line. The heroine, Pinky, is a white Negro whose very black and very hard-working grandmother sends her North to become a nurse, so that she can help her own people.

Up North Pinky falls in love with a white doctor. It is only when he proposes marriage—which she fears because of her race origin—that she returns home. So horrible is the treatment she is subjected to as a Negro in the South, that she determines to go back North. Neither the plea of her grandmother nor the appeal of the local Negro doctor to stay has any effect on Pinky. The illness of the white lady for whom her grandmother works does, however, finally influence Pinky.

What follows is a truly Hollywoodish, connived, and unrealistic denouement. The white lady, whom Pinky nurses, dies and leaves her big house and grounds to Pinky, expressing the confidence that she will know what to do with it. Pinky, of course, knows that she must stay in the South and establish a health center on the property left to her by the grand white lady.

Not only does this fancy ending stretch credulity to its breaking point, not only is it an elaborate evasion of the problem of race loyalty posed, but it is an insult to the Negroes actually faced with that problem. Few indeed were the members of her race handed a ready-made haven as Pinky is.

Therefore, in its main theme, the film is a dismal failure.

### NEGRO THEME SECONDARY

Furthermore, the whole tenor and tone of the picture is on the unprogressive side. The Uncle Tom philosophy pervades it. The grandmother is content to wash clothes for the white lady who befriends her. The white lady creates the best possible world by befriending the Negroes.

Even in the court action entered by Pinky to retain the property left her in the white lady's will, contested by the relatives of the deceased, the theme of Negro struggle is merely secondary. Even though the decision of the judge asserts the right of Ne-

groes to inherit property, Pinky's motivation in the affair is not to fight for her rights as a Negro but to carry out the wishes of the grand white lady.

As in Lost Boundaries, sympathy is aroused not for all Negroes but for Pinky, the white Negroess, the educated Negro who looks and acts like the whites. Except for the grandmother and the Negro doctor who puts in only a momentary appearance, the other Negroes in the film are disreputable characters. There is a Negro of shady pursuits and cowardly instincts. There is his mistress, an uncouth woman; the indignities against her at the hands of the white police do not arouse the audience as they do when administered against Pinky.

If Hollywood intended a positive contribution by this film, then there is a wide gap between the intention and the outcome.

### Intruder in the Dust

The one film that merits wholehearted approval is the last to come out, Intruder in the Dust. Whether it follows the original story or not, the movie as a separate creation is authentic and serious in its execution of the central idea, namely, the atrociousness of lynch law.

Through the efforts of a boy, a middle-aged woman and a reluctant lawyer, all white, the real murderer is found while an innocent Negro is held in jail for the crime. The lynch mob gathers outside the jail, its impatience mounting, as this middle-aged woman, by sheer guts, holds off the leaders from entering the jail to get their prey.

It later develops that the ring leader is the murderer. This nuance is effective in impressing not only the injustice of lynch law but also its possible motivations.

Another cogent point in the story told is that the actual murderer is the brother of the murdered man. The white fratricide is, of course, to be given a fair trial, as indeed he will of a boy and a middle-aged woman, the innocent Negro would have been accused, tried and executed by the Negro-hating mob. The contrast stands out in bold relief.

Indirectly some light is also thrown on the psychological basis of white supremacy. The Negro accused of the murder is one universally disliked by the whites because he is what Southerners call "an uppity nigger." No cringing fellow is he. He walks with his head high. He asks for a receipt when he pays money. He carries a gold toothpick as a symbol that he is as good as any white who carries one. He is, in short, a living negation of the psychological reassurance nurtured by frustrated whites that Negroes are lower creatures than they are.

### ONE OUT OF FOUR

Another factor that makes Intruder in the Dust so interesting is the relationship between the Negro and the white boy. This relationship intrigues one for an adequate explanation. The two had met when the boy got himself dunked in the river, needed dry clothes, warmth and food, all of which he received in the cabin of the Negro. What somehow impressed the boy was the refusal of the Negro to take money for his trouble, implicitly insisting that he was extending hospitality in his own home—to a white boy. The boy's attachment to the Negro is shy, uncertain and yet unshakable, and somehow the Negro understands this without spoken words.

