# **Campaign Opens For \$17,500 Election** Fund

### **By Morris Stein**

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a campaign to raise \$17,500 by August 31 to finance its election campaign and the struggle against the Michigan Trucks law. This decision was originally made

at the May Plenary meeting of comrades are spearheading the fight in behalf of socialism and the National Committee which the National Committee which fielt that these two matters are lirectly tied together. In the 1952 election campaign as a whole. The Plenum vas confelt that these two matters are directly tied together.

we propose to bring the socialist fident, therefore, that every revoprogram, the socialist struggle lutionary socialist will do his against war and the witch hunt utmost to provide the necessary to the attenion of the American funds for a vigorous fight against people. The Trucks Law reprethe witch hunt and for an effecsents an attempt by the witch tive election campaign.

hunters to silence the party, to The Plenum decided against keep it off the ballot even after setting any branch quotas for the it has met all the difficult legal combined Election - Antirequirements, and to drive the Trucks Law fund. The decision, party underground. The Trucks instead, was to put the question law is not an exclusively Mich- up to the branches and ask what igan measure; it represents an they can do. Now we have their extension into this industrial reports.

The goal of \$17,500 to be state, the home of the UAW-CIO, of a law previously passed in the raised in the campaign represents State of Texas. If the witch the total pledged by the branches. hunters succeed in getting away The pledges and first payment hunters succeed in getting away with it in Michigan, it can be are reported in the scoreboard In U.S. Senate expected that similar laws will below. This magnificent response be pushed through in every state is an expression of the high of the Union. morale with which revolutionary

The Plenum decided to give socialists defend their party full backing, financial and other- against the encroachment of reacwise, to our comrades in Mich- tion.

igan now challenging this law in the courts. By their fight against pledges made will be met in full the Trucks law, the Michigan and on time.

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$2,113	\$1,194	57
Connecticut	125	71	57
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	435	44
Chicago	1,500	625	42
Akron	150	60	40
Flint	300*	100	33
Cleveland	300	80	27
Newark	1,000	262	26
New York	4,500	1,153	26
Buffalo	1,000	253	25
Philadelphia	350	62	18
Boston	500	71	14
Pittsburgh	40	5	13
Seattle	400	50	13
Los Angeles	2,200	0	0
Milwaukee	275	0	0
Oakland	300	0	0
St. Louis	50	.0	0
San Francisco	900	0	. 0
Youngstown	400	0	. 0
General	115	39	34
			. <u>.</u>

# Republicans and Democrats Gang Up Against the People

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 7, 1952

Workers of the World, Unite !

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

MILITANT

German War **Pact Passed** 

Vol. XVI No. 27

THE

By Thomas Raymond The Senate ratified the Bonn

"peace" contract with the Western allies and the protocol to the Norh Atlantic Treaty incorporating West Germany into the anti-Soviet, anti-working-class alliance

on July 1. Thus the laying of the powder train designed to blow Europe and the world sky-high in a new war neared completion.

The U.S. was the first of the four signatories to complete ratification of the war alliance. The unseemly haste shown by Wall Street results from the fact that European signatories are dragging their feet and that the West German people are in favor of the unification of Germany and opposed to the reconstruction of the German imperialist war machine. Washington strategists hope to push the other nations into line by demanding fast ac-

R.H.S. Crossman, writing in the British New Statesman and Nation two months ago, quotes a German friend as saying: "If everything goes according to schedule, June 20 should be our Doomsday." By this, he meant that mutification might be com-

Germany. "Moreover," Crossman

wrote in the same article, "as I

that ratification might be com-pleted by that date, negotiations with the Soviet Union prevented and a war perspective imposed on Pinching U.S. Capitalists

A Lesson from American History WANTED! FOR DISLOYAL & SEDITIOUS UTTERANCES against His MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, & FOR ADVOCATING the

OVERTHROW of said GOV'T by FORCE & VIOLENCE !

SAM ADAMS PATRICK HENRY GEO. WASHINGTON TOM JEFFERSON TOM PAINE

ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY

KING GEORGE III JULY 4, 1776

**Both Parties Responsible** For Tax Gouge, Wage Curbs And Racist McCarran Law

### By Joseph Andrews

The Democratic and Republican parties, preparing to pour out their ballyhoo in the 1952 presidential elections, are in league against the welfare and the freedom of the American people. This is not a mere accusation, but a fact.

**Firetrap** Victim

**PRICE: FIVE CENTS** 

Flagrantly disregarding the opposition of the labor and liberal movement and publications speaking for millions of people, a Democrat - Republican coalition enacted the race-hate McCarran Law over the presidential veto on the very eve of the conventions of the two parties.

It was not just a "Dixie-GOP" coalition, but the action of Republicans and Democrats from both sides of the Mason-Dixie line that wrote this discriminatory measure into law. On the issue of overriding Tru-

nan's veto, Democrats in the Senate voted 25 to 18 against the veto; Republicans voted 32 to 8.

The bill was originally passed in the Senate by a dozen Senators erat called the vote into question. They stayed away.

TRUMAN'S LIP SERVICE Truman, giving lip service to civil rights, did not crack the party machine whip, either before or after the veto.



# WORKERS DETERI **ON STEEL PICKET LINES**

### By Bruce Petersen

YOUNGSTOWN, June 24 - Firty-five thousand steelworkers in this major steel center started their strike of too ready to negotiate with the strike. These recent signs demon-June 2 in a mood of lighthearted confidence. A feeling of power spread through the D-

union ranks because for thou- his mouth, and, blowing into the sands of workers the strike of foreman's face said: "Believe it? June 2, like that of May 7, was Any worker who don't believe it a real taste of independent job is a goddam fool!" One hour action. All steel strikes before later, walking out of the struck 1946 were marred by the presence and idle mill, the old engineer of scabs in the plants, and in the remarked, "That oughta show industry-wide strikes of 1946, him what the men think of the 1949 and April 8 of this year, 'union crap.'" the steel corporations made The surest way to provoke a elaborate and long - drawn shutstorm of profanity in any gatherdown preparations.

June 2 was different. Within minutes after the Supreme Court Taft - Hartley law. Workers no ruling on the seizure, the plants flow of 25.000 tons of ingots in to their unions. the Mahoning Valley steelproducing district was turned off like a sink faucet.

The workers struck with such unity, abruptness and thoroughness that the usual arrogance of writers of the Youngstown Vindicator wrung their hands in impotent fury. "Never," they complained, "had costly blast furnaces been struck with such reckless abandon."

Picketing was apathetic the first steel union Secretary - Treasurer key issue in the struggle against David J. MacDonald a "friend in the witch-hunt. Powerful organ- INDICATED CENTER new contract out of a magic hat. June 9 was like a splash of cold doubt in the minds of the steelin this struggle to win the union's demands.

elements in labor circles. Obviously the chief reason for Emergency Defence Committee rolling mill at one of the big of the leaders of the trade unions by Michael Bartell, Socialist of such an appeal. The Daily plants here approached a veteran and the liberals. Chained hand Workers Party delegate, that the Worker, which gave full pub-

hear," said the boss, "don't leave "communism" they refuse to models in the anti-Smith Act word of this aspect of the conyour job until your buddy comes translate their paper resolutions fight. The Conference chairman, ference. at 4 P.M." Then, sidling closer, into action against the Smith Clifford T. McAvoy, promised the foreman asked: "Do you be- Law on the one front where the that Bartell's suggestions would DIRECT CALL ABSENT

lieve in all this union crap?" The struggle now counts: in defense be favorably acted upon by the old engineer took his pipe out of of the Stalinist leaders currently continuations committee.

Reports of dissension in the saying that it believes the union shop. learnt in Bonn. it will be th Western Powers who will be ranks of the steel companies, and

is going to win this battle, and responsible for deliberately preis acting accordingly. the capitulation of one company, venting a Four-Power conference. True enough, the home public is herald the approaching victory "ESCAPE" CLAUSE smoothingly assured that Amer- of the CIO United Steelworkers ica, Britain and France are only of America in its month-old

Russians. . . But in private con- strate the truth of the axiom versation no one in Bonn, whether upon which the industrial union And in a May 24 editorial, the in a basic industry.

same British periodical writes: The Bethlehem Steel Company, "What General Eisenhower and one of the "Big Six" of the in-Mr. Acheson are courting is the dustry, has been reported ready creation of a new and more to sign a contract including the dangerous Korean Parallel in the union shop in a modified form. It middle of Europe."

The war alliance providing for by the other big steel companies. 'escape" period. During that time contract is a partial union the rearming of Germany as the However, the Pittsburgh Steel they may withdraw from the victory on only one point, the spearhead of an aggressive Euro- Company, 14th ranking basic ing of workers is to mention the pean army was approved by the steel producer, on June 27 signed union.

This may not have much prac-Senate with votes of 77 to 5 and a contract that included the longer question the one-sidedness 72 to 5. This shows the identity modified union shop. While Pitts- tical effect, since experience with started going down. The daily of this law, or that it is a threat of the two major parties on ques-

Eisenhower may rant about Tru- the fact that it has put its name bership setup in the steel mills traced to the ramifications of the the Trucks Law." The meeting The proposal of the leadership man "errors" but in the final on the dotted line has a larger shows that hardly any workers steel strike throughout most of was held at 6108 Linwood under of the CIO United Steelworkers analysis they are decided upon meaning than the mere size of withdraw from the union after basic industry. The capitalists the auspices of the Dobbs for the company would indicate. By joining. But it does fall short of the same war course.

and national grounds. Greeks Turks, Italians, Yugoslavs, Poles, Nor are the wage provisions of the Pittsburgh Steel contract Austrians, Rumanians, all the

Gray

up to the Wage Stabilization peoples of Eastern and Southern Board recommendations. The Europe are virtually excluded The Pittsburgh Steel contract, WSB recommended a 15-cent. from this country. The infamous however, leaves much to be an-hour increase after July 1, and ban on immigration for Asians desired, from the union view- 171/2 cents after Jan. 1, 1952, but in effect since 1924 is retained. The law provides for th point. It provides a modification the contract calls for only a of the union shop in this form: straight 121/2 cent boost. Further, deportation of aliens if the troubles to keep up this pretense." capitalist class cannot withstand All workers who are at present the pay hike is retroactive only Attorney General thinks they are the united assault of the workers employed by the company are not to April 1, although the last engaged in activities "prejudicial affected by the provision. They contract expired on Jan. 1. How- to the public interest." This is so loose a formula it could be are not compelled to join the ever, both signatories to the (Continued on page 2) union as they would be under an contract feel themselves covered



Here one of the victims in the Brooklyn tenement fire is shown under examination by a doctor. Seven persons, four children and three women died here in a building condemned 4 years ago as unsafe for human habitation. New York officials did nothing about the rent-gouging landlord's refusal to repair the property. Result — tragedy.

