

U. S. Warmakers Dictate West German Treaty

German People Fear Pact Will Bring Atom-War

By Joseph Hansen

Another giant stride in the headlong race of the Truman administration toward the abyss of World War III was taken when representatives of France, Britain and the United States joined Chancellor Adenauer, puppet head of West Germany, in committing their governments to an unholy "contract."

The signing of the document at Bonn, Germany, May 26 was hailed by the major American propaganda mediums that echo the State Department. It was lauded by Adenauer, political spokesman of the German cartels and front-man for the refurbished Nazis. But for the German people, as for the working people everywhere, the event had a different significance. The Social Democratic Party, voicing nationwide sentiment of the workers, called it "a black day for Germany."

Like the treaty with Japan it is painted up as a step toward "peace." Like the treaty with Japan it does not confer sovereignty upon the conquered nation. It provides for the continued quartering of American troops — which can be used against the native working class should they seek to install a workers and farmers government. Its real objective, as in the case of Japan, is not peace but conversion of West Germany into an armed camp, a spearhead of the worldwide coalition organized by American imperialism for war on the Soviet Union.

CALLS FOR MORE TROOPS

That is why the "contract" calls for another 300,000 German troops to be integrated into the growing legions under command of the Pentagon. And that is why the "contract" also lifts the bars on construction of a new German air force, revives the German armament industry and permits work with atomic materials.

On top of everything else, in an address following the ceremony, Adenauer brandished the pact as a powerful new political weapon in the struggle with East Germany, thus serving notice that we can presently expect the "cold war" over Germany to take a warmer turn.

BACKGROUND OF PACT

For American imperialism, the "contract" signed by Adenauer marks achievement of one of the goals calculated possibly as early as 1945, when shortly after V-J Day General Marshall contemptuously derided illusions about "peace" in the post-war world and announced Pentagon plans for

construction of a military machine unparalleled in history. The Militant charged at the time (Oct. 20, 1945) that "The Third World War is already in the blueprint stage."

Milestones in converting this blueprint into reality were Winston Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech March 5, 1946, setting up the Soviet Union and "communism" as the main target; the subsequent Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan implementing Churchill's declaration; and the whole series of military alliances engineered under Marshall's personal supervision that began by integrating North and South America militarily, then extended to the Atlantic, the Pacific and Mediterranean.

The cold war was part of the strategy. Truman's intervention in Korea was but a repetition on a more dangerous level of his plunge into the bloody civil war in Greece.

In the light of this background — with its accompanying arms race at home, "loyalty" purges, nationwide witch hunt and anti-labor drive — the pact with Japan and now with Germany are clearly revealed as part and parcel of a calculated drive straight toward atomic war.

KREMLIN ROLE

In face of the tightening squeeze, the alarm of the Kremlin over the ceremony at Bonn is understandable. Stalin's repeated offers to Washington and London for continuation of the war-time deals have met with rejection. Up to now Stalin has found himself unable to give the concessions the imperialists need to reverse the decline of world capitalism, such as opening up the rich resources of the Soviet Union to capitalist exploitation.

However, Stalin continues his policy of offering a deal — within the limits of the Potsdam agreement — while simultaneously threatening "civil war." But the blandishments now are aimed principally at the German capitalist class — unification of Germany on a capitalist basis, including acquiescence in a new military machine, and a lucrative market in the Soviet Union and China. Stalin is saying, "I showed for my part I could co-exist even with Hitler. Why not with you?" And the offer is tempting. But

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"No Peace While Capitalism Lives," Says Grace Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS, May 15 — "There can be no peace as long as capitalism exists." With these words Dr. Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, keynoted her remarks on

"U.S. and the World Crisis" at a University of Minnesota symposium, which included Dr. Forrest Wiggins, philosophy instructor being purged for his "left wing" views, and Prof. Ralph G. Ross. The symposium was sponsored by the U. of Minn. Socialist Club.

Professor Ross, a social democrat of the Sidney Hook brand, was exposed by both Dr. Carlson and instructor Wiggins as an imperialist warmonger disguised as a liberal.

The three-hour debate "alternately amused, angered, and shocked the audience" of 150 students, the Minnesota Daily campus newspaper, reported.

