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## **LABOR FACT BOOK**

**11**

# LABOR FACT BOOK 11

PREPARED BY  
LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION



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# FOREWORD

Like the earlier volumes in this series of Labor Fact Books this one contains entirely new material, with no repetition of data appearing previously except in a few tables used to show a trend over a series of years.

The present volume covers the years 1951 and 1952. A few facts for the first quarter of 1953 are added in order to bring the story in certain chapters nearer to publication date.

In view of the full index of separate items, we have, for the most part, omitted cross references and in order to save space we have, as usual, cited only a few of our sources. However, as the data come largely from government sources and other reports, we are in a position to supply to interested readers the source for any fact or figure. We have also, as before, in some cases abbreviated the names of unions.

For the first time since Labor Fact Book 8, covering the years 1945 and 1946, we have included a separate chapter dealing with agriculture. This material is particularly relevant in view of the recent decline in farm exports, income and purchasing power, and the new "free market" policies of the Republican Administration.

Although no separate chapter on the Negro people is included in the present volume, data on Negro conditions are included, especially in the sections on housing, working conditions, politics and civil rights.

A considerable part of the book deals with the many forms of persecution and prosecution that have been used to curtail the rights of labor, the Negro people, the foreign born and progressives generally. Reactionary attacks on civil rights have increased during the last two years along with efforts to crush resistance to the unpopular war in Korea. The McCarthys, McCarrans, Veldes and other reactionary forces have become more ruthless in their attacks on the Bill of Rights, while the Department of Justice has continued its prosecutions under the Smith, McCarran, Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor measures.

In the chapter on trade unions it will be noted that, after describing the recent conventions of the two main labor federations, certain unaf-

filiated unions have been selected for fuller treatment. The reason is obvious. These are unions that have received little or no attention in the press except in the form of attacks and smears, because their policies on peace and people's rights have run counter to that of the bi-partisan war machine "mobilizers" in Washington and Wall Street. With the exception of the United Mine Workers of America and the railroad brotherhoods, these independent unions have been discriminated against in the capitalist press. Thus a more detailed account of their activities has been included.

Although there is no separate section on the Korean war of intervention and the 132,000 U.S. battle casualties, including up to mid-March over 23,000 dead, various chapters deal with the conditions accentuated by the war—the huge federal expenditures for armaments, the mounting burden of taxes, deteriorated housing, the wage freeze during this period, the spreading hysteria and witch hunt against all people of independent thought, and the efforts of the employers to undermine the trade unions by anti-labor legislation, directing their attack especially against those unions that have been most actively working to bring an end to hostilities in the Far East. The demand for a cease-fire in that war, and for a high-level international conference to bring about peace and peaceful co-existence of all nations, underlines the array of facts in all eight chapters.

The preparation of this volume, like the earlier ones in this series, has been aided by a group of able volunteers who have generously given their time and talents. We are indebted likewise to the officers of a number of unions and other organizations who have prepared material and provided documents dealing with their activities.

Many of the topics covered here, especially in Chapters I and II, are discussed currently in our monthly service, *Economic Notes*, now in its twenty-first year of publication, and *Railroad Notes*, which has been published for over sixteen years. For possible use in these bulletins, as well as in future Fact Books, we invite leaders of unions and related organizations in the United States, as well as abroad, to send us their publications, periodicals and other material, addressing them to

Robert W. Dunn, Secretary,  
Labor Research Association,  
80 East Eleventh Street,  
New York City, 3, N. Y.

April, 1953.

# I. ECONOMIC TRENDS

Economic trends in the United States in the years 1951 and 1952 reflect the artificial stimulus set off by the Korean War. They reveal also certain difficulties which by the close of 1952 could no longer be concealed by the "defense" factors in the economy. Thus, with 1950 as a base year, 1951 records showed what appeared to be considerable gains in practically all economic sectors. But by the end of 1952 these gains were shown to be mainly inflationary on the consumer side, while on the production side they were almost wholly concerned with war and further preparation for war.

From 1950 to 1952 the so-called gross national product (including all production for both private and government account) expressed in current prices, rose from \$284 billion to \$346 billion. This was a gain of 22%, of which the greater part (16%) occurred in 1951. The resulting "boom" was based on an increase in expenditures for "national security" from \$18.3 billion in 1950 to \$36.7 billion in 1951 and \$48.9 billion in 1952—a rise of 167% in two years.

In 1952 "national security" expenditures rose to 14% of gross national product. This materially helped to maintain consumer expenditures. These increased by 11% from 1950 to 1952, but the increase was almost wholly the result of the rise in retail prices, which advanced at least 10%. As the Survey of Current Business (Feb., 1953) pointed out, in referring to the \$14 billion rise in personal consumer expenditures in 1951, this "was entirely accounted for by higher prices, with real volume unchanged." And of the \$8 billion further rise in 1952 it noted that, after allowance for price changes, only a half of this rise "represented an enlarged flow of goods and services to consumers."

Gross private domestic investment in 1951 rose 16% over 1950 as a result of the piling up of inventories to meet armament orders, and the liberal issuance of "certificates of necessity" by the government to encourage construction of plant and equipment for "defense" purposes. However, during 1952 inventories increased relatively little, while plant and equipment expenditures were virtually stabilized.

Since the population of the U.S. increased nearly 4% during the last two years (it reached an estimated 158,200,000 by the end of 1952), per capita civilian consumption has declined, while private capital investment, after a short-lived expansion, by the first part of 1953 was entering a downward trend.

The impending downtrend in business spending was regarded as even more serious than the slump in consumer spending. A fundamental aspect of a capitalist economy is the tendency for consumer spending to lag behind income gains, but this may be offset for brief periods by capital investment booms. Since the end of World War II, U.S. industrial capacity as a whole has increased about 50%, involving a huge expenditure which helped to hold the economy at a high level, especially in the pre-Korean stage of the postwar period.

Since Korea, however, over one-third of all investment in plant and equipment has been of the type to which the fast tax write-offs could be applied. But by the close of 1952 this "certificates of necessity" program appeared to be leveling off in its final stages. About half of the projects had been completed, and more than 85% were to be completed by the end of 1953, with no significant increase in new applications expected.

As for the consumer side of capital expansion, new private construction expenditures rose less than 1% between 1950 and 1952, residential nonfarm construction expenditures declined 12% in the same period, and the number of new housing units started dropped 19%.

Examination of other selected indicators given in the following table shows that the civilian economic sectors did not share in the expansion of the war-related branches of the economy in the 1950-1952 period.

MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1950-1952

	1950	1951	1952	<i>Percent change 1950- 1952</i>
Gross national product (billions of dollars)	284.2	329.2	346.1	+22
Personal consumption expenditures (bil. \$)	194.3	208.0	216.3	+11
Gross private domestic investment (bil. \$)	50.3	58.5	51.8	+ 3
Gov't purchases of goods & services (bil. \$)	41.9	62.6	77.8	+86
"National security" expenditures (bil. \$)	18.3	36.7	48.9	+167
Consumer price index (1947-49 = 100)	102.8	111.0	113.5	+10
Food prices index (1947-49 = 100)	101.2	112.6	114.6	+13

## ECONOMIC TRENDS

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Employment (millions)	60.0	61.0	61.3	+ 2
Unemployment (millions)	3.1	1.9	1.7	-45
Armed forces (millions)	1.5	3.5	3.6	+140
Industrial output index (1935-39 = 100)	200	220	219	+ 9
Durable manufactures index (1935-39 = 100)	237	273	280	+18
Iron & steel index (1935-39 = 100)	229	259	243	+ 6
Non durable mfres. index (1935-39 = 100)	187	194	189	+ 1
Food manufactures index (1935-39 = 100)	164	165	164	+ 0
Textile manufactures index (1935-39 = 100)	182	174	161	-12
New private construction (bil. \$)	21.6	21.7	21.8	+ 1
Residential (nonfarm) (bil. \$)	12.6	10.9	11.1	-12
New housing starts (thousands)	1,396	1,091	1,131	-19
Department store sales (1947-49 = 100)	105	109	109	+ 4
Consumer credit outstanding (bil. \$)	20.1	20.6	24.0	+20
Installment credit outstanding (bil. \$)	13.4	13.5	16.5	+23
Disposable income of consumers (bil. \$)	205.5	225.0	234.8	+14
Per capita disposable income (1952 prices)	\$1,484	\$1,486	\$1,496	+ 1
Per capita consumer expenditures (1952 prices)	\$1,411	\$1,380	\$1,376	- 2
Personal net saving (billion \$)	11.2	17.0	18.0	+60
Personal net saving as % of disposable income	5.5	7.6	7.7	

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce and other government agencies. Some figures for 1952 are preliminary.

**Rise in "Defense" Jobs:** Total employment in this period increased 2% which is less than the population growth. The widely heralded drop in unemployment, from 3.1 million in 1950 to 1.7 million in 1952 (Census Bureau estimates which, as we pointed out in Labor Fact Book 10, are very conservative), is more than accounted for by the rise in the armed forces, from 1.5 million in 1950 to 3.6 million in 1952. If we add the armed forces total to the official underestimates of full-time unemployment, we find that in 1952, at least 5 million able-bodied workers were excluded from productive employment of any sort.

Total number of salary and wage workers in all non-agricultural industries between 1951 and 1952 rose by 1% (or less than the rise in population) to 46,865,000. Of these 15,985,000 were in manufacturing, whose number rose about one-third of 1% between 1951 and 1952, and 875,000 in mining, which declined nearly 5% in the same period. The numbers employed in 1952 in other divisions of the economy were (in thousands): contract construction, 2,546; transportation and public utilities, 4,168; trade, 9,943; finance, 1,961; service, 4,761; and government (civilians) 6,628. The increase in government employees was largely



due to the 6.3% rise in federal employment chiefly in "defense" agencies.

In manufacturing, the two groups of industries that stood out above the all-industry average with respect to man-hour expansion were those primarily engaged in war goods production, such as ordnance and transportation equipment other than automobiles. Employment between 1951 and 1952 rose 62% in the former and 29% in the latter industry.

**Industrial Production:** The split between the war and peace aspects of the economy shows up most clearly when we examine the change in industrial output over the past two years. The 9% gain between 1950 and 1952 in over-all industrial production is accounted for by a rise of 18% in durable goods output, the greater part of which is associated with war preparations activity. Contrast this with the gain of only 1% in nondurable goods production most of which is connected with civilian needs. Thus manufactured food products output did not expand at all despite the growth in population, while output of textiles declined by 12%.

Even so, the durable and nondurable breakdown in the figures does not adequately distinguish between industries catering primarily to civilian demands and those working on military goods. For the durable goods classification includes important civilian goods while some of the military-related industries, such as oil and chemicals, are classified as producers of nondurables. The figures show that some of the largest declines during this period in the civilian branch of the economy were in the following consumer durable goods, whose loss in output, between 1950 and 1952, were as follows: electric refrigerators, 42%; passenger cars, 35%; radio, 33%; carpets, 28%; washing machines, 26%; vacuum cleaners, 19%; television sets, 18%; furniture 3%. (Of course, the fact that the 1950 figures were inflated by the feverish activity in the last half, after Korea, tends to make some of the percentage decreases greater than they otherwise would have been.)

**Civilian Consumption:** It is clear from such figures that production for civilian consumption has been the chief casualty of the Korean War. The decline in civilian goods production was accompanied by a growing inability of consumers to absorb even the curtailed output without drawing heavily on their financial reserves.

The increase in so-called "disposable income" of consumers, from

\$205.5 billion in 1950 to \$234.8 billion in 1952, when adjusted for price and population changes was only 1%. And when consumer expenditures are deflated for price and population changes, the per capita decline was about 2.5%, from \$1,411 in 1950 to \$1,376 in 1952.

Business economists have expressed some concern over the growing tendency of consumer expenditures to lag behind income. They note the rise in personal "net saving" from 5.5% of disposable income in 1950 to 7.7% in 1952. Such "saving," along with the gains in "disposable income", is mainly accounted for by the upper income groups of the population. For the lower income groups, expenditures have been running ahead of income. (See Chapter II.)

**Consumer Credit:** Another indication of the fact that consumers in the lower-income groups, have been losing out in the race between income and expenditures is seen in the big jump in consumer credit during the last two years, from \$20 billion at the end of 1950 to \$24 billion by the end of 1952. The rise in 1952 alone was over 16%, the biggest advance coming after consumer credit controls were removed in May. Installment debt amounted to \$16.5 billion at the end of 1952; it had risen 22% in one year.

Total consumer credit as a percentage of national income at the end of 1952 stood at the highest level since 1940. Finance authorities were beginning to express concern over the big rise in such credit, especially in the big installment debt. Dun's Review (Feb., 1953) pointed out that during 1952 "bankers were sometimes concerned that the bulk of the liquid assets appeared to be distributed largely among the upper-income groups, while the bulk of the credit was used by the lower-income groups. . . ."

During the first quarter of 1953 the fundamental economic contradictions of the U.S. economy were thus unresolved. More and more money was being poured down the rat-hole of military spending and a large sector of the economy was being used for wasteful, anti-social ends. At the same time the needs of consumers, especially in the lower income groups, were not being met, as an increasing share of the nation's goods and raw materials were swallowed up in massive war preparations. The effects of this on the conditions of the people are given in detail in the following chapter.

## CORPORATE PROFITS IN THE UNITED STATES

Corporate profits in 1951-1952, under the impact of the Korean war and the "defense" mobilization, were higher than for any previous two-year period in American history. Profits for this 24-month period were \$83.7 billion, and for the last three years, almost wholly a period of intense war preparations, the total came to over \$123 billion.

Even after payment of taxes, about which the corporations have raised so many complaints, the net profits reported came to \$57.1 billion, also a record for any three-year period in corporate history. The peak for any individual year was reached in 1950 at \$21.2 billion. The peak for profits before taxes was in 1951 at \$42.9 billion under the first impact of the Korean intervention, but the higher taxes that year reduced the total net profits to \$18.7 billion, and they dropped a little further in 1952 to \$17.2 billion.

The figures in the table below are estimates by the U.S. Department of Commerce, except those for the year 1952, which are preliminary estimates by the Council of Economic Advisers. The figures for earlier years supplement and correct those appearing in previous Labor Fact Books:

	<i>Corporate profits before taxes</i>	<i>Corporate profits after taxes</i>	<i>Dividends payments</i>	<i>Undistributed profits</i>
	(Billions of dollars)			
1939	6.5	5.0	3.8	1.2
1944	24.3	10.8	4.7	6.1
1948	33.8	20.7	7.2	13.5
1949	27.1	16.3	7.5	8.8
1950	39.6	21.2	9.0	12.3
1951	42.9	18.7	9.0	9.6
1952	40.8	17.2	9.3	7.9

The general situation near the end of 1952 was described in Business Week (Nov. 1, 1952): "Profits suffered, to be sure," as a result of the steel strike and other factors, "but not enough to make any serious difference in industry's financial position. Most firms are in excellent condition. Working capital is at an all-time high. Dividend rates have been maintained at peak levels."

**Rise in Dividends:** Stockholders of corporations received dividends totaling \$9.3 billion in 1952, a record sum, nearly double the amount

paid out during the war-prosperity year 1944, and \$300 million above the previous record in 1951. It is estimated that during the last three years the corporations paid out over \$27 billion in dividends, at the same time keeping nearly \$30 billion in their treasuries in undistributed profits.

**Profit Rates Up:** Profits, before taxes, of manufacturing corporations rose from an 18.5% rate of return on "stockholders equity" in 1949, during the slight recession of that year, to 27.8% in 1950 and to 28.6% in 1951, according to reports of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. (Stockholders' equity, or net worth, equals the capital stock plus all types of surplus. The rate would be much higher if related only to the capital stock.) Rate of return for 1952 as a whole is not yet available, but reports for the first three quarters show a slight decline.

When profits, after taxes, are computed, the rates for manufacturing companies rose from 11.7% in 1949 to 15.4% in 1950. Then, as a result of increased corporate taxes, the rate slipped to 12.5% in 1951, and was again a little lower during the first part of 1952.

**Smalls Have Lower Profit Rates:** A study by the Federal Trade Commission of profit rates, after taxes, found that during the postwar period the rates of the larger manufacturing corporations, i.e., the largest four in each industry, "were generally higher than those of the smaller corporations covered in this report." ("Rates of Return for 512 Identical Companies in 25 Selected Manufacturing Industries.")

Profits on sales were also higher for the large manufacturing corporations, the regular reports of the SEC and FTC, covering all companies, show. The rate of profit of the large firms (in this case those with assets of over \$5 million) increased from 11.6% of sales in 1947 to 13.4% of sales in 1951. At the same time the rate of profit on sales of the small manufacturing companies (those with less than \$5 million of assets) was declining from 9.5% in 1947 to 7.8% in 1951.

As a result of the decreasing share of the market and the declining rate of profit over the years, the percent of the total manufacturing profits going to the large corporations rose from 75% in 1947 to 86% in 1951. At the same time the share received by the small companies fell from 25% in 1947 to 14% in 1951.

## U.S. FOREIGN TRADE, 1951 - 1952

After rising about \$4.7 billion, to \$15 billion, in 1951, U.S. exports, including military shipments, in 1952 totaled \$15.2 billion. While ordinary commercial exports slumped, military goods rose significantly during the year, and had a total value of nearly \$2 billion in 1952, almost double the \$1.1 billion in 1951. When military shipments are deducted from both years' totals, the balance of non-military exports for 1952 totals \$13.2 billion compared with \$14 billion in 1951, and the record high for commercial exports of \$15.3 billion reached in 1947.

While an increasing portion of total exports has been accounted for by military shipments, the commercial portion has been propped up (but at a declining level) by such devices as foreign economic "aid," U.S. troop purchases in foreign countries, American Army and Navy installation construction expenses abroad, and stockpiling and general raw material purchases for the U.S. military program.

Even with these artificial devices, U.S. foreign trade remains out of alignment with the rest of the world. In 1952, imports totaled \$10.7 billion, a little under 1951 and \$4.5 billion short of the 1952 export figure, this balance representing the well-known "dollar gap." This trade surplus was supposed to have been eliminated by 1952 through the operation of the Marshall Plan, but after declining sharply in 1950 it rose again in 1951-1952.

**Importance of Export Markets:** Although U.S. exports account for only a relatively small percentage (4% to 5%) of the gross national product, certain industries have a significant proportion of their products going into exports. For example, in 1951 the following items were exported percentage-wise in terms of their total production in the U.S.: wheat, 36%; dried fruits, 21%; soybeans, 28%; leaf tobacco, 26%; raw cotton, 42%; bituminous coal, 11%; anthracite coal, 14%; sulphur, 26%; refrigerators, 14%; machine tools, 11% (much below the percentage of preceding years); tractors, 21%.

During the years 1949 to 1951 exports of all products which rely upon foreign markets for more than 25% of their sales made up about one-third of total exports. And about half of all exports during this period originated in industries which sold abroad more than 10% of their output.

The extent of the drop in farm exports is discussed in Chapter VI. But other exports have also shown substantial recent declines, including chemicals, textiles, coal, oil, and automobiles. A further slump in 1953 was expected also in fertilizers, farm equipment, radios, typewriters and other manufactured goods.

U.S. cold war embargo policies, enforced against the Soviet Union, China and the peoples' democracies, continue to interfere with the flow of trade which could contribute to the prosperity of all participating countries regardless of their political and social systems.

### U.S. DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

U.S. corporations and individuals owned \$11.8 billion in foreign plants, mills, mines and other facilities at the end of 1950, according to the latest Census of American Direct Investments in Foreign Countries, by the U.S. Department of Commerce. If foreign investments made in 1951 and 1952 are added, the total would come to at least \$13 billion, compared with about \$7.9 billion in 1943 when a similar census of direct foreign investments was taken.

This government estimate is an understatement of U.S. capitalism's overseas holdings, as the Department of Commerce admits: "The new valuation of American direct investments abroad in 1950 is \$1.7 billion lower than estimates in use up to now." Also, "The value of the American investments is given as reflected on the books of the foreign organizations, converted into dollars according to the exchange rates by the U.S. parent companies. . . . The book values of these properties are generally much lower than either of two alternative methods of valuation—market value or replacement value. . . ." (Survey of Current Business, Dec., 1952.)

This latest census of overseas investments reveals the concentration points of U.S. imperialism. Private U.S. direct investment in the Western Hemisphere (Canada, Central and South America) accounts for about 70% of all direct investments abroad.

U.S. direct investment in Latin American countries had reached \$4,675 million, accounting for almost 40% of total investments. Another \$3,564 million were invested in Canada, or about 30% of the total. In both of these areas, U.S. investments have increased rapidly since 1943.

Countries besides Canada in which direct investments were largest

were: Venezuela, \$981 million; United Kingdom, \$840 million; Persian Gulf area, \$726 million; Cuba, \$638 million; Chile, \$530 million; Mexico, \$399 million; and France, \$285 million.

Private U.S. overseas investments were divided into industry groups in the following amounts: manufacturing, \$3,844 million (of which over \$2,850 million are concentrated in Canada and Western Europe); petroleum, \$3,437 million; transportation and communications, \$1,428 million; mining and smelting, \$1,114 million; trade, \$759 million; agriculture, \$545 million; finance and insurance, \$440 million; miscellaneous, \$238 million.

Reflecting the drive to turn the rest of the world into a supplier of raw materials to the U.S. industrial machine, the Commerce Department notes that the "extractive industries show fastest growth" in the total picture of increasing U.S. investments.

Since World War II intense efforts have been made to secure safe and profitable areas for U.S. foreign investment. The Marshall Plan had special guarantees for overseas investment. The Point Four Program was designed primarily for the same end. However, the rising resistance of peoples in various countries to foreign exploitation has severely limited these programs. In no postwar year has the National Association of Manufacturers' objective of an annual \$2 billion outflow of U.S. private capital come anywhere near achievement. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that the "net annual outflow of private U.S. capital from 1947 to 1952 averaged about \$1 billion. Most of this was in the form of direct investments," the remainder mainly in government bonds and similar "portfolio" investments. ("Markets After the Defense Expansion," 1952.)

Net direct investment of new capital from the U.S., which had averaged around \$700 million a year during the four-year period 1947-1950, fell to \$513 million in 1951, latest year for which the final figures are available.

## THE COLD WAR BUDGET

The federal budget for the fiscal year 1954 (starting July 1, 1953) was submitted to Congress by President Truman (his last budget message) on January 9, 1953. Spending for war and war preparations—military services, international affairs, "defense" production and atomic research—added up to \$57.3 billion, or nearly 73% of the total.

This was almost nine times the amount budgeted for this purpose in 1941.

Other large related expenditures were \$4.6 billion for veterans' services and \$6.4 billion to pay direct charges on the huge national debt. These are classified as "aftermath of war" expenditures in the table below. Including these, we find that 87% of the funds to be expended would be for wars, past, present and future.

Expenditures for social security, welfare and health were listed at only \$2.6 billion while the government will collect \$5.2 million from payroll taxes. Housing was cut to \$300 million, while labor will cost the government only \$268 million, including unemployment compensation and placement activities.

The figures in parenthesis beside the 1941 and 1954 columns in the following table show the percentage of the total for each item.

FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30  
(in billions)

	1941	1950	1952 <sup>a</sup>	1953 <sup>b</sup>	1954 <sup>b</sup>
War and war preparations	\$6.5 (48.5)	\$17.7	\$47.0	\$53.0	\$57.3 (72.9)
Aftermath of war	1.7 (12.7)	12.3	10.7	11.0	11.0 (14.0)
Social security	2.5 (18.7)	2.2	2.5	2.6	2.6 (3.3)
Housing facilities	0.1 (0.8)	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3 (0.4)
Labor	0.2 (1.5)	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3 (0.4)
All other purposes	2.4 (17.8)	7.4	5.2	7.2	7.1 (9.0)
Total	\$13.4 (100.0)	\$40.2	\$66.1	\$74.6	\$78.6 (100.0)

<sup>a</sup> Revised figures; those in Labor Fact Book 10 were preliminary. <sup>b</sup> Estimates.

After the budget was submitted there was much talk of cutting it, but the new Republican regime was expected to do its slashing mainly in the field of social-service and welfare programs.

## RISE IN THE WAR TAX BURDEN

Individual income taxes have risen from a total of about \$1.8 billion in the fiscal year 1941 to an estimated \$34.3 billion in fiscal 1954, as outlined in the budget figures submitted to Congress in January, 1953. The estimated increase in various types of federal taxes since 1941 as well as the amounts collected in each category in the fiscal years



1950 and 1952 and projected for 1953 and 1954, are shown in the table below:

TYPES OF FEDERAL TAXES (Millions of dollars)					
<i>Kind of tax</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1952<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>1953<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>1954<sup>b</sup></i>
Individual income	\$1,824	\$18,115	\$30,713	\$34,446	\$34,334
Corporate income & excess profits	2,211	10,854	21,467	23,700	23,300
Excise	2,390	7,597	8,893	9,795	9,869
Social security	932	2,892	4,573	4,932	5,249
Customs	392	423	550	590	590
Miscellaneous	236	1,430	1,803	1,745	2,180
Total	\$7,985	\$41,311	\$67,999	\$75,208	\$75,522
Deduct appropriations to reserves, refunds and adjustments	758	4,266	5,871	6,511	6,857
Net receipts	\$7,227	\$37,045	\$62,128	\$68,697	\$68,665

<sup>a</sup> Revised figures. <sup>b</sup> Estimates based on President's budget message, January 9, 1953.

Although the figures for fiscal 1954 may be altered somewhat by Congress in the light of Republican promises of certain tax cuts, it may be assumed that the burdens on the corporations will be lightened, while those of individuals, especially persons in the lower income groups, will remain as heavy as before.

**Taxes Increased:** To finance the costs of the Korean war and the new military mobilization, Congress passed a third taxraising revenue act in October, 1951. (See Labor Fact Book 10 for first two Korean war tax increases.)

This Act was designed to bring in about \$5.7 billion of additional revenue: \$2.3 billion from individual incomes; \$2.2 billion from corporate incomes; and \$1.2 billion from excise (sales) taxes. It raised the tax on personal incomes by 11% and called for a higher rate in the excise taxes on a number of consumer items. Corporate tax rates were advanced by 5% at all levels, retroactive to April 1, 1951. (The House of Representatives had voted previously to make January 1, 1951, the effective date but the Senate pushed it ahead three months, thus saving the corporations about \$500 million.)

The excess profits tax rate was raised from 77% to 82%, but the total maximum tax liability was limited to 70% of total profits for large

companies down to as low as 35% for smaller ones. This tax discriminated against small business and tended to accentuate the trend toward concentration of power in the hands of a relatively few companies. For the very years which were used as a base for the purpose of excess profits calculations were the ones when the small concerns showed generally poor profits, while the large corporations showed increasing profits. Those of corporations with assets of less than \$250,000 declined 63% between 1947 and 1949, but those with assets of \$100 million and over rose 32% in the same period.

Under other provisions of the act, existing loopholes were widened and new ones were added. These included: new or higher depletion allowances for a long list of mining operations; permission to business owners to take in family members as partners, thus reducing tax liability by dividing profits; permission to large corporations to "spin off" or divest themselves of subsidiaries without having to pay taxes on resulting tax distribution, as before; more "relief" provisions and special clauses for computing an excess profits tax.

**State and Local Taxes:** In the fiscal years ending in 1951 state governments collected a total of \$8.9 billion in taxes; in fiscal 1952 the total rose to a record of \$9.8 billion.

State taxes bear more heavily on low-income groups than federal taxes, although the federal income tax withheld from pay envelopes remains the most burdensome of all taxes. Of the total state tax collections of \$9.8 billion in fiscal 1952, sales and excise taxes accounted for 59% with individual and corporate taxes accounting for only 19%. Sales taxes now are levied by 33 states, compared with 24 in 1939, and other states were expected to levy such taxes in 1953.

Rise in the total taxes of the states has resulted from additional expenditures for the war mobilization program. Such items as "civil defense," and the creation of state troop units to replace National Guard companies taken into the Army, called for larger outlays by the states. Repairs of highways also became increasingly a state undertaking after the Korean war began.

The Census Bureau reports that the 41 largest cities of the U.S. collected \$2.1 billion in taxes during the fiscal year ending 1951. Of this total, which was 6.7% more than that for the previous year, 18% came from sales and excise taxes. CIO economists estimate that in the fiscal

year 1953 the state and local governments together will have a total take of over \$20 billion.

**Total Tax Burden:** Total tax collections, at all levels, set new records during the fiscal years 1951 and 1952. In the former it was estimated that \$70.5 billion was collected by federal, state and local governments, compared with \$56.4 billion the preceding year. In fiscal 1952 the total rose to \$87 billion or about \$557 per capita as compared with \$373 in 1950. This aggregate tax burden took more than 32% of national income, compared to a World War II peak of 28% and a pre-Korean ratio of 25%.

It is estimated that about one-third of the average work day of the worker goes to pay taxes. And the Tax Foundation, a private research group, finds that the average American worker, early in 1952, was paying 32 cents out of every dollar earned to "one tax collector or another in direct and hidden taxes."

So-called "hidden" or "invisible" taxes are those passed on by business concerns to the consumer in the form of higher prices. Such taxes now make up more than half of all taxes collected. On such necessities as bread, milk and beef they already bring the total tax paid to more than half the "real" value of the item. For coal, gasoline and cigarettes the total tax is over 100% of the real price.

**Losses Through Loopholes:** As tax rates on individuals and corporations have risen, various loopholes in the laws have been used to escape taxes. Estimates of the amount of revenue lost annually to the federal government in this way indicate a total of over \$4.5 billion from the following sources: through the split-income provision, \$2.5 billion; percentage depletion allowance, \$750 million; estate and gift tax provisions, \$600 million; unreported dividend and corporate bond interest income, \$300 million; capital gains treatment, \$400 million; family partnership clause, \$100 million.

Other loopholes and methods of tax avoidance (for which no estimates are available) include the escape clauses and special relief provisions for computing the excess profits tax; the carry-back, carry-forward provisions of the corporate tax law; the unreported income of professionals and self-employed; corporate padded expense accounts; other devices added to the Revenue Act of 1951, mentioned above.

**Accelerated Amortization:** One of the biggest tax benefits gained by corporations during the "defense emergency" mobilization period was the granting of "certificates of necessity" by the Defense Production Administration for the construction of new plants and facilities. These certificates permit accelerated amortization of the cost of such construction at the rate of 20% per year for five years instead of the usual  $2\frac{1}{3}\%$  to 5% permitted by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

By December, 1952, the total value of new facilities approved for these rapid tax write-offs, numbering nearly 15,000, approached \$24 billion. About 61% of this total proposed investment, or over \$15 billion, was certified for the accelerated amortization. This permitted a tax saving to the companies involved, of nearly \$2 billion a year and a corresponding loss to the government.

**Reactionary Amendment:** Wealthy and reactionary groups, such as the Committee for Constitutional Government, have in recent years carried on a campaign for a constitutional amendment limiting federal taxes to 25% on both individual and corporate incomes and on gifts and estates.

By June, 1952, the legislature of 17 states, out of a required 32, had petitioned Congress to call a constitutional convention to pass this "rich man's" amendment. Such a scheme would benefit only the top 1% of taxpayers, and would result in an annual revenue loss to the federal government of more than \$16 billion, the U.S. Treasury estimates. Such a loss could be made up only by heavier taxes on low income groups.

**Progressive Tax Programs:** The Progressive Party, in its 1952 platform, advocated exemption from taxes of all incomes lower than \$4,000 for a family of four, and lower than \$2,000 for a single person. It urged also the end of all excise and sales taxes and the closing of all loopholes in the present tax laws.

Progressive trade unions urge the elimination of taxes, especially hidden taxes, on all incomes below the levels of health and decency; the closing of all tax loopholes and the strict enforcement of the tax laws to stop widespread evasion; steeper income tax rates on higher incomes; passage of an effective excess profits tax; and defeat of the reactionary proposal for a 25% ceiling on all taxes.

## II. LABOR AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

### DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND SAVINGS

Some 26.5 million families, or half of all in the United States, received in 1951 less than \$3,200 in money income, the Federal Reserve Board shows in its latest survey of consumer finances. (Federal Reserve Bulletin, Sept. 1952.)

The FRB figures indicate the distribution of income among 53 million families or spending units. As always in these annual surveys, the spending unit is defined as "all persons living in the same dwelling and belonging to the same family who pool their incomes to meet their major expenses."

Only the highest income group, those with incomes over \$7,500, (7% of all) was relatively larger and received a bigger share (26%) of the total money income in 1951 than in the preceding year. In 1950, 6% of the families, each receiving over \$7,500, received 21% of the income.

Here are the figures from the FRB survey showing the distribution among families (spending units) in 1951:

6,890,000 families (13%)	received less than \$1,000
14,840,000 families (28%)	received less than \$2,000
24,380,000 families (46%)	received less than \$3,000
33,920,000 families (64%)	received less than \$4,000
41,870,000 families (79%)	received less than \$5,000
49,290,000 families (93%)	received less than \$7,500
3,710,000 families (7%)	received \$7,500 and over
1,590,000 families (3%)	received \$10,000 and over

Grouped cumulatively the figures above indicate that 24,380,000 families, or 46% of all, received less than \$3,000. Two-thirds (64%) of the families received less than \$4,000.