### workers must join the union, at except the union shop will be union shop in a modified form. It was prevented from doing this days of their first month of employment, however, will be an the bigger steel firms. Thus the AT DETROIT SWP RALLY

DETROIT, Mich., June 30 - An enthusiastic audience The sagging of the formerly met yesterday to hear Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers tions of foreign policy. Taft and employing only 10,500 workers, the present maintenance-of-mem- solid industry front must be Party candidate for President, speak on the "Fight Against

> President Committee, and was chaired by Howard Lerner. Dobbs said that once again Michigan stands in the forefront of a great social struggle, just as rital to the working people as the great strikes of 1937. He warned that the enemies of labor are on the offensive; the latest stage of

"This law." Dobbs said. "represents thought - control run wild. During the presidential campaign Lintend to hammer away at the Trucks law in all its totalitarian aspects; and to show that the root cause of this assault. on

but still illustrative of what can democracy is war - a threatening, world - wide, unimaginably

The speaker gave a heartening report of the protest movement that is being organized to fight limited only to the most radical inactivity. Three months ago a amnesty for those convicted organizations representing the under it. Among the sponsoring the Trucks law. In conclusion. main stream of the labor and organizations were the Students Dobbs said, "We are proud that

A sailor-gang boss in the this weakness is the cowardice enthusiastically greeted proposals elapsed, there has been no sight foulties involved Every up NAACP tion to the Trucks law, and in popular and persecuted radical All these facts are well known bringing together such prinengineer about 12:30 P.M. on and foot to the State Depart- Tom Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti licity to the conference on at least engineer about 12:30 F.M. on and loot to the State Depart- 10m Mooney and Sacco-valuetti licity to the conference on at least June 2. "No matter what you ment's world-wide war against movements should serve as the two occasions did not breathe a

then that they are acting deliber- confident that as events help

In a number of cases, such as ately and according to policy. Do make the truth plain for all to the Tom Mooney fight, these they actually prefer to keep the see, many new allies will join in On June 23, a "trade union efforts were finally crowned with movement small and ineffective the fight against the witch conference to repeal the Smith success. The Civil Rights De-(Continued on page 4) hunt."

**Radio-TV** Schedule Hear the Socialist Anti-War **Candidates** The Presidential cam-

paign of the Socialist Workers Party will open with, the following series of radio and television broadcasts to be carried coast-to-coast:

Thursday, July 17 10:45-11:00 P.M. Mutua Radio Keynote Speech Saturday, July 19 1:30- 1:45 P.M. CBS-TV Saturday, July 19 11:15-11:30 P.M. CBS-Radio Sunday, July 20 315- 3:30 P.M. NBC-Radio Sunday, July 20 8:00- 8:15 P.M. ABC-TV Sunday, July 20 11.15-11:30 P.M. ABC-Radio Friday, August 1 11:00-11:15 P.M. CBS-TV (All Eastern Daylight Saving Time)

the mill foremen and super-intendents was replaced by placeting smiles. The editorial writers of the Youngstown Vin-

In the two weeks which have

By George Clarke What has happened to the trial under this very law. movement against the Smith Act? | How to move them into action

(Continued on Page 4)

week of the strike. Most work-keenly understand that the defeat must therefore be the chief con-clarke, SWP delegate, which is these published excerpts is a court in 1941. ers felt that the man, called by of this vicious legislation is the cern of witch-hunt opponents.

ADA, the ACLU, the NAACP, victims of the Smith Act, should public appeal to the CIO, ADA, Smith Act. The collapse of negotiations on ADA, the ACLU, the NAACP, victims of the Smith Act, should profit appear to the one, ADA, What accounts for this strange be done, was the united front conference of the Citizen's under the Smith Act."

serving prison sentences or up on Three months have passed. Not Act" met in New York. Accord- fense Committee obtained the ing to the Daily Worker, it issued support of unions representing their attack is the passage of a sign of action. On June 14th, a National Con- an "Open Letter to the Labor over five million members in its he Trucks law which marks an-

This question must occupy the on this field, or at the very least ference to Win Amnesty for Movement" warning it against campaign for a presidential other stride toward police-state thoughts of every workingclass how to stir dissatisfaction in the Smith Act Victims went a step the eventual consequences of the pardon for the 18 leaders of the rule. militant, of every fighter for ranks of these organizations with further than the CEDC and Smith Act for the labor move- SWP first imprisoned under the democratic rights, of all who this passive, do-nothing attitude, adopted a proposal by George ment. But conspicuously absent in Smith Act by a Minneapolis

quoted in the publicity issued by direct call upon the heads of the the conference as follows: "The CIO, AFL, etc., to lend their NYU EXAMPLE

Continuations Committe is au- sanction to the organization of A more recent incident, on a the White House," would pull a izations, such as the CIO, the The Stalinists, as the present thorized .... (to issue) a special an actual movement against the much smaller scale to be sure,

"unmodified" union shop. New because it provides that all issues

union shop.

CAN'T HOLD OUT LONG

(Continued on page 2)

have inally gone on record in be the indicated center for the Actio, WAACF, and an other behavior, for this reluctance on conference and rally at New York destructive war." water. There is no longer any opposition to the thought-control organization of such a broad organizations which have taken a the part of the Stalinist organiz-Smith Law. But still the move- movement. But their record up public position in opposition to the stalinist organizment remains small, its voice to now on this score has been one the Smith Act to join in a ers of these conferences and com- tacus Club to fight the Smith Act workers that hardships lie ahead weak and its active following of unkept promises, evasions and common movement calling for mittees to speak directly to the and the present prosecutions

liberal movements? Surely it for Democratic Action and a the SWP could play such a big ficulties involved. Every un- NAACP.

not see in that a reason to relax committees. It must be presumed thought and speech. And we are its pressure.

### Page Two

THE MILITANT

Monday, July 7, 1952

the defeat of the Fascist rising | Stalinists or bourgeois liberal po

# Notebook of an Agitator An Honest Book on the Spanish Revolution

### LABOR AND FOREIGN POLICY

Politics, properly so called, is an expression of the struggle of classes for control of government in order to use it to advance their interests. The class positions, in turn, are defined by contrasting programs. Within that basic framework the trifling squabbles and struggles of individuals and cliques over place and preferment which mistakenly go by the name of "politics," have only a superficial and transient significance.

Nevertheless, such secondary manifestations often claim the popular attention and overshadow the deeper realities of the struggle. This is happening again as the 1952 presidential election campaign gets under way. As far as public attention at the moment is concerned, the show will be stolen by the frenzied struggle between factions of the ruling capitalist class - represented by the Republican and Democratic parties - for power to execute policies which are basically identical.

From a historical point of view, however, the presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party is far more important because it' alone presents a class program of the workers against the class program of the parties of the monopolists. In the real sense of the word, this is the only political struggle going on this year. Despite all attempts to relegate it, our campaign foreshadows the line along which American politics must develop as class lines become more sharply drawn. The side show of the present will become the main event of the future.

### The Necessary Premise

Frankly defending the interests of the working people, our campaign will revolve around an idea which, as we see it, is the necessary premise for a correct orientation in American politics. This is the simple proposition that class interests can no longer be served on national grounds unless they are approached from an international point of view.

The nominal leaders of the two capitalist parties, and even more so the financial magnates who control and manipulate them, already know this. That is why foreign policy is their first concern. In this respect, their approach to national politics in 1952 is the same as ours. The theme is the same - but the class interest and the point of view are different. The political thinkers and ideologists of the ruling capitalists recognized long ago that American "isolationism" has no place in modern politics. We have the same opinion. They are involved in the world as it exists today, and concerned about things transpiring in other lands. So are we --but again for different reasons.

An increasing number of the organized workers are interested in foreign policy and recognize, to one degree or another, that it is the number one political question, but they have yet to work out a logical foreign policy of their own. The foreign policy recommended by such global thinkers as Green and Reuther is not the product of their independent thought. It is nothing but a mimeographed hand-out from the State Department, which in turn gets it from the New York bankers who are also the directing powers behind the anti-union drive. This policy doesn't make much sense for a steel worker on the picket line. The imposition of this Wall Street foreign policy on the trade union movement is one of the main reasons why the instinctive striving of the organized workers to narticinate effectively in American politics

peace to the benighted heathens and strangers who have been overtaken by darkness in other parts of the world. The motivation of the labor statesmen is less altruistic. They toss this grandiloquent verbiage around with pitchforks, but they consider it strictly hay. They support imperialist America's foreign policy for practical reasons of self-interest which they deem to be good and sufficient - although they happen to be wrong even on this ignoble score.

These mystics are believers in the myth of the "American Century," which might better be called the American pipe dream. They think the United States can conquer and dominate the world and prosper on the exploitation of other peoples, leaving a margin to maintain high living standards at home for trade unionists and government recognition for compliant labor leaders. The narrow-minded and meanly selfish bureaucrats think this would be fine and dandy. But it can't be done.

Besider being dishonorable and anti-human, this calculation is dead wrong from a practical standpoint. It misjudges the direction of the drift of history. American imperialism arrived at the top of the world too late to keep its balance there. It cannot conquer and subjugate the peoples of this planet and force them back into the frame-work of an outlived economic and social system, and will break its own neck trying. If you want a small, preliminary indication of the prospects just take one good look at Korea, where America's imperialist adventure is turning into a debacle.

The American workers need a foreign policy which will put them on their own side of the world conflict - which also is the winning side. For this, they have to push their blind leaders out of their sight and see for themselves what the real situation in the world is, and what is really going on.

The over-all determining fact of the present day is the manifest inability of capitalism, as a world social system, to regulate and control the world any longer. That is one-half of the present reality. The other half is the tumultuous advance of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolutions in large parts of the world. The great events which the staesmen cannot regulate, but are rather regulated by, are all the product of these central dominating features of the present moment in history.