Appraising all four movies, we can thank Hollywood for only one thoroughly good one. Intruder in the Dust offers no remedy for lynch law beyond the efforts of people of good will, which are not to be pool-poohed since such efforts can stretch in many directions. Aside from that, one may hope that since the film places lynch law in such a relentlessly revealing light, audiences may themselves conclude that something more must be done than reliance on the accident of a boy, a middle-aged woman and a reluctant lawyer to save an innocent Negro's life.

If Hollywood continues its venture into the Negro question, it is suggested that it come closer to the heart of the question than it has done in three out of the four movies thus far produced.

## How the Russians Aid U. S. Reaction

This can be taken as a footnote to one section of the editorial to the left, which points out that the crimes of Russian Stalinism are so often used to distract attention from the meaning of the U. S. witchhunt.

So also the fantastic mendaciousness of Russian anti-American propaganda is used to immunize slower-thinking victims against any criticism of American institutions, so that all criticism might be thrown under a cloud, including democratic socialist criticism.

Here is the kind of Russian blast which helps our own reactionaries to put across their operations. It is from Ilya Ehrenburg, the Russian author and journalist, whose out-Peglering of Pehler has been noted before in LABOR ACTION, purporting to describe conditions in the U. S.:

"The United States is a tower of Babel. . . In Harlem you cannot see a white man, in the Bronx you will never hear English; people there speak only Jewish, Russian, Polish—this is the ghetto of New York."

"A Jew can rarely find a government job. The great majority of Jews live in ghettos: in other districts they cannot lease apartments. "Equality of rights is a thing for export. For domestic consumption there exists an American translation of the Nuremberg laws."

"Of course, big capitalists of Jewish descent ardently defend the ruling groups in America. The proprietor of the greatest New York newspaper, Sulzberger, is by birth a Jew; his views are racist and anti-Semitic. When Americans want to prove that there is no anti-Semitism in the U. S. they usually mention Mr. Sulzberger or some other Jew-fancier." (In Nov. 22, 1949, of *Bolshevik*, quoted by David Dallin in the New Leader, Jan. 21.)

In this sewer-outlet, there is just enough of a kernel of truth (the existence of anti-Jewish discrimination and anti-Semitism in the U. S.) to give a willing dupe reason to applaud; more than enough of lies to discredit everything else that appears along with it; and enough anti-Semitic phraseology (under the guise of attacking anti-Semites) to make the Russian rulers speed Ehrenburg's paycheck on its way.

Within Russia Ehrenburg's filth serves Stalin's purposes; exported to the United States, it serves the purposes of those who like to hint broadly that any attack on U. S. anti-democratic trends is Stalinist-inspired. Thus the two kinds of exploiters in the world, capitalist and Stalinist, feed on each other's crimes.

# Tug-of-War over Saar - -

(Continued from page 1)

before the election of a Saarland legislative body which was composed of a majority who supported French policy. This policy consisted of "economic integration" (the French now call this an early example of the integration now proposed by ECA's Hoffman!) and "political independence." It was their obvious hope to completely integrate the Saar into French economy, while maintaining a phony political autonomy.

But the revival of Western Germany changed all this. The German industrialists, whose open spokesman is the reactionary Rhineland, Adenauer, quickly became aware of the Saar, an obviously German territory. It should be pointed out that no one denies the German character of this area, whose people speak only German, whose language, customs, appearance, personality, etc., are distinctly German and whose leanings toward French policy were simply a frank recognition that in that direction one could eat, while in the other direction—toward Germany—there was hunger and unemployment.

The French became panicky and felt that their hard work and efforts for rattachement were in danger of being upset. They proposed new agreements, giving them a 90-year lease (why not 900 years?) over the Saar mines, and the final and complete integration of the Saar railways with those of France. It should be noted that the Saar's western frontier is completely open to France (there are no custom barriers, no passport requirements, etc.) whereas the Saar's eastern frontier bordering on Germany is one of the most heavily guarded and protected frontiers in Europe, at least in its western parts.

Adenauer immediately responded that the Saar was an "integral part of the German nation," that its resources were German, not French, etc. He proposed a plebiscite, knowing full well that the French would reject such a proposition. The dispute led to a breaking off of current French-German trade negotiations and the present crisis between the two regimes. It is clear that a new era of Franco-German tension—so familiar to Europe—has once again begun.

### THE FRENCH DILEMMA

Here is another example—small in scope, to be sure—of how the far failed to accomplish a single one of its alleged purposes. Every old problem and cause of controversy exists today, even if the surrounding circumstances have altered slightly.