**Highest Tenth Gets One-third:** When ranged by tenths, the FRB survey shows that in 1951 the highest tenth of the families received nearly one-third (31%) of the total money income—a larger share

than the 29% that went to the highest tenth in the preceding year. "The average income of the lowest tenth actually declined," between 1950 and 1951, the FRB pointed out.

**Income by Occupational Groups:** Incomes vary with the occupation of the head of the family. The managerial and self-employed group are at the top of the list, with median income of \$4,780—half the families having more and half less than that amount.

Professional and semi-professional families are a close second, with a median of \$4,500, far above the average for all families. Near the foot of the classified occupations are unskilled and service workers' families, with a median of only \$2,100, while farm operators average even less with a median of \$1,880.

**Savings Held by the Few:** More than 16 million families, or about one-third (31%) of all, in early 1952 had no liquid savings at all, the FRB reported. (Such savings include government bonds, savings and checking accounts, shares in savings and loan associations and credit unions.) In fact, the number of families having any liquid assets declined by one million, the survey shows, between 1951 and early 1952. As always shown in these FRB surveys, savings are highly concentrated in the hands of the few at the top of the income scale. In early 1952, the highest tenth in relation to money income held 39% of the total liquid assets. Only 8% of all the families had as much as \$5,000 in liquid assets while only 3% had \$10,000 or more.

**Over-weighting of High-Income Groups:** These Federal Reserve Board surveys of consumer finances are recognized as authoritative, but they tend to over-estimate the average income of families. The annual survey is conducted for the FRB by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. In its description of survey methods, it admits there is an "over-sampling of high-income groups." It says: "By increasing the number of 'wealthy' respondents in the sample, a more reliable representation of this important group is obtained. . . . Dwellings in high-rent blocks, and also dwellings in high-rent suburbs are over-sampled. . . . Dwellings rated 'medium' are sampled at twice the rate of 'low' dwellings. Dwellings rated 'high' at six times this rate. (Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1950.)

Results are weighted, the bulletin explains, to balance the over-sampling, but labor economists believe the weighting is inadequate so that the annual survey remains always an under-reporting of low-income families. This fact makes all the more significant its data showing

the concentration of incomes and savings among a relatively small proportion of the population.

**Income of Individuals:** For all individual persons 14 years and over receiving any money income the U.S. Bureau of the Census estimates the median annual income. It reports that in 1951 the median income was \$2,200, half receiving more and half less than that amount. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Sept. 26, 1952.)

But the median for men was higher than for women. Half of the men 14 years and over who received any money income in 1951 had less than \$2,952. But for women the median was only \$1,045.

## WAGE STABILIZATION AND FREEZE

Just before adjourning in July, 1952, the 82nd Congress amended the Defense Production Act to provide for a stricter policy on wage stabilization. It created a new Wage Stabilization Board as a statutory body with no authority to handle labor disputes of any kind. WSB's function was thus limited to advising on legality of proposed wage changes and other compensation policies.

**Prices Decontrolled:** While providing for a stricter wage freeze, Congress greatly weakened the price control program. Price and rent controls were almost destroyed. Price ceilings were immediately suspended on some 1,200 different items, many of them directly affecting consumers. Price rises granted to manufacturers in 1952 would cost consumers some \$900 million a year, the Office of Price Stabilization estimated.

In cities surveyed by the Office of Rent Stabilization in 1951, rents (for those in the rental group under \$30 a month) had been increased on the average by 50% to 71% in the two years following decontrol of rents. In the U.S. as a whole, by the end of 1952, rents had risen by about 10% above June, 1950 (Korea), even by the inadequate consumers' price index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Labor members of the original Wage Stabilization Board had accepted the wage freeze "in exchange for an effective price control program which would preserve the value not only of the wage dollar but of all dollars," the AFL executive council reported at the 1952 convention. But Congress having "foisted upon the wage earners a shoddy price control program," the council concluded that "the continuation of

the wage stabilization program will not only be useless but it will be a cruel injustice to the wage earners of America."

**Methods of Wage Freeze:** The original Wage Stabilization Board froze wage increases at 10% above the January, 1950, level. In August, 1951, it approved a new cost-of-living policy for what it called maintenance of real wages in line with the rise in living costs since January, 1951, as measured by the BLS consumers' price index. This policy in practice restricted wage gains primarily to changes in this inadequate index.

About 70% of all appeal cases for all unions, when sent up from regional boards, were turned down by the national WSB. Its cost-of-living wage policy permitted only the most meager increases in addition to the original 10% rise, and these increases lagged far behind the actual rise in living costs. Under these restrictions, appeals for larger increases negotiated with employers were denied in Washington.

The United Electrical Workers, for example, lost its appeal for 2,650 employees of Tung-Sol Electric Inc., Newark, N. J., who had won a contract for an eighth paid holiday and three weeks vacation after 10 years work. The WSB also denied the appeal of 1,400 UE members employed by the Independent Lock Co., Fitchburg, Mass., who had won a negotiated 2c night shift differential. However, in 1952, the UE managed to get 57 out of 83 of its cases approved, with 26 either partially or wholly denied.

Under the wage stabilization program, thousands of workers, mostly unorganized, made no real gains. In November, 1951, Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin told the CIO national convention: "Nearly 45% of the wage earners of the United States failed to keep pace with the cost of living in the period from January, 1950, to June, 1951. . . . The wages of more than 20 million American workers failed to rise to the same degree" as the consumers' price index.

By October, 1952, the WSB policy allowed employers to raise wages 16.6% above the January, 1950, level without special permission. Raises exceeding that amount required Board approval.

Coal miners represented by the United Mine Workers had negotiated with coal companies in September, 1952, for a wage increase of \$1.90 a day, but the WSB approved only \$1.50. In protest against this cut of 40¢ a day, some 375,000 miners went on strike in the closing days of October. When final decision on the wage increase was postponed, the miners returned to work at the request of John L. Lewis. President



Truman on December 4, 1952, overruled economic stabilization officials and approved the wage contract granting the full \$1.90 a day increase.

**Delaying Tactics:** One of the chief methods of wage stabilization was to slow down the rate of change. By a process of stalling, delay became part of the stabilization technique. As of January 15, 1953, the Wage Stabilization Board had on hand 10,596 cases awaiting action. Many of these represented substantial wage increases won several months earlier but not yet approved by the Board.

The WSB never announced any definite policy on wage increases based on productivity or an "annual improvement factor." In the railroad wage case, however, Paul N. Guthrie, referee appointed by President Truman, decided in January, 1953, that stabilization rules did permit "annual improvement" pay increases based on higher output per man-hour. Presenting proof that the WSB had approved more than 100 individual cases in which the contracts called for improvement factors based on productivity increases, the rail unions insisted these actions in themselves constituted the creation of a policy.

When Nathan P. Feinsinger resigned as chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, he wrote to President Truman (July 29, 1952) describing the wage freeze as follows: "A wage stabilization program means telling the employer that he cannot give his workers a wage increase even though he is ready, willing and able to pay it. It means telling employers and unions that they can bargain collectively, but only within prescribed limitations. It means telling unions that they have the right to strike, but that even if they win a strike, a Government agency will tell them whether or not they may keep their gains."

On February 6, 1953, President Eisenhower issued an order suspending all government controls on wages, at the same time lifting price ceilings immediately on a long list of consumer goods. The wage move was approved by leaders of organized labor, who warned their followers, however, that many employers would probably take advantage of the move and fail to honor the raises they had negotiated during the freeze period. (By March 17 all price controls had been ended.)

## WAGE INCREASE MOVEMENTS, 1951-1952

From January, 1951, to the end of 1952, average hourly earnings of production workers in manufacturing rose from \$1.55 to \$1.70—about

15¢ an hour, or less than 10%. In the one year 1951, hourly earnings rose by about 5%, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

In the so-called seventh round of wage increases in 1952, contracts between unions and companies generally brought an increase of 5¢ to 10¢ an hour. The pattern of increase from 9¢ to 12¢ an hour was followed in a number of key settlements in such industries as automobile and aircraft, electrical manufacturing, rubber, and non-ferrous metals. No pay raise was made in about 7% of the 1952 settlements, while in 58% of the contracts the gain was less than 10¢ an hour.

Escalator clauses in contracts, calling for increases to cover the rise in living costs, were usually approved by the Wage Stabilization Board. Such clauses added about 9¢ an hour during 1952 in quarterly increases, ranging from 1¢ to 7¢ an hour. They follow the pattern of the General Motors-Automobile Workers contract, signed in June, 1950, by which hourly wages are adjusted by 1¢ for each 1.14-point change in the official consumers' price index of the BLS.

**1952 Increases:** Outstanding among wage raises in 1952 was the basic steel agreement, signed July 26, 1952, between the Steelworkers (CIO) and six major steel companies. It gave increases averaging 16¢ an hour, plus the equivalent of 5.4¢ an hour in other benefits. (See also Chapter V.)

Steelworkers (CIO) in July, 1952, gained increases of 20¢ an hour under its contract with the Aluminum Co. of America. Aluminum Workers (AFL) signed a 5-year contract July 9 with this company covering 9,500 workers for an increase of 10%, averaging 15¢ an hour. They also gained an additional 4¢ an hour raise called an "annual improvement factor" but related to the BLS consumers' price index.

Communications Workers (CIO), after a strike, won increases (April 25) averaging 12.7¢ an hour for 5,500 employees of Western Electric. Some 5,000 insurance agents represented by Insurance & Allied Workers (CIO) signed an unusual contract (April 24) with Metropolitan Life, for a guaranteed annual wage with a minimum of \$60 a week.

After a three-week strike starting April 30, Oil Workers (CIO), representing 90,000 workers, signed contracts with major oil companies for increases of 15¢ an hour and other gains, approved by the WSB. But they lost 3¢ of the 18¢ an hour negotiated increase they had won in collective bargaining.

In San Francisco and northern California, 52,000 Carpenters (AFL) in early June, after a strike of nearly two months, won increases aver-

aging 15¢ an hour and a welfare fund based on contributions of 7½¢ an hour, paid by employers. Construction Workers all over the country, organized in a number of AFL unions, during the year gained increases from building contractors ranging from 10¢ through 15¢ an hour.

Rubber Workers (CIO) in August gained a general hourly increase of 10¢ for 100,000 workers in agreement with the Big Four (U.S. Rubber, Goodyear, Firestone, and B. F. Goodrich) and smaller companies. Goodrich employees, on strike for two weeks ending August 30, won the same increase and other gains.

Packinghouse Workers (CIO) signed a contract in October, 1952, with Armour & Co. for an increase of 4¢ an hour, covering 30,000 workers, and a few days later a similar pact with Cudahy Packing Co., covering 10,000 workers. In both contracts, women workers gained an additional 4¢ an hour increase, plus 2¢ an hour increment for work on night shifts.

**Cuts and No Increases:** In contrast to these gains won by many organized workers, the Textile Workers (CIO) in July, 1952, accepted a wage reduction of 8½¢ an hour for over 20,000 cotton textile workers in New Bedford and Fall River and other mills. This cut eliminated a 6½% wage increase awarded in March, 1951, by the WSB.

In about 7% of the 1952 collective bargaining contracts in all industries, there were no wage increases, the U.S. News & World Report (Nov. 7) stated after a special survey. In about 20% of the wage agreements brought to WSB, the increase was denied. Yet these agreements were made by organized workers who were, of course, in a stronger position than those not represented by any union. Including the great body of unorganized men and women, it is undoubtedly true that at least 20 million workers have not gained wage increases in the past two years to keep pace with rising living costs.

The AFL executive council in September, 1952, reported to the national convention: "While production per man-hour is now rising at the rate of 5½% per year, workers' real wage per man-hour has risen on the average only slightly more than 1% per year during the wage stabilization period. This small wage increase, however, has been more than offset by the increase in taxes, so that the average worker's living standard is actually being reduced while his productivity rises at an unusually rapid rate."

In February, 1953, the AFL research director reported to the executive

council that, based on the most conservative figures, productivity had risen by 13.2% from 1949 through 1952. But the real wages of factory workers, the report pointed out, had gone up by only 7%, and the average gain for all workers was less than that.

## REAL WAGES AND INCOME TRENDS

Purchasing power of the consumer's dollar by November, 1952, had declined by 47.7% below its average level in the period from 1935 to 1939. The pre-war dollar was worth 52.3¢ at the end of 1952, the U.S. Department of Commerce reported (Survey of Current Business, January, 1953) on the basis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' inadequate consumers' price index.

The food dollar in the same period showed an even larger decline—from 100¢ in the pre-war years to 43¢ in November, 1952. This drop of 57% is on the basis of the BLS index of retail food prices.

**Take-Home Pay Less:** On the basis of the decline in purchasing power, the BLS reports from month to month the position of real wages for production workers in manufacturing industries. Gross average weekly earnings in current dollars are translated into 1939 dollars by allowing for the rise in the price index.

In terms of 1939 dollars, the worker in manufacturing in August, 1952 had less in net spendable earnings than he had in June, 1950, when the Korean war started. The BLS data each month show how much pay the production worker actually takes home in "net spendable average weekly earnings" available for current living expenses after social security and federal income taxes are deducted from his wages. The resulting figure is computed by the BLS for a worker with no dependents and for a worker with three dependents.

The table below shows the net spendable average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing, expressed in 1939 dollars, for June, 1950 (Korea), the average for the year 1951, for August and November, 1952, compared with January, 1945:

	<i>Worker with no dependents</i>	<i>Worker with 3 dependents</i>
January, 1945	\$30.81	\$35.33
June, 1950	29.80	33.21
Average for 1951	29.02	32.89
August, 1952	28.88	33.02
November, 1952	30.08	34.25

After correcting the factory worker's average money wage by the consumers' price index, even inadequate as that index is, and then deducting the amount paid in regular taxes, the worker with no dependents had \$1.93 less in weekly take-home pay in August, 1952, than he had in January, 1945, and 92¢ less than he had in June, 1950.

The worker with three dependents had \$2.31 less in weekly take-home pay in August, 1952, than he had at the beginning of 1945, and 19¢ less than he had when the Korean war started. This weekly decline in real net spendable earnings may seem small but the annual loss from January, 1945, for the worker with three dependents amounted to over \$120.

If the consumers' price index were a more accurate measure of the rise in living costs, the figures would reveal a greater loss. The Electrical Workers (UE, Ind.) speaks for other progressive unions when it charges that the BLS hides a large part of the actual increase in living costs since 1939. UE's own index for January, 1952, stood at 282.4 (1939=100), compared with 189.1 on the BLS consumers' price index. UE's index thus showed an increase in living costs 49% greater than the BLS. If real wages were computed by using the UE index, the decline in take-home pay would be considerably greater than that shown by the BLS.

**Drop in Real Hourly Pay:** A new estimate of the decline of real wages since before the Korean war began was made by the Union Research and Information Service. (Facts and Figures, Sept., 1952.) From 1949 to the first half of 1952 the straight-time money wages per hour of the average worker in manufacturing industries of the U.S. rose from \$1.37 to \$1.60.

But the worker, as we have noted, does not receive all of this amount, for taxes are withheld. In 1949 these amounted to 10¢ an hour; in 1952 they totaled two and a half times that amount, or 25¢ an hour. Rising prices also brought a cut in the worker's wages of about 15¢ an hour between 1949 and 1952.

Thus, the worker who had a money wage of \$1.60 an hour in 1952 actually received only \$1.20 after allowing for the increased taxes and the higher cost of living. He had 7¢ less an hour in real wages than he received in 1949. That's a drop of about 5% in his real straight-time average wage since before the Korean war.

**Real Income Per Household Declines:** High prices and high taxes have pushed the purchasing power of the average household in the

U.S. down to a point 15% below that in 1944. By the first half of 1952 it was 8% below its level in 1948, only four years before. These computations were made by economists of the National Association of Independent Business, Inc.

In 1944 consumers paid close to \$19 billion in federal, state and local taxes. But in 1952 they paid \$32 to \$33 billion. In addition, with consumer prices (even on the inadequate BLS index) 50% above 1944, consumer income after taxes was reduced to a point only 5% above 1944.

The increase in U.S. population also must be considered. Since the war, population has grown faster than purchasing power. So there were in 1952 almost 23% more households than in 1944. That brought real income per household—and this is for the population as a whole, including all classes and all types of personal income—down to 15% below 1944.

At the same time consumer liquid assets have been declining. By 1952, due to the rise in prices, the purchasing power of liquid assets per household was, for the population as a whole, about 20% below its level in 1944.

## NEGROES AND WAGE DIFFERENTIAL

There still exists a wide differential between the wages paid to white workers and those paid to Negro workers. The median wage or salary of white workers in 1950 was \$2,481 while the median for non-white was \$1,295, only about 52% of the white median.

In giving these figures the U.S. Census uses the term "non-white" to include Negroes, Mexicans, Indians and others. But the latest Census shows that over 96% of the non-whites are Negroes. We may thus use the data for non-whites as practically identical with the figures for Negroes.

Half of all white men workers in 1950 earned less than \$2,982 (the median) while half of all Negro men workers earned less than \$1,828. The median for Negro men was thus only about 61%, not even two-thirds, of the white median.

For women workers this difference is even greater. Half of all white women in 1950 earned less than \$1,698 while half of all Negro women workers earned less than \$626. The median for Negro women was thus only about 37% of the white median.

Census data for 1950 show further the difference in the income of

white families and Negro families. Half of all the white families had income of less than \$3,445 in that year. But half of all the Negro families had less than \$1,869—only about 54% of the white median.

**North-South Differential:** Lower wages for Negro workers in the South pull down the general wage scale. This effect is shown in comparing the average hourly earnings in southern states with those in northern states.

Production workers in manufacturing in Mississippi averaged \$1.10 an hour in September, 1952, while factory production workers in Michigan averaged \$2.04 an hour, a difference of 94%.

Sawmill wage-earners in the South are mostly Negro workers. In September, 1952, they averaged \$1.02 an hour, but sawmill workers in the West averaged \$2.15 an hour, or more than twice as much. This is a difference of \$1.13 an hour. For a 40-hour week, southern sawmill workers were thus getting \$45.20 less than the western workers. Sawmills and planing mills represent one of the few industries for which the BLS regularly reports average earnings separately for the South. (See also Union Research, Facts and Figures, "Economics of Prejudice," Jan., 1952.)

**Superprofits from Discrimination:** From the lower wages paid to Negro workers, corporations are able to make extra profits over and above the usual profit from the labor of their employees.

Negro ("non-white") workers were paid wages in 1950 that roughly averaged \$1,186 less than the wages paid to white workers, the Census reported. This difference represents the average extra profit which employers make from the Negro wage-earner over and above the usual profit made from the white worker.

In that year (1950) there were about 3,700,000 Negro workers employed in productive labor in the United States. By paying them an average of \$1,186 less than white workers were paid, companies saved a total of about \$4.4 billion. A large part of this huge sum may be counted as the superprofits taken by employers from the employment of Negroes at lower wage rates than white workers. (Method based on Victor Perlo, *American Imperialism*, 1951, pp. 88-89.)

## AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS

Once a year the U.S. Department of Commerce publishes in its Survey of Current Business the figures showing average annual earnings

per full-time employee in all industries of the United States and in the major industrial groups. These averages, however, lump together wage-earners and low-salaried employees with the higher-paid officers and executives who are also considered company "employees." For this reason, these averages overestimate the earnings of workers, but no other figures are available to show annual average earnings by industry.

In the year 1951 these annual average earnings ranged from a low of \$1,424 for employees on farms to a high of \$4,650 for those employed on the "products of petroleum and coal." For manufacturing as a whole the average was \$3,611, and for all industries it was only \$3,253. (Survey of Current Business, July, 1952.)

Yet in that same year, the standard family budget of the Heller Committee at the University of California called for about \$4,533 for a family of four. (This budget was priced by Labor Research Association on the basis of the Heller Committee's 1949 report and the BLS consumers' price index.) This means that in most industries the average annual earnings, even including the higher-salaried executives, fell far short of meeting the living standard represented by the Heller budget. For all industries as a whole the average annual earnings of \$3,253 in 1951 fell below the Heller budget by \$1,280.

## WAGE-EARNERS' FAMILY BUDGETS

It took \$4,454 a year in Washington, D. C., as of October, 1951, to provide a modest level of living for a wage-earner's family of four, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics shows in its latest report on the city worker's family budget. Estimating the dollar costs of this budget in 34 large cities, the BLS found costs were highest in Washington and lowest in New Orleans, at \$3,812.

To meet even this low budget the worker's family would thus need income ranging from \$73.30 a week in New Orleans up to \$85.65 in Washington, D.C. For nearly all of the 34 cities, the 1951 estimates represent increases ranging from 40% to 50% in the cost of goods and services since the first pricing of this budget in March, 1946, the BLS reported.

Items in the budget are listed for a family of four including a father, a mother not gainfully occupied, and two children under 15 years of age. About half of all urban families are of this size at some time during their existence.



The BLS budget is described as covering "the total cost of a representative list of goods and services considered necessary by urban families to provide for health, efficiency, the nurture of children, and participation in social and community activities."

Here are the 34 cities surveyed by the BLS, with the total cost of the family budget in each in October, 1951:

#### COST OF CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET

Atlanta, Ga.	\$4,315	Milwaukee, Wis.	\$4,387
Baltimore, Md.	4,217	Minneapolis, Minn.	4,161
Birmingham, Ala.	4,252	Mobile, Ala.	3,969
Boston, Mass.	4,217	New Orleans, La.	3,812
Buffalo, N. Y.	4,127	New York, N. Y.	4,083
Chicago, Ill.	4,185	Norfolk, Va.	4,146
Cincinnati, Ohio	4,208	Philadelphia, Pa.	4,078
Cleveland, Ohio	4,103	Pittsburgh, Pa.	4,203
Denver, Colo.	4,199	Portland, Maine	4,021
Detroit, Mich.	4,195	Portland, Oreg.	4,153
Houston, Tex.	4,304	Richmond, Va.	4,338
Indianapolis, Ind.	4,044	St. Louis, Mo.	4,112
Jacksonville, Fla.	4,202	San Francisco, Cal.	4,263
Kansas City, Mo.	3,960	Savannah, Ga.	4,067
Los Angeles, Cal.	4,311	Scranton, Pa.	4,002
Manchester, N. H.	4,090	Seattle, Wash.	4,280
Memphis, Tenn.	4,190	Washington, D. C.	4,454

**Deficit of \$15 a Week:** Even this inadequate BLS budget, calling for about \$4,160 a year in most cities, is beyond the reach of the 33.9 million families (64% of all) who in 1951 received less than \$4,000 income.

To meet this family budget, averaging about \$4,160 a year in 1951, a wage-earner needed at least \$80 a week. Trying to meet even this standard of living on a factory worker's average weekly earnings of \$65.41 as of October, 1951, the family was then operating at a deficit of about \$14.60 a week, or a total of around \$760 for the year.

**Heller Standard Budget:** The Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California has for many years priced a recognized standard budget for a wage-earner's family of four. The committee is now revising its quantity and cost budgets for three income levels which were last priced in September, 1949.

Only a rough estimate of the recent cost of this budget is possible, on the basis of previous pricings by the Heller Committee and the rise in the BLS consumers' price index, inadequate as that is. Such a

rough estimate, made by the Heller Committee on the basis of the BLS index, shows that this budget for a wage-earner's family in San Francisco cost \$4,760.89 as of December, 1952. It would thus require \$91.55 a week to meet this standard of living.

## HOURS OF WORK

Wage-earners in manufacturing industries averaged 40.6 hours of work a week in 1952, compared with 39.2 hours in 1949, 40.5 hours in 1950, and 40.7 hours in 1951.

More than half (56.5%) of all manufacturing wage and salary earners worked 40 hours a week in November, 1952, while 28.4% worked more than 40 hours and 15% worked less, the Bureau of the Census reported. These percentages indicate that, although the basic 40-hour week as provided under the Fair Labor Standards Act has become established in industry, a considerable number of factory workers still work longer hours.

Comparison of these figures with an earlier Census report shows that in the past five years there has been some shortening of work hours for factory workers. In October, 1947, those on the 40-hour week were 59.1% of all in manufacturing while 29.5% worked more than 40 hours and 11.3% worked less.

In wholesale and retail trade, however, less than one-third (29.5%) of the workers in November, 1952, were on a 40-hour week, while nearly half (48.6%) worked more than 40 hours.

Agriculture, with only 10.3% of the workers on a 40-hour week in November, 1952, showed the longest working hours. Two-thirds of the workers in this industry group were working more than 40 hours while 41.6% worked 49 or more. Farm workers are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

**In Metalworking Industries:** A special study of Employment and Shift Operations in Selected Metalworking Industries by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in early 1952 showed the scheduled workweek for some 2.5 million workers. Two out of every three production workers in these plants were working 40 hours a week in January, 1952. But nearly one-third (about 30%) were scheduled to work more than 40 hours, while almost 20% were employed in plants with a scheduled workweek of 48 hours for most of the production workers.

**Union Demands:** With the increase in productivity during the past

two years, union demands for a shorter workweek became a more important issue. At its convention in May, 1952, the Clothing Workers (CIO), for example, unanimously passed a resolution for a 35-hour week without reduction in pay from the 40-hour week now in effect.

Electrical Workers (AFL) in 1952 were seeking a gradual reduction from the present five eight-hour work days a week to five six-hour days, i.e. the 30-hour week. The Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers (AFL) in April, 1952, called for a 30-hour week and reported that it was already signing contracts for 36-hour weeks.

The Brewery Workers (CIO) were demanding the 35-hour week in all contracts in 1952, on the ground that technological improvements in their industry had cut deeply into employment.

## HOUSING NEEDS

Some 11 million non-farm dwelling units, or about 28% of all such housing units in the U.S. in 1950, were sub-standard, the Census Bureau revealed. These units were either dilapidated or without running water, or both. Of this total considered sub-standard, 6,293,000 were classed as urban.

Among the 39 million non-farm homes, 5.7 million lacked flush toilets; 6.8 million lacked any bathing facilities; 2.8 million had no piped running water inside or outside; 2.5 million were dilapidated. About 2 million were described as over-crowded with more than 1½ persons per room. Among rural-farm homes, the proportions of sub-standard units varied considerably—from 25% in the Northeast to 75% in the South.

The noted housing authority, Nathan Straus, in his book, "Two-Thirds of a Nation" (1952) describes some of the housing in the world's richest city: "In New York City, for instance, there are more than 50,000 occupied old-law tenements. They are buildings of a type which it has been illegal to erect since 1900. So they are more than half a century old. These slums are called home by about 1,470,000 people or about one-sixth of the city's population. Of course, they are foci for crime, juvenile delinquency, and disease."

**For Negroes:** Bad as housing conditions are for many families they are worst for the Negro people. The Census uses the term "non-white" in its report but since over 96% of "non-whites" in this country are Negroes, the figures are practically identical with the figures for Negroes.

Among the non-farm units, 27% of Negro homes were dilapidated, compared with 7% for all families. Lacking any running water, private toilet or bath, were about one-fourth (24%) of Negro homes in urban places, compared with 10% for all families. Only one-half (50%) of the Negro families in urban places had access to both hot and cold running water inside the dwelling as compared with 85% for all families. In rural non-farm areas, nearly three-fourths of Negro families had no piped running water at all, compared with about one-fourth of all families.

Between 1940 and 1950, doubling up in over-crowded homes had decreased for white families in all areas of residence. But for Negro families doubling had "actually increased numerically and proportionately," rising from 13.8% in 1940 to 15.1% in 1950, the Census shows in its study, "Housing of the Non-White Population, 1940 to 1950."

For poorer dwellings and few facilities Negro families must pay relatively higher rents than white families. During the 10 years between 1940 and 1950, average non-farm rentals for Negroes rose by 108%, compared with an increase of 64% for white families.

**Housing Programs:** Housing experts estimate that during the decade of the 1950's "our total housing construction job should average close to 1,400,000 non-farm units a year, taking into account the added housing needed to take care of our expanding population, normal replacement, the rehabilitation of some sub-standard housing, and the offsetting of miscellaneous losses arising through fire and disaster." (Joint Committee on the Economic Report, "The Sustaining Economic Forces Ahead," Dec., 1952.)

But the total of 1,400,000 new non-farm housing units a year is a conservative estimate of housing needs, as labor organizations have shown. Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, for example, in its program for peaceful production, "A World At Peace," says a "reasonable estimate of minimum needs" is 2,000,000 houses a year between 1953 and 1960, consisting of 1,700,000 non-farm and 300,000 farm units. This compares with an annual average of 1,100,000 started in the last five years, with a decline expected in 1953.

Programs for low-rent housing for low income families are always attacked by real estate interests such as those represented by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the Mortgage Bankers Assn. and similar agencies.

## SOCIAL SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS

The 82nd Congress passed a measure, signed by President Truman, July 18, 1952, providing for small improvements in the Social Security Act. Under this measure, old-age and survivors insurance benefits were raised by \$5 a month or 12½% (whichever is greater). The increase, effective October 3, 1952, averages out at about \$6 a month. The new maximum is \$85 a month for the retired worker himself, compared with the previous \$80 maximum, but very few can qualify for the maximum. The minimum is \$25 a month, compared with the previous \$20.

The new maximum for payments to a single family is now \$168.75 a month, compared with the previous \$150. But the total payments may not exceed 80% of the retired worker's average monthly wage before he retired.

Comparable increases were also made under the Railroad Retirement system. Including those under the Social Security and RR Retirement Acts, about 4,500,000 persons benefited from the increase.

**Limitation on Earnings:** The recent amendments provide that persons over 65 retired under the Social Security Act may now earn as much as \$75 a month, instead of the previous \$50 a month, without losing their insurance benefits. After the age of 75 a person can earn any amount his health and ability permit.

The unfairness of the \$75 limitation on retired workers' earnings may be seen when the wage-earner's status is compared with that of a retired person who has income from investments in addition to his social security pension. Such a person can draw his retirement benefit, to which he is entitled, plus all the dividends on his stocks or interest on his bonds. There is no limit or restriction on unearned extras. By contrast, the wage-earner between 65 and 75 years old is still not permitted to earn more than \$75 a month without losing his benefit.

In a sample, nation-wide survey of 15,000 persons receiving social security benefits in every month of 1951, the Commissioner for Social Security, Arthur J. Altmeyer, reported that "almost two-thirds (64%) of the old persons who regularly receive old-age and survivors insurance benefits have little or no other independent money retirement income." (Social Security Bulletin, Aug., 1952.) The survey found that only one old-age insurance beneficiary out of eight had other income amounting to \$50 or more per month. Even when the old-age and survivors in-

surance payments were added to the beneficiaries' other income, about two out of every five persons had less than \$50 a month in 1951. In terms of the prewar 1939 dollar this was less than \$27 a month.

**Average Benefits:** Despite the slight improvements noted above, the retirement benefits are still far below the amount needed by older workers and their survivors for daily living. The average insurance benefits paid to a retired worker, with no dependents receiving benefits, was \$40.90 (about \$9.51 a week) in June, 1951.

Where the worker and his wife both received benefits, the average for the family was \$70.40, or about \$16.37 a week. Families made up of a widowed mother and two children averaged \$91.50, or \$21.28 a week.

For the retired man alone the average was \$43.50 a month (\$10 a week) but for the retired woman it was only \$33.60, or about \$7.82 a week. This difference reflects the lower wages paid to women since the amount of benefit is tied to the worker's earnings during his or her working life. (See Grace Hutchins, *Women Who Work*.) For an aged widow alone the average was only \$36.20 or \$8.42 a week.

**Number Included:** Workers who became newly covered in 1951 under old-age and survivors insurance on a compulsory basis included about 5 million self-employed individuals (other than farm operators and members of certain professions), about 1 million domestic workers, more than 500 thousand regularly employed farm wage-workers, and 650 thousand federal employees not under the civil service retirement system.

Still excluded are some 6 million farmers and such professionals as physicians, dentists, lawyers, ministers, architects, accountants and engineers. Also excluded are those domestic workers who cannot qualify because they are not employed steadily by one employer, i.e., they do not earn as much as \$50 a quarter from one employer, or work at least 24 days a quarter for the same employer. This restriction means a hardship for many domestic workers who go out by the day to clean or do other work for several different employers during the week. They cannot qualify for social security benefits.

Similarly excluded are farm wage-earners who have not worked continuously for one employer for at least three months and at least 60 days in the following quarter, and have not earned at least \$50 a quarter from the same employer. This restriction excluded most migratory workers.

On an optional basis, some 2,500,000 workers had social security coverage newly offered to them in 1951. These included about 1,500,000 state and local government workers lacking a retirement system of their own, and "somewhat less than a million employees of nonprofit organizations. . . . By June, 1951, agreements had been signed with 10 states and two interstate instrumentalities, and about 31,000 nonprofit organizations. Almost 700,000 employees of these nonprofit organizations had elected coverage." (Annual Report, Federal Security Agency, 1951.)

At the end of 1951 fiscal year about 9 million, or 14% of the nation's civilian workers, were not yet covered by any social security system. Old-age and survivors insurance covered about 77% of all workers, while another 9% were under the separate retirement systems of the federal government, state and local governments, and the Railroad Retirement Act.

About 13 million persons in the United States in 1952 were 65 years old or over. By May, 1952, there were 2,367,710 persons who were receiving old-age benefits under the Social Security Act. Including those receiving wife's or husband's benefit, child's, widow's or widower's, mother's or parent's benefit, the number of beneficiaries under the old-age and survivors insurance program totaled 4,574,664.