The world is changing. We live in the most revolutionary and warlike epoch in all history. It is a time of the breaking of nations and the creation of new ones on new economic foundations. Wars and revolutions now in progress. and more to come - world-wide in scope - are vet to be fought out before the issue is finally decided. But the general drift of history is absolutely clear. The American workers have nothing to fear from this. On the contrary, they have everything to gain. They need international allies to help them in their own struggle at home. They need a foreign policy which expresses this self-interest of their class.

#### **Capitalists Fear Revolutions Abroad**

Such a foreign policy cannot be the policy of the financial magnates who own this country and want to own the world. They fear the revolutionary events happening outside our borders and strive to halt them. The workers should welcome these events and help them along with their sympathy and support. The American capitalists feel in their bones that every blow at capitalist private property in any country what-

By George Lavan HOMAGE TO CATALONIA, By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace. \$3 50

"To anyone who had been there since the beginning it probably seemed even in December or January that the revolutionary period was ending; but when one came straight from England the aspect of Barcelona was something startling and overwhelming. It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. . Waiters and shop walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and even ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared. . . And it was the aspect of the crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appearance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist.

"Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no 'well-dressed' people at all. Practically everyone wore rough

working-class clothes or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was

Steelworkers in Pennsylvania denied unemployment aid by the state, are forced to apply for relief. The low wages paid by the billion-dollar steel corporations left workers with little savings. Nevertheless the strike is completely solid.

much in it that I did not underthe official newspaper of the football with the Fascists in no stand, in some ways I did not Kremlin bureaucracy, announced man's land" at a time when the even like it, but I recognized it (Dec. 17, 1936): "As for Catalo- poorly armed POUM troops were immediately as a state of affairs nia, the purging of the Trotsky- suffering heavy casualties. Bates headquarters from the police. His lonia, the POUM and the May worth fighting for. Also I believed ists and the Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Popular Front liberals account of the May Days, though Days. This, of course, is a downthat things were as they appear- has begun; it will be conducted carried on the propaganda cam- deficient in political understand- right lie. They heard the facts ed, that this was really a work- with the same energy with which paign against the militias while ing, gives a good picture of the from the Trotskyists and lefters' State and that the entire it was conducted in the USSR." Stalin stipulated that that no Jack of leadership of the revolu- wing socialists and they usually Orwell undoubtedly didn't know Soviet arms be sent to Aragon tionary outburst. bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed, or voluntarily come over to this for he wasn't very much in- where the Anarchist and POUM the workers' side; I did not real- terested in politics. While in the troops were fighting - even ze that great numbers of well-to- POUM militia, to the extent that though an offensive on that front do bourgeois were simply lying he had a political position, it was could have split the Fascist Stalinism not to transfer to the 1938 and 1939 I personally carlow and disguising themselves as that of the Stalinists and the armies in two and brought about proletarians for the time being, capitalist liberals - no revolution a victory.

or social reform now but just military struggle against Franco. BARCELONA CHANGES

BELIEF IN THE FUTURE "Together with all this there vas something of the evil atmos- unions and working class parties three and a half months in the of the counter-revolutionary reign ed Trotskyist accounts. Hostility phere of war. The town had a gaint untidy look, roads and which, along with workers' police could hardly recognize the city so were being arrested, Andres Nin, tions of this particular but typical uildings were in poor repair, the patrols in the cities, workers' con- much had the atmosphere chang- POUM leader, had been arrested cross section of academic liberals. streets at night were dimly lit trol of industries, division of the ed. No longer was working class and murdered. Orwell spent his They did not believe because they or fear of air-raids, the shops landed estates by the peasants, dominance evident. The upper time dodging arrest until he and did not want to. Now they "acwere mostly shabby and half-etc., had been created in Catalo- classes in their expensive clothes his wife succeeded in crossing the cept" the book and try to convert empty. Meat was scarce and milk his by the July Revolution - the set the tone of the avenues. border. Had he not, he certainly it into a U.S. weapon in the cold practically unobtainable, there reply to Franco's military up- Though there were supposed to would have been murdered by the war. was a shortage of coal, sugar and rising. be no private autos (commandeerpetrol, and a really serious short-The Spanish bourgeoisie in the ed for the use of the army and age of bread. Even at this period Madrid government, British and government) sleek cars were at the bread queues were often hun-French capital with heavy invest- the beck and call of prosperous dreds of yards long. Yet so far ments in Spain, and the Soviet men and elegant women - just bureaucracy which was smashing as in London. A new "non-politias one could judge the people were contented and hopeful. There was workers' movements in exchange cal" army was being created on no unemployment, and the price for ephemeral diplomatic gains, capitalist lines with big pay difof living was still extremely low exerted their combined efforts to ferentials for the officers and Above all there was a belief erase all traces of socialist revo- these officers in their fancy uni-

in the revolution and the future, lution from the struggle against forms were everywhere. A black a feeling of having suddenly Franco. market was in existence. Night emerged into an era of equality clubs and fancy brothels were in IMPRESSIVE FORCE

and freedom. Human beings were trying to behave as human beings Catalonia and the Aragon front of the well-to-do. Wounded men - manned by Catalan militias - received no particular consideraand not as cogs in the capitalist regime."

were the last remaining strong- tion and it was not considered This is George Orwell's descrip-holds of the revolution, the only "fashionable" to belong to the than usual is the faith of a child when it is informed with tion of Barcelona, capital of Ca-talonia, Spain's largest and most Having an eye that never missed skyrocketed. While money could we usually expect from children. tributions — more than \$500. industrialized province, in Decem- the shortcomings, Orwell was command anything in the smart The child who forgoes the birthber 1936. Orwell had come to nevertheless greatly impressed hotels and restaurants, gangs of day toy he had in mind all year 'I've been looking all over for write about the Spanish Civil by the Aragon peasants tilling barefoot children were begging because he understands the mean-War but was swept along by the the land of the former estates in for food outside the army mess ing of poverty wrings the heart. He wouldn't tel where he got revolutionary enthusiasm, which democratic collectives and by the halls. five months before had smashed heroism and voluntary discipline This re-division of society into deserving because he has taken the military and fascist uprising of the militias where officers and its normal capitalist categories of some of the heavy burdens that in Catalonia. He volunteered and men received the same pay, cloth- rich and poor was the measure plague his parents upon his own ing and food. Where the petty of the success of the policies of slight shoulders. was sent to the Aragon front. By chance he joined the mili- tyranny of capitalist armies did the Stalinists, Social Democrats The IIIE-CIO News of June 16 tia of the POUM - Workers' not exist and where it was in or- and liberals. Conversely it sym- carried a tale about such a child

Fifth Week of Steel Strike

in Barcelona. This was the straw lice, as so many revolutionists and that broke the camel's back. Not anti-fascists in Spain were. only was it another act of aggres- As can be seen from the above sion and provocation against what summary, this is a book well remained of workers' control but worth reading. It gives an eyeit was aimed at the symbol of witness account of the key hapthat control. As CNT members in penings in the destruction of the the telephone building fought off Spanish Revolution. It is an accitheir assailants, spontaneously dent that it is now published. throughout the city workers put The current rage for Orwell is up barricades and seized strategic based on his middle-class nightbuildings. Fighting lasted five mare novel, 1984. That fantasy days. The workers held all of Bar- fits the needs of today's liberals celona except the downtown sec- who despair of the future. It also tion where the police and Stalin- serves their propaganda camist forces were surrounded. The paign in support of U.S. imper-Anarchist and POUM leaders ialism's drive for a war against gave no direction to the move- Russia. ment except to restrain it and then call it off.

**IGNORED BOOK IN 1938** 

But the sales success of 1984 The "settlement" reached with the government was called a vic- and the fact that Orwell is dead tory by the POUM but this vic- and can produce no more novels tory was followed by the suppres has forced the printing of the sion of the POUM, the murder books he wrote long ago. Homage and frame-up of its leaders as to Catalonia is one of these. When gents of Hitler and Franco, the it first appeared in 1938 the libccelerated smashing of the re- erals ignored it. They and their mains of workers' control and fi- intimates, the Stalinists, were busy as beavers distorting the nally the victory of Franco. On leave, Orwell was caught truth about Spain and shouting up in the struggle and even down and libelling those who were

though he was negotiating for a telling the story Orwell tells. transfer to the Stalinist Interna- The liberal reviewers pretend tional Brigade on the Madrid that this is the first time they front, he helped defend the POUM | have heard the facts about Catareplied: "That's a Trotskyist-fascist lie," or politely refused to

### ORWELL ESCAPES

listen further. I know this well because in

Having learned enough about International Brigade, Orwell re- ried on a campaign to get liberal turned to the Aragon front where "friends of Loyalist Spain" to he was severely wounded. Dis- read Homage to Catalonia hoping charged from the hospital he re- that they would accept Orwell's The militias - recruited by the When Orwell got leave after turned to Barcelona at the height testimony where they had reject-- were part of the dual power line and returned to Barcelona he of terror. All POUM members or polite disbelief were the reac-



### He Will Never Do a Better Thing

open operation for the diversion The faiths of children are always touching because they spring from unsoiled natures. Even more touching Again the boy appeared, said, you,' and handed Gray 50 cents. He seems to us to be more the money. "Then a girl striker arrived to tell the story. She had watched Osie shining shoes. Each time he completed a job he put a nickel in his left hand trousers pocket - the rest went into his other nocket to be used to help win



is bedeviled and frustrated at the outset.

### Strictly Hay

The official labor leaders support every move of American foreign policy even before they hear about it. Being in agreement with the "principle" they don't quibble about the details. They have their reasons which have nothing to do with what they say. Many workers may be taken in by the propaganda about America's mission to bring democracy, prosperity and

ever, every uprising of colonial slaves, helps to undermine their own international position and eventually their control of this country. And they are right about that.

When the American workers come to believe just as firmly that every revolutionary advance, anywhere in the world, brings up new allies of the American workers - they will be just as right. And, in the field of foreign policy, they will begin to fight on their own side.

- J.P.C.

# **Feel Steel Strike Pinch**

(Continued from Page 1)

The coal industry depends upon tinue much longer." steel as its biggest single When it is considered that the The automobile industry and through their interests in many other major metal fabricators are other parts of their vastly ramifidependent upon a steady flow of ed empires, the enormous pressteel to their plants.