While Ross spent most of his time attacking the USSR, and in giving a false account of the theoretical record of the SWP, Dr. Carlson and Dr. Wiggins, discussed the real subject before the meeting; the role of the U.S. in colonial revolts.

Proposing greater rearmament, Ross was forced to admit that he wanted no freedom at present for the colonial peoples — only education, forced if necessary, to "prepare" the colonial people for democratic government.

"But that might take a hundred years," Dr. Wiggins said. "I don't care if it takes three hundred," was Ross's retort.

Dr. Carlson, however, came out unequivocally for the independence of all colonial peoples. "Freedom is what they want," she said. "Give it to them now."

CITES CHARLES BEARD

Citing the imperialist nature of capitalism, Dr. Carlson accused the U.S. ruling class of starting World War II. Protests against this charge were quickly silenced



Grace Carlson

when she advised them to read the overwhelming evidence in this connection, compiled by the outstanding scholar and historian, Charles Beard.

Stating that there can be no peace while there is still capitalism in the world, Dr. Carlson called upon the students think for themselves, to get the facts and follow not what is popular or easy, but the truth.

Dr. Carlson, who campaigned for Vice President in 1948, and will run on a Socialist anti-war program again in 1952, argued that war occurred because of the necessity for capitalist nations to expand their economies.

Dr. Wiggins concluded that he thought the U.S. not morally ready for world leadership, stating that the "U.S. had better get its own house in order, especially in the South," before trying to lead the world.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Michigan CIO News Defends Right of SWP to State Ballot



"Never, never throw away a winning program." — President Truman in speech to the Americans for Democratic Action, in Washington, May 17.

Open Letter Shows U.S., British PW's Want Korea Peace

Ninety-four American and British prisoners of war at the Petkonk camp in North Korea have appealed to the people of this country to "band together now and raise a unified and mighty voice that will be heard" for an end to the war in Korea. The petition, written on sheets of rice paper, is called an "Open Letter to the American People."

The petition was sent by Pfc. Paul F. Schurr, whose father is secretary of the San Francisco CIO Council. Private Schurr's mother flew to New York last week in order to lay the petition before UN Secretary Trygve Lie and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a U.S. delegate to the UN.

"Recently we heard," the captured soldiers wrote in their appeal, "that both sides in the fighting had downed arms only to resume fighting again on the orders of the President, who gave as one reason the safety of the prisoners of war being held by the enemy. How, may we ask, does continuation of the slaughter at the front ensure our safety? ... Air battles are continually being fought above our camp and we are filled with fear every time the alert is sounded and the planes come over. On several occasions, different camps have been subjected to bombing and strafing by our planes, causing casualties. ..."

Among those arrested in Barcelona in recent weeks are David Rey, Manuel Alberich, Francisco Clarum and A. Ortega, long-time members of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) and the socialist trade unions. David Rey is now 63 years old, and, after commutation of a death sentence passed in 1939 by a Franco military tribunal, spent 10 years in Falangist prisons. The new Bar-

Spreading Witch Hunt Brings Wider Protests

By John F. Petrone

The more the witch hunt spreads, the more liberals and even non-political elements it attacks. This has a two-sided effect: On the one hand, it tends to intimidate more people and to silence them into conformity. On the other hand, it tends to awaken broader sections of the population to the real objectives of the witch hunt, to teach them that not "communism" but the suppression of all democratic rights is the issue, and to produce stronger and more active protests from them.

The Lenz case is only one of several recent examples. The announced denotation of Dr. Harold C. Lenz from his post of dean of students at Queens College has aroused a growing storm of condemnation from teachers, students, newspapers and civic organizations.

Dr. Lenz is an anti-communist liberal, an officer of Americans for Democratic Action and the

American Civil Liberties Union, demoted because he spoke publicly in favor of democratic rights for students and proscribed organizations and because he refused to put a gag on his political views.

CARPENTER CASE

Another case that has provoked wide repercussions and the awareness that the witch hunt is menacing the rights of non-radicals involves the Rev. Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York and president of the Brooklyn Council of Social Planning. The liberal N. Y. Post describes him as "an outspoken anti-Communist."

Yet when Dr. Carpenter applied for a passport to visit Japan on church activities, the State Department denied it, without giving a reason. Later, an official stated it had been denied because of his "politics." Still later it was reported that Dr. Carpenter's "crime" consisted of signing an appeal with some other clergymen asking Secretary Acheson to enter into direct

negotiations with Moscow for a peaceful settlement of differences.