Members of the armed forces who served between the years 1947 and 1953 will receive the same employment credit—\$160 a month—under the old-age and survivors insurance system that was granted to World War II service men.

Arthur J. Altmeyer in his 1951 Annual Report shows how few farm people are as yet covered under the system: "Probably only about 10% of all the people who earn their living by farm work have been included. The program cannot be really effective in rural areas until more farm people are covered. . . . Now that farmers are being brought into contact with the program through coverage of their regular employees, they are coming to feel increasingly that they, too, should be included."

Additional farm workers should also be included in the program, the report recommends. And the present provisions governing the coverage of farm workers should be simplified. Likewise, the provisions relating to domestic workers should be extended and simplified.

About 80% of the eligible employees of religious, charitable, educational, and other nonprofit organizations are already covered on the optional basis established by the 1950 amendments. But many employees

of these nonprofit organizations who need and want coverage may not be able to obtain it now because the employer decides against it or because other employees who see no immediate personal advantage are opposed. The Commissioner recommends that if future experience shows many people in nonprofit employment without retirement protection, the law should be changed to provide protection for all employees.

Another important improvement called for by the Commissioner for Social Security would permit women to qualify for benefits at age 60.

But even if all these recommendations were put into practice, they still would not make adequate the social security benefits for old-age and survivors. An older man cannot live on \$10-\$11 a week. An older woman cannot live on \$8-\$9 a week. A retired worker and his wife cannot live on \$17-\$18 a week.

**Unemployment Insurance:** Despite the so-called "defense" prosperity, nearly two million workers in the United States were jobless in 1952, even by the Census Bureau estimates. The actual figure was probably much higher, since the Bureau does not count as "unemployed" those who have even a few hours' work in the week nor does it count those who are not actually looking for work.

The 82nd Congress made no improvements in the unemployment insurance sections of the Social Security Act. Unemployment compensation laws are still left in the hands of the 48 states which differ widely in the amount of benefit paid.

It was originally assumed that benefits would provide about 50% of the wages lost by the jobless. But they now amount only to about one-third of the wages lost. Unemployment insurance benefits in June, 1952, averaged only \$22.40 a week. But the amounts paid in different states ranged from a high of \$26.27 a week in Michigan down to a low of \$15.50 in Mississippi.

Maximum duration of payments is 26 weeks in the most liberal states, but it ranges down to only 14 weeks in Mississippi. Still excluded from any unemployment compensation in most states are about 14 million workers, including employees in small shops employing fewer than eight workers (six in some states and four in New York), farm and migratory workers, and domestic workers.

Labor economists point out that only a federal system of unemployment insurance could straighten out the confusion that has been created under the state laws during the past 15 years. The CIO at its 1951 convention passed a resolution which said in part: "Employers have had too



much success in promoting amendments to state unemployment insurance laws that emphasize employers' cost rather than maintenance of workers' income, and intensify management's incentive to combat legitimate benefit claims."

In New York State, the Hughes-Brees unemployment insurance law, passed in 1951, was unanimously denounced by organized labor. It was rushed through the Republican-controlled legislature and signed by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey without public hearings. The new law requires that applicants must have worked at least 20 weeks in the previous 52 in order to qualify for any benefits. Thousands of workers in seasonal industries are thus left without any protection under the New York law.

**Assistance Programs:** "Social security" under the Social Security Act includes not only the social insurance payments under old-age and survivors insurance but also public assistance, for needy older persons and others. Public assistance is granted usually only after a "means test" has proved that the recipient has no other means of subsistence aside from public relief.

Most states require that applicants must have lived in the state for a certain length of time in order to get public assistance. Some states provide public relief only to citizens of the United States.

Because old-age and survivors insurance payments are still so inadequate and because there is as yet no national health insurance, about 5,300,000 persons in this rich country are still on public relief. As of May, 1952, the total included 2,666,500 on old-age assistance; 2,070,000 under the aid-to-dependent-children program; about 100,000 blind persons; 142,000 permanently and totally disabled; and about 300,000 receiving general assistance. Under old-age assistance, the average payment in May, 1952, was \$45.15 a month.

The Jenner amendment to the Social Security Act, sponsored by Sen. William E. Jenner (R., Ind.) and passed by the 82nd Congress, authorizes public disclosure of public relief rolls, thus exposing to all kinds of harassment those who must accept public assistance.

The Social Security Administration in its 1951 Annual Report admitted: "The goal of assuring income to meet the basic needs of individuals and families affected by common hazards is still far from complete. Old-age and survivors insurance benefits . . . are not sufficient to meet the basic needs of many aged persons with little or no other income or savings, or those whose medical needs are costly. . . . A

broadened social insurance program would, in the long run, substantially reduce the number of persons dependent upon public assistance for their basic maintenance."

## WORK INJURIES AND DEATHS

In the year and a half following the 1950 invasion of Korea, the rate of injuries on the job in the United States showed a 12% increase. This trend was in contrast to some decline in accidents during the four years preceding 1950.

Lack of safety measures was responsible for the recent increase. Without more efforts to prevent accidents, casualties would continue to mount, the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee warned. Time lost from industrial accidents in 1952 was estimated as equal to 137,000 men working a full year.

"More than 70% of the job injuries occur" in plants which are without organized safety programs, the committee said. Losses could be cut to "a small fraction" of the heavy present toll through the use of tested safety measures.

**Accidents in 1951 and 1952:** Deaths from work accidents in all U.S. industries in 1951 were estimated by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics at 16,000, and injuries at 2,100,000. The annual average injury-frequency rate (injuries per million man-hours worked) for manufacturing was 15.5, or 5% above the average rate of 14.7 for 1950.

This 5% increase in the average injury-frequency rate brought the 1951 rate not only above that for either of the two previous years, but also above the rates reported for the three pre-war years, 1938, 1939, and 1940.

Seven of the 21 major manufacturing groups showed increases of one or more frequency-rate points between 1950 and 1951. The lumber and wood products group had the largest increase in average injury-frequency rate—from 49.8 in 1950 to 52.8 in 1951.

Of the 159 individual industries for which comparable data are available, 67, or 42%, showed increases of one frequency-rate point or more between 1950 and 1951. Only 19 industries reported significant decreases.

Logging as usual topped the list in 1951 as the most hazardous industry, with a frequency rate of 98.9 per million man-hours. The rate for beet-sugar refining was 40.2; cut-stone and stone products, 40.1; and gray-iron and malleable foundries, 38.3.

For the year 1952 as a whole, some 15,000 workers were killed in job accidents and about 2,031,000 injured. These injuries, the BLS reported, resulted in the loss of approximately 41 million man-days during the year. "Allowing for future effects of the deaths and permanent physical impairments, the total economic time loss amounts to about 206,000,000 man-days—or a year's full-time employment of about 687,000 workers."

**In Coal Mines:** "More American coal miners are killed, per man-years worked, than in any other country in the world." This fact was pointed out by the United Mine Workers in May, 1952, on the basis of International Labor Office Statistics.

U.S. Bureau of Mines figures reveal that 546 miners were killed and 36,800 injured in 1952. Fatalities in soft coal mines totaled 447, in hard coal mines 99. The previous year, 1951, witnessed five big mine tragedies, including the explosion at West Frankfort, Ill., in December, when 119 miners were killed.

## WOMEN WORKERS

The number of women workers in industry has been increasing in recent years and the need to improve their working conditions has grown correspondingly. Of the 58 million women and girls 14 years and older, more than one-third are in the labor force. According to Census estimates for November, 1952, these 20,428,000 women workers included 18,538,000 in non-farm occupations, 1,286,000 on farms, and 604,000 unemployed. U.S. factories now employ about 4.5 million women or about one-fourth of all women workers. More than 3.5 million are employed in retailing.

Married women during the decade 1940-50 came into the labor force in greater numbers than ever before. In 1940 they had comprised just over one-third (about 36%) of the women in the labor force, but 10 years later they were more than 52% of the women workers.

Great numbers of these working women are not only married but mothers of children: one in four in 1950 had children under 18 years of age, and these mothers included 1,700,000 with youngsters not yet old enough to go to school.

Children are not the only dependents of women workers. Actually over half of all women with jobs have dependents, whether children or others, for whose support they feel responsible, as the U.S. Women's

Bureau shows in its latest study, *Women Workers and Their Dependents*.

**Wage Differential:** In every industry where women are employed, there is wage discrimination against women workers, and especially against Negro women workers. From this differential in women's rates the companies are able to make extra profits that run into billions of dollars.

Figures from the Census of 1950 show that by paying women workers wages that were then approximately \$1,285 less a year than men worker's wages, the corporations were able to save a total of about \$5.4 billion. "Part of this stupendous amount may be counted as extra profits garnered by manufacturing companies from the employment of women at lower rates than men," writes Grace Hutchins in *Women Who Work* (1952). These extra profits made from the depressed wages of women were equal to nearly a quarter (about 23%) of all manufacturing profits in 1950.

Men production workers in New York state factories earned an average of \$80.04 a week in November, 1952, but women factory workers averaged only \$48.73. With this differential of \$31.31 a week, women were getting 39% less than the men. A similar difference is found in practically every industry where women are employed.

**Fight for Equal Pay:** Only 13 states have equal-pay laws of varying strength: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington. The Montana equal-pay law applies specifically to teachers and other public employees. Illinois and Michigan laws apply only to manufacturing.

At its 1952 national convention, the CIO passed a resolution reaffirming its support of "effective federal and state legislation to safeguard the principle of equal pay for equal work." It supported the Women's Status Bill and opposed the miscalled Equal Rights Amendment. It urged its affiliates "to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts against discrimination in pay, hiring, upgrading, training, layoff or similar procedures."

While some three million women are members of labor unions, these are still a small minority (less than one in six) among the more than 18 million women employed in non-farm occupations. The small number of women union members reflects the discrimination against them still common in many unions. The labor movement in this country is still

run by men who have failed to provide the forces to organize women workers.

## OLDER WORKERS

Of the total U.S. population, 12,322,000 men and women, or about one in 12, were over 65 years old in 1950, the Census showed. Such older people make up twice as large a portion of the population today as in 1900. Their number is increasing at the rate of some 300,000 a year, and the number of older women is increasing faster than the number of older men.

At age 60, the average man can now expect to live about 15 more years; the average woman 17 more years. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Economic Status of Older Men and Women," May, 1952, p. 36.) However, the gap between the number of active years in productive work and the total number of years of life continues to widen for most U.S. workers. This is pointed out in the BLS report.

Of about 2,250,000 men "in the experienced labor reserve," not employed in 1951 but having substantial work experience, 75% were 45 years and over, the Bureau reported.

**One-Third Less Income:** That the years of old age after the working life is over are bleak with poverty and dependence is indicated by the income estimates for those who are 65 or older. In an analysis of the 1950 income of families where the head was of older age, the BLS survey found that a family supported by a worker 65 and over receives on the average one-third less income than the average family in all age groups.

While the median income for all families in the United States was \$3,319, the median income for families of older workers, 65 and over, was only \$1,903. And almost one-third of the older workers' families received less than \$1,000 a year, or about \$19.23 a week. Among those older workers who possess income apart from earnings, it is estimated that about one-fourth (some 1,267,000) of the elderly men and almost one-half (some 1,594,000) of the elderly women have less than \$500 a year.

**Union Protection:** Some specific protective provision applying to older workers was contained in 247 of the 2,425 collective bargaining contracts analyzed by the BLS. In addition, nearly all the agreements

included seniority provisions, which offer a substantial measure of protection to older employees in many industries by linking job security with length of service.

In 23 contracts unions had gained clauses prohibiting age limits in hiring or forbidding discrimination for age. In many of the contracts, clauses called for retention of older workers, with specific transfer to light work or adjustments on pay and hours.

**Hospitalization Survey:** Hospital needs and insurance protection for the aged were studied in a special survey by the Census Bureau in March, 1952. It showed that only 26% of those over 65 had any hospitalization insurance, compared with 60% of those under 65. Whites had proportionately nearly three times the number insured among non-whites, and the other disadvantaged groups with respect to hospital insurance were women, rural dwellers, persons over 70, and those not in the labor force.

While the insured had higher hospital admission rates than noninsured, they had shorter hospital stays. The Federal Security Agency concludes, conservatively, that "some of the noninsured, deterred by economic barriers, went without needed care." This was particularly true of Negroes, since noninsured Negroes had only 3.3 admissions per 100 persons compared with 10.9 for insured Negroes. (Among whites the comparable rates were 6.6 and 10.3.)

## CHILD LABOR

About 2,300,000 boys and girls 14 to 17 years of age are wage workers during the school year, with an additional million during the summer vacation months. These figures, based on census estimates, are from the National Child Labor Committee.

Almost a third of these young workers are under 16, and they include 104,000 who have left school. Some 658,000, or about one in seven of 4,148,000 school children 14 and 15 years old, are doing jobs outside of school hours, and almost half of the youngsters not enrolled in school are employed.

Among the four million who are 16 or 17 years old, three out of four are still in school, but a far greater proportion of them than of the younger ones are also employed. Thus, in the older group, almost one-third of those enrolled in school also do some outside work, and among those not enrolled in school almost two-thirds are employed.

Farm work is the chief occupation for those under 16 years of age who were working and not attending school. And more than a third of the employed school children, 14 and 15 years old, were also in agriculture, many of them classified as unpaid family workers. The National Child Labor Committee points out that there is urgent need for stricter enforcement of the federal 16-year age minimum for farm work during school hours and for enactment of similar limits in state laws.

# I. CIVIL RIGHTS

## McCARRAN ACT HEARINGS

Enactment by Congress of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act) has been described by defenders of civil liberties in this country as the greatest threat to civil rights since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The language of the Act is so vague and broad, as pointed out in Labor Fact Book 10, that it could be used to imperil the existence of all labor unions.

Under this Act the Subversive Activities Control Board held hearings in Washington for 16 months from April, 1951, to August 14, 1952, in an attempt to prove that the Communist Party of the United States is "dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union." The five members of SACB must all be confirmed by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Until January, 1953, the chairman of this powerful committee was Sen. Pat McCarran (D., Nev.), himself the author of the Act under which the Board has operated.

**Subversive Activities Control Board:** A former chairman of the Board, Charles M. LaFollette, was not confirmed by the Senate committee because he was considered too liberal. His successor, Peter Campbell Brown, formerly associated with the Department of Justice, has made speedy rulings which, LaFollette charged, "almost uniformly amount to a sustaining of any position taken by the petitioner [the Attorney General] and a rejection of any position taken by the respondent [the Communist Party]."

The Department of Justice took a year to complete its case against the Communist Party, attempting to prove that under the Act the party should be required to register all the names of its members. Failure to register would mean a fine of \$10,000 and a prison sentence up to five years for each day of failure to register. "Communist front" organizations would be required to register all their officers and contributors. Non-citizens would be subject to deportation if charged with being members of organizations on the Board's registration list. If not deported they could be held indefinitely without bail in such places as Ellis Island in the East and Terminal Island on the Pacific Coast. Citizenship may be



revoked if a person joins a so-called Communist action organization within five years after becoming a citizen.

**Parade of Informers:** Among the paid informers testifying for the government before the Board were Benjamin Gitlow, expelled from the Communist Party in 1929; Nat Honig, ex-Communist and professional stoolpigeon; Herbert A. Philbrick, for nine years a spy in the Communist movement; John Lautner, expelled from the Communist Party as an FBI agent; William O. Nowell of Detroit, FBI informer; Joseph Kornfedder, saved from deportation when he turned informer; and Mrs. Berenice Baldwin, an FBI spy who had been dropped from the Communist Party.

Another informer for the Attorney General was Louis F. Budenz. Charged with perjury by Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D., N. Y.), Budenz had been paid over \$70,000 for his services in writing and speaking against communism. In addition, he was paid \$25 a day plus expenses for testifying at hearings such as those before the Board. Budenz was denounced by Sen. Dennis Chavez (D., N. M.), himself a Roman Catholic, in the U. S. Senate, May 12, 1950, as a bigamist using the church "as a shield and a cloak to purvey un-American, un-Christian, dubious testimony." Prof. Linus Pauling, well-known scientist, referred to Budenz as a "professional liar."

The government also used as an "expert" Prof. Philip Moseley, anti-Soviet director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. He is chairman of Free Europe, an agency financed by the Ford Foundation, aimed to incite revolution in the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe.

**Defense Testimony:** Lawyers for the defense in these hearings were former Rep. Vito Marcantonio; John J. Abt, formerly special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General and counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Joseph Forer, an attorney for the Office of Price Administration during World War II.

Defense witnesses included John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, a victim of the Smith Act, now held prisoner in Atlanta penitentiary; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, then on trial under the Smith Act, and Herbert Aptheker, Marxist historian and teacher. Gates testified that, "If this Board were to rule in favor of the Communist Party, the Board would be liquidating itself and the \$12,500 salaries of each of its members."

On October 20, 1952, a two-member panel of the Board issued its

report requiring the Communist Party to register. The final order of the full Board will be appealed to the courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court.

**Opposition to Act:** Outright repeal of the Act was urged in 1952 by the National Committee for the Repeal of the McCarran Act in an Open Letter to all Senators and Representatives. Signers of this letter included 20 Bishops of Protestant churches, prominent educators, scientists, and civic leaders. They held that the McCarran Act "is responsible for the intolerable situation in which government agencies, in a manner all too reminiscent of Nazi Germany, are already preparing concentration camps, are holding thought-control hearings, are denying passports to citizens, and are deporting and refusing admission to aliens."

Among the many organizations and groups which have opposed the McCarran Act are: AFL, CIO, the railroad unions and other independent unions, American Jewish Congress, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Progressive Party, American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, National Farmers Union, and National Lawyers Guild.

At the American Unitarian Association's annual conference in Boston, June, 1952, delegates declared the McCarran Act is "a major instrument of fear and intimidation, inhibiting many from speaking out on the issues of the day."

Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School says the McCarran Act would allow citizens to be sent to concentration camps without having committed any crime. He attacks the use of spies as witnesses, as they were used in the SACB hearings: "The worst spy of all is the renegade. He has doublecrossed his associates by deserting them and helping to punish them. . . . The renegade has to make a good story in order to obtain immunity for his own admitted misconduct. Hence there is a great temptation to exaggerate or falsify. . . . The very nature of a spy's work requires lying." (The Nation, June 28, 1952.)

## LABOR AGAINST SMITH ACT

When the Alien Registration Act was passed in 1940, few people realized that hidden within it was a measure previously introduced by Rep. Howard W. Smith, poll-tax Congressman from Virginia. Now

known as the Smith Act, this statute makes it unlawful to "conspire" to teach and advocate the forceful or violent overthrow of the government or to organize a group so to teach.

**Unions Speak:** Labor groups have come to realize that under this Act trade unions and labor leaders can be charged with "conspiracy," just as workers on strike in the early 19th century were charged with conspiring to raise wages. Workers on strike today can be prosecuted for conspiracy with the "intent" of creating force and violence.

In an article in *The Advance* (March 15, 1952), organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Frank Rosenblum, national vice president of the CIO and secretary-treasurer of the ACW, warned: "Under the Smith Act a man or woman can be arrested and convicted for a book or newspaper he has read, a meeting he has attended, a petition he has signed. Under our Bill of Rights, we have freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage, freedom of petition. The Smith Act very well nullifies these great freedoms. It does more. It threatens the freedom to express an opinion. It threatens the freedom to think. . . ."

The national CIO at its 1951 convention declared: "The Supreme Court's decision upholding the conviction of the Communist leaders [under the Smith Act] was a grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech. . . . We urge the Congress to review and revise existing security legislation, and especially the Smith Act. . . ." The first objective of such revision would be "to give full protection to the civil rights of all persons, recognizing that freedom of speech is the foundation stone of democracy."

Pres. Hugo Ernst of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees declared in an editorial in the *Catering Industry Employee* (Aug. 1951): "If communism is right we can't stamp it out by jailing its representatives. If it is wrong, on the other hand, it can't survive in the struggle for ideas competing for acceptance. The facts are that our fear of losing democracy is likely to drive us into enacting laws which by their very nature will defeat the ends of democracy."

**Union Journals Warn of Danger:** A number of union papers, AFL, CIO and independent, have warned that the Smith Act threatens all labor. Here are a few typical editorial comments:

*Labor Sentinel* (July, 1951), organ of Inland Steel Local 1010, United Steelworkers (CIO): "In plain words a person doesn't have to be a member of the Communist Party to be prosecuted under this law. . . . Every local steel leader and the union membership which engages in

any kind of a militant fight for their rights can be prosecuted. And of course that's one of the main reasons the bill was passed."

Textile Labor (July 7, 1951), organ of Textile Workers Union (CIO): "The Communist leaders were not accused of plotting to overthrow the government by force. They were charged with teaching and advocating doctrines which, according to the prosecution, had this as a future objective. . . . Sending men to prison on this basis could be dangerous to us all. For example, there's no doubt that a whole segment of American society (including most southern mill-owners) consider unions in general and T.W.U.A. in particular 'subversive' and 'un-American'."

Packinghouse Worker (July 13, 1951), organ of Packinghouse Workers (CIO), warned: "We have learned the hard way—we in the labor movement—that if we stand by while any minority group, however unpopular, is kicked around, we run the risk of being trampled on ourselves. . . . It is never just on one front that civil liberties are destroyed. When the torch of the Statue of Liberty is dimmed, we are all plunged into darkness together." This paper reprinted with approval an editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch, June 5, protesting the decision of the Supreme Court against the Communist leaders.

At a conference on the Smith Act, June 21, 1952, in New York City, 169 representatives from AFL, CIO and independent unions met under the auspices of the Trade Union Committee to Repeal the Smith Act to map out a program against such anti-labor legislation. Of the delegates, 42 came from AFL locals, 33 from CIO unions and 80 from independents. In all, 32 unions were represented. In an Open Letter to the Labor Movement, the conference called upon all unions to support the bill in Congress for repeal of the Smith Act. This measure was introduced in the 82nd Congress by the late Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D., Ill.) but was sidetracked in committee.

## TRIALS OF PROGRESSIVES

The Department of Justice in its fascist-like drive against Communists and progressive trade union leaders had succeeded in winning 44 convictions between 1949 and the end of January, 1953. At least 54 other persons were awaiting final court action.

**Baltimore Case:** After a three-week trial in a federal district court, six persons in Baltimore, Md., were convicted under the Smith Act

April 1, 1952. Judge W. Calvin Chesnut fined them \$1,000 each and sentenced them to terms ranging from two to five years. The Circuit Court of Appeals July 31, 1952, upheld the convictions. When appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court also failed, the six were sent to prison on January 27, 1953.

The six and their sentences are: George A. Meyers, chairman of the Maryland Communist Party, four years; Leroy Hand Wood, Washington Communist leader, three years; Maurice Braverman, attorney for the Maryland Communist Party, three years; Philip Frankfeld, former leader of the Communist Party in Maryland, five years; Regina Frankfeld, wife of Frankfeld and mother of two children, two years. Meyers served a sentence of 30 days for contempt of court because he refused to inform on other persons.

Most significant in this Baltimore case is the fact that the six were convicted simply as Communists. The theory advanced by the Department of Justice and upheld by the trial judge and the Court of Appeals was that the Communist Party as such is a "criminal conspiracy." Thus a mere showing of membership and activity in the party was sufficient to "prove" a so-called conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence.

As in the other Smith Act trials the only prosecution witnesses were renegades who had sold out for money to finger their former associates, and paid agents of the FBI who had acted as spies in the labor movement. These informers included the renegades Paul Crouch, William O. Nowell, John Lautner, and FBI agent Mary Stalcup Markward, who admitted deceiving her associates for six years.

**California Fourteen:** After a six-month trial starting February 1, 1952, in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, 14 California Communist leaders were found "guilty" on August 5, 1952, under the Smith Act of "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." The jury deliberated five days before bringing in a verdict.

Federal District Judge William C. Mathes gave maximum sentences to all the defendants—a \$10,000 fine on each and five years in prison. The defense contended that the government prosecutors during the long trial had scarcely mentioned ten of the defendants, that all were convicted simply on the basis of membership in the Communist Party and that no showing of conspiracy had been made.

Their so-called "overt acts" consisted of attendance at party meetings,

speaking and writing articles on issues of the day. Their convictions were appealed to the higher courts. Held at first without bail, the 14 were later released on bail ranging up to \$20,000, pending their appeals.

The defendants are William Schneiderman, Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, Frank Spector, Frank Carlson, Ernest Fox, Mrs. Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Al Richmond, Mrs. Loretta Stack, Carl Lambert, Ben Dobbs, Henry Steinberg, Mrs. Dorothy Healey Connelly, Philip Connelly, and Albert J. Lima. The case of a 15th defendant, Mary Bernadette Doyle, was severed during the trial because of serious heart trouble.

Mrs. Yates was singled out for special persecution and held in contempt of court when she refused to furnish names of other persons for other prosecutions. For each refusal she was charged with contempt. Judge Mathes added to her original sentence of five years another four-year sentence because she refused to be an informer. The Circuit Court of Appeals, however, directed that she be released on bail of \$1,000, pending her appeal on the contempt sentence.

The informers in this California case included John Lautner who was used in the Baltimore case, as listed above, and also the following: Nat Honig, whose testimony in the Bridges case was described by Judge Charles B. Sears as "unreliable"; Louis Rosser of Los Angeles, expelled from the Communist Party in 1945; Leonard Patterson; Howard C. Litt, undercover FBI agent; William Foard, renegade; and Timothy Evans.

Also, Stephen A. Wereb, who admitted "filching" papers while an FBI informer in the Communist Party; Daniel Scarletto, FBI agent who had violated the Mann Act by transporting a woman over state lines for immoral purposes; David Saunders, renegade; and Lloyd Hamlin, FBI agent, who was paid \$250 a month to betray people who had invited him to their homes and with whose children his children had played at picnics.

**Hawaii Case:** Moving under the Smith Act, FBI agents August 28, 1951, arrested Jack W. Hall, regional director of the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, and six others in Honolulu, Hawaii, on charges of "conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the U.S. government." The six others are Dr. John Ernest Reinecke, former Honolulu school teacher; C. J. Fujimoto; his wife, Eileen Fujimoto; Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the weekly Honolulu Record; Dwight James Freeman and Jack Denichi Kimoto.

The trial started November 5, 1952. Hall had asked that his case be

separated from the others because it was designed to destroy the union, but his request was denied. The ILWU is the strongest union in the Hawaiian Islands—representing 20,000 sugar workers, 8,000 on the pineapple plantations, and 2,000 longshoremen.

When first arrested, all seven were held on \$75,000 bail each, but later this was cut to \$5,000 by Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger, with the comment that “bail was never intended as a punishment.” For his “leniency” Metzger was not reappointed as a judge.

Defense attorneys A. L. Wirin and Richard Gladstein asked that books and private papers seized without warrant from five of the seven defendants be returned. The defense challenged the trial jury panel for being stacked with Caucasians and persons who were not manual workers. It also called for removal of the trial to one of the outer islands where hostility to the ILWU and anti-Communist feeling are not so prevalent as in Honolulu. But all defense motions were denied by Federal Judge Jon Wiig.

Informers testifying against the seven in Hawaii included the renegade Paul Crouch; Henry Johnson, Jr., who had resigned as secretary-treasurer of an ILWU local rather than face trial for misappropriation of union funds; and Emil Maximilian Muller, Navy Yard employee, who had been expelled from the Communist Party on moral grounds.

**Pittsburgh Trials:** On August 17, 1951, just as the state “sedition” trial of progressives in Pittsburgh was about to go to the jury, six leaders were arrested and charged under the Smith Act with “conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence.” Bail at first set at \$100,000 for each was later cut to \$20,000 for each (\$25,000 for Onda). Their trial started February 24, 1953.

The six are Steve Nelson, former lieutenant-colonel in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain; William Albertson; Irving Weissman; Benjamin L. Careathers, Negro leader; James H. Dolsen; and Andrew R. Onda. Onda’s trial was severed from the others because of a severe heart ailment.

In the earlier Pittsburgh “sedition” trial, Onda and Dolsen were both convicted on August 30, 1951. Up to January, 1953, they had not been sentenced. Chief witness against all the Pittsburgh defendants was Matt Cvetic, labor spy who had been hired by the FBI after he was arrested for beating his sister-in-law and breaking her wrist, the court record revealed. In his deal with the FBI, Cvetic had agreed to pay her

\$300 or more damages. He had fingered a number of steel workers in Pittsburgh mills who lost their jobs as a result. Largely responsible for the whole frame-up case in Pittsburgh was Judge Michael H. Musmanno who made the case a stepping stone to become a justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Steve Nelson, heroic defendant in many cases, was rushed to trial in the state "sedition" case on December 18, 1951, before he had recovered from severe injuries in an auto accident. In addition to Cvetic, FBI informer Paul Crouch testified against Nelson but tripped over his own lies and inconsistencies.

Nelson as his own lawyer and Herbert Aptheker, Marxist scholar, answered the "sedition" charges. In his summation to the trial jury, Nelson said: "I am on trial in this court because I opposed war and fascism here in Pittsburgh." But he was convicted on January 31, 1952. Judge Harry M. Montgomery, leader in Americans Battling Communism, sentenced Nelson July 10, 1952, to the maximum term of 20 years in prison, a fine of \$10,000, plus payment of all court costs of the frame-up. Nelson was held without bail until February 7, 1953, when he was finally released on \$20,000 bail, pending appeal of his case to the higher courts.

**Arrests of Eighteen:** On September 17, 1952, the FBI arrested 18 persons in the midwest and on the west coast on charges of violating the Smith Act "by conspiring to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the U.S. government." These arrests brought to 85 the number taken into custody under this Act in the last four years.

Two union officers were among those arrested: Karly Larsen, first vice president of the western Washington district, International Woodworkers (CIO); and William Sentner, veteran leader of Electrical Workers (UE) in Missouri. Others were: Helen M. Winter, wife of Carl Winter; William Allan, Detroit correspondent of the Daily Worker; Terry Pettus, northwest editor of the Daily People's World.

Also arrested were: Nat Ganley, Detroit; Saul Wellman, veteran of World War II; Philip Schatz, Detroit; and Thomas D. Dennis, Detroit. Arrested in other areas were: Paul Miller Bowen, Chicago; Barbara Hartle, Eugene, Ore.; Henry P. Huff, Portland, Ore.; John S. Daschbach, Seattle; William J. Pennock, Seattle; Robert Manewitz, Los Angeles; James Forrest and his wife, Mrs. Dorothy Forrest, St. Louis; and Marcus Alphonse Murphy, Charleston, Mo.



All were indicted by federal grand juries in Detroit, Seattle, and St. Louis. Some were released on bail cut from \$25,000-\$50,000 down to \$5,000-\$15,000. Three in St. Louis, however, were held several months in jail before the excessive bail was raised.

**Trial of Thirteen:** On January 21, 1953, after a Smith Act trial lasting 9½ months in U.S. District Court, New York, thirteen Communist leaders were found "guilty of conspiring to teach and advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence." The jury deliberated for nearly six days.

Judge Edward J. Dimock sentenced the defendants February 3, 1953, as follows: To three years in prison and a \$6,000 fine for each, Alexander Bittelman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock; to two years in prison and a \$4,000 fine for each, George Blake Charney, Betty Gannett, Al Lannon, Jacob Mindel, William Weinstone; to one year and a day in prison and a \$2,000 fine, Claudia Jones.

All 13 and four others were arrested June 20, 1951. Israel Amter, one of the 17, was too ill to stand trial and his case was severed from the others. Later the case of Marion Bachrach was also separated because of her serious illness. Two others, Simon W. Gerson and Isidor Begun, were acquitted on September 23, 1952, after the prosecution presented its case, because of insufficient evidence.

Arrests of the 17 had been carried out shortly after a majority of the U.S. Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, had upheld the conviction of 11 leaders in the earlier case. Trial of the 13 started March 31, 1952, and Judge Dimock soon revealed that he intended to rule in favor of the government prosecution on practically every important point. He praised Judge Harold R. Medina, whose bias had been so marked in the first trial, and said he had used the Medina charge to the jury, amending it to fit the new trial.

Defendants had written to a large number of lawyers to ask if they would serve as defense counsel, but none of those asked was willing to undertake such a case because so many lawyers in earlier political cases had been harassed and persecuted. Four able, courageous attorneys were found, however: John T. McTernan of Los Angeles, chief defense counsel, James Wright of Washington, D. C., Frank Serri and Mary Kaufman of New York. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry acted as their own attorneys.

Before the trial started, the defense charged that the method of

choosing juries "precludes the selection of a representative cross-section of the community," as required in Supreme Court rulings, and instead systematically achieves "the virtual exclusion of manual workers and Negroes." Jury panels analyzed by the defense showed they were "dominated by the upper economic group in the community," while manual workers made up only 7% of the panels.

Near the end of the trial, one juror was removed for discussing the case with friends at a card party. This juror later claimed that other jurors had said their minds had long been made up about the "guilt" of the defendants. She wanted to give the names of these jurors under oath, but Judge Dimock refused, and also denied the defense motion for a mistrial.

At the end of the trial, Simon Gerson, speaking on behalf of Elizabeth Flynn, called the trial an "elaborate frame-up." "It was considered by a jury in which direct prejudice was shown—a jury drawn from a jury system stacked against the working class. Further, the evidence was primarily testimony of bought professional informers. . . . Otherwise, the testimony was simply quotations torn from the context of Marxist classics."