SPREADING PARALYSIS

City

Railroads are already counting up their losses from the steel OTHER BIG ISSUES strike. The Pennsylvania Rail- Although the big noise in the road has estimated that it has press has been made around the lost from \$15 to \$17 millions in union shop issue, other important

Division of General Motors alone | assigned to each steel mill worker can't sustain a steel strike that has laid off 33,000 workers since have been determined by a job extends too far beyond the one- the steel strike started. The Wall classification setup which took month mark. Even if the capital- Street Journal of June 28, after years to work out and which was ists were willing to make the detailing the spreading paralysis agreed to early in 1947. This job profit sacrifice in steel, they find due to the steel strike, indicates classification program is supthemselves hit at too many points that the state of mind of the plemented by local working and particularly Catalonia. to hold out for a very long time. capitalist class is that "the steel agreements. The steel companies forward step of the steelworkers.

The companies are demanding customer: A large portion of the big financial interests, the Mor- that they be given the sole right freight carried by the railroads, gan, Mellon, Dupont and other to schedule and assign jobs, particularly in the eastern region, banking combines, are being hit determine job duties, combine is made up of coal and figished by the steel strike not only jobs, etc. Company spokemen or semi-finished steel products. through their steel interests but stated in negotiations that if they sure being exerted by the steelworkers through their strike can a speedup with a vengeance if

CHISEL ON BACK PAY



they give in on this matter. requires.

The retroactivity issue is another important one. Pay in- - and subsequently deported. creases would normally start on Judicial review of such cases Jan. 1, when the old contract ex- would be restricted and in many pired. It is the custom of the cases eliminated. Final decision

companies to start putting aside would be up to administrative sum of money roughly in the officials.

neighborhood of what would be It is without question the most needed to pay these wage in- violently undemocratic law aimed only the latest in a long list of other legislation promised creases from the contract ex- against the foreign born since two-party crimes against the 1948. piration date. Thus we may be sure that the companies have set the work of a majority of 1947 was passed the same way. of the old capitalist parties companies have set aside about \$85 million to pay at Democrats and Republicans. least \$130 back pay from Jan. 1| The Nation stated when this majority of Democrats lined up masses in this country. Both a to the present to each of 650,000 bill was being debated that it steelworkers, since they knew provides "thirteen new grounds

from the beginning that they for excluding future immigrants, passed the McCarran Internal to organize a labor party, leave would not be able to settle for more than twenty new grounds Security concentration camp bill the workers with a Hobson any less than 121/2 cents an hour. for deporting displaced persons in 1950. Some of the most ag- choice. That is why the Social Now, however, the companies and other immigrants admitted in gressive spokesmen for concentra- Workers Party is running want to cheat the workers out of past years, and a practically tion camps were such so-called presidential ticket this fall. half of this amount by making undetermined number of new "fair dealers" as Senator Hubert its convention this month t the pay hike retroactive only to ways of depriving a naturalized Humphrey (Minnesota). April 1. This is a clear proof of American of citizenship."

Truman stalling. The union has terrorize and gag Americans of big majority of both parties in ers. Pittsburgh Steel agreement.

Party of Marxist Unification - der for a private to bum a gen- bolized the tragic inadequacy of in the following item: a left centrist party, from which eral for a cigaret — if the gen- the programs of POUM and of the Anarcho-Syndicalists who led Communications Workers at the Trotskyist left wing was soon eral had one. Orwell assumed this was the the overwhelming majority of the Tonawanda, N. Y. found a new to be expelled. Still the POUM

state of affairs throughout Loyal- workers of Catalonia. Their poli- hero in the person of a little more money out of what he earcwas the farthest to the left of the Spanish parties with a mass fol- ist Spain. He did not realize that cies of class collaboration had led Negro boy and renewed faith that ed. The collections committee put lowing, and was called 'Trotsky- only in Aragon and Catalonia did Poumists and Anarchists to re- their strike against Western down its collective foot on that. ist' by the capitalists and the the peasants still own and rule treat step by step on control of Electric plant here just couldn't Stalinists. Its policy, which was the countryside. Nor did he yet industry, control of arms and be lost. to lead to disaster, was one of know that the militias he so ad- food, control of the city.

tail-ending the Anarcho-Syndical- mired were being subjected to an ist leaders of the CNT, the great international slander campaign MAY UPRISING

trade union movement of Spain by the combined Stalinist-liberal The dismay and discouragepress. In the U.S. for example ment of the working class burst To take just a few examples: strike cannot be allowed to con- are now trying to destroy this PRAVDA'S ANNOUNCEMENT lic carried articles like that of tried to seize the telephone build-

**Swin Parties Gang Up** 

of Americans who view U.S. im- were in reality imposed on the stretched to mean anything the perialism's reactionary role in wages of the workers.

whim of the Attorney General Asia and Europe with revulsion. The tax program, putting the The Statue of Liberty, in- main burden of war production were in a store counting the con

Naturalized citizens could be scribed, "Give me your tired, your on the backs of the workers whi de-naturalized on the same basis poor, your huddled masses yearn- the multi-millionaires beca

ing to breathe free," should now billionaires, is also the work carry the legend, reflecting the the two-party bloc. actual attitude of the capitalist Civil rights legislation w government: "Stay out! Shut up!" killed by Democrats and Repu licans, while Trumanites in Co TAFT-HARTLEY PATTERN gress only went through

This police state legislation is motions of pushing FEPC a

Truman talked against it, but a be trusted to represent t with Republicans and enacted it. controlled by Big Business. An identical coalition vote Failure of the labor moveme SWP will nominate candidat The wage freeze and a price and adopt a platform, written

what the union may lose through The purpose of this law is to "controls" law were passed by a workers in the interests of wor

weakened on this point in the foreign descent under threat of Congress, allowing prices to That is the only ticket wort deportation. There are millions skyrocket while the only controls of support this year.

"Members of Local 1162 CIO the strike. #Osie said he was going to shine more shoes, keep giving "'I want to help others,' explained Osic, 'because some day "Wayne Gray, CWA staff I might want someone to help

representative, and several me." strikers were making a pay-day That is all we know about Osie. collection from Steelworkers at I don't know if he is obedient at the gates of the Bethlehem Steel home or not, but I know he is a the liberal magazine New Repub- forth on May 3. The police force Co. at nearby Lackawanna. The good boy. If he grows up to b youngster approached and asked as good a man as he is a boy, he The same December that Or- novelist Ralph Bates, stating that ing occupied and operated by why people were putting money will be a man who cannot turn well arrived in Spain, Pravda, the POUM militia were "playing CNT union members ever since in the cans. Gray told the boy his back on suffering humanity. who later - much later - iden- Osie may grow up to be a tified himself as 8-year old Osie brave and determined man, who Smith, that more than 1,000 mem- will tax his will and his strength bers of his union had left their to the utmost in good fights. If jobs six weeks before seeking he does, I am sure he will do better conditions and that other many good things. But he will

workers were helping them. Osie never do a better thing than he left, returned soon with a dime. did in the strikebound mill-town "Hours later Gray and mem-, near Buffalo when he was 8 years bers of the collections committee old.

- By Harry Franke

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# THE MILITANT

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### **Secret Commitments**

The Korea "police action" has produced one shocking scandal after another. The last one came when the Pentagon ordered, with the State Department's approval, the rulers of the U.S. bombings of the Yalu power plants, along the Manchurian border.

It turns out that in mid-September 1951, Herbert Morrison, then British Foreign Secretary, had arrived at a secret agreement with the Truman administration concerning the military and political policy in Korea. There were "special conditions" attached to certain military operations, the Yalu bombings in particular.

These bombings were nevertheless ordered without consulting or informing the British government. Not a word was said even to Field Marshal Earl Alexander, British Minister of Defense, who was on a mission to Korea, with an imposing staff, on the very eve of the Yalu bombings

In the British Parliament, former Premier Attlee, who is certainly in a position to know, has denounced these bombings as "a major change" in the military and political policy in Korea.

The Churchill government, shaky enough as it is, found itself greatly embarrassed. There followed a flurry of explanations.

The matter was important enough for Secretary of State Acheson to make a personal appearance before the British parliamentarians to explain away the "error" and 1943 the 18 victims in the Minapologize for it. It was another case of Snafu, he explained. It seems that the Pentagon thought the State Department would inform the British Defense Minister; the State Department was sure the Pentagon had taken care of this little detail, which "unfortunately" had not been done. This still left unexplained why the British government in London had been left in the dark, in all the weeks it took to prepare this largest air operation of the Korean war.

To cap this shabby farce, General Mark Clark, Supreme Commander in Korea, cabled Churchill that "he (Clark) himself did not know about the projected bombing at the time British Defense Minister Earl Alexander was visiting him in Korea." Just one more "oversight."

The Churchill government has survived the Yalu bombing scandal. But a far bigger scandal remains.

Neither the people in this country nor in Britain have been informed about the secret agreements, let alone what is permitted under them. The American people know exactly nothing about the "military and political policy in Korea." For all anybody knows, we may wake up one morning to find the war extended to the Asian mainland, with no more advance notice than has been forthcoming ever since the "police action" started.

The biggest scandal of all is that the American people have not been given any say whatever concerning Korea. Truman plunged the country into the Korean war without even consulting Congress.

But the decision on war and peace must remain with But the decision on war and peace must remain with the people. Let the people decide through a national referendum whether to stay in Korea or get out!

# What Has Happened to Freedom

By Joseph Andrews

Americans are in the grip of fear. This fear is corroding the armies of imperialism, and forced Negroes — the police killed them smear' has today become a major political structure of the country. to submit to its consequences, 'by due process of law.'" Freedom of thought is fast giving by means of terror. way to the drive for conformity.