Churchmen are crying out against this reprisal as an attack on their freedom of speech and other groups correctly denounce it as an infringement of the general right of petition.

SMEAR WSB MEMBERS

Even top leaders of the repeatedly purged CIO unions are not immune to red-baiting attack. "Public" members of the Wage Stabilization Board have been getting the smear treatment as "left wingers" since their approval of a minority of the steel union's demands. At the same time labor members of the WSB have been subjected to insinua-

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CIO Paper Says Trucks Law Is "Totalitarian Measure," Peril to Freedom of Speech

The Michigan CIO News, official weekly publication of the Michigan CIO Council, in a statement on the editorial page of the May 22 issue, denounced the Trucks Law as a "dangerous totalitarian measure" that "imperils" freedom of speech and can be used "to eliminate political opposition."

The CIO union publication emphasized the sinister implications of the fascist-like law by pointing out that its "first use" was to deny a place on the ballot to the Socialist Workers Party.

The text of this important CIO statement follows:

The Trucks Act — the so-called "Michigan communist control law" — has, since its passage, done everything but control communists.

The Michigan CIO Council opposed passage of the Trucks bill because of its dangerous catch-all terminology, because there are already adequate laws dealing with sabotage and treason, and because the law would not combat communism at all.

A striking illustration of the danger of the Trucks Act is attorney-general Millard's use of this so-called anti-communist law against an anti-communist political organization.

Under the broad powers of the catchall law, Millard denied a place on the Michigan ballot to the Socialist Workers Party, a bitter foe of the Communist party.

This was the first use of the law to be made in Michigan. The anti-communist law has not yet been used against communists, who have instituted legal action to declare the act invalid.

If the attorney-general can crack down on the Socialist Workers party under the Trucks law, what is to prevent him from taking similar action against

CIO Paper's Stand Hailed by Dobbs

DETROIT, May 26 — Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party today hailed the Michigan CIO News comments on the Michigan Trucks law as a "blow against the police-state trend in America."

"By its stand," Dobbs said, "the Michigan CIO News helps defend the civil liberties of the union movement, which are just as much under attack by this fascist-like law as are the civil liberties of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. I don't agree with everything in the article but I welcome it as a heartening blow against the police-state trend in America."

other minor groups of whatever political complexion?

Some political crackpots have said and are saying that the Democratic party is dominated by the CIO, which in turn is dominated by communists. In such circumstances, the broad language of the law would permit the attorney-general to declare the Democratic party to be a subversive organization not entitled to a place on the ballot. Ridiculous? Well, it is possible under the Trucks act.

The act sets up four broad definitions of a "communist" ... only one of the four definitions cites membership in the Communist party. The act also sets up catch-all definitions for "Communist party" and "communist front organizations." These definitions are broad enough to include

(Continued on page 2)

Court Hears Trucks Act Case; Will Rule In June

DETROIT — New evidence has come to light that the sponsors of the Michigan Trucks law intend to use it widely in an effort to keep political opponents off the ballot.

State solicitor general Edmund C. Shephard argued before a three-judge federal court on May 20 that the portion of the law barring "subversive" parties from the ballot is the "most important," the "crucial" section of the law.

Shephard's remarks, made in reply to a Communist Party suit to have the law declared unconstitutional, follow the line taken by acting elections director Frey who said in an earlier press statement: "In view of the impending law, we must see that no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on the ballot."

This conspiracy to monopolize public office by trying to outlaw political opponents as "subversive" has already made the Socialist Workers Party the first victim of the Trucks law.

After complying with all the provisions of the election law the SWP was arbitrarily ruled off the ballot on the pretense that it is "subversive under the meanings of the Trucks law." Attorney general Millard made this outrageous ruling without evi-

dence, without a hearing and without even presenting specific charges against the SWP.

VIOLATES FIFTH AMENDMENT

To build up evidence for prosecutions, the Trucks law requires that members of organizations labeled "subversive" must register with the state police, relate every deed and every thought of their past life, and act as a stoolpigeon against every person they ever met who had an advanced political idea in his head.