After the jury's verdict, all 13 were ordered held in jail until sentence a week later, and were forced to remain two to three weeks more until full bail was raised by their families. Their original bail of \$10,000 each (\$20,000 for each of three non-citizens) was raised to \$25,000 for each. All were finally released on this excessive bail, pending their appeal to the higher courts.

**Rosenberg Frame-up:** A world-famous case that aroused protest in all countries involved the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They were charged by Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, himself under indictment at the time, with having conspired to send information on the atom bomb to the Soviet Union in 1944 when that country was a wartime ally. His testimony was unsupported by evidence of any kind.

The Rosenbergs were indicted in New York City in 1950 and on April 5, 1951, sentenced to death. They were held in the death house at Sing Sing, Ossining, N. Y. for two years. Twice the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case. Twice the execution date was set and twice postponed.

Pleas for clemency were presented by masses of people, including atom scientists, all over the world. The breadth of interest in the case was demonstrated when it was revealed that Pope Pius XII had interceded.

in behalf of the Rosenbergs. The Pope's action was made public after President Eisenhower, February 11, 1953, denied clemency to the couple. In this country appeals were made by such noted scientists as Prof. Albert Einstein and Prof. Harold Urey, and by clergymen of all faiths.

Finally, on February 17, 1953, three judges of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals granted the Rosenbergs a stay of execution so they could carry a new appeal for a new trial to the U.S. Supreme Court. Emanuel H. Bloch, defense counsel, said the appeal would be based on the fact that the Rosenbergs' conviction was procured by perjured testimony. Misconduct by U.S. Attorney Irving H. Saypol as prosecutor in the case was described by the Court of Appeals as "wholly reprehensible."

**Peace Information Center Case:** Trial of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and his four associates in the Peace Information Center began November 7, 1951, in Washington, D.C. The four tried with him were Elizabeth Moos, Kyrle Elkin, Sylvia Soloff and Abbott Simon. They were indicted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act for failure to register as "foreign agents"—because they were working for world peace. The organization involved was dissolved prior to the date the indictment was brought.

Testifying as a government informer in the case was O. John Rogge, himself the one who had invited DuBois to take part in the peace movement. This frame-up, however, against the distinguished Negro scholar and author was too raw to stand. U.S. District Judge Matthew F. McGuire on November 20, 1951, entered a judgment of acquittal.

**Bridges Case:** For more than 18 years, ever since he led the great West Coast waterfront strike in 1934, Pres. Harry R. Bridges of the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (Ind.) has been the target of the Department of Justice which seeks to deport him to Australia where he was born. Bridges has been a U.S. citizen since 1945.

On January 14, 1953, Bridges and his two union associates, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson, appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court against their conviction for "conspiracy and fraud" in stating that Bridges was not a Communist. The conviction was based on testimony of professional stoolpigeons. Bridges at the same time appealed to the high court to reverse a lower court order revoking his citizenship. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco had upheld these convictions. Bridges faces a five-year prison sentence and the others two-year sentences each, unless the Supreme Court reverses the decision.

**Bail Fund Trustees Contempt Case:** In the course of the defense

of civil rights, the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York was used for several years until July, 1951, for the benefit of strikers and of those whose civil rights were under attack. On July 3, 1951, however, in connection with the arrests and imprisonment of Communist leaders, Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan in New York cancelled the bail put up by this Fund and ordered its trustees to name those who had advanced loans to the Fund.

Claiming their rights under the 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the four trustees refused to name the contributors and were sentenced to prison for contempt of court. Frederick V. Field, secretary of the Fund, sentenced twice to six and three months for the same "offense," was sent to jail on July 6, 1951. Three other trustees, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Abner Green and Dashiell Hammett, served sentences of three months each. As a result of this arbitrary cancellation of all bail under the Bail Fund, those arrested under the Smith and McCarran acts and in other civil rights cases were forced to remain in jail until their families and friends could raise the high bail demanded by the courts.

After being put out of business the Bail Fund was investigated by the New York State Banking Department which found no malfeasance on the part of the trustees. Liquidation of the Fund, ordered by the courts, involved high fees and other charges going to the court-appointed "liquidators."

## ELEVEN NATIONAL LEADERS IMPRISONED

Eleven national leaders of the Communist Party of the United States lost their appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of alleged conspiracy under the Smith Act. They had been indicted in July, 1948; their trial opened January 17, 1949; and they were convicted October 14, 1949. (See Labor Fact Book 10.)

On June 4, 1951, the high court by a vote of six to two upheld their conviction. On July 2, 1951, seven of the eleven leaders started serving their prison sentences of five years each. Fines of \$10,000 each had already been paid.

An eighth leader, Gus Hall, was arrested in Mexico City October 10, 1951, as a political refugee and was brought back to the U.S. by agents of the FBI and sentenced to three more years on a contempt charge. The other three political refugees in this case are Gilbert Green, Robert G. Thompson, and Henry Winston.

Those jailed and the federal prisons in which they are serving terms are as follows: Eugene Dennis, Atlanta, Ga.; John Gates, Atlanta, Ga.; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Terre Haute, Ind.; Jack Stachel, Danbury, Conn.; John Williamson, Lewisburg, Pa.; Carl Winter, Lewisburg, Pa.; Irving Potash, Leavenworth, Kan.; Gus Hall, Leavenworth, Kan.

**Supreme Court Decision:** In the majority opinion, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the legality of the Smith Act under which the eleven Communist leaders had been convicted. Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson wrote the majority opinion for himself and Justices Burton, Minton and Reed. Justices Felix Frankfurter and Robert H. Jackson supported the majority but wrote separate concurring opinions. Justice Jackson commented: "But I have little faith in the long-range effectiveness in this conviction to stop the Communist movement. Communism will not go to jail with these Communists."

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo L. Black stated: "I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is, and what it is not. These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with overt acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

"No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold Sec. 3 of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied. . . .

"The record shows a discriminatory selection of the jury panel which prevented trial before a representative cross-section of the community; . . . the record shows that one member of the trial jury was violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial.

"Public opinion being what it now is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Justice William O. Douglas in his dissent declared: "Petitioners,

however, were not charged with a 'conspiracy to overthrow' the Government. . . . We deal here with speech alone, not with speech *plus* acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make a lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to make a radical break with the past and to violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme. . . .

"Full and free discussion has indeed been the first article of our faith. We have founded our political system on it. It has been the safeguard of every religious, political, philosophical, economic, and racial group amongst us. . . .

"The command of the First Amendment is so clear that we should not allow Congress to call a halt to free speech except in the extreme case of peril from the speech itself."

## POLITICAL PRISONERS

At least 45 men and women (as of early 1953) are imprisoned in the United States for their political and labor views and activities. This means they are political prisoners according to the recognized tradition in many other countries.

This number does not include the many deportation cases in which the prisoner is held on Ellis Island or Terminal Island. It includes only a few of the countless frame-ups against Negro workers imprisoned unjustly in the North as well as in the South.

Under the U.S. penal system the status of political prisoners is not recognized. Fellow prisoners recognize these men and women as "politicals" but the authorities do not. Instead of being allowed the extra visits from families and friends and the special mail and book privileges accorded such prisoners abroad, political prisoners here are subjected to special discrimination.

**Nelson Case:** Steve Nelson, Communist leader in Pittsburgh, Pa., veteran of the Spanish Republican war against fascism, was, as noted above, given a 20-year sentence, harshest on record, under the Pennsylvania "sedition" law. His appeal to the Pennsylvania Superior Court was rejected on November 12, 1952, just as a jury was being selected to try him in another thought-control case under the Smith Act.

Nelson was several times in December, 1952, and January, 1953, thrown into solitary confinement in the "Hole" at the medieval County

Workhouse at Blawnox, Pa. This was on order from Judge Montgomery, with no explanation given, in an unsuccessful attempt to break the prisoner's health and spirit. Nelson was given nothing to eat for a day and was left without adequate clothing in winter in the cold cell, with a cement floor, with no furniture or bed. At night a plank was brought in for a "bed." Nelson's life was endangered by such treatment.

**Prisoners Relief Committee List:** Political prisoners recently listed by the Prisoners Relief Committee of the Civil Rights Congress included Nelson and 14 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act as well as the last of the Trenton, N. J. prisoners, Ralph Cooper. Rosa Lee Ingram, Negro sharecropper, and her two boys have already served more than four years in Georgia prisons. Lt. Leon Gilbert, Negro officer in World War II, is serving a sentence of 20 years at hard labor for allegedly refusing to obey an order in the Korean war.

The Prisoners Relief Committee, for more than 30 years, has helped victims of political and labor frame-ups, as well as their families. It fights for political status for such prisoners and seeks to protect Negro prisoners in Jimcrow jails. Of the many frame-ups of Negro workers, the committee says: "Once the white supremacists put a Negro behind bars, they will not release him without a real fight."

**Treatment of Prisoners:** Not every political prisoner is subjected to the special brutality with which Steve Nelson has been treated, as described above. But most of the prisons are old and the cells are overcrowded. The thought-control that put the political prisoners in jail is extended to their prison cells.

No political prisoner is allowed to receive the *Daily Worker*, *Daily People's World* or a trade union paper. All incoming books are censored and only certain ones, limited in number and of a non-political character, are allowed. None of the prison libraries have the kind of serious reading matter that these political prisoners require. Titles of books ordered from the publishers by a prisoner, at his own expense, must be passed on by prison authorities. Even those from mildly progressive sources are barred.

Correspondence in federal prisons is limited to their families although other prisoners are allowed as many as five outside correspondents. But every name submitted by a political prisoner as a friend or acquaintance (including ministers) to correspond with him has been rejected, after check by the FBI. All correspondence is censored. No Christmas, New Year or birthday cards are delivered to the prisoners.

When the prisoner's wife or other relative comes to visit, their conversation is usually supervised and what they are allowed to talk about is censored. For non-political prisoners, on the other hand, there is no such rigid censorship—only a general supervision. Negro prisoners in general, and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. in particular, are subject to special discrimination. In the Terre Haute, Ind., penitentiary, Negroes are not even permitted to apply for the honor roll.

**Amnesty Drive:** The President of the United States has the power to grant amnesty to federal prisoners. Amnesty is the granting of a general pardon, usually to political prisoners.

The National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims (799 Broadway, N. Y. City) beginning in 1952 has led a broad movement of persons, representing differing political groups, asking the President to grant amnesty to the leaders of the Communist Party, convicted under thought-control provisions of the Smith Act. So far none has been released. (See Marion Bachrach's pamphlet, *Amnesty*, New Century Publishers.)

## ATTACKS AGAINST FOREIGN BORN

Since 1950 the Department of Justice has increased the tempo of its attacks against foreign born Americans. The most important reactionary development in this attempt to create a conscious anti-foreign born hysteria was Congress' overriding of President Truman's veto of the Walter-McCarran Immigration & Nationality Act of 1952 which went into effect December 24, 1952. This law, which carries forward all the repressive, anti-democratic features of the 1950 McCarran Act, goes several steps further and in the case of naturalized citizens, makes it possible to lose citizenship for "crimes" committed after citizenship is granted.

Refusal to testify before a Congressional committee regarding one's "subversive activities" within 10 years of naturalization can mean loss of naturalization if that refusal results in conviction of contempt. Joining any organization which was deemed "subversive" by the Attorney General, within five years of getting citizenship, is likewise grounds for revocation of naturalization.

For the non-citizen, the law brings to this country the Nazi-like system whereby 3 million non-citizens living in the U.S. must carry upon their persons at all times certificates to prove they have complied with



the registration provisions of the law. Non-compliance may mean fines, jail, or both.

**Deportations:** On October 20, 1950, the Justice Department announced its intention to deport more than 3,400 non-citizens who had political beliefs, affiliations or associations which did not meet its approval. To date more than 275 non-citizens have been arrested for deportation because of past or present membership in organizations disliked by the Department. On March 10, 1951, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a split decision, ruled that past membership in the Communist Party was a deportable offense, although the Communist Party has not been outlawed.

One of the most inhuman aspects of the overall deportation drive is the Justice Department's attempt to deport anti-fascist foreign born Americans to their countries of birth in the face of positive proof they would meet with political and physical persecution—and in some cases death—if sent there.

The American right to bail, guaranteed under the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution, has suffered serious setbacks during the past year. These followed the midnight raids of October 22, 1950, when 48 non-citizens in 11 states were seized and held without bail in deportation proceedings.

Since then the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, has decreed that non-citizens can be held without bail at the discretion of the Attorney General pending deportation proceedings. Such denial of bail is in addition to that section of the Walter-McCarran Law which says the Attorney General, even if bail has been granted, can cancel bail at any time. The policy thus jeopardizes one of the basic constitutional guarantees. One non-citizen was held without bail on Ellis Island for 363 days.

**Denaturalization:** The Justice Department stated in 1950 that 1,200 naturalized citizens would have proceedings instituted against them to take their citizenship away. Already more than 25 such cases have been initiated and the use of anti-foreign born legislation as a weapon against organized labor has become apparent. James Matles, organizational director of the Electrical Workers (Ind.); James Lustig, of the same union; John Steuben, managing editor of the magazine, March of Labor, and Louis Weinstock, former secretary-treasurer of the Painters District Council No. 9 in New York City and one of 13 Communists convicted of Smith Act violation, are among trade unionists who have

become early victims of the Justice Department's attempt to make good its denaturalization threat.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born warns that if the Walter-McCarran law remains, not only will immigration be reduced to the merest trickle but the constitutional rights of 3 million non-citizens and 11 million naturalized citizens will have been legislatively nullified and the U.S. will be on the road to police-state rule.

## KILLINGS AND FRAME-UPS OF NEGROES

Under its technical definition of lynching, Tuskegee Institute reported there was "only one" in 1951. For the first time since 1913 when it started its record, it reported "no lynching" in 1952. During the decade 1943-1952, it reported there were 21; in the 39-year period 1913-1952 there were 896 lynchings.

The same report admits that violence against the Negro people now usually takes a different form. In four years, 1949-1952, there were at least 68 instances of bombing or attempted bombing "connected in the main with religious and racial tensions." It says little, however, about the wanton killings of Negro workers that take place in practically every part of the U.S. but which are not defined as lynchings.

**Deaths in Florida:** The "fatal bombing in Florida of a Negro official of the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] was, morally speaking, a lynching even if it is not so classified," said the N. Y. Times (Jan. 1, 1952) referring to the killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in December, 1951.

On Christmas night, 1951, Mr. Moore and his wife Harriet were sleeping in their little home in Mims, Fla., when a bomb exploded under the house. Moore was killed and his wife died on January 3, 1952, from injuries received in the blast.

Moore was state coordinator of the NAACP and executive secretary of the Progressive Voters League, an organization he founded to safeguard the right of Negroes to vote. He was posthumously in June, 1952, awarded the Spingarn medal given each year by the NAACP to an American whose work for Negro rights is judged the most outstanding of the year.

No one has ever been arrested for the bombing and killing of the Moores. After many months of "investigation" by the FBI, Attorney General James P. McGranery announced that a federal grand jury would

take evidence on the bombing, but no indictment has been brought for the murders.

At the time of his death, Moore was leading a protest movement against another Florida hate-crime. On November 6, 1951, Sheriff Willis V. McCall at Eustis, Fla., shot and killed a Negro prisoner, Samuel Shepherd, 23 years old, and seriously wounded his companion, Walter Lee Irvin, also 23. Both were handcuffed at the time of the shooting.

The U.S. Supreme Court had just reversed a 1949 decision against the two prisoners on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from the trial jury. They were being taken to a nearby town for hearings on a new trial. Despite many demands for his arrest, McCall went free and was re-elected as sheriff.

**In New York State:** In the North also, wanton killings of Negroes are frequently reported. In Yonkers, N. Y., March 19, 1952, a former Westchester County highway policeman, Stanley Labenskey, shot and killed two Negro brothers, Wyatt and James Blacknall, outside a tavern. He objected because they had been at the bar where he also was drinking. A third brother ran for help.

Labenskey was held on two charges of first degree murder. But on June 11, 1952, he was acquitted by a jury in the county court and immediately freed. In protest against the killing and the handling of the prosecution, the NAACP sought, without success, to have Gov. Thomas E. Dewey supersede the prosecutor.

**"We Charge Genocide":** An epoch-making report, "We Charge Genocide: The Crime of the U.S. Government against the Negro People," was presented by the Civil Rights Congress in 1951 to the General Assembly of the United Nations. It reviews the record of violent attacks resulting in deaths of Negroes during the six years from June, 1945, through June, 1951.

At least 79 were killed by the police and at least 42 were killed by other individual whites, this record shows. These figures do not include at least 21 killed by mob attack, and others killed by gross neglect after an accident.

Most revealing is the record of anti-Negro violence in the North and the West. From Philadelphia and New York to Portland and Spokane, the bloody trail includes Albany, Rochester, Peoria, Chicago, St. Louis, and towns in Michigan and Wisconsin. In summary the report points out: "It cannot be emphasized too often that those killings of members

of the group which are recorded are a distinct minority of those actually killed."

**Trenton Six:** Convictions of four Trenton (N. J.) defendants, McKinley Forrest, Horace Wilson, James Thorpe and John McKenzie, were set aside on June 14, 1951. All six had been sentenced, in an attempted "legal lynching" or frame-up murder trial in 1948, to die in the electric chair. (See Labor Fact Book 10.)

Two of the Trenton Six, Collis English and Ralph Cooper, were sentenced in June, 1951, to life imprisonment but on November 24, 1952, the New Jersey Supreme Court ordered a re-trial for the two. On December 30, 1952, however, before a new trial could be prepared, English died of a heart attack in the state prison. His family, the Civil Rights Congress and other organizations had tried for many months to have him released so that a heart specialist could treat him regularly. But such clemency was denied by the state authorities.

**Roosevelt Ward Case:** For alleged violation of the Selective Service Act, Roosevelt Ward, Jr., 22-year old Negro leader in the Labor Youth League, was arrested May 30, 1950, in New York City. Charged with failure to give a New Orleans draft board his correct address, he was rushed back to Louisiana. There a federal court sentenced him to three years in prison. On February 2, 1953, however, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed the lower court's decisions and Ward was freed.

## NEGROES' VOTING RIGHTS

The number of states requiring payment of a poll tax in order to vote has been reduced to five: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. At least seven million U.S. citizens, Negro and white, were still disfranchised in 1952 by this means. Tennessee in 1951 discarded the poll tax.

Alabama, however, has adopted a new constitutional amendment generally regarded as intended to hamper Negro registration and thus reduce the Negro vote. Those seeking to register must pass a written examination prepared by the state supreme court. Any person voting for the first time in Alabama must pay a cumulative poll tax of \$1.50 for every year since becoming 21 or entering the state. Thus a new voter of 45 must pay \$36 for the privilege of voting.

In Virginia, an appeal brought by a Negro woman, Jessie Butler, against the poll tax law as unconstitutional was rejected by a federal

district court and on May 28, 1951, by the U.S. Supreme Court. The high court thus in effect held that the Virginia poll tax law did not violate the U.S. constitution.

**Terrorizing Tactics:** Not only the poll tax where it is still required but also police and Ku Klux Klan terror operate to disfranchise the Negro people. By threats, loss of employment, beatings, house-bombings, cross-burnings, police murders and mob lynchings, Negroes are terrorized into staying away from the polls.

In Louisiana, for example, where no poll tax is now required, John Lester Mitchell and two other Negroes brought suit, through NAACP, against the register of voters in St. Landry Parish for his refusal to register them. For this action Mitchell was shot and killed November 18, 1951, by a deputy sheriff.

In Gaffney, S. C., where there is no poll tax, C. L. C. Glymph, Negro grocer, was running for the office of town councillor in February, 1952, but was terrorized into withdrawing his candidacy on the eve of elections. The KKK threatened him with the warning: "It is not customary, as you know, for the colored race of South Carolina to hold public office. . . . Let withdrawal before February 12 be your protection for now and hereafter."

**Federal Action Proposed:** Sen. Spessard L. Holland (D., Fla.) and nine other Senators from southern states on January 23, 1953, introduced a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. Co-sponsors of the resolution were senators from Arkansas, Virginia, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and Louisiana.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has opposed the poll tax for many years, and the Southern Regional Council reported that about 1,110,000 Negroes voted in southern states in 1952.

## LOYALTY OATHS FOR TEACHERS

The number of states with laws on their statute books requiring teachers' loyalty check-ups has risen to 33. Of these 26 now require loyalty oaths. Actions against teachers under these loyalty oath laws have taken place in California, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and other areas.

**In California:** Notable in the long struggle against loyalty oaths was the stand of professors at the University of California. For refusing

to sign the special oaths demanded in 1950 by the Board of Regents, 17 faculty members were dismissed. After a long fight in the courts, the university regents dropped the loyalty oath requirement.

On October 17, 1952, the California State Supreme Court ruled that this special oath was unconstitutional and ordered the reinstatement of the 17 faculty members. However, their reinstatement depended on their signing the general loyalty oath required of all state employees under the Levering (Loyalty Oath) Act which was upheld as constitutional. In November, 1952, the university invited back the 17 who had been dismissed and also 10 others who had not taken their cases to court.

The California State Federation of Teachers in December, 1952, reaffirmed its opposition to all teachers' loyalty oaths. The Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act has been active in opposition to the fascist-like National Council for American Education, headed by Allen A. Zoll. The latter claimed a "large part" in ousting Willard Goslin in 1950 from his position as the able and competent superintendent of schools in Pasadena, Calif.

**In Oklahoma:** The U.S. Supreme Court, December 15, 1952, held unconstitutional Oklahoma's law requiring state employees to take a loyalty oath. The court ruled, 8 to 0, that the statute did not provide adequate safeguards for innocent persons.

"The oath offends due process," the high court held, and thus violates the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution with its provision that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Under the Oklahoma law, passed in April, 1951, seven teachers of the state Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater were dismissed for failure to take the oath. The Oklahoma Supreme Court held they had no constitutional right to state employment.

In the U.S. Supreme Court decision, Justice Hugo L. Black concurred with the additional statement, relevant also to many other current cases: "The Oklahoma oath statute is but one manifestation of a national network of laws aimed at coercing and controlling the minds of men. Test oaths are notorious tools of tyranny. When used to shackle the mind they are, or at least they should be, unspeakably odious to a free people. . . .

"We must have freedom of speech for all or we will in the long run have it for none but the cringing and the craven. And I cannot too often repeat my belief that the right to speak on matters of public

concern must be wholly free or eventually be wholly lost."

**In New York State:** The Feinberg law enacted in New York in March, 1949, directs the Regents to promulgate a list of so-called "subversive" organizations and requires dismissal of any teacher who belongs to any one of these. Constitutionality of the statute was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, March 3, 1952, in a 6-to-3 decision.

The three dissenting were Justices Douglas, Black, and Frankfurter. In his dissent, Justice Douglas said: "The Constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression to everyone in our society. All are entitled to it; and none needs it more than the teacher. . . .

"The present law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society—guilt by association. . . . The very threat of such a procedure is certain to raise havoc with academic freedom."

Under the Feinberg law 20 school employees, most of them teachers, had been suspended without pay or dismissed by the end of 1952. At the trial of eight teachers in November, 1952, before Arthur Levitt as trial examiner, all were described as outstanding in their profession. Former students, parents and other teachers testified that the eight had the highest qualities as teachers and were devoted to their students. Not one of the teachers suspended or dismissed was ever charged with any professional incompetence or of seeking to indoctrinate his class with any special philosophy.

Almost all the teachers thus driven out of the schools were members of the Teachers Union (at that time Local 555 of the United Public Workers) which has fought vigorously in their defense.

**Opposition to Oaths:** In addition to the American Federation of Teachers and the Teachers Union, many organizations have spoken out against loyalty oaths for teachers and other city and state employees. Among these are the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Ass'n. of University Professors, a number of academic associations and groups of citizens in localities where loyalty oaths for teachers and others have become an issue.

One of the most forthright criticisms of the loyalty oath policy was made by Prof. Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University, who told the faculty and students of Barnard College, October 9, 1951, that such oaths are a "part of a rather fat-headed, feeble-minded, though not altogether depraved pattern peculiar to American life." He warned that the current attacks on loyalty were based on the "noxious law of guilt by association."

## BLACKLISTING IN RADIO, TV, SCREEN

On June 22, 1950, three former agents of the FBI issued a 213-page blacklist, called *Red Channels*, listing the names of 151 radio-television people and their alleged Communist and pro-Communist associations. The list includes noted playwrights, directors and world-famous actors and actresses. No attempt was made to check with those named as to whether or not the charges were true.

The three men responsible for the list were T. C. Kirkpatrick, J. G. Keenan, and K. M. Bierly, who had set themselves up in 1947 under the name of American Business Consultants, to issue a weekly newsletter, *Counterattack*, "to combat Communism." The main financial backer was Alfred Kohlberg, also a supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.). Their smears ranged far beyond the entertainment industry, scores of distinguished Americans in other fields being included.

There are several blacklists in the entertainment industry, including one maintained by Columbia Broadcasting System for its own use. But "two years after its publication, '*Red Channels*' is still the most powerful, and one of the country's largest industries remains prostrate at the feet of what *Fortune* magazine has called a 'handful of busybodies,'" wrote Pres. Merle Miller of the Authors Guild of America. (*The Nation*, June 28, 1952.)

To clear anyone who has been smeared, *Counterattack* usually requires a signed recantation of any Left Wing sympathy and active espousal of Anti-Communism. Practically all causes which have in the past aroused support among show people are damned as Communist, for example, in the words of *Red Channels* itself, "the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship, the fight against anti-Semitism and Jim Crow, civil rights, world peace, the outlawing of the H-bomb."

Those listed in *Red Channels* found themselves unable to obtain employment in radio, television or movies. Many were called to answer questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Asked to name persons in the entertainment world as Communists, some tried to save their own careers by implicating others who in turn were also blacklisted.

One of those named was the distinguished actor, J. Edward Bromberg, who had himself refused to finger anyone to the Un-American Committee. Blacklisted in this country, Bromberg was forced to work in



England and died there in 1951 of a heart ailment admittedly aggravated by his exile. Mady Christians, noted actress and Canada Lee, the famous Negro actor, were others who were hounded to death by the combined smears of Red Channels and the Un-American Committee.

When the noted playwright, Lillian Hellman, was called before the Un-American Committee in 1952, she made a forthright statement, saying that she would tell the inquisitors anything about herself but she would not jeopardize others by adding to any redbaiting blacklists.

**In Hollywood:** The Hollywood Ten, including screenwriters and two directors, who in 1947 refused to discuss their politics with the Un-American Committee, served from six months to one-year prison sentences for contempt of Congress. (See Labor Fact Book 10.) Released early in 1951, they too found themselves blacklisted.

Adrian Scott, one of the ten, was awarded by a federal court \$80,000 that had been due him under his contract with Radio-Keith-Orpheum. The company appealed the decision which was then reversed by Federal Judge Ben Harrison. At least one of the Hollywood Ten, however, won a smaller amount than was due him under his contract.

In May, 1952, motion picture studios began a new and widespread investigation of Hollywood. This new witchhunt was the result of a blacklist sent to the studios in April by the national American Legion, of some 300 persons alleged to have Communist associations. Top creative personnel, including producers, directors, performers and writers, were called in by employing companies and asked to refute in writing the charges against them. Under what is known as "the Legion formula," the Legion threatens to picket any moving pictures in which any one of the 300 appears. A local fascist-like group, the Wage Earners Committee, has picketed theaters in the Los Angeles area.

Each person questioned by the studios is required to state in writing the names of those who invited him to join any so-called "subversive" organization and the names of those whom he in turn may have asked to join. If he refuses, he is fired.

**Victims of Attack:** Among the many actors, actresses, writers and others who have been blacklisted in the past two years, only a few can be named here. One of the first was Jean Muir, a middle-of-the-road liberal, who in August, 1950, lost the role of Mother Aldrich in the General Foods Corp. TV program, the "Aldrich Family." Gypsy Rose Lee, listed in Red Channels, denied any Communist leanings and was able to prove her point. Yet she is no longer employed regularly in

radio or television, as she was before the attack against her was published.

John Garfield, the well-known movie actor who had been employed on TV programs, was listed in Red Channels. Called before the Un-American Committee, he tried to answer the inquisitors and soon afterward died from a heart attack. Because his name appeared on the blacklist Philip Loeb, who created the part of Papa Goldberg in *The Goldbergs*, was dropped when the program returned to TV early in 1952. Loeb denied any Communist sympathies. Actors Equity and the Television Authority are both on record as denouncing industry blacklists but up to the end of 1952 had not succeeded in reinstating Loeb.

## DENIAL OF PASSPORTS

Many U.S. citizens seeking to travel abroad during the past two years have been refused passports. The State Department's passport division has simply informed these applicants that their "travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States." It has given no grounds for its conclusion, and offered no hearing or basis for judicial review.

Widespread criticism of this procedure developed among newspaper editors, law professors, and liberal groups. Sen Wayne L. Morse of Oregon called the policy a "tyrannical, arbitrary and capricious exercise of discretion."

The Washington Post (June 5, 1952) described the State Department's passport policy as "without any published standards of judgment and without any of the elements of due process." The Yale Law Journal issued in February, 1952, a documented study of the passport problem, commenting that "every American citizen has a constitutional right to a passport and that the protection of that right has become an urgent matter of national policy as well as of civil liberty."

The State Department's passport division admits denying at least 95 requests for passports in 11 months through May, 1952, and recalling an equal number. (N. Y. Times, July 19, 1952.)

Among those arbitrarily denied a passport was Prof. Linus C. Pauling, head of the chemistry department at California Institute of Technology and one of the world's outstanding theoretical chemists. He had applied early in 1952 for a passport to England to take part in a conference of the Royal Society of London and to present a discourse before the

Royal Institution of Great Britain. After a passport had been twice refused him, protest rolled up from all over the country. Finally, on July 15, 1952, after signing an affidavit saying he was not and never had been a Communist, Dr. Pauling was granted a limited passport good only until October 1.

Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer, has held a passport which was revoked in 1950. He appealed to the higher courts, stating that revocation of his passport had interfered with his livelihood as a concert singer, causing him a financial loss in fees and royalties. But the U.S. Court of Appeals, August 7, 1952, threw out the appeal on the ground that it had no jurisdiction in the case.

Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, was invited to address a centennial religious gathering in Australia in 1952 but was refused a passport. Rev. Henry J. Carpenter, Presbyterian minister of Brooklyn, was invited to preach in Japan but could not get a passport. He later received a passport but not for the trip he had originally planned.

These were typical of the many cases in which passports were denied. The State Department revealed early in 1952 that it was hunting for 251 American citizens, then travelling abroad, in order to revoke their passports. All persons known to have attended peace conferences abroad such as the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in Peking, in October 1952, had their passports lifted on their return to the U.S.

## IV. TRADE UNIONS IN THE U.S.

### 1951 AFL CONVENTION

Seventieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor met at San Francisco, September 17-25, 1951, with 600 delegates, only two percent of whom were women. The executive council reported a record-breaking membership of 7,846,245, a rise of 703,642 over the previous year. The return to the AFL of the 500,000 members of the Machinists accounted for most of the year's gain.

The convention boosted the per capita payments a penny a month, so that national unions would thereafter pay four cents a month to the federation, while directly-affiliated local trade unions and federal labor unions would contribute 38 cents a month per member.

**Unity of Labor:** AFL again urged negotiations with the CIO with a view to achieving organic unity in one federation. It was reported that there had been no meeting of the AFL-CIO Unity Committee since the last convention. The delegates approved, without discussion, the withdrawal of AFL representatives from the United Labor Policy Committee in August, 1951, and approved the report of the AFL executive council that ULPC had "adequately fulfilled the purpose for which it was created."

**Jurisdictional Disputes and Raiding:** Jurisdiction over all hosiery workers was given to the American Federation of Hosiery Workers which had previously been an autonomous unit of the Textile Workers Union (CIO).

Officials of the State, County & Municipal Employes complained that several unions, including the Teamsters and the building service unions, were taking away their members. The Tobacco Workers also protested against the raids of the Teamsters, and the Maintenance of Way Employees were reprimanded for stepping on the toes of the building trades unions in the erection of buildings on railway property.

**Marshall Plan:** Although speakers at the convention joined in a chorus of praise for U.S. foreign policy, Pres. Charles J. MacGowan of the Boilermakers reported, after a trip to Europe, that Marshall Plan dollars in Italy, for example, were being placed in the hands of corrupt

business leaders who charged usurious interest rates. He said the "economic royalists of Europe" had "reestablished their iniquitous cartels and are drawing off the fat" from their countries. He charged that the Marshall Plan agency in Europe "has fallen into the unhappy dilemma of making unilateral decisions without consulting labor."

Convention resolution said that Marshall Plan aid had strengthened Europe but had failed to raise living standards of French and Italian workers.

**Other Resolutions:** Among other actions the convention assailed the Taft-Hartley Act and resolved to continue the fight for its repeal; attacked the proposal to shift further tax burdens onto low income groups; denounced the failure of Congress to protect the interests of American farm workers; called for passage by Congress of health insurance and other needed health legislation; and demanded the ouster of Communists and "fellow travellers" found to be teachers in the public school system.

The Monthly Labor Review of the U.S. Department of Labor, in its report on the convention, said: "Demands for continued, unceasing war on communism at home and abroad dominated much of the convention's time and activities." Included in its program of action was endorsement of support to resistance movements against the People's Republic of China on the mainland as well as support to Chiang Kai-shek's military forces on Formosa.