This transformation of "The tion, devotes its June 28 issue to rorized those who would fight for organized and pushed step by step in every field of endeavor, the drawn from active participation groups. by the government, functioning in Nation reports, only the remnants the interests of the billionaire of freedom are left. For more

than ten years an uninterrupted Our nation, which arose from process of subversion of civil a struggle for national inde- rights has eaten away at the

pendence, is now ruled by im- fundamental liberties of Amerperialists determined to destroy icans. Following is a report of the he revolutionary movements for independence of the colonial peo- devastation wrought by the

oles, and to dominate and exploit witch-hunt thus far, much of the he world. To do that, they need evidence based upon the valuable a police state at home. Since special edition of The Nation:

## Smith "Gag" Act--The Major Weapon

The 1940 Smith Act makes it | a precedent established. Imprisoncrime to advocate and teach ment for ideas now threatened every dissident political current. socialism. It is the first law since he notorious Alien and Sedition The only segment of the radical Laws of 1798 to make thinking labor movement which refused to and expression of opinion support the Minneapolis case was

federal crime. he First indictments under "this aw were levelled against 29 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party on July 15, 1941. On Dec. 8, 1941, 18 of those indicted were convicted. On Sept. 20, 1943 the Circuit Court upheld defendants. the convictions and on Dec. 31,

neapolis case began to serve their 12 and 16-month prison terms. But a dangerous blow against the Bill of Rights had been dealt,





HOWARD W. SMITH

| such a program is alien to the | years, the night-time dynamite | in or indentification with traditions of our people, they bombings greatly increased . . . | cause of civil rights." End result - "The 'fear of the must be impressed into the mobs no longer needed to lynch deterrent to participation in com-Meanwhile, the witch hunt, mittees concerned with cases in-The liberal weekly, The Na- McWilliams points out, has ter- volving civil rights." The witch hunt is accomplish-

Land of the Free" into an a discussion of this process in a the rights of minority groups. ing its aim. It is opening the way deological prison house did not special edition titled "How Free The NAACP report states, "Many for the terror drive against the just happen. It was planned, Is Free?" In every walk of life, persons have refrained or with- Negro people and other minority

## Hollywood and Broadway

The purge of the entertainment world has been typical of the though-control offensive. First, in 1947, there was the Communist scare. Ten, writers were indicted and later sentenced to \*prison terms after refusing to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Following the red scare, the House Committee continued its drive against independent thought in Hollywood by calling dozens of actors, writers and directors before its board of inquisition. They were forced either to turn stoolpigeon or sacrifice their lucrative careers.

Simultaneously, and supple-Communist Party. Rather menting the government fear than join the broad united front campaign, private organizations, in defense of free speech in this such as the American Legion, the important test, the Stalinists. Catholic Church, Counterattack called upon the Department of Justice to throw the book at and Red Channels, forced their the Socialist Workers Party totalitarian views on the movie colony. Everyone in this industry now lives in terror of inviting

Today 61 leaders of the Comthe hammer blow of one of these munist Party have been indicted agencies of ideological pressure. under this same act, 11 already Today, the same system is convicted, and 50 still on trial. By purging the legitimate stage of ejecting the principle of a united many actors, writers and direcfront against the witch hunt

tors by the same methods. The n 1941, the Stalinists gave assistance to the establishment play, "Death of a Salesman," has been effectively boycotted on its of a precedent now being used road tours, being forced to cancel

This is a lesson for the whole local labor movement, which refuses, despite its opposition to the Smith Law as such, to join in a defense

of the Stalinist victims of that reactionary law. This thought-control law is imed against every critic of the House Committee.

government's war program. It irst victimized the Socialist **Ideas Are Put Behind Bars** Workers Party, next the Communist Party, tomorrow it can be directed against liberals and

does not exist in America!

Every dictatorship tries to Kansas teacher reports that he teach its youth the ideological interprets the state oath to mean leaders of labor who protest lock-step. It is happening here, that 'a teacher must be thoragainst the policies of the ad-In his report in The Nation, "The oughly sold on the American ministration in Washington. More and more liberal leaders. Public Schools Retreat from Free- system of free enterprise' and ind the CIO, at last aroused by dom," Goodwin Watson, faculty must not support rent control or

he drive against the Bill of member at Teachers College, price control.' Columbia University, cites the Catholic pressure on the school Rights, now demand the repeal following cases as examples of curriculum was illustrated by a the drive against freedom of charge that UNESCO (United As long as this law stands on Nations educational and cultural thought in the public schools: the statute books, free speech

"The number of states with one organizations) "is under atheistic or more laws designed to assure control." A Unesco club at East teacher 'loyalty' oaths . . . has High school, Pawtucket, Rhode grown to 33. Maryland's Ober Island, was suspended Jan. 20,

Law, enacted in 1949" makes it 1952.

# **HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST** THE WITCH HUNT

The drive to suppress the free voice and action of the American people is the product of a desperately sick society. A ruling minority of billionaires whose aims and program run directly counter to the needs of the vast majority, feel they must block off Il possible avenues of independent thought and criticism.

U.S. imperialism is driving toward an atomic war - a war the people do not want. It is spending the lives and the wealth of this country to suppress colonial revolutions, and to destroy the giant socialist upheaval all over the world. The consequences of this counter-revolutionary program are undermining and will inevitably destroy the American standard of living.

The whole world is antagonistic to this imperialist program by which the U.S. warlords seek to convert the globe into its exclusive hunting ground. Above all, Wall Street and the Pentagon fear the day when the American workers will join the peoples of Europe and Asia in the struggle against U.S. capitalism.

The witch-hunt is therefore a calculated effort to stifle opposition in advance. America, admittedly the last stronghold of capitalism, is no longer the stronghold of civil rights, even in the limited sense in which capitalism has in the past allowed a measure of democracy to live.

The capitalist system arose in opposition to feudal autocracy under the banner of individual freedom and the rights of man: Today it must wrest from the people the liberties they won after protracted struggle: Thought-control and ideological conformity imposed by terror are the needs of an outlived economic and social order.

Our country is fast approaching the structure of a police-state, complete with an internal spy system, forced informing and concontration camps. Every part of American life has been affected, as is shown by the survey on this page. The stoolpigeon is hero: A man who dares to think for himself - a criminal.

But this campaign against our traditional freedoms which springs from the antagonism between the needs of the rulers and the interests of the people will inevitably create its own nemesis - an aroused people determined to regain and preserve their cherished rights.

Now that the witch hunt has begun to smear even the liberal democrats, labor leaders, and civil liberties defenders - all of whom support U.S. imperialism and its war program - alarm signals are being raised.

Many liberal organizations, and the CIO have demanded repeal f the Smith "Gag" Law. They have opposed the infamous Trucks Police-State Law in Michigan. They have defended the rights of James Kutcher to a job, despite his political opinions.

The main weakness of this opposition to the witch hunt is the failure to join together in a broad united front to defend the civil liberties of all, regardless of the views of those whose rights are being suppressed. Notably lacking is a genuine support/ to the cases involving members of the Communist Party.

The drive to imprison people for ideas alone will not stop with the Communist Party or the Socialist Workers Party. It is aimed at every independent opinion. The CIO, liberal Democrats, fighters for Negro rights - anyone who criticizes the witch hunt itself, is marked for suppression.

The need of the hour is unity in the fight for democratic rights. Together, the powerful labor movement, the liberals, men of science, educators and artists, can mobilize an irresistible force able to isolate the police-state agents and stop the effort to Nazi America

munist Party members, have been disbarred, as was Albert Goldman, attorney for the 18 in the Minneapolis case. After Judge Metzger reduced

Doctors who' will not take loyalty oaths are denied military commissions, but are drafted Socialist Workers Party victims anyway as privates. The Amercan Medical Association has contributed its funds to a political bail of the Smith Act defendants campaign against social health in Hawaii from \$75,000 to \$7,500, legislation, and itself is among he was attacked by Senator O'the forefront of the red-baiters Mahoney, and not reappointed. | against those who oppose its The House Committee on Un- views on health and welfare for Ameri

many engagements because of pressure groups. "Actors Total effect of the drive in are afraid to act, writers are afraid to write and producers are Hollywood and Broadway, is to afraid to produce anything stultify both movies and the amateur sleuths could possibly drama as art mediums, removing attack," says Elia Kazan, s them from the field of realistic director who sang before the portrayal of life. They are bound in the totalitarian straitiacket.

# **Right to Bail in Danger**

It is not a crime to provide bail funds. On the contrary, the right to bail is one of the basic civil rights workers. protecting citizens under the now half-destroyed legal dictum that a defendant is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

But the action of the New York State Attorney General, turning the Civil Rights Congress list of bail fund depositors over to the FBI is a blow against this principle. test for federal employes, first

With the forced liquidation of the bail fund, and the step in the whole loyalty oath attempt to intimidate depositors by this flagrant violation of their privacy, Americans being persecuted for into private industry. their political opinions will find it more difficult to remain free while defending their civil rights.

I. F. Stone, Compass columnist, correctly pointed out in his column July 2, "The FBI had no more right to those names than to the names of depositors in any banking innot made public. stitution closed down for liquidation. . . What will the FBI do with the names? The FBI will probably use them

to. . . furnish guilt-by-association 'evidence' for loyalty and other cases. It might also seek to frighten some of them into becoming informers."

This flagrant violation of the legal rights of bail fund depositors, and of the right to bail, is not the only thing the FBI is getting away with. This full-fledged internal spy system, by means of the fear campaign, is a law unto is or may want to be a federal itself.

Every day the FBI illegally invades the privacy of citizens' homes, questioning them, threatening them, leading them to self-incriminating statements, in its search for informers and for victims of the thought control drive. As I. F. Stone points out in his column, this is "often

done on a 'friendly' and confidential basis. But the effect all the same is to throw a scare into many people."

They have absolutely no legal right to question anyene who does not want to be questioned. No one can legally be forced to answer questions of FBI agents who are knocking on American doors in the pattern set by the Nazi Gestapo.

No one is obliged to answer questions unless he is subpoened and brought before a court. No one has anything to gain by cooperating with this illegal third degree procedure.

Every city has its bondsmen. These professional bondsmen are invariably tied to the underworld, collect usurious interest for "springing" someone - and are untouched and unquestioned by the police, who in nine cases out of ten, refer clients to the crook, and get their cut.

funds to be used as bail for political minorities persecuted ago ... the week-long violence and hounded for their ideas, are now to be subject to a in Groveland, Florida. Reports of cases of police brutality ... were Advancement of Science are and retain their courage, they will not be intimidated. They will stand up for their rights.

Ralph S Brown, Jr., associate James Kutcher, legless veteran professor of law at Yale Univer- of World War II, who was sity, reports in The Nation what deprived of his job at the New has happened to the civil rights Jersey Veterans Administration of the 6 million government because he admits membership n the Socialist Workers Party

Kutcher never got a fair hear-First step against the demoing. He was never given a chance cratic rights of these workers to prove either that his opinions was passage of the Hatch Act in were not what the Veterans Ad-1939. limiting their right to ministration claimed, or that his political activity. Section 9-A of Party was "subversive" in the this act provided a loyalty oath

sense of the Attorney General's definition of that term. Kutcher's appeal on constituprogram now reaching into tional grounds is now under conunions, schools, universities, and sideration by the U.S. Circuit

Court of Appeals. Should the This was followed by Truman's 3-judge panel reject his plea, the so-called "Loyalty Order 9835" case will be appealed to the by which government workers can be fired, without a hearing. on the basis of secret evidence

Not only does this deprive the

victims of their right to govern The end result thus far of the ment work and effectively blackgovernment purge is the arbitrary list them for private employment, and unconstitutional destruction but as Prof. Brown savs. "it of the civil liberties of millions of citizens; these millions live in seems certain that a program of 'thought surveillance' operates to daily terror of stool-pigeons and twist the political and social informers: they dare not say a though and action of anyone who word which might be interpreted as "independent" from official government policy. Here 'con-

Most flagrant example of the formity is the rigid ideological government purge, not men- rule. The penalty for non-confor-tioned by Brown, is the firing of mity is the blacklist.