The great dilemma with regard to the German government, so far as the Allied governments is concerned, is the following. By the terms of the Bonn constitution and subsequent agreements, this government owes its life and existence to the Allied powers. But, at the same time, it is a government of the German national bourgeoisie, above all, of the Ruhr industrialists and bankers. Adenauer is thus playing an extremely able game of blackmail and has shown his ability to win "concession after concession for his own capitalist class.

The French, most affected by this situation, have intervened in what will undoubtedly be a vain effort to call a halt to this drive for greater and greater independence of action. (This is known as a revival of German impudence!) The French are frightened by the perspective of a future German government, free to act independently and on an equal basis, in the competitive game of world trade and commerce.

At the same time, of course, they well know the value of a powerful West Germany against Russian expansionism. This is their weak point, at which Adenauer lunges again and again. He is now preparing the way for a revival of the German army—a reactionary, Prussianized, elite army of ex-Wehrmacht officers, blood brothers to the reactionary Reichswehr which was created after the First World War.

But we note that the French are not screaming and complaining about this possibility; in fact, it is not well known that Acheson, Montgomery et al. already favor the revival of a German army! At the present moment, its creation would appear almost inevitable. Only the protests and struggles of the German people and the German Social-Democratic movement could stop such an event as the rebirth of a small (at first) German military machine.

In 1950, five years after the end of the war, it may well be said that it is no longer true that a peace treaty with Germany is impossible because of the split between the Allies and Russia. It now seems impossible for two additional reasons: the differences between the Allies have grown so sharply as to make the problem of a treaty that much more difficult and, more important, Germany is no longer a conquered land upon whom the Allies can impose their will, come what may. A condition of permanent tension, instability and uncertainty will continue until that day when the masses of Europe settle matters in their own way.

### Los Angeles Public Meeting—

Max Shachtman

on

## THE MEANING OF TITOISM and the Split in the Cominform

FRIDAY at 8 p.m., February 10

at

Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand

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The Case of the 'Alien' Citizen and the Case of the Frustrated War Bride -

Two Supreme Court Rulings Hit Civil Liberties

By STAN GREY

The hope that the Supreme Court would be the final but decisive defender of civil liberties became slimmer as a result of two decisions handed down by that body last week.

While the circumstances of the particular cases involved were especially narrow and exceptional, the principles and processes sustained by the court majority are eminently adaptable for wholesale application by an energetic attorney general. Given a Department of Justice and an attorney general already "patriotic" enough to break the law in order to defend the country by wiretapping, it gives one pause to think of the dimensions of their patriotism when the law is fashioned to fit their methods.

In the two decisions, the court sustained the government's power to deport two men who were naturalized citizens when convicted of crimes under the Espionage Act, and upheld the government's right to exclude the bride of an American World War II veteran without a hearing and solely on the finding of the attorney general.

In the first case, the legal question centered around the government's power to deport two men who had been CITIZENS at the time they were convicted of the crime. Justice Frankfurter in his dissent, which was shared by Justices Black and Jackson, held that the law which permits Congress to deport aliens if convicted of crime under the Espionage Act applies "only to one who was alien when convicted." Burton for the majority said that Congress had power to pass a law to deport aliens "because of past misconduct."

The implications of this ruling are

Equality? Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black, who voted with the minority on the two cases discussed in the accompanying article, made a speech on January 21 which showed that the anti-democratic decision of the court majority was perhaps fresh in his mind. Speaking to the American Jewish Committee, he said that a government which "convicts and punishes people without fair trials has reason to fear," but that "the people of this country today as a whole have no fear of ideas." But his added boast that "the humblest person is accorded a constitutional right to stand on an equality with every other person living in the land" is scarcely borne out when the "constitutional right" is negated by administrative action and such action is supported by the tribunal on which he is a minority.

far more monstrous than the seeming suitability of this particular application to foreign agents—and certainly labor and progressives are not interested in what happens to such agents and spies themselves. The majority ruling in effect creates a special class out of naturalized citizens. A native-born citizen, convicted under the Espionage Act, may not be deported. A naturalized citizen, so convicted, may be deported after his papers are taken from him. And there is legal precedent for the right to take away his papers.

It may be thought that this presents no serious threat to liberty since, in

the first place, how many aliens, naturalized or not, are really foreign agents, and, in the second place, if they are, what is wrong with their deportation? This argument rests on a serious misconception of the nature of the Espionage Act.