## 1952 AFL CONVENTION

Seventy-first annual convention of the AFL met in New York City, September 15-23, 1952. It reported a further gain in paid membership to a new high of 8,098,302. Attending the convention were 658 delegates from 97 national unions, 4 departments, 39 state branches, 149 central bodies, 65 local trade and federal labor unions. Only five of the delegates were Negroes.

For the first time in its history the AFL voted to back the candidate of a major political party for the U.S. presidency. (In 1924 the AFL endorsed Robert M. LaFollette, then presidential candidate of the Progressive Party.) The action took the form of a supplemental report of the executive council that summarized the various legislative programs and proposals of the AFL in relation to the platforms of the two major parties. It found the Democratic position superior to that of the

Republicans on every issue and stated in conclusion that Adlai E. Stevenson "inspires our full confidence." It emphasized that the individual unions and their members were free to make their own political decisions without any compulsion on the part of the federation, and that "it is not our intention or desire to endorse any political party or to enter into partisan politics." However, "as trade union leaders and as Americans, we advise and urge each and every member of the AFL to vote" for Stevenson.

Abstaining from the vote, although not so recorded, were the delegates of the powerful Carpenters Union, whose officials had also lined up with the Republicans in previous elections, and those of the Maintenance of Way Employes, Sleeping Car Porters, Paper Workers and Patternmakers.

Both Republican and Democratic candidates for the Presidency addressed the convention. General Eisenhower drew some applause when he advocated a Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath for employers. Stevenson came out for repeal of Taft-Hartley, calling it a "symbol of dissension and bitterness."

**Political Education:** Director James L. McDevitt of Labor's League for Political Education told the convention that this organization, established by the AFL in 1947 to rally its forces on the political field, had received less than \$200,000 in voluntary contributions so far this year, or less than \$10 for each of the 23,000 local unions solicited. In the 1950 Congressional campaign LLPE had collected a little over \$500,000.

McDevitt contrasted these small amounts with the fact that four lobbies, "all anti-labor," spent \$4 million last year to influence Congressmen. These four were the American Medical Association, the Committee for Constitutional Government, the American Farm Bureau Federation ("the most open of the lobbies trying to wreck price controls"), and the National Association of Electric Companies.

**Reports of Foreign Agents:** The customary reports on foreign labor, economic and political conditions were made by various AFL representatives in Europe, Asia and Latin America. As in previous years, all told of the battles they had carried on against the Communists abroad. This time, however, they widened their attacks to include all forces in foreign countries that in any way disagreed with U.S. policies. In general, they elaborated on the text provided by the report of the executive council which, among other things, attacked even Conserva-

tive British Prime Minister Winston Churchill who, the report deplored, "has reduced defense appropriations" in defiance of U.S. policy.

The report also expressed fear of "neutralist" manifestations in Europe, in Malaya, and elsewhere in the world where the people had not shown "sufficient hatred and vigor in opposing communism and Russia." It also assailed the Nehru government of India for its "unpardonable course of appeasement and kowtowing towards Moscow and Peiping." AFL representative in Europe, Irving Brown, also deplored the "neutralism and appeasement" in Europe, and the growth of "so-called 'peace' movements."

**Military Training:** Executive council's report on this subject was approved along with the decision reached in 1951: "In view of the present war emergency, the executive council favors limited universal military training; however, that it shall end with the emergency, that it shall not become a part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor."

**Resolutions:** Among other resolutions the convention passed those for raising the legal minimum wage to \$1 an hour or more; for revision of the repressive McCarran-Walter immigration act; for an organizing drive among women workers; for labor participation in the Atomic Energy Commission; for tax programs based on ability to pay; for translating increased productivity into higher living standards for the workers.

It reaffirmed support of "fair employment practices legislation with enforcement powers"; urged abolition of the Senate filibuster rule which has enabled Southern Dixiecrats to kill all civil rights legislation; protested the "anti-union attitudes of many state and local public officials toward the organization of their employees"; and opposed the blacklist bill introduced by Sen. Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) in the last session of Congress, which would permit the firing of workers in private industry who belong to any organization named in the attorney general's so-called subversive list.

**Labor Unity:** Convention again asked for "organic unification" and said its committee was prepared to resume negotiations with CIO, which it charged had broken them off on various occasions. No mention was made of the wire from John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers who had suggested that all legitimate unions in the U.S. be

invited to a national conference at which plans for creating a single, united labor organization would be drawn up.

**Officers:** William Green, who had been president since the death of Samuel Gompers in 1924, was elected for his 29th year. George Meany was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Green died on November 21 and Meany was chosen by the executive council to take his place. William F. Schnitzler, president of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, was then named secretary-treasurer.

## 1951 CIO CONVENTION

The thirteenth annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations met in New York City, November 5-9, 1951. Present were 572 delegates representing a claimed membership of around 5 million, mainly in the 31 National Divisions and 4 Organizing Committees.

In its resolution on labor unity the convention denounced the withdrawal of the AFL representatives from the United Labor Policy Committee which had been set up in December, 1950, to give labor a united voice in "matters relating to the mobilization effort." This action "scuttled the growing movement toward united labor action," and created a climate in which "serious discussion of labor unity . . . now seems difficult." Nevertheless, it resolved that cooperation with the AFL and other unions "at the community, state and national levels be continued to advance common objectives and to strengthen the ultimate achievement of a united labor movement."

**Foreign Policy:** While underwriting State Department foreign policy as a whole it opposed any appeasement of Franco's government in Spain. Like the AFL it asked that Marshall Plan aid go to European workers, and less to employers. The standard line about "international conspiracy" and the "imperialist power" of the Soviet Union echoed the voice of the U.S. government. The anti-Chinese peace treaty with Japan was approved, and one was urged for West Germany as recommended by the State Department. Support of the cold war dominated the proceedings.

**Wage Stabilization:** The convention opposed the government's "wage stabilization" practices, and declared that the entire war mobilization program was "shot through with inequity and injustice." It rejected "any system of control which places the burden of sacrifice upon the workers." As a result of Wage Stabilization Board inaction, it said, workers "are being deprived of the benefits of health and hos-



pitalization insurance and retirement plans provided for in collective bargaining contracts." It said that workers in industries exempt from price control "continue under wage controls, while their employers indulge in an endless stream of price increases." It added: "We shall never submit to discriminatory wage freezes or unfair policies of any kind which will threaten the standard of living and the hard-won collective bargaining advances" of labor.

**Ethical Practices and Jurisdictional Disputes:** Because of some growth of racketeering in constituent unions the resolution on "ethical practices" said: "There is no place in the CIO for racketeers, for agents of racketeering interests, or for any criminal elements." Without citing any evidence, it tried to bracket so-called "subversives" and corruption.

The delegates approved a program designed to adjust inter-union organizational disputes among affiliates. An increasing number of conflicts had arisen in which two or more CIO unions fought in NLRB elections to represent the same group of workers. The new plan provided for an impartial arbitrator to settle such representation conflicts.

**Civil Liberties and Internal Security:** "Year after year," said the resolution on this subject, "we have seen a retreat on the civil liberties front. . . . During the past year the trend has been accelerated." Calling the roll of these retreats since the last convention, it declared the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Smith Act and the conviction of the leaders of the Communist Party was "a threat to the free speech of all free men."

Other points in the resolution rapped the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee; the "pernicious activities of Senator McCarthy"; the increasingly unfair federal "loyalty" program; the government screening programs; and the McCarran thought-control law. This "so-called Subversive Activities Control Act, has . . . made the United States ludicrous in the eyes of the world."

It called on Congress to review and revise existing security legislation, especially the Smith Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act, with a view to giving full protection to the civil rights of all persons.

**Other Actions:** Convention also called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, noting that in the four years since it went into effect the organizing of the unorganized "has been brought to a virtual standstill" and that union membership in relation to the total working force "stands just about where it stood in 1947."

The resolution on civil rights called for issuance by the President "at once" of an FEPC executive order barring discrimination in employment. It demanded the passage of a federal Fair Employment Practice Act and of similar state laws, the enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill, the outlawing of poll taxes by federal and state legislation and the enactment of "modernized and strengthened federal civil rights laws" and similar statutes in all states that do not have such laws.

Other major points in CIO's legislative program included: improvement of Fair Labor Standards Act to provide a minimum wage of at least \$1.25 an hour; enactment of a National Health Program, including federal health insurance; a farm program "geared to a full economy, including reasonable price and income support, farm credits, soil conservation, improvement of rural living standards, and protection of consumers."

## 1952 CIO CONVENTION

On the eve of the fourteenth convention of the CIO in 1952, Pres. Philip Murray died November 9 in San Francisco. This caused postponement of the convention and its shift from Los Angeles to Atlantic City. It met there December 1-4, attended by about 600 delegates, of whom 16 were women. Membership reported for voting purposes was over 5.6 million, but actual strength of the unions within the CIO was about 4.2 million.

Murray's report to the convention, prepared before his death and made public November 17, said the largest union in the CIO was the Auto Workers with 1,200 locals and approximately 1,300,000 members. The Steel Workers reported 2,169 collective bargaining agreements covering 1,062,668 members in this country and 118 agreements covering 26,165 workers in Canada.

The Southern Organizing Committee, said the report, had the best year since the drive was started in 1946. It won 160 NLRB elections and had 50 pending. Because of Taft-Hartley, said the Murray report, "two-thirds of the nation's workers remain today unorganized," and the percentage of elections lost by unions under Taft-Hartley "continued steadily to increase."

Since November, 1951, when the new procedure for settling jurisdictional disputes was set up, 42 such disputes had come before the national CIO. Of these, 20 were settled without arbitration, seven were

arbitrated by the outside arbitrator, Dr. George W. Taylor, and the remainder were pending.

**New President:** The chief concern of this convention was the election of a new president. Walter P. Reuther, Auto Workers' president, was elected on the first roll call vote in CIO history. He received 3,079,181 votes to 2,613,103 votes for Allan S. Haywood. Of the 35 unions and organizing committees in CIO, 22, including the Steel Workers, voted for Haywood and 11 for Reuther, while the delegations of two unions were split. Haywood, who later in the convention was elected executive vice president, died of a heart attack on February 21, 1953.

Changes made in the constitution called for a meeting of the general executive board, on which all unions are represented, every quarter instead of twice a year. The three top officers and eight vice presidents are required to meet every two months.

**Civil Rights and Liberties:** Civil rights resolution appealed for passage of an "effective and enforceable" FEPC, and asked President-elect Eisenhower to make good on his pledge to end segregation in the District of Columbia and among workers engaged on war contracts. Several southern delegates reported some progress had been made in breaking down Jim Crow practices through union initiative. The director of the anti-discrimination program in the Packing House Workers reported on his union's success in winning jobs for Negro women at Swift & Co. plants.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People told the delegates that CIO unions had done good work against discrimination "but often, and in some areas too often, there is disparity between the resolutions, between the formal statements of policy, and the everyday reality." He added: "Too many locals in the South are conforming to local patterns and customs of segregation," and are "yielding to this evil of segregation in their meeting halls and on the job. Organized labor in the South must insist on the immediate removal of all Jim Crow signs in places where they work."

Civil liberties resolution called for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act, asserting that it makes "second-class citizens of all naturalized citizens," and denies to alien residents of the U.S. "the fair protection of our laws."

The resolution denounced "the trial of citizens by non-judicial pub-

lic bodies on accusations of secret informants." It attacked the government's "loyalty" program, and asked Congress "to review and revise existing security laws, such as the Smith Act and the [McCarran] subversive activities control act," so that individuals will not be subjected to "persecution on the basis of speech and advocacy alone."

**State Department Policies Approved:** Resolution on foreign policy gave approval to U.S. foreign policy in all parts of the world, and declared that if a cease-fire was not achieved in Korea, "the blame rests squarely on the Kremlin and its agents in Peking." Harry Martin, CIO European adviser in the Mutual Security Administration, attacked the rising peace sentiment in Europe and said "the new spirit of neutralism which is sweeping throughout the world . . . is a danger almost as acute as Communism in Western Europe." He named British Laborite leader Aneurin Bevan as a foremost exponent of neutralism and reported that this policy had considerable appeal to large sections of the people in Western Europe.

**Wage Freeze:** An end to the wage freeze and adoption of "comprehensive anti-inflation controls" on a "stand-by basis" was urged in a resolution stating: "There is no justification for maintaining wage stabilization under current conditions," for price controls are being liquidated and controls of materials eased. It declared: "About one-sixth of the wage increases ruled upon by the Wage Stabilization Board have been modified or denied. There is a backlog of some 12,000 cases—many of them as much as a year old."

**Labor Unity:** In reply to a proposal of George Meany, the new AFL president, asking for unity negotiations, the convention named a committee to begin early talks. Cooperation on immediate policy matters, it held, would be a first step toward eventual organic unity.

## UNITED MINE WORKERS CONVENTION, 1952

The forty-first convention of the largest independent union, the United Mine Workers of America, was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 7-15, 1952, with about 2,800 delegates representing some 500,000 miners of the U.S. and Canada. For the first time since 1936 the union officially endorsed a Presidential candidate, voting support to the Democratic Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. In House and Senate contests the union endorsed those candidates who favored labor legislation, specifically the federal mine safety act.

Maintenance of an independent political attitude, judging candidates strictly by their records and without regard to party affiliation, was stressed by John T. Jones, member of the union's executive board and director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the political arm of the union.

Joint report of the international officers to the convention declared that "The so-called Marshall Plan was nothing but a government subsidy for a few big corporations. . . . At a very late date labor's leaders suddenly discovered that the nation's entire defense mobilization program was staffed from top to bottom with representatives of Big Business."

The report also attacked the Truman administration for its failure to repeal what the mine union leaders call the NAM (National Assn. of Manufacturers) Taft-Hartley Act "leaving the hated injunction and anti-communist oath intact." On the convention floor Pres. John L. Lewis proposed that other union leaders withdraw their non-Communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley Act and thus cause the statute to "fall by default."

Report to the convention on the UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund showed, on the basis of death benefits paid by the fund since May, 1947, that the average age of miners at death had risen from 56.2 to 62.5 years. This big increase in miners' life span was attributed to the fact that for the first time in many isolated coal mining communities adequate hospital and medical care has been made available. The convention voted down a proposal for an increase of 25 cents a month in the dues of the welfare fund beneficiaries.

It was decided to collect a fund of \$8 million for general "future contingencies" of the union; this would come from an assessment of \$20 per member.

## UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS (UE)

The United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) during the last two years has maintained its bargaining rights for over 313,000 workers in 1,033 plants in the electrical, radio, machine and farm equipment industries. Since the UE left the CIO in 1949 it has been able to withstand raids and make substantial progress in new organization, as well as to win back some of the plants that had been split away.

During the two-year period ending July, 1952, the union organized

94 plants including General Electric plants at Baltimore, the GE Lamp Works in Canada, and the large salaried unit at GE in Erie, Pa., as well as some smaller GE units. It won bargaining rights for Westinghouse workers at Sunnyvale, Calif., and for salaried workers of the same company at Newark, N. J.

In this period UE defeated over 100 attempted raids by the CIO's electrical, automobile and steel unions as well as the AFL's electrical and machinists unions. At International Harvester UE defeated 22 successive raids by the Auto Workers (CIO). In Westinghouse six successive raids by the Electrical Workers (CIO) were defeated in the past year. At GE this union was routed in its attempt to raid UE at two of the largest company plants—Schenectady and Erie.

Despite the obstacles of the wage freeze and the split in the industry, UE was able to win sizable gains in wages and certain fringe issues, amounting to roughly 25¢ an hour since January, 1951, as compared to the average increase of 12¢ in manufacturing industries as a whole. In this period also UE won an additional paid holiday, so that the industry practice now includes seven paid holidays a year. Three weeks vacation after 15 years service, and improved pension and insurance plans were also negotiated.

The union was forced to engage in bitter struggles to defend contracts and working conditions against company assaults. Successful strikes were conducted in defense of conditions at the Westinghouse plants at Nuttall, Pa., and Trenton, N. J.; General Cable at Rome, N. Y., and Emeryville and Los Angeles, Calif.; and GHR Foundry in Dayton, Ohio. Thirty thousand Harvester Workers struck for 83 days to defend the contract and forced Harvester management to agree to a contract settlement after the company had publicly announced it would never sign with the union.

**Fought Discrimination Against Negroes and Women:** In a major drive for fair practices in the companies and union locals, UE won successes in the hiring and upgrading of Negro workers through the operation of its Fair Employment Practice Committee. Steps have been taken to integrate Negroes and women into every phase of leadership in the union, and the current general executive board includes two Negroes and two women.

UE has also been conducting a major campaign to eliminate discrimination in women's rates of pay and has succeeded in many cases in having jobs held by women reclassified to make the lowest rate for

women equal to the common labor rate. To aid this campaign UE has published the pamphlet "UE Fights For Women Workers" which exposes company discrimination and tells how to fight it.

**Widespread Attacks:** The union has had to run the gauntlet of attacks from the venal press, the harassing un-American Committee, illegal grand jury presentments and Taft-Hartley Board actions. When the National Labor Relations Board recently decided to withdraw compliance from UE unless its officers signed an additional set of affidavits not required by law, the union fought the action in the federal courts and won a permanent injunction restraining the Board from this arbitrary action.

Attempts have been made to crush UE by frame-ups of its union officers. Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak was found guilty of contempt of the un-American Committee, although even the judge had to admit that Emspak's testimony before the committee showed "that concern for the union was uppermost in his mind." The appeal is now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Justice Department has instituted action against Director of Organization James J. Matles to cancel his citizenship. Another union organizer, William Sentner, was arrested under the anti-labor Smith Act during the bitter UE strike to protect its contract in International Harvester. Frame-up attempts against the UE Negro leader, Harold Ward, on a charge of murder in the Harvester strike, and against seven other UE leaders on charges of contempt were defeated with acquittal of the leaders.

**Publications:** During this period UE issued several publications of value to all of labor. "In Defense of Labor" gives UE testimony against government licensing of labor unions before a Senate subcommittee in 1952. "The Facts About High Living Costs" exposes the employer-biased BLS consumers' price index, and develops an accurate cost of living index. "UE Fights for FEPC" gives union testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on the condition of the Negro people and the need for an effective Federal FEPC. UE's tax testimony exposes the inequitable federal tax structure.

Determination of the union to keep up the fight for peace and a country free from depression, was indicated in the resolution passed at UE's 17th Convention in September, 1952, which called for negotiation of an immediate cease-fire in Korea and for a conference of the five major powers to settle world differences.

## MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, which celebrated its 60th anniversary in 1952, was subjected to more raiding attacks from other unions, and to a major redbaiting assault by the McCarran Internal Security subcommittee. But it scored several important achievements since its expulsion from CIO, including a major "break-through" of the wage freeze in 1951, a victory in the long battle against raiders, and development of a peace program showing that its industry can enjoy prosperity in a peacetime economy.

The Steelworkers' (CIO) raids against Mine-Mill in 1950 succeeded in capturing several locals, but only two or three were in that union's basic non-ferrous mining, milling and smelting jurisdiction.

The year 1951 marked the major turning point in Mine-Mill's long fight against the raiders, a fight which had begun as early as 1946. Defeated were a long string of major raids by the steel and auto unions scattered all the way from Ansonia, Conn., to Tacoma, Wash., Port Colborne, Ont., and Miami, Ariz.

By late summer of 1951, the Steelworkers had withdrawn its raiding crews from virtually every Mine-Mill center in U.S. and Canada. However, they remained in Trail, British Columbia, site of Consolidated Mining & Smelting Co.'s huge zinc smelter. During the winter of 1952, the three-year-old raid at Trail was finally ended in an election, and the Steelworkers moved out.

Meantime, Mine-Mill attempted a "come-back" campaign at Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. properties in Alabama, which had been successfully raided in 1949 by the steel union in a "Let's-make-this-a-white-man's-union" campaign. Mine-Mill's new drive was climaxed in January, 1952, when it lost an NLRB election. In this campaign the Steelworkers engaged in KKK terrorist tactics intended to frighten Negro workers into either voting for them or not voting at all.

A month later, the Steelworkers tried to raid Mine-Mill at two Republic Steel mines in the Bessemer-Birmingham area. In the "Battle of Jonesboro" on a road in a Birmingham suburb, Negro and white members of Mine-Mill Republic locals joined for the first time in the history of the South to fight side by side against raiders. Several days later, Mine-Mill won the election.

Another raid in 1952 was conducted by the UMW's District 50 and the Machinists (AFL) at Carlsbad, N.M., where Mine-Mill Local 415



has held contracts with the biggest three potash companies in U.S. for more than a decade. In the NLRB elections held November 21, Mine-Mill retained its status as the major union in the Carlsbad potash basin.

In January, 1953, the workers in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho voted overwhelmingly for Mine-Mill in a series of NLRB elections and defeated a raiding CIO local industrial union which had used red-baiting as its main weapon of attack.

**Fighting the Wage Freeze:** Mine-Mill's major contracts with non-ferrous metal companies were closed during 1950, but the union campaigned for and won a 10¢ hourly cost-of-living increase in October and November of that year.

The union scored two important "firsts" in its 1951 wage campaign. It conducted the first coordinated nationwide strike in the history of the industry; and it won wage increases greater than were allowed under the "wage freeze," forcing the Wage Stabilization Board to find new "reasons" in order to approve the settlements. The 10-day national strike began August 27 after the companies had rejected a settlement proposed by Cyrus S. Ching, then director of the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service. Although the strike was ended by a Taft-Hartley injunction, the union won settlements providing for general wage increases of 8¢ an hour, wage reclassifications averaging 7 to 7½¢, and pension plans costing the companies approximately 4¢ an hour.

The entire union was then mobilized for an intensive campaign to win WSB approval of the Mine-Mill "package." Although the Board had a backlog of more than 7,000 cases, favorable action on the non-ferrous settlements gave most Mine-Mill members their retroactive paychecks well before Christmas. It proved that the "wage freeze" could be cracked.

Wage negotiations in 1952 lasted more than six months. The breakthrough came in late August when Phelps Dodge Corp. settled for a general increase of 8¢ an hour, plus fringe increases bringing the total package to approximately 10¢. Shortly thereafter, similar settlements were reached with Anaconda Copper Mining Co. and American Smelting & Refining Co., and later in the year with Kennecott Copper Corp.

In July, 1952, Sen. McCarran (D., Nev.) opened an attack on the union with the first four of a series of subpoenas ordering Mine-Mill leaders to hearings of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in Salt Lake City, October 7 and 8. By the time the hearings were held ten officers and staff members of the union had been summoned.

Nearly 150 rank-and-file Mine-Mill members were present for the hearings. They reported back to their locals that McCarran's tactics were grossly undemocratic and "loaded," and gave Mine-Mill witnesses no opportunity to tell the real facts about their union.

Mine-Mill's convention, held in New York City, September 8-12, 1952, adopted a detailed and carefully documented program for "A World at Peace," keyed to three main points: stabilize the non-ferrous metals industry, build the home market, and extend world markets. The program pointed out that permanent prosperity in the U.S. and Canada is impossible without a stable peace.

This was the first time a union had come forward with a rounded program to answer the fear, haunting millions of workers, that a halt in major government "defense" spending would precipitate a serious depression.

Mine-Mill played an important role as an independent political force, especially in key Western and Southwestern states, during the 1952 election campaign. Major concentrations of membership are in Montana, Utah, Idaho, Arizona and New Mexico, and here the union mobilized to support candidates whose platforms, irrespective of party, were acceptable on key issues such as civil rights and labor legislation.

## **LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION**

The International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union held its ninth biennial convention in Honolulu, T.H., April 1951. (More than a third of this union's membership is employed in Hawaii in the sugar and pineapple industries and in longshore and warehouse jobs.) Though the press predicted a victory for right-wing forces in opposition to Pres. Harry Bridges and the present leadership, all officers were nominated without opposition and later elected by referendum vote.

Convention went on record to fight the wage freeze, screening as a method of blacklisting militant union members, and the frame-up of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt; to fight for civil rights, against Taft-Hartley and the McCarran Acts, and to seek national and international labor unity.

Included in the peace resolution was the demand "for the peaceful co-existence of all nations in the world despite differing social systems and governmental forms, and for the development of trade in peace-time goods between all nations"; also for a cease-fire in the Korean war and negotiations by all parties involved for a Far Eastern peace.

Another important resolution urged an alliance between the union and the Negro people: "We can gain such an ally, however, only by demonstrating both within our own ranks and outside the most complete support for the full recognition and freedom of the Negro people."

West Coast longshoremen have pushed their straight-time hourly wage rate to \$2.10, with resulting average hourly earnings of about \$2.80 and annual earnings well in excess of \$5,000. Under the longshore pension plan negotiated in 1951, about 1,250 men 65 years of age or older with 25 years of service (more than 8% of the work force) have already been pensioned off at \$100 a month on top of social security. Retiring members continue to receive the almost complete medical care provided under the welfare plan. More than 4,000 longshoremen and shipsclerks in San Francisco went through a series of health tests by the Permanente Health Foundation and cooperating health agencies. They showed over 2,000 diagnoses of disease conditions of which half were not previously known. Members are entitled to free followup.

Hawaii longshoremen have narrowed the gap between their rates and those on the mainland until their straight-time hourly rate is now \$1.94. Their pension plan pays \$75 per month on top of social security payments, but in certain important respects it is superior to the Coast plan. A medical plan is being developed.

Sugar workers in Hawaii are the highest paid sugar workers in the world. Plantation workers in the lowest classification now receive \$1.02 per hour. Pineapple workers, after a six months strike on the island of Lanai, won increases of 7 cents. Base pay in pineapple for male labor is now \$1.16.

Gains have been won despite serious obstacles, such as raids from many quarters. In San Francisco the AFL Teamsters set up a special warehouse local in an unsuccessful effort to take over the 10,000 members of ILWU Warehouse Local 6. The Isthmian Steamship Co. (U.S. Steel) imported goons from the AFL Longshoremen's union to handle San Francisco cargoes. If successful, these would have been the first scabs on the Pacific Coast waterfront since 1934. The CIO sent an organizer to Hawaii, but he failed in his efforts. Net result of raids has been insignificant except in a few areas such as New Orleans where ILWU locals were so isolated that it was difficult to support them.

The ILWU has been the target for many legal attacks. The Juneau Spruce Co., using CIO Woodworkers and the damage suit sections of Taft-Hartley, has a judgment against the union for \$750,000, which

thus far it has not been able to collect. The case went to the Supreme Court which unanimously upheld the lower court. The Hawaiian Pineapple Co. and certain individuals were awarded \$278,000 damages against ILWU and against individual members in suits arising out of a fracas at The Dalles, Oregon, when a scab-loaded barge of pineapples was unloaded during the Hawaii longshore strike in 1949. Other suits are pending.

The Coast Guard screening program is a constant threat to militant longshoremen. (See Labor Fact Book 10, p. 87.) ILWU is on record to strike if this blacklist procedure is extended to commercial work, as it can be at any time at the whim of the Coast Guard. Screening already applies to all seamen, no matter on what ships they sail. Federal Judge John Bowen in Seattle has ruled the Coast Guard procedure unconstitutional and the government has appealed the case. A similar case is pending before a San Francisco judge.

ILWU continues to fight wherever possible for labor unity. In Hawaii where it is the dominant union it has close operating relations with AFL unions, even the Teamsters. Most successful local development has been in Seattle where ILWU has taken the lead in a program of united action of all unions against Taft-Hartley. The longshore and shipsclerks caucus meeting in San Pedro in July, 1952, voted to take the initiative in reviving the Maritime Federation of the Pacific which flourished from 1936 to 1939. This proposal has been enthusiastically received by ILWU longshore locals and by large numbers of rank and filers in other West Coast maritime unions.

## FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS

The International Fur & Leather Workers Union of the United States & Canada at the end of two years as an independent union was in a stronger position than ever before. Raiding attacks by both CIO and AFL unions failed completely to split its ranks.

Since withdrawal of the IFLWU from CIO in 1950 it has organized over 8,000 unorganized workers, including over 2,000 leather workers in the A. C. Lawrence plant in Peabody, Mass., largest tannery in the world, and at A. F. Gallun & Sons in Milwaukee. The union organized also about 5,000 Negro menhaden fishermen in Virginia, North Carolina and Florida. These fishermen in May, 1952, began a strike for better wages and working conditions.

The 19th biennial convention of the union met at Chicago, May, 1952.

Some 400 delegates attended, including 63 Negroes and 36 women. Over 100,000 members were represented.

Every district of the union has succeeded in winning substantial wage increases and other improvements in working conditions. Contract renewals covered additional paid holidays, longer vacations with pay, and improved health and welfare benefits including life insurance, medical and surgical care and hospitalization. An increasing number of fur and leather workers are being covered by pension plans providing for their retirement, with benefits ranging from \$50 to as high as \$120 a month.

The New York Furriers Joint Council won a three-week strike in 1952 and obtained wage increases of \$6 weekly for the overwhelming majority of the workers. The fur floor workers, affiliated to the council, won also, in addition to a wage increase, a reduction of working hours from 40 to 37½ hours. The remainder of the members of the joint council, who are skilled mechanics, have had a 35-hour week for many years.

IFLWU has mobilized its members in the campaign to repeal the Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran laws. It has fought to secure the democratic rights and liberties for the Negro people and all Americans. It has scored significant success in including in its contracts model Fair Employment Practice clauses which ban discrimination because of race, creed, color or political belief.

The union has conducted an all-out drive to obtain an amnesty for New York Furriers Joint Council manager Irving Potash, imprisoned under the Smith Act in 1951. Its pamphlet "Free Irving Potash" cited the outstanding contributions of this labor leader to the trade union movement and urged support for amnesty for all Smith Act victims.

It has fought also against the attempts to deport International Executive Board members Myer Klig, representative in New England, and Jack Schneider, assistant manager of the New York Furriers Joint Council. The organization has vigorously supported the fight for peace and the Peace Ballot designed to halt the war in Korea.

IFLWU has continued to urge unity of CIO, AFL and independent unions and on several occasions addressed communications to leaders of all branches of organized labor, urging them to hold a conference to unify labor on a progressive program. Many of its affiliates have played a leading role in the efforts of United Labor Action committees throughout the country to defend the rights of labor.

## NATIONAL UNION OF MARINE COOKS AND STEWARDS

National Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards (MCS) since leaving the CIO in 1950 has been engaged primarily in winning wage increases and improvement in conditions, as well as in setting up a welfare plan for members and their families.

In the meantime it has withstood other unions' attempts to grab jurisdiction over stewards' department members sailing on West Coast ships. Here is a typical example: In May, 1951, after a six-month National Maritime Union (CIO) campaign to take over the MCS, the National Labor Relations Board denied the NMU petition for an election, ruling that the NMU had failed to obtain sufficient pledge cards to prove interest in that union by West Coast stewards' department workers. A week later Secretary Harry Lundeberg of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (AFL) filed a similar petition under similar circumstances. This petition, however, stood.

The shipowners immediately used the petition as an excuse for refusing to bargain with the MCS. Nevertheless, the MCS on December 1 refused to sign on to sail any ships unless the owners granted a 6.2% wage increase retroactive to June 16. The shipowners gave in and the MCS became the first West Coast maritime union to win this wage increase.

On June 15, 1951, the MCS struck the steam schooners for like demands. SUP (the raiding union) provided strikebreakers. However, the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union struck the schooners for their own demands, with a resulting three-month tie-up. When shipping was resumed, with wage gains won, it was also agreed that men in the stewards' department would be rehired on the basis of seniority.

In January, 1952, the MCS refused to sign on any offshore, Alaska-run, or inter-coastal ships unless the Wage Stabilization Board approved the 40-hour week at sea. Within a week this demand was won.

In April, 1952, the NLRB ordered the shipowners not to use the MCS hiring hall, charging that the union had discriminated in refusing to ship certain members who had left the MCS during a strike in 1948. The MCS countered by proposing in court the setting up of an "impartial" registration office for hiring stewards' department members on a basis of strict seniority, with an impartial referee to settle all disputes. This proposal was approved by the courts and the registration office was

established. Over 90% of the men registering and shipping through the office are from the MCS hiring hall.

Main attacks against the union by Harry Lundeberg have been: attempts to ship men off the docks; the red smear (crying "Communist!"); and use of gangster violence against MCS members. He originally demanded that all hiring for stewards' department jobs be done through the U.S. Employment Service. This would have nullified the hiring hall and job seniority.

Despite his various tactics, Lundeberg failed to intimidate MCS members. The shooting on June 4, 1952, of a Lurline worker by a SUP man; the arrests of several AFL strong-arm men for carrying guns; the arrest of one of these for pulling a gun on an MCS official,—all have served to discredit the raiders.

The accusation that MCS is a Communist organization, coming from Lundeberg who refuses to ship Negroes through the SUP, has had no effect on the MCS. With over 50% of the MCS membership as well as half its officers belonging to minority groups, with a firm union policy of Negro-white unity (one of its two national officers, Secretary-Treasurer Joe Johnson, is a Negro), the members are reported well able to withstand such redbaiting.

Judge John Bowen of Seattle recently dismissed the case against three MCS screened seamen, arrested for working standby on a ship in port. Judge Bowen ruled that the U.S. Coast Guard, in arresting these men and screening them, had not followed due process as called for by the U.S. Constitution.