## **Civil Rights and the Negro Struggle**

One of the aims of the witch-| cases in which Negroes were in hunt is to suppress the struggle jured by mobs, to 42 acts of for Negro equality. How this anti-Semitic violence, and to operates is well-described by scores of attacks on Negroes who sought better housing in Chicago, Carey McWilliams in The Na-Atlanta, Richmond, Chattanooga tion:

"In 1949, it will be recalled, Nashville, Birmingham and Wash occurred the savage Peekskill ington.

"The trend continued the folriots, which began as 'anti-comlowing year. . . According to munist' but quickly became the the . . . NAAOP and AJC 'after occasion for the manifestation of extreme hostility not only to fighting broke out in Korea, the drive. In fact, the drive of the pendent thought, discussion, and Negroes but to Jews.... Evidence civil rights issue rapidly lost witch - hunters for conformity of the same trend may be found ground

"By 1951 the full impact of the ticular fury. in the killing of two unarmed witch hunt on the struggle for Negroes in Westchester County, New York, by a retired Yonkers civil rights became apparent. The policeman and his recent acquittal murder of the Florida NAACP president of the American Asso- necessary at many academic in-

by an all-white jury. "The year 1949 also witnessed the Cicero housing riot, and a Science, states in The Nation: But believers in democratic processes who provide the Peoria Street riots in Chi- succession of dynamite bombings in Miami. . . In 1951 at least 131 American Association for the

pressure campaign. If they understand their legal rights the NAACP and AJC (Amer- reported, and 33 Negroes were rapidly filling with documents, rights and privileges, even duties. ficials to the witch-hunters have Rights has been torn from the ican Jewish Congress) refer to killed 'while in the custody of many of them confidential, reveal- by the anti-civil liberties offen-34 Negroes killed in 1949 while police.' While the number of ing the startling extent to which sive. in 'custody of the police,' to 41 lynchings declined in the post war individual scientists . . . are suf-

a felony for a teacher become or remain a member of a subtion specialist Benjamin Fine reversive organization." ported that minority pressure "The Feinberg Law enacted in groups (he does not name the New York calls upon the Board of Catholc hierarchy) charge that Regents to promulgate a list of the United Nations and its educasubversive organizations and re- tional branch, UNESCO, are

JAMES KUTCHER

quires dismissal of any teacher atheistic. UNESCO-sponsored who belongs to them. . . . When studies havebeen banned on many the Supreme Court sustained this campuses.

H. H. Wilson, associate prolaw. . . . John O'Donnell exultingly proclaimed in his column fessor of politics at Princeton in the N. Y. Daily News, Guilt University, also in The Nation by association is now the law of survey, states, "Of all the civil

liberties currently under attack the land." Latest case involving the sup- perhaps the one most seriously pression of thought and opinion threatened is academic freedom. the in public education was the re- Discussing the effects already ap-

moval of Dean Lenz from his post parent, Wilson states, "A recent and the institutions which concern Dozens of anti-labor laws have as Dean of Queens College. He Purdue Opinion Panel Poll of themselves with things of the Supreme Court. On this case the had opposed the refusal of school 3,000 students carefully selected spirit and intellect may be even Taft-Hartleys" even more refate of millions of government halls to communists. He was put from 15,000 high school responmore serious in the long run than workers hangs in the balance. on the American Legion "list." dents in all parts of the United on the labor movement. That may Their right to a fair trial and He did not advocate socialism, he merely defended civil rights. For that obedience and respect for is destroyed, there will be no authority are the most important long run.' that he was purged. that children should

leaders.

The

learned

Hundreds of teachers have been virtues fired by officials, at the behest of learn."

The present assault (on Amersmall pressure groups of a semifascist character. Watson quotes ican educational freedom) says the MacMillan Company (pub- The Nation is "national in scope lishers) which stated in an in- uniform in procedure, and aptroduction to its book "This parently initiated by a few power Happened in Pasadena," "It is a ful groups."

Every major college has its fact that certain forces, vicious. well-organized, and coldly cal- list of banned visiting lecturers. culating would like to change the its banned books, its purged face of education in the United teachers, its cowed students. Youth, characteristically rebel-States.'

Some examples: "A Colorado lious, is being suppressed. The Harvard Crimson in its teacher was advised to discontinue a study of the Mexican laborers 1951 survey, cited eleven exin beet-sugar fields as 'too con- amples of censure of college troversial.' An English teacher editors. And this month, the (same state) found it wise to Crimson found 53 violations of remove John Steinbeck's books academic freedom in 25 of the from the literature course. A nation's calleges.

## Scientist, Healer and Defender

The professional world is not fering the consequences of . immune from the police - state the campaign to paralyze all in ledissent concerning America's for- from the CIO, culminating in the proceeds in this field with pareign policy."

He adds, "political screening, unions from the CIO, has been Kirtley F. Mather, professor of rather than mere technical comgeology at Harvard, and retiring petence, has been accepted as leader Harry Moore and his wife, ciation for the Advancement of stitutions even when the work is completely unclassified (non-mili-

"The headquarters files of the tary)." Lawyers and judges have been

deprived of their traditional Attorneys who defended Comunionism.

merican Activities directed its attention to the medical profes-The AMA capped this camsion, when in January this year paign with a provision in New. a number of doctors were sum- York State making a loyalty oath moned to testify on their political obligatory for all its members. activities and opinions . . . and as Doctors now must not only be usual, about the activities of healers - but faith healers for others.

capitalism. **Organized Labor** -- Main Target

The Nation survey of the witch First thanks the CIO and AFL nunt, in the section dealing with got for their services in the witch labor and civil liberties, states, hunt was the Taft-Hartley Law, There are those who say that with its loyalty oath and all its the effect of the witch hunt on slave labor restrictions. This has professions, the prevented the organization of churches, universities, the courts the unorganized.

been passed in the states. "Little pressive than the parent law. Recently the "respectable" CIO members of the Wage Stabilization Board were branded "Reds' because they upheld the steel-The same forces directing the workers in their demands against

thought - control campaign are the corporations.

behind the anti-labor drive. One Congress is threatening to cannot be viewed as separated emasculate the WSB, which even in its present form is designed to from the other. They are part of prevent the unions from using the same plan: to put America in the chains of a police regime. their independent power, stalling their demands in long-drawn-out Biggest problem of all for those government mediation.

who would wreck the democratic The Smith "Union Seizure" rights of Americans, is the Bill, now before Congress, would powerful organized labor movement. It stands in the way of impose permanent injunctions against strikes and completely dictatorship. It is the traditional shackle unions guardian of civil liberties.

This is the real aim of the witch But the unions have been hunt. It means to strike a blow retreating, under the weak leaderat the heart of democracy - the ship of government - dominated labor movement. By conducting their own purges in the unions.

It was once a tradition in the labor leaders have committed American labor to brook no govtwo crimes against labor's cause: ernment interference. Today (1.) They have submitted to the union leaders carry out the principle of thought - control "purge" within their unions as (2.) They have weakened their agents of the government. union's militancy and internal campaign begun in the democracy, thus rendering them less effective in a struggle for late 1940's to oust "communists"

self-preservation. split of several international Viewed as a whole, the witch

hunt has reached into every major reaching deeper and deeper into part of American life, and into the unions, purging militants every organization. institution and discouraging others from and group. It has left an ugly taking leading roles in their mark on this nation. And it has only begun. Its causes, and how organizations.

Political conformity is now the to fight against it are discussed rule in the unions. But the in an editorial on this page. Its services rendered by the labor of- affects are clear: the Bill of protection of the government for no longer a nation of free peo-

### The Negro Struggle -The Govt., Not the Heat

### By Jean Blake

It's pretty far-fetched to blame the government for all our troubles, including the hot weather, but we think a pretty substantial case can be made of responsibility of the local, state, and national administrations for many of the summer seasonal outbreaks of anti-Negro violence.

We've read novels that describe the aggravation of emotional tensions by heat, and halfbaked analyses by some newspaper feature writers who ascribe summer incidents of racial clashes to rising temperatures, but we think a more rational attempt to deal with the problem was indicated in the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Oklahoma City last week.

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, announced that the organization's legal department will now switch from school segregation suits to filing actions aimed at winning equality for colored people in transportation and recreational facilities around the country.

This implies two things: recognition that the season is upon us when Negroes, seeking escape from the heat like everyone else in parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc., again face the customary Jim Crow restrictions in these public facilities; and acceptance of the fact that the responsible agency to fight in combatting segregation is the city or state which maintains it.

The discouraging thing about these anti-discrimination suits, however, is that they are about as effective as scooping water from a leaky boat. As fast as some isolated civil rights cases are won in the capitalist courts, new ones arise. Reforms in this field, as in others that try to make the system work, do not touch the basic cause, the big hole in modern society. As long as we have two classes, one profiting from the labor of the other, the ruling and exploiting class will maintain segregation to divide the working class.

The idea that capitalism is responsible for Jim Crow in America is, of course not new to Negroes. On the opening night of the NAACP convention, Roy Wilkins, administrative secretary of the organization, said in a speech interrupted by applause eleven times: "In this fight we have arrayed against us both prejudiced private capital and the credit billions of our own government."

Wilkins' keynote speech also stated: "Civil rights is the all important issue in 1952 and the only way colored people could gain those rights is through political action." - But that is the point at which the NAACP official analysis stops. To the question of what kind of political action, it gives an answer that is completely illogical.

The NAACP is going to try to reform the Democratic and Republican parties, organizations owned lock, stock and barrel by the very "prejudiced private capital" and government which Wilkins admits is "arrayed against us" in the fight for civil rights. This summer the Association plans to maintain an office in Chicago and concentrate its leadership there in order to lobby Perils Union at the Democratic and Republican national conventions. A greater waste of Negroes' time, energy and money is hard to imagine.

