

A Look at Labor Labor Leaders in Jail?

By A. C. Tushy

Philip Murray may go to jail. After him William Green may find himself looking out from barred windows. The president of the C. I. O. has been indicted by the United States Government for violating the Taft-Hartley Act. It is sentenced he could be fined a \$1,000 and he forced to spend a year in jail.

The CIO News in July, 1947 gave support to one of the candidates running for federal office in Maryland. The Taft-Hartley Act prohibits the expenditure of union funds for such purposes. As a matter of fact, the new labor law forbids unions to make political expenditures of any kind.

Political expenditures by labor unions are many. A union may not say that it supports John Doe rather than William Smith. The union newspaper may not print the voting record of political candidates in order to inform union workers how many times the candidates voted against union interests. The union may not invite a political candidate to speak on a radio program, paid for by union funds. All these are political expenditures.

LABOR UNIONS are now arguing that these restrictions are interfering with the right of labor to free speech. These organizations are free associations of working men and have the same rights to take sides in political elections as the individual workers themselves. Murray and other union leaders want to test the constitutionality of the ban on political expenditures.

Senator Taft has changed his mind. When the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act were being debated, the Senator was very firm in supporting the general ban on political expenditures. His opponents argued that this ban interfered with free speech. The argument had no effect on the Senator from Ohio. Now, however, Taft admits that the ban is too severe. He concedes that unions should be permitted to take sides in federal elections, to post the voting records of Congressmen and to make other political expenditures.

Some congressional leaders are afraid of the political activity of labor unions. They are afraid that unions will work against their own candidacy. They nationalize this fear by affirming that labor has no right to be in politics. They claim that labor unions should be as aloof from politics as corporations. They imply that labor has no rights that are affected by the political policies of Congress.

American labor, it is generally assumed, has always been non-partisan in politics. The American labor movement seemingly has kept aloof from such matters. Consequently, it is argued that labor unions

March Books for Children
New York (N.Y.)—The Bears Famous Invasion of Sicily, an Italian favorite by Dino Buzzati, is the March selection for the Intermediate Group of the Catholic Children's Book Club. It has been entitled "Highspots" by John R. Tunis, is the choice for the Older Boys' Group. "Watch for a Tall White Cat," by Margaret Bell, is the selection for the Older Girls' Group, and "Little Pu," by Raymond Creechmore, has been chosen for the Picture Book Group.



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The Coming Red Terror

By STANISLAW MIKOLAJEWICZ
(Former Prime Minister of Poland and President of the Polish Council of State)

(Editor's Note: In the following installment Stanislaw Mikolajewicz reveals how Stalin convinced the Polish underground that the Polish underground did not want to fight, and a second time convinced him that a Polish officer for working with the underground was in the chain of command to assist the Russians.)

Stalin looked across his conference table at me, on the night of Aug. 3, 1944, while the Warsaw Underground Army was fighting for its life, and asked me why I wished to see him.

A few days earlier he had given an order to the Red Army to stop on the edges of Warsaw while the Polish Home Army, which was the Moscow radio to come out of hiding and fight the Germans, was completely exterminated.

Simultaneously, Stalin had signed an "agreement" with a group of Communist-trained Poles who called themselves the Committee of Liberation.

"I'm glad to be here in Moscow on the anniversary of the Polish-Soviet agreement of 1941," I began, reminding him of a pact of friendship and aid which he had broken with characteristic callousness whenever it served Russia's purpose.

"It is also nice to be here at a time when the Soviet armies are defeating the Germans on Polish soil," I continued. "I'd like to discuss the Polish-Soviet relations, the collaboration to finish the fight against Germany, and I'd like to discuss the question of the future administration of Poland."

"But above all, because the fight within Warsaw has started, I want to appeal to you to bring immediate help to our men in their pitifully unequal battles with the Germans."

STALIN LOOKED back at me and answered:

"That you are not taking into consideration the agreement which has been reached between the Soviet Union and the Lublin Committee." It was the last time I was to hear him use the word "Committee" in connection with the Polish underground who had been so carefully assembled to extend the influence of the Kremlin into Poland. Hereafter, Stalin referred to them as "The Polish Government," though, of course, I was the prime minister of the actual Polish Government, and so recognized by all the countries of the world except Russia.