In addition to wage and hour gains, the MCS has negotiated a welfare plan which provides for the families of stewards' department members health and medical care paid for by the shipowners. Life insurance, disability benefits, and other welfare gains have also been won during the past year.

The MCS was active in 1952 in the formation of a maritime federation, started in Seattle, to stop raiding of all maritime unions by Harry Lundeberg. Members of the federation in Seattle and other ports include the MCS, the ILWU, Marine Firemen, Oilers & Watertenders (all independent unions), and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Ass'n (CIO).

## AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

The eleventh national convention of this organization at Atlantic City, November 13-15, 1952, reported on gains made during the two

years since the previous convention. These included a contract with RCA providing, as the Report of the Officers described it, "the highest wages in the international communications field." Gains for Radio Corporation of America workers since the last convention totaled 35¢ an hour.

The union also won a 16.5¢ an hour package at Western Union Cables and, in 1952, half a million dollars in wage increases, besides \$1.4 million more in connection with the shortening of the workweek in the Western Union landlines.

The report concluded that the gains in wages in this two-year period, "far exceed the gains won by some of the most powerful unions in the country, including the steelworkers and the autoworkers. . . . The record will show that we achieved what must have seemed to many like an impossible task—namely, the winning of substantial wage benefits in the face of closed contracts which have long terms to run."

This union had been among those most rebaited by employers, press and various government agencies. The officers' reports declared: "As the reactionaries in our country get a taste of blood their appetite becomes ravenous. Under the cover of a drive against Communists every faker in the land attacks the labor movement and the working people. This redbaiting has become such a racket that demagogues can characterize millions of people in various organizations and political parties, including the Democratic Party, as Communistic."

The union fought back vigorously against the effort of the Senate Internal Security (McCarran) Committee to destroy it. The committee had subpoenaed nine officers of the union "at the very time that we were engaged in our all-out drive to win a substantial wage increase from the Western Union Telegraph Co." The record of these Senate committee hearings shows that such redbaiting agencies "now openly and arrogantly attack the right of the workers to struggle for wage increases, to strike and to organize into unions of their own choosing."

Resolutions adopted at the convention called for repeal of the Smith Act, McCarran Internal Security Act, Taft-Hartley Act, and McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Another one called on the Federal Communications Commission "to return to its proper and legal function of acting as the agent of the people and not of the companies."

## RAILROAD WORKERS

Employment on the railroads in 1952 averaged about 1,226,000, some



50,000 less than in 1951. About 200,000 persons who had railroad jobs in the peak war year 1945 were out of the industry at the end of 1952. The long-term trend of employment on the railroads is downward.

The great majority of rail workers belong in unions, either in the independent brotherhoods of operating workers or in shop craft unions, mostly affiliated with the AFL. Membership in the four big brotherhoods is as follows: Locomotive Engineers, 79,700; Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, 103,000; Railway Conductors, 37,600; Railroad Trainmen, 210,600. Some 431,000 are thus in these four independent unions.

**Union Shop and Negro Workers:** "The major activity of the past year," the AFL Railway Employees Department reported in September, 1952, "has been the national movement to secure a union shop agreement, including the check-off of dues."

A number of leading rail companies, including the New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, Great Northern, and others granted the union shop in 1952. But many rank-and-file workers, including Negro rail workers, question the advantage of a union shop since the brotherhoods still discriminate against Negro members.

While supposedly covered in any union shop contract, Negro rail workers, if admitted at all in the union, are assigned to Jimcrow locals. They do not have equal voting rights and their grievances are not recognized in union activities.

In a recent case, some 300 Negro car cleaners and helpers at the Union Terminal station, Washington, D.C., refused to join a Jimcrow local of the Railway Carmen (AFL). Because the terminal company had signed a new union shop contract with the union, many of these Negro workers were slated to lose their jobs. In refusing to join the segregated local, they said that the union had "failed to solve our problems. They just take our money and give us the worst jobs."

Faced by this revolt, threats by a rival union (United RR Workers, CIO), and a legal question involving the law which authorizes the union shop on railroads, Lodge 364 of the Carmen ended its 17-year old policy of race segregation and admitted nine Negro car cleaners.

**Wages and Productivity:** A national wage agreement was signed on March 1, 1951, by 15 railroad labor organizations providing for wage increases of 12½¢ an hour and an escalator clause under which an additional 12¢ per hour was paid to rail employees.

This agreement provided further for "annual improvement" wage

increases, "if government wage stabilization policy permits." On January 6, 1953, Prof. Paul N. Guthrie, referee appointed by President Truman, decided that stabilization rules did permit "annual improvement" pay increases based on higher output for each man-hour.

Revenue traffic per man-hour on the railroads, generally known as productivity, increased by 58.5% between 1939 and 1951—or an average rise of about 4.5% a year. In the three years 1949 through 1951, productivity rose by more than 20%, the BLS reported on the basis of Interstate Commerce figures. In the light of this rise in output per man-hour, the rail unions requested in January, 1953, a wage increase of 3% a year. Rail companies opposed any such increase.

Weekly earnings of rail workers, averaging \$72.96 in August, 1952, stood 104th in a long list of production workers' average earnings in more than 250 industrial groups. (See Labor Research Association, Railroad Notes, January, 1953.)

## NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

The National Negro Labor Council's second annual convention, November 21-23, 1952, was held in Cleveland, with 1,256 delegates from 26 states, including 45 Negro and white men and women who defied Dixiecrat threats to attend. It was reported that local councils across the country had multiplied from four to thirty-six during the year since NNLC's founding in Cincinnati and that it was still aiming at its target of 100,000 jobs for Negroes.

Coleman A. Young, NNLC executive secretary, reported on typical activities of local councils: The Negro Labor Council in Brooklyn, N. Y., had successfully campaigned to get Negroes employed for the first time by the F. E. M. Schaefer Brewing Co. and the Brooklyn Union Gas Co. In Oakland (Calif.) the East Bay NLC cracked the Key System Transit Lines' Jimcrow hiring policy, winning jobs for 90 Negroes. Following an interview by officers of the Greater Detroit NLC with the general manager of Big Bear Markets, he hired Negro women cashiers for two of its stores. In Milwaukee the Council placed two Negro women in the Wagner Electrical Corp., breaking an old tradition of hiring only white women.

Louisville's NLC, anticipating the opening of a General Electric plant employing 16,000, fought through an agreement with the Board of Education to make available at the Negro public high school special

courses allied to the electrical field. Chicago's Drexel National Bank, yielding to NLC pressure in the form of picketing, hired its first Negro administrative assistant, the Council meanwhile pledging to fight for additional top-category jobs. Sears, Roebuck & Co., beginning to give way under NLC prodding in San Francisco, employed Negro women as clerks for the first time in its long history.

Although the National Negro Labor Council is not a trade union, the preamble to its constitution reads: "We . . . believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first class citizenship based on economic, political and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people [Negro] against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

"Realizing that old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels; to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use public facilities, restaurants, hotels and the recreational facilities in town and country, we form the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all times a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions."

William R. Hood, secretary of Ford Local 600, was re-elected NNLC president in 1952. The organization has cooperated with churches, YMCA's and YWCA's, fraternal bodies, organized groups of Negro ministers, and trade union members. The first task in its 1953 program of activity is to struggle for a federal FEPC.

## V. STRIKES AND LABOR LAWS

### STRIKES IN 1951-52

Number of strikes in 1951 reported by the U.S. Department of Labor totaled 4,737, involving about 2.2 million workers. Since 1916 this number of strikes has been exceeded in only five years (1937, 1944-46, and 1950). But while the number of strikes was high, fewer workers were involved in 1951 than in either of the preceding two years, or in the years 1945 and 1946 at the close of World War II.

Increased wages and related benefits were the main objects of strikes in 1951. However, the wage-freeze policies of the government forced labor to make more demands for "fringe" adjustments such as vacation and holiday pay, shift differentials, and overtime pay. There were 19 strikes in which 10,000 or more workers took part in 1951 and these accounted for about a fifth of all workers involved in strikes.

**Railroad Trainmen:** The first important strike in 1951 was the Railroad Trainmen's involving some 70,000 workers. This began early in January, after long negotiations for a 40-hour week without reduction in weekly pay. By February 3 the strike affected all railroad centers. Five days later the Army, under Presidential authority, ordered strikers to return to work under penalty of dismissal and loss of seniority rights. A temporary settlement gave increases ranging from 5¢ to 12½¢ an hour, retroactive to October 1, 1950. Final settlement in May, 1951, provided an additional 6¢ an hour under a cost-of-living escalator clause and promised a 40-hour week for yardmen at some later date. Other points on working rules were submitted to arbitration.

**Textile Strikes:** The first large textile strike since 1934 began February 16, 1951, when 70,000 workers walked out in 160 woolen mills, mostly in New England and Middle Atlantic states. Negotiations broke down when the American Woolen Co. refused to consider the CIO Textile Workers' demand for a 15¢ hourly wage increase unless the company could obtain a definite increase in prices. The union was also asking a two-year contract, with a cost-of-living escalator clause and company-paid pensions to supplement social security and assure retired workers at least \$100 a month.

American Woolen Co. yielded, with a promise on March 13 of a 12¢ hourly wage increase for its 20,000 workers in 20 mills. Its agreement with the TWU included also a cost-of-living clause and a small severance payment for any worker choosing to retire at 65 after at least 15 years of service. Forstmann Woolen Co. and Botany Woolen Mills yielded about two weeks later, with a 10¢ hourly pay raise and a company-financed pension of \$100 monthly for workers 65 years or older who had been employed at least 25 years. Other companies granted similar terms.

Over 40,000 textile workers in at least 40 cotton and rayon mills in six southern states struck April 1, 1951, demanding a 12½% wage increase, sickness and accident insurance, and a pension plan. The southern strikers did not have genuine support from the national leadership of the Textile Workers (CIO) and on May 5 they were advised to call off the strike. Some locals refused but they did not succeed in winning their demands.

**Metal Miners:** On August 27 the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers struck against four major concerns for wage increases, pensions, and some job-rate reclassifications. The issues were referred to the Wage Stabilization Board, and President Truman invoked the emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, appointing a special board of inquiry. Kennecott Copper Corp. reached an immediate settlement for a one-year agreement with wage increases averaging 15¢ an hour plus 4½¢ an hour for a company-paid pension plan. The three other concerns rejected these terms, and the Attorney-General then obtained on September 5 an injunction against the strikers, requiring immediate return to work and directing the corporations to begin bargaining at once with the workers. After some weeks, agreements on a similar basis were reached with Phelps Dodge Corp., American Smelting & Refining, and Anaconda Copper Mining Co.

**Aircraft Strikes:** Douglas Aircraft workers at Long Beach, Calif., plant struck September 5, 1951, under leadership of Automobile Workers (CIO). They sought a new union contract with a wage increase, union shop, a company-financed pension plan, and other benefits. Three weeks later, some 10,000 workers of the same union, with similar demands, walked out in New Jersey at the Wood-Ridge and Garfield plants of Wright Aeronautical Corp. Here the white-collar members of the UAW observed the picket lines.

Both strikes were certified by President Truman to the Wage Stabili-

zation Board, October 12, and workers returned to their jobs shortly afterward. For the Douglas workers the Board, in February, 1952, recommended wage increases averaging 25¢ an hour, with cost-of-living escalator clauses; the question of union shop was postponed. For the Wright workers, in March, 1952, the Board recommended a general increase of 12¢ an hour, with additional adjustments averaging 24¢ an hour in the top four labor grades.

**Insurance Agents:** Largest white-collar strike that has yet occurred in the United States began November 30, 1951, when more than 12,000 members of Insurance Agents Union (AFL) struck in some 35 states and the District of Columbia against the Prudential Insurance Co. With no raise in pay since 1949, their chief demand was an increase in weekly base pay from \$35 to \$55 (plus an expense allowance). They asked also for a union shop, with job security and grievance and arbitration machinery. The company offered only higher commission rates.

In certain industrial towns the strikers were supported by other union men who refused to cross picket lines. At the company's head office in Newark, union craftsmen refused to cross agents' picket lines and AFL teamsters refused to make deliveries at the company cafeteria. After 81 days on strike the union signed a two-year contract with Prudential, providing for a package increase averaging \$5.36 a week.

**Longshoremen:** After a two-year contract covering all ports from Maine to Virginia had been officially ratified October 11, 1951, a rank-and-file strike in New York-New Jersey and Boston ports against the terms of the new contract began October 15. The strike in all ports involved some 17,000 members of Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. (AFL).

Great irregularity of employment on the New York waterfront was shown in an article in *Fortune*, June, 1951, which reported that in 1950, 59% of the longshoremen worked less than 800 hours, while at least four in every ten were employed less than four hours a week (totaling less than 200 hours a year).

The contract preceding the insurgent strike in New York had included a slight reduction (from 800 hours to 700 hours) in the yearly employment required as basis for the union welfare benefits. Strikers demanded that this minimum requirement be further cut to 500 hours. Even then almost half of the workers would be excluded.

Three other demands were made by the strikers: A wage increase of 25¢ an hour; one shape-up a day, with a guarantee of eight hours work and pay on any day when a worker was employed; and some

improvement in the "miserable \$35 a month pension plan."

For three weeks the strike continued and gained in strength, while Pres. Joseph P. Ryan (claiming that the agreement of October 11 had been ratified in a membership referendum) refused to reopen contract negotiations with the shippers. A few strikers had returned to work, but the strike was not ended until November 9, after an injunction had been obtained in New Jersey on the basis of statements from Ryan and shipping executives that there was no labor-management dispute.

A three-man board of inquiry, appointed by the New York State Industrial Commissioner to study the causes of the strike, reported January 22, 1952, recommending reforms within the ILA and proposing a permanent arbiter. It advised "no discrimination or retaliation . . . because of participation in the strike," and mildly suggested that "existing employment conditions and hiring practices" should possibly be modified. It advised also "more active membership control" within the ILA, and found numerous violations of the union's constitution and local rules as well as infringements of good trade union practices. It reported there was a lack of democratic standards, such as failure to hold periodic meetings or local elections; and found that one local which collects \$25,000 a year in dues had no bank account for the past 16 years. The union made no accounting to its members of the receipts and expenditures.

Revelations of the N. Y. State Crime Commission in 1952 and early 1953 showed that ILA officials were involved in racketeering, kick-backs, crime and corruption on the waterfront. Its hearings disclosed that scores of union officials, including Ryan himself, received gifts from shipping and stevedoring companies—a total of \$182,214 known payments between 1947 and 1951. Much of this was taken for personal use. Ryan explained gifts to him were part of a confidential "anti-Communist" fund.

**Empire Zinc Strike:** One of the longest strikes in recent years was that of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers against New Jersey Zinc Co. (Empire Division) at Bayard, New Mexico, and four other towns. This began October 17, 1950, and lasted 15 months, involving over 90 Mexican-American families. Their basic demands were for wages and working conditions up to those in other similar plants of the region.

Pickets were arrested in June, 1951, and wives and children who took their places on the picket line were teargassed and some 50 women were arrested. In July, 1951, six strike leaders were arrested and sentenced

to 90 days in jail for "contempt of court," because they had violated a temporary order against "blocking the road" to the struck mines at Hanover, N. M. Again, in August, one of these men and Secretary-Treasurer Maurice Travis of the national union were arrested and fined for their "responsibility" in paying for a union radio program which implied that an anti-picketing injunction could be bought by the company.

At least two attacks on the picket line involved injuries to strikers. On August 23, 1951, a woman picket, 38 years old and mother of five children, was seriously injured and four others were hurt by vehicles crashing the picket line. Again, early in September, a car driven by an armed company-paid special deputy hit the line and injured a 14-year-old girl. The court immediately issued a warrant against the girl's parents for contributing to her "delinquency."

The strike ended January 25, 1952, when the company signed a contract with the union for increases averaging 24¢ an hour; pensions with a minimum benefit of \$100 a month at age 65 after 25 years of employment; sickness and accident benefits of \$26 a week for 26 weeks; and a company-paid \$2,500 life insurance plan covering every worker.

**Strikes in 1952:** Some 3.5 million workers were on strike in 1952, an increase of about 60% above the number reported for the previous year. The actual number of strikes totaled 4,950, nearly 5% over 1951.

The 55 million man-days of idleness due to stoppages overtopped those of any earlier year except 1946. The total more than doubled the 22.9 million man-days in 1951. This near-record total was mainly due to the nationwide steel strike, largest single strike of the year, which lasted more than seven weeks.

There were also five other strikes in 1952, each involving more than a million man-days: the 60-day strike of construction workers in San Francisco; the 53-day strike of Western Union Telegraph workers; the 23-day stoppage of Detroit construction workers; the 88-day strike of International Harvester workers; and the 12-day nationwide walk-out of 300,000 soft coal miners beginning October 16.

In the construction industry alone, 11 strikes involved each at least 10,000 workers. (Five of these at Atomic Energy Commission projects.) Of all the 1952 walk-outs, 34 involved 10,000 or more workers.

**Steel Strike Government Seizure:** After vainly waiting five months for new contracts with the companies, over 600,000 steel work-



ers struck June 2, 1952. The Steelworkers (CIO) had voluntarily postponed the strike four times after its contracts ended on January 1, 1952; they had seen the companies reject recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board and the steel mills seized by the Truman Administration.

For 53 days the picket lines remained solid in one of the longest steel strikes in U.S. history. Agreement on July 24 brought workers in basic steel mills an average 16¢ per hour gain in wages, retroactive to March 1, 1952. This included a base rate increase of 12.5¢ an hour, plus a ½¢ boost in the spread between job rates, averaging out to another 3½¢. Under such a spread the higher-paid wage-earners get bigger increases than the lower-paid workers, who include such minority groups as Negroes and Mexican-Americans and the younger employees.

Other gains in the strike settlement provided for six paid holidays and double time for holidays worked; three weeks vacation after 15 years; increase in shift differentials to 6¢ and 9¢; reduction for U.S. Steel and Republic Steel workers of the present southern wage differential of 10¢ an hour to 5¢. These terms were included in a two-year contract, containing a wage reopener in June, 1953, and expiring June 30, 1954. This final settlement did not, however, include the Sunday premium pay recommended by the WSB or its proposal for a study of the guaranteed annual wage. Nor did it include any clear statement on seniority rights or on employment of Negro workers.

The union had demanded a straight union shop but companies held out for a mere maintenance-of-membership clause. Under the agreement, present union members as well as new members must keep in good standing until June 30, 1954, when the contract ends, but an "escape clause" was included in the compromise settlement. New workers may leave the union within 15 to 30 days after being hired, but their names are to be given to the union.

Only after the Truman Administration promised them a substantial price rise of \$5.20 a ton did the steel companies sign the agreement with the union. Alloys and special steels were granted an even higher boost, bringing the over-all average price rise to about \$5.64 on all products.

As director of the Office of Price Stabilization, Ellis Arnall estimated that this price increase in its effect on other prices would add at least \$100 yearly to the budget of the average American family. Arnall held that the steel industry was entitled only to a \$2.84-a-ton boost under the Caphart amendment to the Defense Production Act. But acting di-

rector of mobilization John R. Steelman yielded to steel companies' pressure and overruled Arnall's finding. It was roughly estimated by labor economists that for every \$1 in wage increases the companies would get \$2 in increased profits.

In the long struggle to renew its contracts, United Steelworkers had set April 9, 1952, for the nationwide strike. To avert this strike President Truman on April 8 ordered Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer to seize and operate the steel mills of over 70 companies in the name of the government. Company presidents were designated as "operating managers" under a plan similar to that used in government seizure of the railroads in August, 1950.

Pres. Philip Murray of the Steelworkers at once called off the strike. The companies, however, still demanding higher price increases and defying the Wage Stabilization Board's recommendations, broke off negotiations with the union.

The government held the steel mills until April 29 when Federal Judge David A. Pine in Washington ruled that the seizure was illegal. Meanwhile the workers were forced to continue working under the old wage and hour conditions. The government did not use the seizure to enforce the WSB recommendations on the industry. Managements were left undisturbed.

**Harvester Strike:** On August 21, 1952, Farm Equipment-UE's 30,000 members employed by International Harvester Co. went on strike after the company had announced its determination to destroy the union, cut wages, and wipe out gains won in the past. After 12 weeks of struggle, the union on November 16 called off the strike and signed a new contract with the company.

Gains included a 7¢ an hour pay increase; further increases for hourly paid workers, except for those in three lowest-classified groups, ranging up to 5¢ an hour for top-graded workers; and a liberalized vacation program. But the union was forced to yield on the point of a modified union shop, providing a 20-day period for withdrawal from the union.

Eight plants were involved in the strike. Strong picket lines had been maintained at all struck plants, but where workers were represented by an AFL union or by the Auto Workers (CIO) there was a lack of unity that weakened FE-UE's position.

When the strike ended, the union pointed out that it "had weathered the most powerful anti-union drive in modern labor history. . . . Against FE-UE were thrown congressional union-haters, headline hys-

teria, police strike-breakers, mass arrests, injunction law, frame-ups, wholesale intimidation by foremen and bosses—in short, the most vicious Taft-Hartley law union-smashing drive ever conceived.”

In a frame-up against a Negro union leader at the McCormick plant in Chicago, the company and city police charged that Harold Ward was responsible for the death of William Foster, a non-striking Harvester employee, who was attacked on the street near his home. After six weeks in prison, Ward was tried on a murder charge but acquitted December 2, 1952, by a jury's unanimous vote on the first ballot. But Ward and 20 other strike leaders were barred from their Harvester jobs at the end of the strike.

**Telephone and Telegraph Strikes:** In the first nationwide telegraph strike since 1919, some 32,000 employees of Western Union Telegraph Co. stopped work April 3. Led by Commercial Telegraphers Union (AFL), strikers demanded wage increases of 16¢ an hour; a 40-hour week; and improvements in pension benefits. The strike ended May 25 when the CTU signed an agreement with company for the 40-hour week without reduction in weekly pay. Employees already on the 40-hour week gained an hourly wage increase of 10¢; those working a 35-hour week gained a \$22-a-month increase; and bicycle messengers' wages were increased by 5¢ an hour. All increases were dependent on higher telegraph rates to be granted by the Federal Communications Commission. Workers also gained an improved severance pay plan, but agreed to a modified maintenance-of-membership clause in place of the union shop.

Wages were the primary issue in the strike of some 77,000 employees of the Bell Telephone system, beginning April 7, 1952, which directly involved both the Commercial Telegraphers (AFL) and the Communications Workers (CIO). Other workers, estimated at nearly 200,000, refused to cross the picket lines. Settlements were arrived at on a regional basis, first in Michigan (April 11) with weekly wage increases ranging from \$4 to \$7, and averaging 12.7¢ an hour; and before the end of April among the distribution employees of Western Electric Co., manufacturing subsidiary of AT&T, with increases raising the hourly average from \$1.60 to \$1.746. Similar wage increases of 14.1¢ an hour were then granted by telephone subsidiaries all over the country.

## TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Two more years under the Taft-Hartley Act have amply borne out the predictions of its damaging effect on trade unions. New decisions of the National Labor Relations Board and of the courts, declared the AFL executive council's report to the 1952 convention, "have shown unmistakably that the Taft-Hartley Act puts a powerful weapon in the hands of anti-labor employers, while it seriously handicaps unions." Said the CIO convention resolution the same year, "The fundamental policy which underlies Taft-Hartley is to weaken unions, to block union organization, and to frustrate collective bargaining."

Government reports reinforce these assertions. A U.S. Senate subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations stated in April, 1952, that "Taft-Hartley allegedly was directed to the excesses of entrenched, established unions. This report shows that it has in fact served as a cover for the ambush of pioneering unions with limited resources." Up to two years' delay existed between the filing of union complaints of unfair labor practices and the NLRB decision. "By that time," said the committee, "an anti-union campaign can be a complete success and employee morale shattered." More than a year extra was required to secure employer compliance through the courts if this became necessary.

The Act has also failed of its alleged purpose of avoiding or settling industrial disputes. According to a labor specialist's report to the Senate sub-committee, it "does not seem to have reduced tensions in industrial relations or caused a smoother adjustment of the problems which are the subject of negotiation between management and unions." Kidnaping of organizers by persons who could not be proven direct "agents" of the employer, stalling in negotiations, invoking of ancient conspiracy doctrines, law suits without merit, have all been used under the Act to block the unions, drain their treasuries, keep their counsel busy with defense, and weaken or destroy their security.

**Damage Suits:** The Act has been used by employers to levy heavy damages against unions for alleged violations. In the Juneau (Alaska) Spruce Co. case the company was awarded damages of \$750,000 because the union had picketed the plant in the course of a jurisdictional dispute. Armour & Co. filed a \$2,756,000 suit against the Packinghouse Workers for stoppages of work ending with a general walk-out. A group of 79 St. Louis trucking concerns sued the Teamsters local and 24 officers and members for \$10,000,000 during a strike. The Black-

wood coal mine sued for \$750,000 because the United Mine Workers allowed its members to stay away from an unsafe mine.

Even if no claims for damages are involved, suits against unions on various charges of alleged unfair labor practices force them into court with heavy expenses. The AFL Building Trades Department toward the end of 1951 declared the law had already cost its locals a minimum of \$2 million. The International Typographical Union estimated that it had spent over \$20 million on defense against Taft-Hartley suits and contempt charges, and on strikes to maintain the union.

**Non-Communist Oath:** The oath required of union officials that they are not members of the Communist Party before their unions can be recognized by the National Labor Relations Board continued to be a source of danger not only to the officials concerned but to the unions. In the Highland Park case (1951) the U.S. Supreme Court, by a divided vote, overruled the construction the Board had been giving the law for more than three years, and held that the various national unions affiliated with the AFL and CIO were not in compliance with the law until the officers of the parent federations had signed the affidavits. Hence it held that a charge of unfair labor practices brought by the Textile Workers (CIO) should not have been entertained by the Board, though the union's own officials had signed. By the time the court rendered its decision the AFL officials had signed in November, 1947, and the CIO in December, 1949. Yet the decision resulted in the dismissal of hundreds of charges of unfair labor practices brought by the unions before these dates, and the withdrawal of many such cases from the lower courts. It also left the door wide open for raids upon established unions since their agreements could be held illegal and therefore not a bar to new representation elections applied for by rival organizations. A ruling to this effect by the Board in the Ford Motor Co. case (July, 1951) thus temporarily endangered about 100 AFL and 4,600 CIO agreements, until in October of that year Congress adopted an amendment to the Act validating these agreements as having been entered into in good faith.

Harassment of unions by means of the oath goes on. In March, 1952, the Board threw out the certification of the Electrical Workers (Ind.) at the Sunbeam Corp. on the ground that four of the local's officers had not signed the affidavit. In December, 1952, the local of the Packing-house Workers (CIO) at Camden (N.J.) was stripped of its authority to bargain for the employees of four large plants on the ground that

its business manager, Anthony Valentino, had allegedly filed a false affidavit. A federal grand jury in New York in November, 1952, went out of its way to call upon the Board to revoke the certifications of four former CIO unions because 13 of their officials had refused to say under oath whether the non-Communist affidavits they had signed were true. The grand jury held that refusal to answer amounted to a confession of guilt, although the courts have repeatedly established that no inference can be drawn from a claim of privilege under the Fifth Amendment. The four unions concerned were the Fur & Leather Workers, the Electrical Workers, the American Communications Assn., and the Distributive, Processing, & Office Workers. The Board obediently ordered the officials to reaffirm their oaths or lose the right to use its services. The first three unions secured an injunction to stay the order, on the ground that the Board had no power to question the sincerity of the oaths previously made.

Four union officials have been indicted and sentenced to prison on perjury charges in connection with the affidavits. First one was Anthony Valentino, in the Camden (N.J.) case, who was given five years. He was nevertheless re-elected as a union officer but resigned. Two others were Everest M. Hupman and Walter C. Lohman, officials of an Electrical Workers local in Dayton, Ohio. All these cases run back to affidavits signed in 1949.

The Board reported toward the end of 1952 that about 232,000 officials, representing 25,935 national and local unions, had signed during the year. John L. Lewis of the Miners and Woodruff Randolph of the Typographical Union were among those who were still refusing to sign as a matter of principle.

**Anti-Union Decisions:** Many Board decisions have been anti-union, and often when they have been favorable the courts have reversed them. In the year ended June 30, 1951, the Board closed 122 cases in which it issued unfair labor practice complaints against unions, and was upheld in 21 out of 22 court actions. The charges against unions included coercion of employers or workers, discrimination against non-members, secondary boycotts, refusal to bargain, jurisdictional disputes, and "featherbedding." In its first ruling on the issue (Phelps-Dodge Corp.) the Board declared that if workers resorted to slow-down tactics to force a better contract, the employer was no longer required to bargain. But when the Board declared that it was an unfair labor practice for a company to insist on excluding from an agreement

all questions of work schedules, discipline, and promotions, the U.S. Supreme Court threw out the ruling (American National Insurance Co.).

The drive to undermine union security and authority has been many-pronged and persistent. In the Worthington Pump case the Board threw out a maintenance-of-membership clause which had long been standard throughout the country. This was that workers who were members on the effective date of an agreement must thereafter maintain membership as a condition of employment. The Board ruled that this provision was invalid since the Act requires membership only after 30 days. The decision was so illogical and impracticable that the Board later reversed it (Krause Milling Co.).

In the International Harvester case the Board ruled out an agreement that employees must maintain their membership in the union "to the extent of current monthly dues, general assessments, and initiation fees,"—general assessments, the Board held, were not dues, therefore not required by the Act. In the case of a New York local of the Bakery & Confectionery Workers (AFL) the Board by 3 to 2 ruled that a petition by a group of employees to revoke the union's authority to make a union shop agreement might be entertained at any time, and if the vote was affirmative the union's authority to make such an agreement was immediately ended, even before the termination of the existing contract. The minority of the Board held that in the law "there is no mention, no hint, no indication of revocation of contracts in mid-term."

In the Electric Auto-Lite case the Board held both union and company guilty of an unfair labor practice in the discharge of a worker who refused to pay 50 cents a month additional dues required of members who did not attend meetings. In two cases (American Pipe & Steel Corp.; Radio Officers Union) the Board held the employers had violated the law by not hiring a union member because he had not been referred by the union. If a union knows a company is guilty of unfair labor practices against it in the course of an election, but proceeds with the election, the Board will not later set the election aside because of those practices (Denton Sleeping Garment Mills). Thus if the union proceeds and loses the election it cannot hold another one for a year; and if it files unfair labor practice charges and postpones the election, it may be two years before a cease and desist order is issued against the company.

Four cases involving alleged secondary boycotts reached the U.S. Supreme Court. In three of them, involving Denver building trades unions, the union employees of a principal contractor refused to work with the employees of a non-union subcontractor. The Court upheld Board rulings that refusal to work violated the Act. In the Rice Milling Co. case striking teamsters turned back the truck of another employer. This time the Board dismissed the mill company's complaint, but the higher court reversed the Board.

In the Ledbetter Erection Co. case the issue of an alleged secondary boycott by the Montgomery (Ala.) Building Trades Council became overshadowed by the question of whether the Alabama state courts had the power to issue injunctions on the request of employers in such cases, or whether, as the unions claimed, the power belonged exclusively to the federal courts on motion of the NLRB. A CIO brief filed with the Supreme Court declared: "To authorize the courts of the 48 states to enjoin strike abuses because of claimed violation of federal law would authorize an unprecedented expansion in the business of strike-breaking by preliminary injunction." The Supreme Court declined on a technicality to review the lower court's action in granting an injunction.

Most conspicuously in the Montgomery Ward case, the courts have overruled Board decisions that to question workers about their trade union activities was coercive and hence an unfair labor practice.

**80-Day Injunctions:** The first counter-attack against the constitutionality of the provision for an 80-day injunction in strikes allegedly affecting national health or safety was made in December, 1952, by the Steelworkers (CIO) in connection with a 3½-month strike of 1,500 workers at the American Locomotive Co. plant at Dunkirk, N. Y., which was making nickel-plated pipe for use in atomic energy installations. The district judge upheld the law and issued the injunction. The CIO immediately appealed.

This was the ninth 80-day anti-strike injunction issued under Taft-Hartley. The others were against AFL unions at the Oak Ridge (Tenn.) atomic energy plant, the United Mine Workers, the Atlantic and Gulf Coast seamen's unions, and the West Coast and East Coast longshoremen, all in 1948; against the coal miners again in 1950; and against the Mine-Mill copper miners in 1951.

As noted in our report on the 1952 steel strike, Congress wanted the President to invoke the Act and obtain an injunction against the strikers.



**Strike Issues:** The courts have continued to attack the right of workers not to cross picket lines, even though this has been held by the NLRB to be a form of concerted activity protected by the Act. In the Illinois Bell Telephone case the court ruled that workers could be demoted for not entering their own place of employment across the picket line of another union. In the Rockaway News Supply Co. case the court ruled that a worker could be discharged for refusing to enter the premises of another employer across the picket line of the union employed there.

Again reversing the Board's stand, the courts have ruled, notably in the Moran Bros. Beverage Co. case, that it is legal for a group of employers to lock out all their employees if the union strikes against one of the group. Without any urging by the courts, the Board ruled in the Medford (Ore.) Building & Construction Trades Council case that if a strike is called for several demands, one of which is illegal, the whole strike is illegal. In another case the Board decided that if the purpose of a strike is illegal under the Act, the employer may take back only those employees he wishes—thus opening the door for victimizing the union's militant members.