To be sure, foreign agents are deportable under this act. But being a foreign spy is not the only crime covered by it. The act can be applied to a multitude of other "crimes" and not only can it be so used but it has been applied in that fashion. It was the very same act which, during the First World War and for some years after, permitted the arrest of socialists, anarchists, IWWers, dissidents of all kinds. A compliant judiciary railroaded opponents of all kinds to heavy prison sentences and fines under this same act.

With this fact in mind, what becomes the meaning of the current court ruling on these aliens? If a naturalized citizen is convicted under the Espionage Act, and if the Espionage Act can apply to all "subversives" as it did in the past, then ANY naturalized citizen who has ideas which the attorney general finds "undesirable" or "subversive" (and this today includes almost any form of dissent) is subject to deportation. If it is argued that the ruling applied only to naturalized citizens who have lost their papers, it should be pointed out again that there is legal precedent for taking away the papers of such a citizen.

JUDGES READY TO JUMP

Up to now, even an unnaturalized alien has been considered a "person" within the meaning of the Bill of Rights. Apparently an alien would get short shrift these days if he was "undesirable" to the attorney general. But now even a naturalized alien can be punished for a crime he committed while yet a citizen just as if he had already been deprived of his citizenship.

It is not to be expected that the ruling will be exploited for all its ramified implications immediately or automatically. That this can take place when necessary and desirable is reasonably sure. The majority decision in this case is a strong enough indication that whatever legal obstacles may stand in the way of the extensions of the ruling will be hurdled nimbly by an eager court. More imposing judges have leaped as high and as readily in the past with less reason. This court will do no less.

The second case, that of the frustrated war bride, is even more ominous in its direct bearing on civil liberties. Judge Minton, arguing here for the same majority of four against three, said that admission to the country was a "privilege granted by the sovereign U. S. government" and if the attorney general felt it unwise to admit this person, his opinion should be sustained.

It is important to appreciate the legal principle involved here and not be misled by the thought that, after all, the person discriminated

—And Justice for All

Latest evidence of the odd hand of justice under capitalism appears in the unheralded return to these shores of a once well-known American exile.

Harry M. Blackmer, relic of the Tea Pot Dome scandal during the Harding administration, is back in the U. S., not only a free man but still retaining an estimated \$10 million of his huge fortune.

The Tea Pot Dome probe showed that Blackmer and three other oil moguls conspired to do their own stockholders out of nearly \$2 million. It was some of this money that corrupted Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall, as a result of which Fall went to prison in disgrace. Blackmer fled to Europe as a "fugitive from subpoena." The federal government froze his assets in this country, as he also faced a perjury charge in connection with income-tax cheating.

Last September 8, Blackmer returned to the U. S., pleaded guilty in federal court at Denver November 2 to income-tax evasion, was fined \$20,000 (namely, his cigarette money) and his tied-up funds were released to him. The government dropped other charges on the ground that most of the witnesses have died in the intervening 25 years.

Where there's a few million dollars, there's a way.

Books Received

Received from the New American Library, publishers of the pocket-book Signet and Mentor books: THE ILIAD (The Story of Achilles), by Homer. Translated by W. H. D. Rouse (in prose). First U. S. publication, 312 pages, 35 cents, a Mentor book. APPOINTMENT IN SAMARRA, by John O'Hara. 192 pages, 25 cents, a Signet book. GEORGIA BOY, by Erskine Caldwell. 168 pages, 25 cents, a Signet book. THE WEEPER AND THE BLACK-MAILER, by Richard Rovere. 144 pages, 25 cents, a Signet book. YOU CAN CHANGE THE WORLD, by James Keller. On the Catholic "Christopher" movement. 192 pages, 25 cents, a Signet book.

against in this case is an alien who is not even a resident of the U. S.

The bride was refused admission to the country on the ground that the government has the general power to admit or not to admit people. But liberal judicial theory on such questions stresses the fact that the existence of a general power by the government does not justify, in and of itself, the discriminatory exercise of that power. For example, Congress has the power of taxation. But that general power obviously does not allow a Republican Congress to tax members of the Democratic Party more than other people.