"You are speaking of something that has been done since I left London for Moscow, so you know," I said.

Stalin is not a man who often makes direct answers. He can listen with considerable patience, though his mind has long since been made up, but then he moves on to another topic as if the former one had never been mentioned.

So now he said:

"The trouble with the Polish Underground Army is that it does not want to fight the Germans."

"You're being misinformed," I almost shouted. "Our Home Army began fighting Germans in 1939 and has never stopped fighting them." I reminded him of Sikorski's efforts in 1942-43 to enlist his aid for that fighting, and of Stalin's reply that, while he was "sorry to see Polish blood shed," it was too early to give help to our fighters in the homeland.

I REMINDED him also that there was a clear record of our years of sabotaging German troops and supply-trains moving across Poland to the Russian front, and of Russian communists telling of the aid given by the Polish underground during the capture of countless places in East Poland.

"Ah, yes, but what an army!" Stalin sneered. "It has neither tanks nor artillery."

"But that's one of the reasons I'm here to see you," I said. "Can you supply our men with tanks and artillery? Your forces are in the very suburbs of Warsaw, and are your Home Army units in many other sections of Poland?"

"I cannot treat the Poles," Stalin answered. "They suspect me of wanting to occupy Poland again. They're making a lot of trouble for me."

I asked him to name one example. Just one.

"Well," he pondered, "there was the case of the commander of your Home Army forces in the Chelm area. As we neared that region, he mobilized all able-bodied men from 16 to 65 and joined in the fight."

I asked him what was wrong with that.

"He should not have done this," Stalin replied steadily. "We needed those men for the harvest. So I had to order the arrest of that commander."

STARTLED AT his reasoning, I launched into a defense of the patriotism and cooperation of the Polish people—in face of extreme hardships and danger—but he cut me short this time.

"The Poles are a different people today than when you left there in 1939," he said. "New forces have arisen, new authorities have taken over in the past five years. Everything has changed."

And he moved the talk along through narrowed eyes.



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and the several Polish-Soviet pacts, and after hearing me out Stalin shrugged and said:

"Maybe we can make some changes in the Curzon line that will be to the benefit of Poland. But first you've got to reach an agreement with the Lublin Committee. I intend to deal with only one Polish Government, not two."

THEN HE REMINDED about Warsaw, especially the picturesque old part of the capital, and said that the Germans were demanding it more savagely than he expected. There would be a "small delay" in capturing the city, Stalin said.

"I'm eager to help your Home Army there," he went on. "But how can I? I don't know how to communicate with your commanders. I'd like to drop two of my communications officers in there, to send me word about the situation."

I offered him every assistance and urged him to do this. He wandered along in his speech to the general subject of Poland and reiterated his old promise for a "strong, independent and democratic Poland."

Above all, I felt as he talked, that he was determined that Polish resistance, as exemplified by the Polish underground then fighting the Germans in the streets of Warsaw, must perish. The Red Army, and the Red Army alone, would be the "liberators of Warsaw."

I met with the Lublin Poles in the fruitless hope of appealing to whatever Polish blood was left in their veins and getting their support for the Home Army and the future democracy of our native land.

They were Cecilia Morawski, a former "coop" clerk who had been set as head of the new Communist-controlled Polish "Socialist" party; Wanda Wasilewska, a Polish Communist who, after the 1939 invasion of Poland by Hitler and Stalin, wrote that Poland "would never be again"; and Andrzej Wilos, a distant relative of the venerable head of the Polish Peasant Party and a frightened little man who knew his release from a Soviet prison camp, and General Michael Zymierski, who had been honorably discharged from the Polish Army before the war for accepting a bribe.

I CAME TO the point as quickly as possible.

"I spoke to Stalin the other night and he expressed a willingness to help our forces in Warsaw," I said. "Turning to Zymierski, I said, 'As commander in chief of the Rozwiazanie Division, you have good contacts with Red Army headquarters, and now this your city—as a Pole—to bring help as quickly as possible. Our men are in desperate straits.'"

Zymierski started to reply, but Wanda Wasilewska, a stern, horse-faced female, silenced him. "There is no fighting in Warsaw," she said, looking at me.

"If you want to go to Poland

Stanislaw Mikolajewicz

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