**Amending the Law:** In the four years up to August 31, 1951, the NLRB held 45,464 polls on the question of authorizing a union shop, in which workers must join after 30 days. In 44,160 elections, or 97%, the vote was yes. Of the individual votes cast, 4,989,097 out of 5,453,629, or 91%, were yes. Such results showed up the falsity of employers' and government representatives' charges that the workers did not want unions. They also strengthened the hands of union officials in negotiations. Hence in 1951 Senator Taft himself was forced to put through Congress an amendment which eliminated the requirement of a vote before a union shop could be established. Another amendment, unsuccessfully sought by Taft, would have added membership in the Communist Party to the causes for which a union might expel a member and demand his discharge by the employer. But unions are still forbidden to seek the discharge of labor spies, company agents, or organizers of rival unions.

The Democratic platform of 1952 proposed repeal of the Act, but the Republican platform asked only for its amendment. Both the AFL and CIO conventions of the election year again demanded repeal. However, George Meany upon his election as AFL president declared that the trade unions could "get the kind of labor law we want" through

amendments. As Secretary of Labor in the Eisenhower cabinet, Martin P. Durkin, formerly head of the Plumbers (AFL) union, announced that he would make no recommendations for revision of the law, but would try to get the unions and employers to agree on changes.

Early in 1953, AFL and CIO leaders were confining themselves to defensive action, proposing amendments to make the law more bearable, and fighting proposals of the employers, introduced by Sen. Taft and others, which would make it more repressive. Most dangerous among the proposals were those banning industry-wide strikes and bargaining.

Progressive unions were calling for elimination of all restrictions on the right to strike and picket, the end of injunctions and restrictions on the closed shop and other forms of union security, and on the right of workers to choose their own union leaders. They opposed also the non-Communist affidavit and employer interference in union elections. They called for repeal of Taft-Hartley and its replacement by the Wagner Act.

## STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

An avalanche of hostile state laws descended on the trade unions during the last two years, adding to the oppressive measures referred to in previous Labor Fact Books.

During 1951 Hawaii empowered the governor to seize stevedoring companies and operate them during a labor dispute, and made striking, boycotting, or picketing during such seizure illegal. Minnesota outlawed strikes by public employees, including teachers, with discharge as the penalty. Nevada tightened its laws against the union shop, and Texas declared union shop agreements conspiracies in restraint of trade.

In 1952 Arizona barred picketing except where there "exists between the employer and a majority of employees . . . a bona fide dispute regarding wages and working conditions," thus making picketing illegal during an organizing drive or a strike for a union shop. Nevada prohibited discrimination in hiring or employment because of non-membership in a union, outlawed union shop and closed shop contracts, and permitted the injured party to obtain an injunction and to sue for damages.

## VI. FACTS ON FARMING

With the outbreak of war in Korea, farmers in the U.S. were assured on all sides that the decline in prices received for their products would be halted and prosperity would follow.

Actually, the crisis in agriculture has continued to become more acute, with the small and middle farmers being squeezed between falling prices and rising costs. At the same time the market, at home and abroad, has been shrinking, and the prospect of "surpluses" has become increasingly imminent. The growing strength of monopoly processing and distributing interests has widened farm-to-market price spreads, thereby reducing the purchasing power of workers and farmers so that the market is further restricted. Government spokesmen have sought to assure the farmers that larger military expenditures would check the decline in farm prices, but actually the downward trend has continued at the same time that taxes have gone up and farm indebtedness has increased.

Farm prices began to weaken in mid-October, 1946, when they were 122% of parity. (Parity for most products is the 1910-14 relation between prices received and prices paid by farmers.) The Korean War gave farm prices a shot in the arm but the upturn was brief and by mid-February, 1953, they had fallen to 94% of parity. U.S. Department of Agriculture experts expected some further "easing" in farm prices in 1953 following an average drop of 16% between February 1951 and February, 1953.

### FARM INCOME

The net income of farm operators in 1952 was about \$14.2 billion. This was about \$2.5 billion, or 15%, less than it had been in 1947. But in terms of purchasing power, expressed in 1945 dollars, the net income of farmers fell nearly \$4 billion in this period to \$9.4 billion. Thus, since 1947, farmers as a whole have experienced a decline of about 30% in their purchasing power.

In estimating "net income" of farm operators, the U.S. Department of Agriculture subtracts total expenditures for farm production from

its estimate of gross farm income, with no allowance for federal income taxes. As the frequent revisions made by the Department of Agriculture indicate, these figures are subject to a wide margin of error, and no attempt is made to provide a breakdown of income to show the changes within different income groups.

In presenting its net income figures, the Department stated: "From 1942 through 1947, farmers retained as net income about 50% of their annual gross income. Since then, however, expenses have taken a larger and larger proportion of gross income; and in 1952 only about 38% of gross is being returned in the form of net income." (Farm Income Situation, U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Oct. 27, 1952.)

Farm production costs in 1952 were estimated by the Department of Agriculture at \$23.8 billion as compared with \$17.3 billion in 1947. This is an increase of more than \$6.5 billion during the five-year period, each year being higher than the preceding one.

## FARM-CITY COMPARISONS

The proportion of families in the lowest income groups is even greater among farmers than among working class families in the cities. In 1952 the Census Bureau released its study on "Consumer Income," which showed that nearly a million families living on farms had annual consumer incomes of less than \$500 in 1950. The proportion in this lowest income category was 16.1%, or fivefold greater than among the urban population. Also, the median income of families living on farms was approximately half that of city families. Half of the families living in the city had consumer incomes in 1950 of less than \$3,673 while half of those living on farms had less than \$1,970.

By 1951 the position of families of farm operators was even worse, the Federal Reserve Board's annual survey of consumer finances showing a median income then of only \$1,880.

The Census Bureau, in its report for the year 1951, showed for individual persons on farms, 14 years of age and over, receiving any money income, the median was only \$1,184; for men the median was less than \$1,486 and for women only \$440.

**Lower Income for Negroes:** While the effects of discrimination are glaringly visible in the city, they are even more blatant in the countryside. The Census, reporting on its 1950 findings, said: "The disparity between the incomes of whites and nonwhites was greatest

among families and individuals whose major source of earnings was the operation of a farm. For this group the median income of white families and individuals was three times as great as that received by the nonwhite."

For families and individuals classified as "self-employed on the farm," the Census revealed that the median income available for consumption purposes amounted to \$2,144 in 1950. Low as this figure was, it was three times the median consumption income of nonwhites, reported in 1950 at \$679.

## FARM DEBTS

In its "Balance Sheet of Agriculture, 1952," the Federal Reserve pointed out that farm debts had increased about 80% since January 1, 1946. They rose 13% during 1951, "more than in any other recent year." (Federal Reserve Bulletin, July, 1952.) This expansion in debt in 1951, as in other postwar years, "resulted mainly from the rising costs of farming. . . ."

Still later figures show that the farm real estate debt went up from \$4.7 billion on January 1, 1946, to \$6.6 billion by July 1, 1952, and increase of 40%. In the same period other farm debt owed to insured commercial banks and federally sponsored lenders rose even more rapidly, from \$1.7 billion to \$4.8 billion. The debt owed to miscellaneous lenders for feed, machinery and similar purchases rose from \$1.2 billion to \$3.5 billion. Thus by July 1, 1952, the total of all non-real estate debt was around \$8.3 billion, 12% above a year earlier and substantially above any previous level.

## CORPORATION CONTROL IN AGRICULTURE

The Federal Trade Commission found in its summary report on "The Merger Movement," that there had been 369 mergers or acquisitions of food companies in the period 1940 to 1947, more than twice as many as in any other industry. The growth of monopoly power in all branches of agricultural processing and distribution was particularly marked during World War II and has continued since that time. Many of these giant corporations have greatly expanded their foreign operations, annexing processing plants in other countries and establishing new plantations in colonial areas. (See Labor Fact Book 9, p. 20.)

Some indication of the extent to which centralization has taken place in certain industries directly affecting the farmers is given by FTC figures showing the percentage of their net capital assets owned by dominant corporations.

At the top are the four farm machinery manufacturers (International, Deere, Allis-Chalmers, Caterpillar) having among them 75% of the total for the industry. Close behind them are the four big meat packers (Armour, Swift, Wilson, Cudahy) with 72% of the total in their field. Also having over two-thirds of an industry are the three biscuit companies (National, Sunshine, United) which have 68% of the biscuit total. In the dairy field, the two leading companies (National and Borden) fall just short of having half the total (49%).

Less marked, but significant nevertheless, is the concentration in canning, with the four leading companies (California Packing, Heinz, Campbell, Libby) together producing 39% of the total, while in two of the food industries the leading companies produce less than one-third of the total: four bread bakeries (Continental, General, Purity, Ward) together produce 31% and three milling companies (General Mills, Quaker Oats, Pillsbury) together produce 30% in their respective fields.

In spite of "bigness," which is supposed to cheapen processing and distribution costs by providing the most efficient machinery and other economies, the food monopolies have kept prices down for farmers but up for the ultimate consumer. This is reflected in government figures showing that the farmers' share of the consumers' dollar has declined. From a "high" of 54¢, the average for 1945, it fell to 50¢ in 1951 and to 45¢ in December, 1952.

Higher freight rates, increasing by nearly 80% since 1943, have contributed to the reduction in the farmers' share of the consumers' dollar by cutting down sales and shipments, as well as by increasing marketing costs.

## PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

A marked decline has taken place in the crop acreage harvested in the U.S. As compared with 357 million acres in 52 crops in 1949, the total acreage harvested for the same crops in 1952 amounted to only 341 million, a drop of 16 million acres. Wheat acreage in this period was cut from 76.6 million acres to 70.4 million; corn from 87 million

to 81.4 million; and cotton from 27.2 million to 25.0 million. This contraction is particularly significant in view of the fact that, heretofore, a downturn in prices received by farmers has generally led to an increase in acreage, as farmers sought to maintain their incomes.

Small and middle producers engaged in commercial production no longer have the reserves needed to tide them over a period of unfavorable prices. They are so vulnerable to any price-cost squeeze that their mortality rate is likely to be particularly high if the agricultural crisis continues to deepen.

In its drive to eliminate the small and middle producers, big agriculture has increased its share of the market and has expanded its output by raising its yields rather than by enlarging harvested acreages. The result is that total food production in 1952 was higher than in recent years.

The food production index (1935-39=100) was at 140 in 1946 and 1947, dropped to 134 in 1948 and averaged 138 during the next three years, then rising to 144 in 1952. At the same time consumption of food per capita fell from an index of 119 in 1946 to 115 the following year, and then to 111 for the next four years, rising one point to 112 in 1952. So it was still in that year nearly 6% below the 1946 level.

These are indexes of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and are "averages" which tend to conceal the low consumption by the lower groups. For the population as a whole also the lower consumption in recent years can be shown for various items such as meat, milk and vegetables. The per capita consumption of meat dropped from 155 pounds in 1947 to 142 in 1952. Fluid milk and cream consumption on a per capita basis declined from 432 pounds in 1945 to 400 in 1952. And the per capita consumption of fresh vegetables slumped from 272 pounds in 1946 to 241 in 1952.

## FARM EXPORTS

Although farmers were told originally that the Marshall Plan and other "cold war" measures would assure a large volume of farm exports and help develop stable markets abroad, exports have actually been falling.

Agricultural exports broke sharply at the end of 1951, and by the end of the third quarter of 1952 were, in dollar terms, less than half of the previous peak. The U.S. Department of Agriculture attributed this

collapse, at least in part, to "the growth of free-world defense mobilization." For the third quarter of 1952 it reported the drop in physical volume of agricultural exports, compared with the same period in 1951, as follows: wheat, including flour, down by 33%; soybean oil, by 70%, and grain sorghums, by 71%.

For the specialty crops such as fruits—fresh, canned and dried—the decline in exports is even more serious as orchards and vineyards require 15 to 20 years of culture and investment to attain full production and cannot be switched temporarily to more profitable cash crops without destroying all the farmers' specialty skill and equity.

## DROP IN NUMBER OF FARMS

As the struggle for the market has become more acute, the small and middle farmers have been forced off the land in larger numbers than ever before. Preliminary estimates from the 1950 Census of Agriculture indicate that the number of farms in the U.S. dropped from 6.1 million in 1940 to 5.4 million in 1950, a decline of 700,000. Moreover, the Census shows that more farmers are becoming dependent upon work done off the farm to support their families. The number of farm operators working off their farms 100 days or more a year increased from 943,581 in 1939 to 1,265,000 in 1949.

In the South, large numbers of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, particularly Negroes, are being pushed off the land. Final census figures for 1950 indicate that, within the seven states where plantations predominate, the number of "non-white" sharecroppers shrank by 26% in the 5-year period, 1945-50, while the number of white sharecroppers declined 15%. The number of all non-white tenants (including sharecroppers) dropped 22% while the number of white tenants declined 17%.

After being displaced from the land, many of these sharecroppers and tenants, especially the Negroes, were forced into the ranks of the unorganized migratory workers, harvesting crops on the large commercial farms along the East Coast and in California cotton fields, and looking for steadier employment in industry.

The "solution" now being pressed by big business and big agriculture is not only to push sharecroppers and tenants off the land in the South but to eliminate the small and middle farmers from the market altogether. Most of the current reductionist proposals are modeled after the



report issued in 1945 by the Agricultural Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., "Variations in Farm Incomes and Their Relation to Agricultural Policies." The latest report of this nature was issued in 1952 by the National Planning Association under the title, "Underemployment in American Agriculture." This NPA pamphlet, urging the elimination of some two million farms, was signed and sponsored not only by representatives of many large corporations but by officials of the three national farm organizations.

The advocates of these schemes offer no solution to the problems of the sharecroppers or the small and medium-size farms. Their object is to benefit big agriculture at the expense of the working farmers, to provide the corporations with a larger reserve army of unemployed, and to fill the needs of the armed forces by drawing more heavily upon the rural areas.

## ATTITUDES ON PEACE AND UMT

Although generally unorganized and inarticulate, farm opinion has been strongly opposed to universal military training, to the draft of farm youth, and to the war in Korea. A poll taken by Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead (Nov. 15, 1952) found that 34% of the farmers interviewed were in favor of "trying for a truce"; 34% for getting "completely out of Korea"; 15% undecided; and 17% for "all out war" in China. So universal has been the sentiment against U.M.T. that the three national farm organizations, the American Farm Bureau, the National Grange, and the National Farmers Union, officially testified against the U.M.T. program presented to Congress in early 1952.

In reporting widespread farm protest against the draft, the St. Paul Pioneer Press (May 16, 1952) noted a "grassroot revolt" covering nine counties along the Minnesota-Wisconsin border and said, "Embattled farmers in Western Wisconsin, massing in revolt against what they call too drastic draft regulations . . . pointed up their objectives."

Top officials of the three national farm organizations, however, have gone along with most of the government's armament and cold-war programs. Within the National Farmers Union there has been a considerable rank-and-file peace movement. To stifle it the national office lifted their regional charters and by raising the membership quotas threatened the charters of several other state and regional bodies, including Iowa which had led the campaign for peace in Korea.

## EISENHOWER'S FARM PROGRAM

During the 1952 election campaign, Eisenhower and Stevenson ran on almost identical farm programs, promising to continue price supports on the so-called "basic" commodities at 90% of parity. Both repudiated the Brannan Plan, which the Truman Administration had promised but did nothing to enact, and although both candidates pledged support for the so-called "perishable" commodities, neither offered any definite proposals in place of the Brannan Plan. (As originally proposed, the "Brannan Plan" would have extended price supports across the board to include "perishables" and "non-basics" as well as the so-called "basic" commodities, used production payments to balance temporary dislocations between production and consumption, set a cut-off limit to prevent the lion's share of the benefits from going to big agriculture, and sought to encourage soil conservation.)

Truman's promise of firm, high-level supports in the 1948 campaign was generally credited with having attracted sufficient votes to win the election. But in the 1952 election the farm areas contributed to the figures in the Republican column. In keeping with the general trend, this was due to dissatisfaction with the Korean war (widely referred to as "Truman's war") and to Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea, ostensibly to hasten an end to the war.

As Secretary of Agriculture, Eisenhower named Ezra T. Benson, who had been secretary of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, 1939-43, during which time he opposed positive New Deal measures, championed anti-labor legislation, and fought against subsidies for working farmers.

To work with Benson in drafting a new farm program, Eisenhower named a committee heavily weighted by representatives of big business. Chairman of the committee is William I. Myers, a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of N. Y., Continental Can Co., Avco Mfg. Corp. and other companies. Some of the other members are Jesse W. Tapp, vice president of the Bank of America; Albert K. Mitchell, director of American Potash Corp.; Carl C. Farrington, vice president of Archer-Daniels Midland Co.; Robert R. Coker, president of Coker's Pedigreed Seed Co. and member of the Agricultural Department Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; David W. Brooks, general manager of the Cotton Producers Association of Georgia; and Homer R. Davidson, vice president of the American Meat Institute.

**Farm Electric Cooperatives:** As 1953 opened, one of the dangers farmers saw in the Eisenhower administration was the possibility that it would hand over public power facilities to private companies. Over 12 million farm people are served by rural electric cooperatives and public power districts. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., at its convention in San Francisco in January, 1953, declared that these cooperatives had enabled farmers "to improve their competitive condition in the market, lower costs of production and costs of farm living, improve the quality and increase the quantity of farm output, bring to rural people services not otherwise obtainable like electricity and telephones." It attacked the private power interests which had "through multimillion dollar expenditures on lobbying, advertising, obstructive court action, and other means, attacked the rural electric cooperatives and the public development of national resources as 'socialism,' 'waste', etc."; and it urged Congress to investigate the "machinations" of these power interests and to protect the people from this "misuse of utility funds."

The farm electric co-ops also attacked the "vested interests" which have proposed recently that the public domain and national forests "be turned over to private corporations for exploitation," and that the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Bonneville Power Administration and other public concerns that have provided cheap electricity to farms and improved rural living standards, "be given away or sold to private corporations." They called this a "barehanded 'raid on the commonwealth.'"

Many farmers and farm organizations, especially in the Western states where reclamation projects and policies have provided cheap water for heretofore unproductive land, and hydroelectric power at low rates, felt that policies assuring these benefits might be terminated by the new Republican administration.

They were especially apprehensive that the new Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, whose views run parallel to those of the private power interests, would find ways of circumventing provisions of reclamation law operating since 1906. Their fears included the possibility of Interior making contracts with private utilities which would exclude as direct purchasers of government-generated hydroelectric power, public agencies, cooperatives and irrigation districts.

They were alarmed also at administration support for the proposed plan of Charles E. Wilson, former head of the General Electric Co. and

former Defense Mobilizer, elaborated by Wall Street banks, and the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, to sell public lands and power installations to private corporations.

The NRECA and the Oregon, Washington and California State Granges were among farm organizations standing four-square for present government-operated hydroelectric projects integrated with water conservation. The 1952 California State Grange, for example, pledged itself to join with other organizations of consumers "to protect our river resources and insure their development in the interest of the people as a whole for maximum distribution of low cost hydroelectric power as well as for water conservation, flood control and related uses."

## FARM-LABOR UNITY

Leaders of the major labor organizations, with few and infrequent exceptions, have made little effort to develop grassroot ties with the family-type farmers, small farmers, or sharecroppers. While higher living costs have forced workingclass families to cut their food budgets, the protests of labor organizations have generally been limited to the city and have not included joint demands, like the reduction of farm-to-market spreads or such production payments as working farmers might also support. The Brannan program, however, which combined proposals for protecting the farmers and reducing retail food prices, was supported in varying degrees by unions such as the Packinghouse Workers (CIO), Electrical Workers (Ind.), Mine-Mill Workers (Ind.) and some state labor bodies such as the California State Federation of Labor.

During a number of strikes, including those of the coal miners, steel workers and the menhaden fishermen, as well as during several electrical workers' stoppages, the farmers in many areas sent truckloads of food to show their unity with the strikers. Although farmer-labor political unity has long been recognized as a desirable goal by large numbers of workers as well as farmers, concrete methods for achieving it have not yet been developed in the United States, where historically the conservative leaders of the labor organizations have opposed independent political action.

## AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Estimates of the number of agricultural workers in the U.S. are admitted to be highly uncertain. Until 1951, when the Bureau of

Agricultural Economics released the findings of a special study, the usual estimates put the total number at about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million, but Louis J. Ducoff, in a report for this Bureau entitled "Migratory Farm Workers in 1949," concluded that there were approximately 5.1 million agricultural workers, migratory and nonmigratory, in the U.S. He estimated that only one out of every five farm workers is a migrant, the rest being nonmigratory. (See Labor Fact Book 10, p. 55.)

In response to the growing concern over the wretched conditions of farm workers, President Truman named a commission to study the problems. Its "Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor," issued in mid-1951, estimated that there were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million wage-earners in the U.S. who "depend principally on farm employment for their incomes" and that one million of these are migratory workers. The latter "are primarily employed on a comparatively small number of farms which use large quantities of labor." There are about 125,000 such farms and they comprise only about 2% of all farms.

Slightly different and somewhat higher earnings estimates were made by the President's Commission than by the Ducoff report. The Commission found that, in 1949, male farm workers who were migratory averaged \$549 from farm work and \$190 from nonfarm work; nonmigratory workers did a little better, making average wages of \$655 from farm work and \$163 from nonfarm work.

Because farm workers are unorganized and cannot bargain collectively, the Commission noted, they "have had little opportunity to participate effectively in influencing the wage rates they receive." The only serious organizing activity among farm workers at present is that done by the Agricultural Workers Union, an independent group formed in 1950 on the Atlantic seaboard, and the National Agricultural Workers' Union (AFL).

## VII. POLITICAL ACTION

### RECORD OF THE EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

The 82nd Congress held its first session from January 3 to October 20, 1951. The second session lasted from January 8 to July 7, 1952. When this Congress convened there were 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans in the Senate and 235 Democrats, 199 Republicans and one Independent in the House of Representatives.

This "cold war" Congress, as it was called, like previous Congresses since 1938, was ruled by an alliance of reactionary Republicans and southern Democrats. The balance of power rested with the Dixiecrats pledged in advance to vote with the Republicans. Discussing the final session, the weekly organ of the railroad unions, *Labor*, said: "Probably no Congress in history was more subservient to powerful lobbies than this one. Controlled by the Taft-Republican-Byrd-Democrat combine, it ignored the public interest again and again, and gave greedy lobbies what they demanded."

The *United Mine Workers Journal*, October 1, 1951, took the measure of this Congress before the end of the first session when it said, "the record of this session of Congress is a dismal one that has been marked by subservience to selfish profiteering interests and complete inaction on social welfare and labor legislation to benefit the majority of the people. On every test vote, the majority of this Congress to date has recorded itself on the side of reaction."

Soon after the first session the *CIO News*, October 29, 1951, said: "Once more a coalition of anti-Fair Deal forces in both parties pushed aside all progressive measures having wide popular support, yet demonstrated a shocking readiness to do the bidding of big business and monopoly." And the AFL's *Labor's League for Political Education* also said the record was "shocking" and "shameful."

In its final summary of the work of the 82nd Congress *CIO's Legislative Department* said: "Few Congresses in history have produced as unenviable a record of subservience to vested interests and indifference to the needs of the American people."

The *Congressional Quarterly's* tabulations of party unity showed that the bloc of 35 southern Democrats in the Senate voted with the Repub-

licans in the 82nd Congress more often than they did with their own party's majority. During the two sessions the Democrats lost on 59 of the 107 House votes that were matters of party issue. And in the Senate, where the Democrats nominally held from two to four more seats than the Republicans at various times during the 82nd Congress, they were defeated on almost half of the 119 issues where a party-line roll call was taken.

Absenteeism contributed to some of the crucial defeats on issues in the Truman domestic program. The attendance record in the Senate for 1952 fell as low as 36% among Republicans and 50% among Democrats. Attendance percentages in the House for the same year went as low as 24% among Democrats and 46% among Republicans.

Although new billions were voted for war preparations and the support of Franco and other fascist dictators abroad, the New York Times, July 6, 1952, admitted, "Civil rights, improved labor laws, health, education, housing and a dozen more issues . . . were dormant if not dead in the 82nd Congress." On the home front, "the theme seemed to be business as usual."

Eloquent testimony on the failure of Congress in the field of civil rights appears in the report of the executive council of the AFL to the 1952 convention of that organization: "Thirty-five bills were introduced in the 82nd Congress covering Fair Employment Practices, Anti-Lynching, Anti-Segregation, and Anti-Poll Tax. None of these measures received consideration, however." Instead, Congress passed over Presidential veto the McCarran-Walter immigration and naturalization bill, a blow at the civil rights of the foreign-born, increasing racial discrimination and adding to the powers of Department of Justice officials to deport naturalized citizens. (See Civil Rights chapter.)

**Main Legislation:** Various acts of this Congress are dealt with in other sections of this book under the appropriate headings. But in summary, some main actions were:

Passage of a new Defense Production Act which almost completely wrecked price control. Among other things it decontrolled prices on all fruits and vegetables, and it expanded the price-lifting features of the previous law including the Caphart and Herlong amendments which guaranteed still higher profits to manufacturers and sellers. Rent control was also fatally crippled, and was maintained after September 30, 1952, only in so-called "critical defense areas" and in communities where governing bodies voted before that date to continue control till May, 1953.

Senate majority leader Ernest W. McFarland, in a summary of the legislative record of the first session, boasted: "With the exception of three years during World War II no single session of a Congress in the entire history of the Republic passed more bills directly concerning the national defense or appropriated more money for the national defense. The first session appropriated approximately \$77,250,000,000 for national defense alone. . . . National defense spending represented fully 85% of the total of \$91,626,541,716 appropriated during the first session." (Congressional Record, Nov. 9, 1951.)

Including both sessions of the 82nd Congress, the Budget Bureau reported August 19, 1952, that "new obligational authority" voted for "major national security programs" totaled over \$131.5 billion. (This did not include nearly \$8.2 billion for veterans' services and benefits and nearly \$12.4 billion interest on the national debt incurred mostly in past wars.)

For foreign aid, economic and military, the total voted for the two-year period, July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1953, was nearly \$14 billion. Although some cuts were made in the second session's appropriations for the "mutual security" program, they were mostly in the economic aid section, while the military aid requests were granted.

The "tidelands oil" bill was passed, over Presidential veto, giving certain states for private exploitation the oil deposits in the "marginal sea." This vote overruled the Supreme Court which had held that the federal government had title to these resources worth at least \$40 billion. Prior to this vote Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.) had proposed that federal income from such oil leases be used to improve the nation's schools. But this was defeated, with 27 Republicans and 20 Democrats voting against it.

The President had requested only 75,000 units of low-cost public housing for the current year, instead of the 135,000 called for in the Housing Act of 1949. The House cut this figure to 5,000 but the Senate raised it to 45,000, eight Republicans and 29 Democrats in the Senate voting for this number. After conference the figure finally agreed to was 35,000.

In the foreign relations field the Senate ratified the peace treaty with Japan as well as a security treaty giving the U.S. the right to station military forces there. It also ratified the extension of the North Atlantic Treaty to Greece and Turkey. The convention ending the war with Germany was also ratified.



Congress added restrictions to U.S. trade and East-West trade in Europe through the bill introduced by Rep. L. C. Battle (D., Ala.) and signed by President Truman Oct. 26, 1951. It declared the U.S. would give no assistance to any country which declined to put on an embargo against the socialist states. Under this Act no country receiving U.S. "aid" could trade with the eastern European democracies and China without permission from Washington.

The United Mine Workers observed in the joint report of the international officers to its 1952 convention that "this Congress will go down in history as one slow to legislate but fast to investigate. . . . As of March, 1952, there had been 225 probes into everything under the sun."

Congress authorized \$855,800 for probes of "subversion" in 1951 and 1952, costing the U.S. taxpayer more money than any other item tackled by Congressional investigators. About \$1 out of every \$7 for all probes undertaken by Congress was for this purpose.

The plans of the Pentagon to have Congress enact a system of universal military training for 18-year olds were defeated through the combined power of labor, farm, educational and religious organizations. On March 4, 1952, a roll-call vote of 236 to 162 in the House sent the universal military training bill back to committee for further study. Congress, however, lowered the draft age from 19 to 18½.

In their closing session in 1952 the Senate and House approved a bill which makes tax-free that part of his income which a member of Congress spends "on living expenses in Washington" up to \$3,000 a year. Senator Williams of Delaware who opposed it said "it is unfair for anyone in public life to have any tax privileges which are not extended to every other taxpayer."

A somewhat watered-down mine safety bill was passed, giving federal inspectors the right to close unsafe mines. No action was taken to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, and both houses called on the President to use this law to break the strike of steel workers for a wage increase. Railroad pensions were raised, and social security payments to old persons were increased by about \$5 a month.

## THE 1951 ELECTION

There were no major national contests in the 1951 elections and the votes in the few Congressional and local elections were correspondingly light. Republicans won in four Congressional contests, in one district in

Ohio unseating a Democrat. A tendency toward some breakaway from the old-party machines was noticeable as a result of the revelations of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, chairmaned by Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.)

Leading contest in New York City was for presidency of the city council. Rudolph Halley, Chief Council of the Kefauver Committee, running as an independent with Liberal Party and City Fusion Party support, received 657,158 votes, or 163,492 more than the regular Democratic candidate, with the Republican running third. The fourth candidate, Clifford T. McAvoy of the American Labor Party, received 104,166 votes.

In 21 cities in upstate New York, where graft in government was also an issue in many communities, both Democratic and Republican corrupt administrations were voted out in favor of the other party.

In Philadelphia also, as a result of scandals in the city administration, the Republicans failed to elect a mayor for the first time in 67 years. Democrat Joseph S. Clark, Jr. defeated Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Republican, by 442,133 to 319,923 votes. In the race for seats in the Philadelphia city council two Negroes were elected, one from each party. The Negro Republican, with Progressive Party support, ran second among the 17 contestants.

In Cleveland, Marie Reed Haug, leader of the Electrical Workers (Ind.), running for the school board on the Progressive Party ticket, received 44,266 votes, or nearly 30% of the total. In her campaign she had stressed peace, higher pay for teachers, end of discrimination in schools and better school facilities. The local president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People was elected to the school board.

Among 25 candidates running for six seats on the board of supervisors in San Francisco, George Walsh, working longshoreman and leader of the Independent Progressive Party, was thirteenth, polling 29,403 votes. Communist Party candidate Oleta O'Connor Yates, who entered the race at the last minute after leaving jail on bail as one of the California Smith Act defendants, received 15,932 votes.

## EISENHOWER'S VICTORY IN 1952

The Republicans nominated Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower for President in 1952 and Sen. Richard M. Nixon of California for Vice Presi-

dent. The Democratic convention selected Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois and Sen. John J. Sparkman of Alabama.

Gen. Eisenhower broke a 20-year period of Democratic rule during which that party had not only elected its presidential ticket but won every four years a plurality of the popular vote. He won the electoral votes of 39 states numbering 442 and rolled up a popular vote of 33,096,039. Stevenson carried nine states, including seven in the South and two border states, with 89 electoral votes, but had a popular vote of 26,713,233.

The American Heritage Foundation estimated that 87,711,000 persons had been legally entitled to vote, of whom 74,810,561 had registered and 61,547,861 had cast valid ballots; that one million in the armed forces had been prevented from voting because of state regulations applying to absentee voting, and that 12,166,000 other persons had been prevented from voting because of illiteracy, failure to pay poll taxes or inability to meet residence requirements.

In a great majority of the states Eisenhower ran far ahead of the other candidates on the Republican ticket. In scores of Congressional districts where he won, Democrats were elected to the House. Democratic Senators also were elected in states such as Massachusetts, Washington, Montana and Missouri, carried by Eisenhower, and in all states except Kentucky, Vermont and Minnesota he ran well ahead of the Republican Senatorial candidates. In Wisconsin he received 61% of the vote, compared to 54.6% for the fascist-minded Sen. Joseph McCarthy who was opposed by many Republican voters.

In the eleven states that used to be called the "Solid South" Eisenhower carried four states—Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and Texas—and polled 3.7 million votes, or a little under the 3.9 million received by Stevenson.

Main factors in the Eisenhower election, in addition to his personal popularity, were his promise to go to Korea and seek an end to the unpopular war; voters' resentment over high prices and high taxes; the stench of corruption that rose from the scandals in the Truman administration. Along with a vast demagoguery by the Republicans over these issues went the anti-red hysteria that had been developed through the years by the Democrats themselves but was turned into a potent vote-getting issue by the Republicans.

**Press Support to Republicans:** As in 1948, the press overwhelmingly supported the Republican ticket. A survey by Editor and Publisher,

November 8, showed that Eisenhower had the editorial support of 67% of the daily newspapers representing 80% of the daily circulation. Stevenson had the backing of 14% of the nation's papers with less than 11% of the circulation.

There were only four states, all in the South, which did not go the way the majority of newspapers in those states advocated. Stevenson was without the backing of a single newspaper in eight states—Delaware, Maine, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont.

**Negroes Elected:** In New York State, Julius A. Archibald was elected in 1952 as this state's first Negro state senator. He was one of five Negro state senators elected in the United States in that year. Michigan has two Negro state senators—one of them a Negro woman, Mrs. M. Brown, the first Negro woman in the U.S. to hold that office. Indiana and Ohio accounted for the other two Negro state senators. (See Howard Selsam, *The Negro People in the United States*, Jefferson School of Social Science, 1953.)