NO EVIDENCE REQUIRED

Justice Schirick of the New York State Supreme Court made an analogous ruling in invalidating the Feinberg Law when he replied to the argument that there was no constitutional right to work for the government, which therefore had the right to hire whom it pleased. Schirick pointed out that the government may have the right to hire whom it wants but it may not designate as a condition for working for it that a person belong to a specific church or party.

This liberal judicial opinion would insist that the use of a general power, such as the right of admission to the U. S., to discriminate against any one person must be supported by evidence against the desirability of that one person. The general power does not suffice.

But in the case of the war bride no such evidence or proof was brought out. She was called "undesirable" by the attorney general and that was enough for the court. The evidence against this girl was of the type now famous for being "confidential," having a content that cannot be disclosed and a source that must remain hidden.

In a scathing dissent, Justice Jackson said that "not even a court can find out why this girl is excluded." Not even the Supreme Court could find out why this girl was a bad security risk, but still the majority ruled to deprive an American citizen of his wife on the say-so of the attorney general.

This may have been a gesture of courtesy by the majority to one of their colleagues. After all, was it not their fellow justice, that eminent and learned jurist, famous for his wisdom and objectivity alike, Justice Tom Clark, who was the attorney general in the case? It is true that Tom Clark did not sit on this case as a justice, but that did not prove to be necessary; the court ruled on it like Tom Clark himself.

"MENACE" TO FREEDOM

What stands out in this case is the fact that the court sustained a ruling where no evidence was given against the person, where no evidence was obtainable and where the accused was not even permitted a hearing. It does not matter that the girl herself was not a citizen. Her citizen-husband was deprived of his right by this star-chamber procedure and it is this procedure which is of the essence.

That a Clark should think in this fashion will surprise only those who think he found a new mind in the pocket of his robes. As attorney general he was most assiduous in following precisely these methods of convictions without hearings or evidence. Is this to be the philosophy of the present court?

MARAGON AND TRUMAN - -

(Continued from page 1)

knowledge of the politics and problems of Greece can be put on the head of a needle—nevertheless he was appointed a top man on an important committee. General Vaughan, who now pretends he hardly knows Maragon, has admitted that he recommended Maragon for the position.

If the Senate is really interested in knowing Maragon's connections, it should put the petty indictment of perjury aside and ask some of the United States soldiers who were in Greece at that time to tell about Maragon. The U. S. soldier in the wireless room at the airport outside of Athens could recall that no less than twelve cables arrived announcing that "A personal representative of President Truman" was on his way by plane and to be prepared to meet him.

The soldier in charge of billeting could tell how he was demoted because when Maragon arrived in Athens there were no empty rooms at the Grande Bretagne Hotel where the U. S. army had a suite of rooms, and the billeting officer put Maragon in a small room. There are dozens of such stories, all too similar to go into here. While in Athens, Maragon just about took over in every single committee and department that the United States had there. He treated everybody with contempt, and almost blew the roof off when there was hesitation about showing him the books of the U. S. Army Air Transport Command.

THE POULOS CASE

Somehow every U. S. official in Greece knew that Maragon had influence in Washington. The only ones

Nothing in the present ruling would indicate that it is not. Quite the contrary—for though Minton argued from the general power of the government to admit, he explicitly accepted the attorney general's word on the guilt of the applicant, Justice Jackson was quick to point out in dissenting that "the menace to the security of this country, be it as great as it may, from this girl's admission is as nothing compared to the menace to free institutions inherent in procedures of this pattern."

It is good to know that the liberal tradition on civil liberties still lives on the bench in the dissents of Black, Frankfurter and Jackson. It is also of interest and possibly of significance—though such matters are rarely so simple and direct—that the ma-

majority of four were all Truman appointees. The lineup of 4-3 in these cases may become 5-4 in future cases when Douglas returns and Clark participates.

There is some cold scholastic comfort in the size of the minority but a minority it remains. The more brilliant minorities of Holmes and Brandeis in past civil-liberties cases did not prevent violent abuses of liberty by the highest court. If these two decisions are any portent it is to be feared that, under the increasing pressures of the cold war, the main function of the highest court will be to place the seal of law on the atrocities of the Department of Justice.

Let those who dismiss this as a possibility pause and remember. It has happened before.

U. S. and Franco - -

(Continued from page 1)

past loans. Franco has been forced to pledge a part of Spain's gold reserves and to seek a new loan from the Chase National Bank of New York in order to acquire the dollars needed to buy American and Canadian wheat.