White workers have the same problem. The labor leaders advocate the same kind of political

action. . . and help the Negro leaders sell this false program to their ranks. Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers head, told the NAACP convention that the moral issue of the campaign for Fair Employment Practices legislation "must be the mobilization of every decent American in an all-out crusade to square American democracy's Taft-Hartley law.

day to day practices with its noble promises in the field of civil rights."

a strike that Teamsters Union But his political program won't do it for the Local 688 has conducted for some Negroes any more than for their white fellow months, has charged in the Naworkers. He, too, proposes to "reward friends tional Labor Relations Board and and punish enemies" in the two capitalist parties. in federal court that the Institute It's only common sense to repair the leak in s illegal under the Taft-Hartley the boat to keep from drowning; and in society, law.

to eliminate class exploitation which prevents men from uniting in their common interest. That is what the political action program of workers of all colors must aim to do.

Such a program would call for an end to al support to capitalist politicians and for the building of an independent workers' party prepared to 31/2 % of their payroll in shops take decisive action, to make revolutionary chang- where members of the union only es in our society. It would eliminate the basis of are covered and 5% of their class divisions, and divisions within the working payrolls where members and their class by race, color, etc. by ending the privileged position of the capitalist class, by making all men of the shops have the 5% comequal in their rights. It would ensure this equality of rights by put-

ting control of all the functions of planning and organizing production into the hands of the producers of useful things - into the hands of the producers (who are also the consumers).

It would end the dictatorship of production and society by the parasitic private owners of the wealth produced by working men and women. A truly independent program of political action must aim at power for the workers to organize a society of production for use, not profit, and for

participation in and contributions to society from union members will be wiped out Korean war begins to appear to each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

PLAN DEFENSE

over night.

**VOLUME XVI** 

**Taft-Hartley** 

**Medical Care** 

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 26

One of the oldest and best

systems of medical care for union

members in this area, the St.

Louis Labor Health Institute.

may be declared illegal under the

The St. Louis plumbing ware-

house bosses, in retaliation for

The union health institution

gives complete medical and dental

treatment to most of Local 688's

members under contracts with

different shops. The bosses pay

As a result of the emergency in the plumbing strike a meeting

that the Institute is in danger of

losing the case. If it is held

illegal in the plumbing industry

it will be illegal in all the shops.

That would mean that the

achievements of long struggle by

of rank and file leaders was called to plan the defense against the plumbing bosses.

of struggle for bread during the

balked at broadening the strug-

Democratic party." Another shop leader stated, "I



THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 7, 1952



An American GI attaches identification tags to the bodies of fellow-soldiers who died in Korea fighting west of Chorwon. This is what has been happening to tens of thousands of young men in the two-year old war to suppress the Korean people.

#### families both are covered. Many WORKERS DETERMINED plete coverage plan. The plan has long ben recognized as a model. **ON STEEL PICKET LINES** Once before, the Labor Health Institute was attacked in the courts and was held legal. This time, however, union lawyers say

| marked: "When I read about the (Continued from page 1) of America to reopen plants for prisoners being released at the arms production is opposed with Ohio Works (U.S. Steel plant) I considerable bitterness. "A sure got so mad I tore the goddam paper up and threw it in the way to bleed the union to death," is the general remark. The trash can."

many workers as another club in the hands of the corporations. \* \* \*

One thing about a picket line is that it gives workers an occasion to talk over big prob-

lems that they tend to forget in quieter periods. One middle-aged money in the sock." picket, after recounting the years

depression paused and then said: "By God, if it wasn't for this Korean war I think we'd be going through all that again right

The foremen who were imprisoned in the mills during the early days of the strike got very little sympathy. One picket re-

One shop leader asked, "Why stalinist's Policy On the Smith Law; **Lesson for Labor** 



NUMBER 27

The smear-and-run technique of the government witch-hunters, complete with a drunken informer who faked a "tip," has been exposed as the result of what the

ways be confidential whether true

capitalist press calls the "fiasco" in the latest attempt to frame agency executive named Harry A. up Prof. Owen Lattimore, John Jarvinen, a former Finnish army Hopkins University authority on veteran of the Soviet-Finnish the Far East, as a "Communist" war, had knowingly fabricated a report to the CIA and FBI that and "Kremlin agent." Acting on a "tip" that Lat- Lattimore had bought tickets imore, one-time State Depart- from his agency for an alleged ment consultant, was planning a trip to the Soviet Union. Jarvinen, who was subsequently

trip to the Soviet Union, the State Department sent a "con- indicted by a special Federal fidential stop - order" to the grand jury, complained that "few Customs' Bureau not to permit people will risk their necks giving Lattimore's departure from the information to the Government United States. This was reported now. Such information should alin last week's Militant.

The fact that a government or false." That's just fine for the agency investigates such a "tip," rats who act as informers, but how about those who are victrue or false, is not news. But in this case the "tip" against Lat- timized by these slanders and imore was leaked out to the press liars? and the State Department "stop-Jarvinen's "defense" is that his

order" was widely proclaimed as false remarks were made "at a "proof" of Senator McCarthy's social occasion where there was well-known charges against Lat- excessive drinking." He wasn't too drunk to give them to CIA

timore. Moreover, it was made general and FBI. But why did the State public knowledge for the first Department act and why was the time that the State Department story made public even before

has been secretly operating an Jarvinen was investigated or "iron" curtain" for eleven years Lattimore was asked whether the Pieket captains marshalling forces for strike duty learn to through the method of "con- story was true or not? assess the men assigned to them fidential stop-orders" to bar

It wouldn't make any difference American citizens from leaving whether the informant was drunk and to pick out the best milior sober. The fact is that the this country. tants. One remarked: "The work-It was finally revealed on June witch-hunters eagerly accept and ers , who don't have nothin' are

a damn sight better union men 27, as a result of the State De- use the fabrications of malicious than these guys with plenty of partment's hand being forced by and lying informers - both drunk publicity, that a Seattle travel and sober.

# HOW WE WON GRACE CARLSON AND HOW WE LOST HER

By James P. Cannon, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

Grace Carlson is a victim of the reactionary atmosphere in general and the witch hunt in particular. Her sudden action in resigning from the numerically small and persecuted Socialist Workers Party for sanctuary in the rich and powerful Catholic Church, is only the final effect of the many successive blows of

**At Press Interview** MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July

- At a press interview reported in yesterday's Star and today's Tribune. Grace Carltion from the Socialist Workpersecution, poverty and dis-

the religious sentiments of its communicants to support reac-**Tells About Break** tion and oppression everywhere. I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not. determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the son made public her resigna- most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world. I ers Party June 18 and her return to the Catholic Church. man who broke the strike of the Grace Carlson was SWP cemetery workers in New York Vice-Presidential candidate in and who has just recently been 1948 and had been nominated to Spain where he paid homage by the SWP National Comto the bloody dictator Franco. I mittee to run again this year. reminded her that her socialist The nomination was subject comrades in Spain are in Franco's to approval by the convention prisons and torture chambers if they are not in their graves. She told the press that she Grace Carlson knows all that still retained the "deepset as well as I do, and has said it economic and social convicmany times. She didn't answer tions" of her 16 years in the my reminders with any argument socialist movement, and is still or justification, but with the "opposed to capitalism and bitter tears of a defeated and United States participation in broken woman. She does well to the Korean war." say that it was a sad meeting for her. It was a sad meeting for me too, but for different reasons.

**Five-Star Lie Peddler** By Tom Conlan Future historians will surely note how great

a role was played in our times by lies and liars. Never before have so few lied so much to so many. And our domestic breed of prevaricators is as glib, barefaced and unscrupulous as any on record.

To cite a recent example, there is Eisenhower, the political General who supposedly personifies integrity. This "unmilitary militarist" has demonstrated that a Five Star General, overcome with ambition to become President, yields to no one when it comes to mendacity.

In his Denver speech on June 26, Eisenhower assumed, without blushing, the posture of champion of the American youth. He lamented the "feeling of insecurity, even fear," which now permeates the land and especially the youth. He would drastically change all that, he promised.

"Young America," he said, "is sick at heart." Some are "confused and bitter." Others "fecl disillusioned." "Most of all," he said, "they (the youth) want to be freed from the dreadful un-

from that now offered. The truth is that if anybody has prominently participated in implementing the administration's bi-partisan foreign policy, it has been none other than Eisenhower personally.

fe doesn't even have the excuse that he couldn't speak out before because of his military position. He could have resigned this position, for one thing. For another, for some time prior to his acceptance of the post of NATO chief, he was formally a "civilian," - President of Columbia University.

At no time did Eisenhower have a mumbling word to say against the "uncertain leadership" he now criticizes. But this does not mean he said nothing at all. On the contrary, he had plenty to say.

On Dec. 5, 1950, at an "orientation meeting," Eisenhower, in his capacity as President of Columbia University, told the American youth the following about its prospects:

"It is nothing but a dream to think you are oing to live in a carefree world where everythink we ought to take this to thing will be all right. At the very, very best, other unions. This fight against gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."

Suggestions were accepted to raise more money through voluntary contributions by both staff and rank and file members. It was also agreed to "spend more time, money and energy in getting better people elected to

office.' now. In the discussion on how to get such people elected, Secretary-Treasurer Harold Gibbons beat down all attempts at independent labor political action. He also

people elected as Democratic committeemen?" Gibbons responded, "We are not attempting to take over the

certainty of the present, so as to plan ahead without fear that all their planning will come to nothing because of the war." He'd take good care to remove this "dreadful uncertainty." To believe him, he had something different, something special in store for the youth.

If Eisenhower tells part of the truth about the prevailing moods among the youth, it is only to give a sharper edge to his deceit. As a great poet once pointed out, "Truth that's told with bad intent beats any lie you can invent."

To believe Eisenhower, the whole trouble lies with "uncertain leadership," the whole responsibility falls upon the Truman administration. With Eisenhower as President, there would be a drastic change.

The fact is that this militarist has no future to offer anybody, least of all the youth, different

Less than two years ago, that was the "very very best," Eisenhower had to offer the youth. Today he pretends to offer something different.

On Dec. 6, 1950, that is, the day after Eisenhower had spoken as a college president, he addressed 20,000 troops in training, this time in his capacity as General of the Army. He told these mobilized youth that it might be necessary to put "all of our young men back in uniform" and urged the troops to "demand that their training be as tough as it can be made."