The year 1952 ended with 26 Negroes holding office as members of the lower house in state legislatures. There are two Negro members of the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) and Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.)

## THE EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

The Republicans in 1952 won 23 out of 35 races for the U.S. Senate and had a holdover of 25 who did not run that year, thus giving them a total of 48. This was a net gain of one, after allowing for the disaffection of Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon who bolted the Republican ranks during the campaign and worked for Stevenson. Although the Democrats won 12 Senatorial races they showed a net loss of two seats, from 49 to 47. Morse was counted as an Independent in the new Congress.

In a few instances the Senators elected in 1952 were less reactionary, at least on domestic issues, than the men they displaced. For example, Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.) defeated Republican Harry P. Cain, chief spokesman of the real estate lobby. Sen. Zales Ecton (R., Mon.) was beaten by Rep. Mike Mansfield (D). Sen. James P. Kem (R., Mo.) was defeated by Democrat W. Stuart Symington, former chairman of the National Security Resources Board.

It was expected that, as in previous Congresses, the southern Dixiecrats (nominal Democrats) would vote with Republicans on basic domestic issues. With this coalition in control, the general complexion of the Senate was not very different from that before the election.

In the House all the 435 seats were contested and the Republicans won 221 (compared with 200 before the election) or three more than a majority. The Democrats won 212, compared with 230 before the election, and there was one Independent. Another Democrat, Rep. Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, oldest House member and chairman of the House rules committee, died two days after he was elected to his 24th consecutive term.

**Composition of Congress:** At least seven congressmen who had at one time or another in their lives been officials in trade unions were elected to the new Congress, the AFL reported. (News Reporter, Nov. 14, 1952.) Analysis of the composition of the eighty-third Congress, however, showed that 58% of both Senators and Representatives were lawyers, while 30% of the Senators and 34% of the Representatives had business or banking backgrounds.

## STATE GOVERNORS

Republican governors replaced Democrats in five states and captured 20 governorships. The Democrats won in 10 states. Following the election, there were 30 Republican governors and 18 Democrats, compared with 25 Republicans and 23 Democrats before.

In Michigan, Gov. G. Mennen Williams became the first Democrat to win the governorship three times in succession. Also, in the face of the Republican trend, Gov. Frank J. Lausche (Democrat) of Ohio won a third consecutive term, defeating Charles P. Taft by 425,000 votes.

## LABOR IN THE 1952 ELECTION

Organized labor, as represented by the AFL, CIO, United Mine Workers and the railroad brotherhoods, supported Stevenson and the Democratic ticket in 1952. The endorsement was official and gave the Democrats the feeling that labor was behind them almost 100%, despite some previous scattered criticism of the Truman administration for failing to fight for its 1948 program.

The CIO Political Action Committee was active in most communities where the CIO had affiliates. Its director, Jack Kroll, on October 29, had predicted a Democratic landslide. After the election he told the CIO convention that from 70% to 75% of CIO members had voted for Stevenson. He agreed that the Korean war and a general feeling of insecurity had been the deciding factor in the election.

Both Labor's League for Political Education (the political arm of the AFL) and the Mine Workers' Labor's Non-Partisan League also were active on behalf of the Democratic ticket. A temporary organization, Labor's League for Stevenson and Sparkman, set up a Washington office and issued publicity similar to that released by the Democratic Party. The chairman of this new committee was George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks.

Although foreign policy issues were emphasized by the labor leaders in the early part of their campaign for Stevenson, they shifted later to so-called "pork chop" or immediate issues. Most of them stressed the danger of return to the days of Hoover and unemployment. The Democratic domestic program was played up instead of foreign policy, especially since Eisenhower was blaming the Democrats for continuance of the war as well as for the initial involvement in Korea.

The labor chiefs, thus having started out in support of the Democrats' Korean policy, based their final appeals on domestic issues such as Taft-Hartley and avoided the peace issue almost entirely. This was an admission that the Truman foreign policy was anything but popular among the trade union rank and file.

After the election, Labor, weekly of the railroad unions, asserted in a story by its political reporter, Donald Ramsey, that the vote "has given us the most reactionary administration since Harding won in 1920."

The U.E. News, organ of Electrical Workers (Ind.), asked: "How could a labor political action campaign succeed when its leadership, bound in advance to the Democratic Party, could not campaign for peace, or for lower taxes, or for lower prices, or for an end to huge armaments budgets?"

The Union, organ of the Mine-Mill Workers (Ind.), said the two main issues that defeated the Democrats were Korea and corruption. Actually, on the Korean question Eisenhower "committed himself to nothing more than an airplane ride." The paper echoed the views of other independent unions when it expressed the hope that "it will mean the end of a period in which leaders of the big labor federations have

put aside struggle, for the most part, in return for supposed political influence."

Following the election, the AFL reported it had 159 "friends of labor" in the new House of Representatives compared with 181 in the outgoing House. A Congressman is considered friendly "if he took a position favorable to union labor legislation." It reported 38 "friends" in the Senate compared with 40 before the election.

## THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Nominating convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago, July 4-6, 1952, was attended by more than 1,800 delegates from 41 states. It nominated by acclamation Vincent Hallinan for President of the U.S. and Charlotta A. Bass for Vice President. Hallinan, California lawyer, had defended Harry Bridges in the government's frame-up case against the West Coast longshore union leader, and after the trial was sentenced for contempt. At the time of the convention he was serving a six-month sentence in McNeil Island Penitentiary in the state of Washington. Mrs. Bass, for 40 years the editor of the California Eagle, oldest Negro paper on the West Coast, had been a life-long Republican.

Keynote speech of the convention by W. E. B. DuBois, the Negro scholar and former envoy to Liberia, said the party platform could be reduced to these planks: "Peace, stop the Korean war, offer friendship to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, restore and rebuild the U.S."

The first plank in the platform was headed "Peace: The Mandate of the People," and contained a ten-point program to end the Korean war, stop the rearmament and renazification of a disunited Germany, and negotiate an international agreement outlawing the A-bomb and H-bomb with effective controls and inspection of atomic stockpiles. It called on the U.S. government to ratify the Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of germ warfare.

Other points in the peace plank asked defeat of any bill for universal military training; repeal of the draft law; abolition of trade barriers between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., China and Eastern Europe; support of the demands for independence and freedom of colonial peoples; "full and immediate independence" for the Puerto Rican people; the holding of a Five-Power conference "as the only peaceful means for securing an over-all settlement of differences."

Some points included in the second plank on "Jobs and Security for America" were the following: strict federal dollar-and-cents price ceilings and restoration of federal rent control at pre-Korean levels; end of wage-freeze and return to free collective bargaining; repeal of Taft-Hartley Act and re-enactment of the Wagner Act; 2.5 million low rent homes a year through a national housing program; comprehensive federal system of social insurance guaranteeing benefits equal to a minimum decent standard of living; a full national health insurance system; a comprehensive farm program to help the small crop producer; \$10 billion appropriation for a ten-year program of federally-financed school construction; equal job opportunities and training for Negroes and other minority groups; establishment of nation-wide job training centers and other facilities for youth; legislation forbidding discrimination against women.

The third plank, on Negro and minority group rights, entitled "End American Shame," demanded a Federal Fair Employment Practice Law, an anti-poll tax and an anti-lynch law, and immediate issuance by the President of an order to prohibit discrimination in employment under any federal contract; prosecution of violators of the civil rights of Negroes and other minorities; end of segregation and discrimination in housing and in the armed forces and all federal departments; end of every form of discrimination in the District of Columbia; full representation of Negroes and all minority groups at all levels of public office; full citizenship for the American Indians.

In the final plank, headed "Restore Freedom to All Americans," the platform called for definite action: repeal the Smith, McCarran and McCarran-Walter Acts; end all persecution under the Smith Act; guarantee the freedom of advocacy for lawyers; abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the McCarran Committee of the Senate on Internal Security; end the "loyalty" and "screening" programs and the Attorney General's subversive list; end government by secret star chamber proceedings; ratify the UN convention on genocide and the UN convention on Human Rights; stop attempts to impose thought control on teachers and pupils and the "use of public schools to produce war hysteria."

The Progressive Party was on the ballot in 45 states in 1948; but in 1952 in only 28. Many states had enacted laws which made it impossible for an independent party to get on the ballot. Ohio, for example, formerly required such candidates to file about 25,000 signatures by



August 3. The law was changed to require filing of about 500,000 signatures which must be collected by February 6 of an election year. In Illinois also and in some smaller states the PP was barred by local election laws that virtually prohibit third parties from running candidates.

Total vote for Hallinan and Bass, including thousands of uncounted write-in votes, will never be known, but those reported from the states where it was allowed on the ballot came to an unofficially announced overall total of 140,296.

Reasons for the low PP vote were given as failure to get on the ballot in 20 states; the almost complete blackout by the big-money press, radio and television; tremendous financial difficulties; concentrated redbaiting of the organization; the fact that its presidential candidate was in jail part of the time; and the fact that the "lesser evil" vote for Stevenson ran so strong among progressives.

## NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA MINORITY PARTIES

The counted vote for Hallinan and Bass, Progressive Party candidates endorsed by the American Labor Party of New York State, was 64,211, of which 56,657 were in New York City.

Corliss Lamont, running for the U.S. Senate, was ahead of the other ALP candidates, receiving 104,702 votes. (The winner in this Senate contest was the incumbent Republican Irving M. Ives, with 3,853,934 votes compared with 2,521,736 for the Democrat, John Cashmore.)

Novelist Howard Fast, running for Congress on the ALP line in the 23rd district, in the Bronx, N. Y. City, received 6,834 votes out of 128,112 cast for four candidates. Vito Magli, running as ALP candidate for Congress in the 18th district in Manhattan, which Vito Marcantonio once represented, received 7,047 votes.

The Liberal Party of New York showed a gain of about 194,000 over 1948. The vote for Stevenson on the Liberal Party line was 416,711. Of these, 336,948 were cast in New York City. George S. Counts, candidate for U.S. Senator, ran ahead of the ticket, with 489,775 votes, of which 404,769 were in New York City.

**California Votes:** Although Hallinan, endorsed by the Independent Progressive Party of California, received 24,106 votes in the state, the IPP candidate for U.S. Senate, Reuben W. Borough, the only contestant to run against the incumbent, Senator William F. Knowland, received 542,270, or about 12% of the votes cast in the Senate race. This was

more votes than any other state-wide IPP candidate had received in party history. Henry Wallace, as Presidential candidate, had received 192,000 votes in California in 1948.

In the race for the state assembly in the 55th district, in Los Angeles, Raymond Cox, Negro small businessman, the IPP candidate, received about 18% of the vote. A Negro Congressional candidate, Horace V. Alexander of the IPP, received 21,465, or 12% of the votes, in the 26th Congressional district. Two other IPP Congressional candidates received respectively 16% and 14% of the total votes cast in their districts. Three Democrats—one Congressman and two Assemblymen—endorsed by the IPP, were among the victors.

## COMMUNIST PARTY POSITION

Platform of the Communist Party declared that the party was "taking part in the 1952 elections as it has in every national election since its founding 33 years ago." In 1952 it supported the Progressive Party national ticket as it had in 1948.

The party appealed to all working people, regardless of how they voted, "to speak out through their unions and community organizations on the vital issues of the day: for an immediate cease-fire in Korea, for a compulsory FEPC, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran Acts."

It declared that "the supreme task before the American people today is the fight against the danger of war and fascism, for peace and democracy."

"To obtain peace, security, equal rights for the Negro people, the maintenance and extension of democracy, the working class must unite with its allies, the working farmers, the Negro people, the professional and small business people and all progressive forces in the nation."

The party reasserted its firm belief that only the socialist reorganization of society can finally insure permanent peace, security and prosperity. However, support for this ultimate demand, it declared, is no barrier to cooperation with all other progressive Americans "in helping to create that great new people's coalition demanded by the struggle against the horrors of war and fascism."

A series of immediate demands were advanced by the party covering the field of peace and foreign policy, democracy and civil rights, the rights of the Negro people, living standards and taxation.

Despite the unprecedented anti-Red hysteria prevailing and the legal restrictions created in recent years to prevent minority parties from getting on the ballot, several Communists ran for office. Among these were the imprisoned Negro leader, Benjamin J. Davis, former New York City councilman, who ran for the state assembly in the 11th district in Harlem. Over 3,100 persons from all parties signed the nominating petition to get him on the ballot and he received 879 votes running on the Freedom Party ticket against a Democrat, who won with 18,169 votes, a Republican, and an ALP candidate (601 votes).

Simon W. Gerson, one of the two Communist leaders acquitted in the second Smith Act trial in New York City, ran for Congress in the 13th district of Brooklyn as candidate of the Peoples Rights Party. About 4,300 signatures were obtained for his nominating petition, and 2,431 votes were cast for him, and 3,925 for the ALP candidate. The winner, with 111,917 votes, was A. J. Multer, supported by Democrats and Liberals, the Republican receiving 45,549 votes.

In New Jersey, Charles Nusser ran for freeholder under the Communist Party name in Essex County (Newark), receiving 5,448 votes while Bert Selwen in Mercer County (Trenton) ran for freeholder, obtaining 400 votes. Otis Hood, well known Communist, ran for the state assembly in Boston, Mass., on the Independent ticket, receiving 927 votes out of about 25,000 cast.

## BIG MONEY IN THE ELECTION

There is no way of obtaining more than the roughest estimate of the amount of money spent in elections in the United States. Although there are laws restricting the amount that may be given by an individual at least to national committees of the parties, there are many ways of getting around the law.

Estimates of the amounts the two big political parties, their candidates and supporting groups had spent during 1952 ranged from \$75 million to \$120 million. These were regarded as conservative estimates, for the reported part of the spending is only a fraction of the total.

In 1936 national party committees reported over \$14 million spent. But the Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures traced about \$24 million and guessed the total to be double that amount. By 1948 a bottom figure of \$50 million was estimated. But the 1952 spending was on a scale far greater than that of past campaigns. The cost

of the single hour-and-a-half television and radio splurge by the Republicans on election eve was \$267,000. A Senate subcommittee estimated the Republicans spent nearly \$3.5 million on radio and television alone during the campaign, and the Democrats over \$2.5 million. And these figures did not include the production costs of the programs.

Although the main national committees of the parties, and their Congressional campaign committees and Senatorial campaign committees, are permitted by law to raise up to \$3 million each, other independently organized national committees working with them can each raise a similar amount. Under the law there may be any number of such auxiliary committees, raising and spending their own funds, so long as they are nominally "independent."

There are also thousands of independent local committees which supposedly raise funds only in one state. In some states there is no limit to, or reporting required about, the amounts that may be raised or spent by any one of these committees. And there is no official or department of the government with responsibility for enforcing campaign spending laws where they do exist.

Although corporations are barred by law from contributing to national committees engaged in campaigning for election to federal office, there is no federal law barring such contributions to state and local campaigns.

The federal law limits individual contributions to \$5,000 to any one committee that operates in more than one state, or is a branch of a national committee. Another \$5,000 limit is allowed for contributions to individual candidates. So the wealthy individual can spread his contributions over national, state and local organizations and thus give a vast amount, either directly or through friends or relatives. The duPont family in this way in the 1936 campaign contributed \$620,570 to support the Republicans, but only \$67,450 of this was in gifts to the "national party."

Among the substantial out-of-state contributors to the Ohio Citizens for Eisenhower and Nixon in 1952 were Mrs. Vincent Astor and Harry F. Guggenheim of New York City. Among contributors to the fund for Republican Senator John W. Bricker, who won in Ohio, were several members of the Pew family, oil millionaires of Philadelphia. They also gave generously to Sen. William E. Jenner (R) who won in Indiana and to Sen. Harry P. Cain (R) who was defeated in Washington state.

Just before the 1952 election the Alsop brothers in their column, October 26, observed that both major parties "are now dangerously dependent on large contributions from a tiny, wealthy minority of the total Americans." The whole system, they added, is "deeply unhealthy, as is suggested by the way many officers of large corporations now make a practice of contributing to both parties."

**The Nixon Fund:** During the 1952 campaign it was revealed that a "special fund" had been set up for Senator Nixon, the Republican vice presidential candidate, to which 76 wealthy oil, railroad, real estate, manufacturing and other magnates contributed. The purpose was to enable Nixon "to do a selling job to the American people in behalf of private enterprise," as Dana C. Smith, Pasadena investment banker and corporation lawyer, explained. Smith, as "trustee," collected and passed on the money.

It was admitted that \$18,235 had been contributed to this fund in a little over a year and another \$11,000 was admitted to have been received between July and September, which was to be accounted for as campaign expenditures. (It grew later to over \$25,000.)

Nixon, while calling the story a "typical left-wing smear," admitted he took the private funds and used them for political purposes, although he was already receiving a \$12,500 salary as a U.S. Senator, plus \$2,500 in a tax-free expense allowance, plus \$60,000 for payroll and other expenses connected with his office.

His radio and television explanation of the fund, written and directed by high-powered ad-men and script writers, was called by a group of distinguished Columbia University professors "an essentially dishonest and emotional appeal confusing many people on the real issues involved." Although other candidates made their income tax statements public during the campaign, Nixon refused to follow suit.

When Nixon had run for Senator against Helen Douglas in 1950, the big banking, power and manufacturing interests of California had similarly backed his red-smear campaign with private funds for which no accounting was required, though the amounts spent were estimated at between one and two million dollars.

## VIII. LABOR ABROAD

### WORLD FEDERATIONS

The World Federation of Trade Unions now speaks for about 80 million organized workers in some 70 countries. It is the largest federation of organized workers in the world.

Its official fortnightly called "World Trade Union Movement" is published in eight languages. The president of the WFTU is Giuseppe Di Vittorio, who is also general secretary of the 4,938,000-member Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL). Central office of the organization is in Vienna, Austria.

A vice president of the WFTU, Alain Le Leap, who is also general secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT), representing 75% of French labor, was imprisoned by the French Pinay government October 10, 1952. Affiliated with no political party, he was accused of having endangered the "external security" of the state through articles he had written against the unpopular colonial war in Viet-Nam and against the re-arming of Western Germany. The accusation was brought before a military tribunal, and he was denied the status of a political prisoner. Protest aroused by his arrest was world-wide.

The WFTU has given whole-hearted support to all efforts for world peace. It has been represented at international peace congresses organized by the World Council of Peace during the last two years including, for example, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in Vienna, December 12-19, 1952, and the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Peking, October 2-12, 1952.

WFTU has also made repeated appeals to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (see below) and to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (Catholic trade unions), urging them to "negotiate jointly with a view to uniting all workers in the common fight for peace." But these efforts have been without avail, although in a few countries common struggles have brought a measure of unity among the representatives of unions affiliated to the different international organizations. This has been especially noticeable at the

factory level in France and Italy where WFTU affiliates are the dominant trade union federations.

**Basic Program:** In October, 1952, on the seventh anniversary of the founding of the WFTU, its Secretary, Louis Saillant, recapitulated its program in an editorial in the "World Trade Union Movement" (Oct. 1-15, 1952): to organize "the common struggle of trade unions of all countries for the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions; for full and adequate social legislation to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accidents and old age; against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties."

Also the WFTU, he said, aims "to carry on the struggle for the extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism . . . to combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and enduring peace."

At the general council meeting of the WFTU in Berlin, November 15-21, 1951, it was reported that "numerous constructive proposals" had been submitted to the UN Economic and Social Council but had been ignored. These included proposals for "eliminating unemployment and assuring full employment," and "measures to prevent the living standards of the workers from being depressed in connection with the armament drive."

The WFTU, although a non-governmental organization, has consultative status in the UN but the U.S. government has made it difficult for some of its representatives to appear at the sessions, for example, of the Economic and Social Council held in New York City on May 20, 1952. It delayed the granting of visas and only after vigorous protests were WFTU delegates finally permitted to enter the U.S. a month after the opening of the sessions.

Despite the limitations and restrictions imposed, the WFTU was able to intervene on eight questions of major interest. Its representatives pointed out especially the effect of armaments on the condition of the workers. They urged the Council to recommend a reduction in military expenditures in all countries and the use of the funds thus saved for raising the standard of living of the masses. They also put forward the viewpoint of the world's progressive trade unions in the discussions on development of underdeveloped countries, discrimination, the protection of minorities, unemployment and full employment, migration, and the attacks on trade union rights.

**National Independence and Union Rights:** The WFTU supports unreservedly all struggle of peoples for national independence, most recently those waged by the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco in their struggles against France and its puppet governments in these countries. In a statement to the General Assembly of the UN dealing with Tunisia, the WFTU recalled how it had sent a Commission of Enquiry to that country in January-February, 1952, which "saw for itself the misery of the Tunisian people, the intense degree of exploitation of the workers and the truth of the many charges made against the terrorist policy of the French Government."

The WFTU has protested repeatedly not only to the UN General Assembly but the Economic and Social Council and the Human Rights Commission against the violation of trade union and human rights in Tunisia and South Africa as well as in other British and French colonial possessions, and in Spain, Greece, Portugal and some countries of Latin America and the Middle East.

**Trade Departments:** The WFTU is divided into various trade union internationals or trade departments which hold conferences from time to time and publish their own periodicals. International bulletins are issued, for example, by the Metal and Engineering Workers, Agricultural and Forestry Workers, Building and Wood Workers, Chemical and Allied Workers, Food and Tobacco Workers, Fur, Shoe and Leather Workers, Land and Air Transport Workers, Post, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Workers, Seamen and Port Workers, Fishermen, Teachers, Textile Workers, and Miners. They include in their ranks individual national unions in some countries whose national trade union centers are not WFTU affiliates.

**ICFTU:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions claims around 53 million workers in its affiliated federations in 69 countries. Its secretary is J. H. Oldenbroek and its president is Sir Vincent Tewson who is also the general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress. Its main office is in Brussels, Belgium, with branch offices in Geneva, Paris and New York and offices and regional organizations in Mexico City and Calcutta.

Its official monthly publication, issued in four languages, is called "Free Labour World," and it issues also a fortnightly "Information Bulletin" and an airmail "News Service."

ICFTU also has consultative status at the UN and for the most part takes the same position on foreign policy as the governments of the



larger countries which its affiliates represent, notably the United States.

In 1952 the ICFTU was raising a \$700,000 fund to attempt to expand in the non-socialist world. Both the AFL and CIO are affiliated to the ICFTU and, with the British TUC, now dominate its policies. A sympathetic description of the ICFTU in *The House of Labor*, by Hardman and Neufeld, admits that "the Confederation departs from the long socialist traditions of labor internationalism to state the demands of social reform within the framework of the existing order, along the lines of CIO and AFL philosophy in the U.S."

The United Mine Workers of America, in the joint report of its officers to its 1952 convention, expressed a rather lukewarm attitude toward ICFTU, stating that "a great deal of the material sent out . . . is not adaptable to conditions in the United States." However, it continued its membership in the federation.

The executive board of the confederation met in New York, December 1-5, 1952, the first meeting of its kind in the western hemisphere. It declared that the French government bore the responsibility for the murder of Farhad Hached, Tunisian trade union leader, who was found murdered near Tunis December 5. He was a leader in the movement to win independence for Tunisia, although ICFTU supports "home rule" and retention by the French of control of "defense." The French Force Ouvriere (FO) representatives in ICFTU abstained from voting on ICFTU resolutions on Tunisia in July, 1952, because they did not wish to vote against their government. Other resolutions passed at recent ICFTU meetings have supported the U.S. cold war policies against alleged "Communist imperialism."

## LATIN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS

The Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), whose president is Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is still the major labor body in Latin America. The CTAL is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The trade union movements of Guatemala and Ecuador and the major labor federations in Uruguay and Chile are connected with CTAL. Other affiliates are in Mexico and the British West Indies, and also in Venezuela where the unions function underground. CTAL leaders in Brazil and Cuba, although ousted by their repressive governments as heads

of the union federations of those countries, still exercise great influence in their own countries.

The CTAL program calls for better wages and labor contracts, price stabilization and social security. It stands for trade union independence as well as for independent national economies in the Latin American nations, and their emancipation from the "yoke of imperialism" in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. The major trade union federations in Guatemala have played a leading role in bringing about land reforms within that country and in supporting its progressive movement.

CTAL plays a leading part in the peace movement and its leaders from various countries participated in the Inter-American Peace Conference held in Uruguay in March, 1952.

Not only are unions outlawed in Venezuela but free trade unions, not under the domination of the government, do not exist in such countries as the Dominican Republic, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, and Honduras. The trade unions are also controlled by fascist-like governments in Nicaragua, Haiti and El Salvador. In Panama and Costa Rica unions operate, but only under great difficulties because of the repressive regimes in these countries. But even in the countries where the governments have banned independent union activities many strikes and labor struggles have taken place during the last two years.

The Argentine Confederation of Labor is completely controlled by the government of Juan Peron with his appointees at its head. Nevertheless, because Peron relies on labor as one of the main supporters of his regime and there is constant pressure from the rank and file, Peron has had to make concessions to labor. (See ATLAS below.)

**ORIT:** The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), unlike CTAL, includes also the U.S. labor bodies. In fact, it is sponsored and dominated by the top leaders of the AFL and CIO who work closely with the U.S. State Department. ORIT, which is the western hemisphere section of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, has in many countries attempted to split the CTAL and to set up dual labor organizations which would carry out the policies of the U.S. government. It has tried to expand its influence by cooperating with various repressive governments in establishing such organizations. The labor bodies in Colombia, headed by appointees of the reactionary government, became affiliated to ORIT after the elected leaders had been expelled by the government.

Brazil, where the duly elected trade union officials were ousted and government appointees were put in their place, recently passed a special law so that the union federations could then affiliate to ORIT. Previously it had been illegal for Brazilian labor centers to affiliate to any international labor organization. The government-controlled labor organization of Haiti was also allowed to affiliate to ORIT, after ORIT had been granted permission to help organize it.

ORIT has some influence in the unions of the British West Indies, Panama and Costa Rica. But because of U.S. control, and because the Latin Americans on its staff are not highly regarded, it has little influence with the masses of organized labor in Latin America. ORIT operates a school in Puerto Rico to train its type of labor leader. This school is supported by U.S. government Point Four funds.

**ATLAS:** The Association of Latin American Trade Unionists (ATLAS) was organized in Mexico City in November, 1952, representing the so-called third position or "justicialismo" advanced by President Peron of Argentina. Besides the Argentina Central Confederation of Labor, some delegates from small unions in Mexico and Costa Rica attended, as well as a fraternal delegate from the Bolivian trade unions. Also, some individuals from Panama, Paraguay, Ecuador, Chile and Guatemala were present. Because of weak representation only a committee was set up to work toward a federation. Resolutions were adopted against sending troops to Korea and in favor of land reform and wage increases.

**Puerto Rican Unions:** It is estimated that about 50% (some 375,000) of Puerto Rican workers are organized. Of this number, 141,000 workers, employed at the height of the sugar season, are organized in one or another of six labor federations into which the labor movement is split. The six are, in order of importance: Puerto Rican Federation of Labor (AFL), which also includes longshoremen; General Confederation of Labor—Official (CIO), which includes the Sugar Workers Union; Free Federation of Labor, which includes utility workers; General Union of Workers (UGT), which includes construction workers; General Confederation of Labor—Authentic, which includes garment workers; Insular Labor Organization, which includes mainly agricultural workers.

## CANADIAN UNION DEVELOPMENTS

Government estimate of union membership in Canada, for January 1952, was 1,146,121, only 30% of all wage and salary earners. Distribution was as follows: Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (TLC), including mainly the locals of most AFL unions, 523,000; Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), including locals of most CIO unions and locals of United Mine Workers, 331,000; Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor (CCCL), operating mainly among French-Canadian workers and only in the province of Quebec, 89,000; international railway brotherhoods, 41,500; AFL and CIO unions not affiliated to CCL or TLC, 11,500; independent international unions, mainly UE, Mine-Mill, and Fur and Leather, 62,500; miscellaneous organizations, 88,000.

Of the total union membership in Canada 69% belonged to so-called "international" unions that operate both in U.S. and Canada. Another 14½% belonged to Canadian unions affiliated to TLC or CCL, whose main membership comes from "international" unions. In all, 83½% had close ties to U.S. unions. The great majority of the "international" unions, AFL, CIO and railway, are controlled from U.S. head offices by U.S. labor officials who support U.S. government policy.

**Trades and Labor Congress:** The 1951 convention of this organization held in Halifax, accepted main points of AFL-government-employer line sponsored by its executive. It supported government arms program and foreign policy, endorsed theories of increased production and labor sacrifice, affiliated with ICFTU, stepped-up anti-red witch-hunt, expelled Vancouver Civic Workers Union, barred former TLC vice-president delegate from Fishermen's Union of British Columbia, increased powers of its executive and raised per capita. Even so, the convention balked at full economic implications of war program, demanded wage increases to compensate for increased living costs, lower taxes on small incomes, and extensions in social security.

The 1952 convention, held in Winnipeg, began to reflect rising rank-and-file opposition and some recovery from effects of drastic policy reversals of 1949-50. Convention was much larger, more vocal on economic issues, and began to fight back even on policy issues. Its executive, expecting compliant convention like 1950, supported resolution calling on federal government to outlaw Labor Progressive Party, Canada's Communist party, but delegates forced its rejection. Federal

Minister of Labor, as guest speaker, repeated 1950 position on labor sacrifice. Convention interpreted this as government demand for no-strike pledge and rejected it.

The TLC pattern of raiding, established by 1949-50 capitulation (see Labor Fact Book 10), was continued and extended. AFL organizers were active in raiding organized plants, intervening in plants being organized by other unions, and in signing union shop contracts with employers before new plants went into full operation.

U.S. top officers of all AFL unions that had Canadian districts with any degree of autonomy stepped in to establish direct control, sent in administrators, or fired Canadian elected staff and replaced it with supporters of U.S. policy, and tried to take over bargaining rights, contracts and funds. Process began with Chemical Workers, and Lumber and Sawmill Workers district of Carpenters in Ontario. It continued in 1952 with Garment Workers, culminating in early summer, 1952, with 15,000 members of Textile Workers. In the last three cases, members fought U.S. interference in Canadian affairs to the point of setting up independent Canadian unions under former leaders, with recently formed Canadian Garment and Textile unions already chalking up some gains in re-establishing bargaining rights and contracts.

**Canadian Congress of Labor:** This federation also has been active in raiding. Main role has been played by Steelworkers (CIO) and Electrical Workers (CIO). The former directed main attack against Mine-Mill, failing in a second attempt to raid Port Colborne, Ontario, refinery of International Nickel, and in two attempts to raid large plant of Consolidated Mining and Smelting at Trail, B. C. Raids at Consolidated alone admittedly cost Steelworkers more than \$500,000. CIO-Steel and CIO-Electrical both moved against independent UE in Quebec, assisting reactionary Duplessis government plan to smash UE in that province. At Warden-King foundry in Montreal CIO-Steel raid broke UE picket line that had stood firm against AFL-Molders raid and against Duplessis, and sent workers back without a contract, to wait four months for certification. At RCA-Victor Montreal plant CIO-Electrical raid succeeded, with workers already confused by AFL-Electrical raid, both raids being aided by the Duplessis government.

CCL 1951 convention in Vancouver followed up previous expulsions of Mine-Mill and UE by expelling Fur and Leather, and continued anti-Communist drive and support of government foreign policy, this time stressing world role of ICFTU against communism. Convention went

further than TLC in balking at economic implications of war economy, demanding wage increases to maintain living standards, large housing program and extension of social security. It criticized some government restrictions on collective bargaining.

The 1952 convention in Toronto followed the same lines, but was even more militant on economic issues, sending resolutions on housing, equal pay and wage drives back for strengthening. When debates on wage drive and situation in Quebec revealed widespread rank-and-file demand for support of all workers engaged in struggles against employers and government, the executive resorted to device commonly used when progressive unions were still in CCL. It prevented debate from floor by waiting until elections were over and many delegates had left before introducing key issues of foreign policy, political action, and resolutions from locals asking for re-admission of expelled unions.

**Strikes and Organizing Drives:** Canadian labor fought back strongly, both in 1951 and 1952 against the new U.S.-employer-government offensive wherever the issues were clear-cut. In 1952 the time lost through strikes exceeded any postwar year except 1946. Practically every section of the labor movement was involved—AFL street railwaymen, grain handlers, bookbinders, building trades, and tobacco workers, TLC fishermen, CIO auto workers (Ford and other plants), CIO rubber workers (Firestone), CIO woodworkers (West Coast lumber mills, and Ontario plants), CIO steel workers (Singer Sewing Machine in Quebec), CIO oilworkers, Catholic Syndicates and UE. Even in the conservative railway operating trades the Trainmen came to verge of a strike before settlement of 1952 contract.

Desire of workers for organization has been growing in spite of confusions resulting from raiding and redbaiting, indicated by successful organization of a number of important plants such as Frigidaire by UAW, Joseph Stokes Rubber by Rubber Workers, Reliance Electric, North American Cyanamid and Northern Electric by UE.

Desire of workers for labor unity has broken through in rank-and-file unity moves in some areas, in spite of opposition from AFL and CIO top officials. Widespread demand in CCL unions for readmission of progressive unions previously expelled, which executive had to sidestep at the 1952 convention, reflects recognition among workers that unity in defense of labor's needs is basic to interests of all labor.

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