It is ironic to note that Acheson's letter describes Franco's position as strong. In reality, the Franco regime is politically, as well as economically, bankrupt. (One writer has said that Franco is living on his capital. More accurately, the Madrid regime is living on its future.)

As newspaper reports make quite plain, all sections of Spanish society are discontented and restless. It is awareness of the malaise which grips Spanish society that has caused the American government to discard the smokescreen of diplomatic caution.

The Truman administration is fearful of any change in the Spanish status quo. More explicitly, the American government fears the present crisis may lead to a serious rift in Spanish ruling circles, which will in turn open the way to a political upheaval from below.

In the view of the American general staff—and the Truman administration has adopted the Pentagon's reasoning as its own—"political instability" would negate the present and future value of Spain as a strategic base for military operations. Interestingly enough, Acheson's long-winded and cynical letter completely fails to mention Spain's military importance as the chief and decisive reason for rescuing the Franco regime from the grave it has been digging for itself.

The American military, however, have made no secret of their views on the subject of Spain. For the past two years they have waged an energetic pro-Franco campaign with the aid of allies inside and outside of Congress. Army and air generals, admirals and congressmen by the dozen have made the grand tour to Spain and back.

U. S. WANTS BASES

Prominent among those congressmen visiting Spain in 1948 and 1949 have been members of the Senate Military Appropriations Committee, who have close ties with the Pentagon. Among them have been Sen-

ators Thomas, Chavez, McLellan, Russell (Democrats) and Bridges, Ferguson and Maybank (Republicans). Almost without exception the statements issued by these politicians upon their return have followed the same monotonous pattern: Spain's military importance calls for diplomatic recognition and immediate economic aid.

The role of the visiting military has been more practical. A typical instance was the visit of Admiral Conolly and his Atlantic fleet last fall to Spanish waters with the consent of the White House. As was to be expected, the admiral and his staff were cordially received by the Caudillo.

More to the point was the conversation between Conolly and Franco. According to the Paris newspaper Le Monde, Admiral Conolly told Franco that Spain's absence from the Atlantic Pact constituted a serious gap in the Atlantic-Mediterranean defense line. He expressed the hope that Franco would take such measures as would make possible an American-Spanish alliance.

While Acheson talks vaguely and cynically about drawing Spain back into the European and international community, the American general staff has its eyes fixed on certain tangibles. They include the bases of Cartagena, Palma and Mahon, indispensable to the American navy in case of war; the Pyrenees, a natural barrier should an invading army overrun the rest of Europe in the opening phase of another world war; the Castilian plateau, a natural base for air operations; and last but not least the Spanish manpower Franco has been tirelessly offering for sale.

FIVE STEPS TO FRANCO

While the American general staff does not have to answer to anyone (except the president) politically, and has therefore freely propagated its views, the government has been forced to make haste slowly in the same direction for obvious political reasons. But as the record clearly shows, the Truman administration has given aid and comfort to the Franco regime where it could act without too much political embarrassment.

In May 1948 the American government negotiated a unique settlement

The Ageless Female

Union pension plans run into unexpected difficulties.

The editor of the Hatworkers' union paper received a request from a lady member: "I am writing this for myself and for the girls in my shop. We make a suggestion that when the union establishes the rules for the retirement fund, please make it so that we don't have to give our age on the blanks." Anyway, adds the sister, not till a member is all ready to retire.

The editor, who passed the hot potato on to the head of the union, was instructed to explain how very, very hard it is to set up a retirement plan without a record of members' ages, and to assure the perturbed female section of the rank and file that the figures would be kept a dark secret.

Best Wishes

"Mink is almost indestructible and I hope that eventually mink coats can be made available to women who have to wait for streetcars."—Socialite quoted in the Chicago Daily News.

Not in the Headlines

What! Again?

A December item in the Philadelphia newspapers must have had some effect on the liberals of Americans for Democratic Action who helped to elect Richard Dilworth in November on a "liberal" Democratic Party ticket.

The headline read: "Dilworth Selects Republican Aid . . . Names Henigan on Recommendation of Leading Bankers."

Dilworth's advisers were James E. Gowen, chairman of the board of the Girard Trust Company; William Fulton Kurtz, president of the Pennsylvania Company; Frederic A. Potts, president of the Philadelphia National Bank; and Howard C. Petersen, executive vice-president of the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company.