This is the individual who now pretends to sympathize with the youth's yearning "to be freed from the dreadful uncertainty of the present.'

which the Malan Government is resorting to in

its efforts to impose a racist policy which has

CLAPPED INTO A JAIL CELL by the Ver-

mont Supreme Court, widow Leola Drohat Yates,

who suffers from asthma, is guilty only of the

crime of owing money. She has been imprisoned

under Vermont's 144-year old poor debtor's law,

which means that if she can't get \$2,500 while she

is in jail her first chance for freedom comes in

six months. At that time she may take a "poor

debtor's oath." Attorneys are arguing for her

this motion has been set for two weeks from the

\* \* \*

been flowing freely according to testimony before

a House Judiciary subcommittee. A Seagram Dis-

tillers executive testified that he had given \$50,-

000 to the Republican and Democratic parties in

1948. Other liquor companies testified to dona-

tions to both parties, with the Democrats getting

the bigger jigger and the Republicans getting a

smell of the cork. Seagrams whiskey, say the ads,

is "Known by the Company it Keeps." A Sea-

privates and assignment to non-professional du-

ties. This was the case with two New York area

dentists, both of whom signed the Army loyalty

oath but refused to fill out a prying question-

grams executive, however, is "Known by the En-

WHISKEY MONEY FOR POLITICIANS has

release because of ill health, but the hearing on

been declared unconstitutional by that country's

the Taft-Hartley law is bigger than just our union. Can't we have a mass meeting or do something to bring this to the atten-

tion of other unions?" WANTS TO SOUND ALARM

elements in which the Stalinists, possibly a minority, would not always get their own way? Do they merely desire to stir

Another speaker said, "I agree with the brother who said we up a little fuss to keep their own should bring this before other members and followers satisfied unions. Unions in St. Louis are rather than create a strong innot united politically. We can strument which can deal some take the lead in trying to unite effective blows to the witchthem. I believe we should send hunt? What is involved is not speakers to other unions, rank merely the fate of their own leadand file speakers, and tell them ers, on trial and in jail, but the about this. The same sort of thing cause of democratic rights in

can happen to their welfare pro- general. Are the Stalinist leaders prepared to sacrifice both for grams."

Harold Gibbons' answer was factional and bureaucratic ends? that most of the unions in St. The evidence at hand appears to Louis are not interested in poli- confirm that conclusion.

tical action, and Local 688 has The task at hand, however, i the reputation of being the most too big, too urgent to be deflected politically active union in town. by Stalinist maneuvers. The de-"Most of the others do not even fense of the persecuted C.P. know how to plan a political leaders is not a private affair. program. When we were trying If it is impossible to organize a to get Mark Hennelly elected (as broad defense movement with the President of the Board of Alder- Stalinists, then it must be ormen) they would not even help ganized independently. Naturally, us. And I cannot think of a nicer independent radicals, liberals and

trade unionists will continue to If the Labor Health Institute seek their cooperation but they is lost, it will be a serious blow cannot afford to await the to St. Louis unions. But its Stalinists' pleasure, to remain effects can be much broader as inactive because the Stalinist it will set a precedent for similar line makes no genuine provision

suits against union health pro- for their participation. grams throughout the country.

The highly successful rally a NYU, which the Stalinist campus group boycotted over the objection of independent leaders of can and should be done.

NEW YORK - The arrange-How to Get a Liner

ments committee of the National Like a brand-new \$78 million Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which will touch liner for \$8 million? Very simple. off the party's 1952 presidential Let the government build it out campaign, has completed its plans of public treasury funds, then for a National Convention Ball. deliver it to you for \$28 million. The place: Cornish Arms Hotel, Of this sum, let the government Grand Ball Room, 311 West 23rd take a 20-year mortgage at Street, Corner Eighth Ave., New 31/2 % on \$20 million. That leaves McCarran (Dem., Nev.) called Truman's veto of York City. The time: Saturday, you only \$8 million to put up. an ex-convict. Sne was mack- the explained. the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill. When July 19, 1952; doors open at 8:30 This shouldn't be hard to rake

Truman first started his "loyalty" purge, The P.M. There will be music, enter- together if the government pays tainment by "National Talent you a high enough subsidy. Review," and a refreshment bar.

> ed June 20. A One-Year Subscription to THE MILITANT

Only \$2 116 University PL. N. Y. 3, N. Y. It's your government, ain't it?

tax.

**Convention Ball** 

To Be Held in N.

heen in. rimination (Continued from page 1) flicted upon her during the long but securely under their control time she fought on the side of rather than risk a united front the poor for the great ideals of of widely divergent political socialism.

> There had been no previous intimation of this sudden decision. Within the past month she spoke and debated on the campuses of to be held this month. New York University and the University of Minnesota in defense of Marxism against political opponents. The reason she now gives for her precipitate resignation from the party - "a difference in basic philosophy"

When Grace Carlson came to the Socialist Workers Party in

is not the real reason.

1936 she held a good position in victory against the Socialist the Minnesota State Department Workers Party over the body of of Education, received a good Grace Carlson. The question of salary and was honored and "philosophy" had nothing to do respected in the Twin City circles with it. That's merely the ex-

of the rich and powerful as a planation, not the reason. In her statement to the press Doctor of Philosophy. Her decision at that time to join with us Grace emphasized what she had in the service of the great ideal told us at parting, that she was of socialism was a happy deci- not going to join the ranks of the and will continue to grow. That sion, as she stated at the time contemptible informers. "I want and repeated many times there- it understood I am not becoming after. We won her by our ideas an informer on my friends of and ideals and kept her for 16 many years. Neither am I going years. We won her by persuasion, to write any books like Budenz." That does her credit, as do the by arguments and by the example of comrades putting service to a 16 years of service she gave to great cause above personal in- the good cause in comradely association with these same terest. friends. But it really doesn't make

### PRESSURE OF REACTION

The forces of reaction have ist Workers Party is not a confinally broken her away from the spiracy but a political movement socialist movement by a different which reports all its activities and rades. method. They made Grace Carl- says everything it has to say in son pay for her idealistic and its press. All the "information" the CEDC, demonstrates what self-sacrificing work for social anyone can find against us is ism. She had to give up her posi- printed there.

tion with the Minnesota State Department of Education and EXPRESSED NO drastically cut her standard of DIFFERENCES

living. She had to sacrifice her In her press interview, reported members to do a little more and honored position in the com- in the Minneapolis Star, June 30, give a little more to make up any munity. In 1943 she had to go to Grace refers to her last meeting Federal prison along with 17 with me in Minneapolis on Friother members of the party. On day, June 20. The reporter quotes her return from prison in 1945 her as saying: "It was one of she had to register with the the saddest meetings I have ever that the place to fight against the Police Department of St. Paul as attended." I don't doubt that, but threatening war, and all the evils an ex-convict. She was black- the reason for her sadness should of this diseased capitalist society

fice was imposed upon her. For 16 years the powerful did not express any differences Incredible? That's how the forces of reaction hammered and with the party program nor any Admission is \$1.20, including U.S. Lines got their new flag- pounded at this woman until they grievances against its people. On I. F. Stone's Book in England ship, the "United States," deliver- finally beat her down, broke her the contrary she affirmed her love

spirit of resistance and compelled and respect for the comrades Now try the same procedure her to leave the party which she with whom she had worked so to get that new car you need, or had served so long and so long.

a TV set or washing machine. honorably. That's how the Catholic Church won a shabby Catholic Church which exploits impact in labor circles.

SOCIALISM IS GROWING.

Socialists have deserted the movement before under pressure. But still the movement grew. There are more socialists in the world today than ever before. The world-wide cause is growing will be the case in this country too. Individuals, broken by too many blows, may fall by the wayside. But the great movement for the socialist emancipation of mankind will march on and conquer. Grace Carlson's desertion will not affect this course. The party will draw its ranks closer together in defense against the raging reaction which has reachmuch difference to us. The Socialed inside our ranks to strike down 'one of our women' com-

> The forthcoming convention of the Socialist Workers Party in New York, called to nominate its presidential candidates for the 1952 campaign, will demonstrate this. The convention will demonstrate the determination of the losses suffered by this defection. The convention will reaffirm again, what Grace Carlson said many times before her defection, and for a better life on earth, is

Twin Cities. Sacrifice after sacri- She did not make any argu- not in the Catholic Church but in ments to sustain her action. She the socialist movement.

I. F. Stone's book "The Hidden History of the Korean War" has been issued in England and ap-I spoke to her about the pears already to have made an

"CONFORMING TO COMMUNIST DOC-TRINE" and "un-American" is what Senator Pat CP the largest single French party. Militant predicted it would be turned against him. DRAFTED MEDICAL MEN who refuse to fill "WE WERE SHOCKED BY THE photograph that appeared in the June 27 Times showing what out a loyalty questionnaire on grounds of personal principle are being "punished" by induction as

appeared to be civilized Europeans bringing batons down on the heads of unarmed women who were left sprawling in the streets of Johannesburg, South Africa," write A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph and J. J. Singh in a letter to the July 2 N.Y. Times. They add: "Such are the means

Notes from the News

own Supreme Court."

time of jailing.

velopes he Gives."

naire.

HELD FOR 22 MONTHS, denied bail, never notified of the charges against him, a Polish seaman finally got a court hearing on July 1. But at this hearing, the government continued its, refusal to state any charges, saying only that Taras Bojarchuk, 39 had been held at Ellis Island for almost 2 years because his "entry was prejudicial to the interests of this country." Bojarchuk first came to the U.S. in 1935, and has made his home here ever since. He filed for naturalization in August, 1948, and was told that his papers would be sent to him within two months, but he never got them.

BRITAIN'S CONSERVATIVES themselves believe that they would lose to the Labor Party if a general election were held now. They judge by the latest Gallup Poll, which says that 52.5% of the people would vote Labor, while only 45%would vote Tory. Last December, after 2 months of Churchill rule, a similar poll indicated that the Tories held a 2% edge over Labor, showing how fast the Tories have been losing ground.

JAQUES DUCLOS, ACTING HEAD of the French Communist Party was ordered released by a five-man Paris Appeals Court after he had been imprisoned for five weeks on a charge of "plotting against the State." The charge grew out of the anti-Ridgway demonstrations of May 28. The court held that Duclos had not been taken in the act of committing a crime, which is the only circumstance warranting the arrest of a Parliamentary deputy. Duclos is head of the French CP bloc of deputies in Parliament representing one in every four voters, thus making the