It seems that Dilworth did not consult Karl Marx—or even the ADA, not to speak of the Socialist Party forces which worked for his election.

Pension News

Walter S. Gifford, chairman of the board of American Telephone and Telegraph, has retired at the age of 65 with a big sendoff in the press. Among other items to be noted is the fact that his declining years will be comfortably padded with a \$95,000-a-year pension. At the same time 300,000 Bell Telephone employees are asking that their average \$75-a-month pensions (including social-

security) be raised to a figure more in line with living requirements.

Gifford, says the accompanying publicity, is getting his kingsize pension on the basis of the same principle that applies to the lowliest employee—no favoritism. He has put in 45 years service, and so gets 45 per cent of his average annual salary in his best 10 years (which turns out to be close to a quarter million a year). Same thing for Jane Doe who may have averaged \$35 a week for 45 years of good and faithful service; she gets a \$15.75 a week—on the same principle as Gifford gets his.

Trouble is: she'll find it difficult to live on the principle.

The Free Press

The Detroit chapter of the Newspaper Guild (CIO) has attacked the racist policy of the Detroit News in reporting crime news. Frank Angelo, Guild president, declared:

"If we understand the re-establishing of this policy correctly, it is simply this: That it is the policy of the Detroit News in the publishing of all crime stories to designate the suspect or accused by the use of words indicating the race of said suspect or accused. Further, that this policy shall apply only when said suspect or accused is a Negro."

The union is taking steps to put pressure on the newspaper to end its blatantly race-baiting policy.

Chicago Public Meeting— Max Shachtman Chairman, ISL—Editor, The New International on "TRENDS IN AMERICAN LABOR TODAY" SATURDAY at 8:30 p.m., February 4 at 333 West North Avenue Adm. 50 cents Social Evening to Follow

New York Labor Action Forum— WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES? ROWLAND WATTS National Secretary, Workers Defense League ALBERT GATES Secretary, Independent Socialist League SUNDAY at 8 p.m., February 12 at Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 Street Admission 25 cents

Greece. He is now back in the U. S. Maragon, of course, has no direct connections with the various governmental agencies but higher-ups do the contacting for him. The Tanforan race-track deal is still in the hands of the Department of Justice and it will be interesting to see if it ever sees the light of day.

WAS IT VAUGHAN?

The charges were so obviously phony that when pressure was put on the State Department by the Overseas Writers Association and Poulos' employer, the State Department dropped the charges, accused the U. S. army of being in error and told Poulos it was sorry about the whole thing.

Maragon's only connection with the U. S. army that has come to light up to this time is General Vaughan. Is it possible that Vaughan gave the phony report to the U. S. army for his friend Maragon?

After Maragon was back in the U. S., he and General Vaughan were the personal guests of William Helis at the Detroit convention of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. Helis, who was then president of the AHEPA, is the New Orleans oil man who was part of the Huey Long machine. The Detroit convention committed itself to support of the Truman Doctrine and Maragon went back to Washington to report on his influence with "the Greek voters in the United States."

At the five-percenter hearings it was brought out that Maragon and Helis have had other business connections. It was brought out that Maragon had used government pressure to aid Helis in getting building permits for the Tanforan race track near San Francisco at a time when building permits of this nature were not being issued. When this information began to trickle out at the five-percenter hearings, Helis took a fast plane for

Greece. He is now back in the U. S. Maragon, of course, has no direct connections with the various governmental agencies but higher-ups do the contacting for him. The Tanforan race-track deal is still in the hands of the Department of Justice and it will be interesting to see if it ever sees the light of day.

GOLD-DIGGING IN WASHINGTON

During the five-percenter inquiry information was brought out about his connections with the Allied Mollasses Company, the Trans-American Traders, a Cleveland farm-equipment company, perfume houses and his attempts to influence persons in the Department of Agriculture, war surplus and other agencies, his attempts to smuggle essential perfume oils into the U. S., etc. In all these and other deals too long to deal with here, he had worked with General Vaughan.

So now the government has indicted him because he "lied." He may also be picked up on income-tax frauds, because it is known that he banked more than \$102,000 during a five-year period when his full salary never amounted to \$30,000 a year.

But what interests us and why we have gone into detail on this character is that such men are part and parcel of the government. He has been thrown to the wolves by Truman because there was no choice. To quiet down the five-percenter scandal, at least one friend had to be sacrificed.