This requirement directly violates the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution which states specifically that, "No person ... shall be compelled ... to be a witness against himself."

Shephard sought to brazen this through by asserting that constitutional protection against self-incrimination "does not apply to state laws." He claimed that "no great and irreparable injury is involved" under the Trucks law.

When asked if this would be true in the case of people who lost their job because of "subversive" charges, he said, "That's their risk."

To a question from the court, "Would you call going to jail an immediate and irreparable in-

jury?" he mumbled a reply that could not be plainly heard.

Some of the remarks made by the judges during the hearing reflected the cumulative effect of the five-year witch hunt in coloring the thinking of the courts.

One judge remarked that "the basic objectives of communism are pretty well known" because "innumerable deserters have expounded the basic tenets."

During a discussion of the plight of people who never know when organizations to which they may belong will be called "subversive," a judge asked, "Doesn't a man know today what he is, after all the publicity?"

Another judge asked if the claim that the Trucks law will generate fear in the population isn't merely a "fanciful argument."

This coloring of judicial thought by the witch hunt appeared to be somewhat counter-balanced by the realization that grave constitutional questions are involved in the Trucks law.

It is expected that the decision of the three-judge court in the Communist Party suit will be handed down sometime in June. Pending the decision of the court, the federal restraining order against the enforcement of the Trucks law remains in effect.

Notebook of an Agitator

INFORMER AS HERO

By their heroes ye shall know them — if an infidel may paraphrase the gospel of St. Matthew — for in the individuals whom they exalt and glorify and hold up to the youth as examples, every class and every movement unflinchingly reveals its standards of worth, its morality, its very soul.

Thus, the Communist workers of Germany glorified the name of the courageous and incorruptible Liebknecht who sacrificed his life in battle for a great cause. The degenerate Nazis countered with the dedication of their official hymn to Horst Wessel, the pimp who was killed in a brawl.

The Liberty Boys of '76 celebrated Patrick Henry and his stand for "liberty or death." The British oppressors took Benedict Arnold, the traitor, to their bosom. The Southern slaveholders hanged John Brown. But the feet of the slave-liberating soldiers of the Union were quickened on the march by the song about "John Brown's Body," for his soul marched with them.

The vanguard of the modern labor movement, with its grandiose perspectives of the future, lives on the memory of Parsons and Debs who put the freedom and welfare of the working people above personal concerns. American capitalism, turning round before it got fully ripe, acclaims the stool-pigeon and the informer, who squeal and enrich themselves, as the embodiments of the highest good they know. By their heroes ye shall know them.

Darling of the Renegades

The latest hero and beneficiary of the buildup is Whittaker Chambers, the darling as well as the envy of all the renegade intellectuals, for he has made the biggest splash and drawn down the biggest "take" of all the professional witnesses who have ingeniously tied together in a package deal their twin talents for testifying against others and writing about themselves. Chambers, who put the finger on Alger Hiss and got immunity for himself, is currently offering a lengthy apology for an unadmirable life in a scrubbed-up autobiography ("Witness," Random House, \$5), and at latest reports, is doing pretty good for himself.

The height of philistine aspiration is reached when moral complacency is happily combined with material success. That is the prescription for the good life lived in the American way. And if the agencies which monopolize publicity and the manufacture of public opinion in this country don't succeed in putting Chambers over as a man who has attained these highest values, it will not be for lack of trying.

"Witness" is the bonanza of the publishing business and the sensation of the literary racket. It has been a long time since any book got such a send-off. Random House, it is reported, is spending \$30,000 to advertise the Chambers' revelation. But this extraordinary allotment of the publishers, who stand to profit, is only a small part of the buildup. Eight chapters of the book were previously serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post* in extra editions, promoted by full-page ads in the daily papers, reaching nearly five million readers. In addition, the publication of the book made news in every newspaper and literary journal in the country, and it is getting top billing and extensive space in all the reviews.

Time Magazine, whose publisher is devoutly dedicated to the proposition that there is no such thing as a piece of news that can't be slanted and angled until the fact is lost in the interpretation, spreads its laudatory review over six pages and concludes that Chambers "speaks, like the Publican, with the tremendous eloquence of humility," although it fails to explain what Henry Luce and Co. would know about such things.

Saturday Review, the top-drawer weekly of the New York literati, abandoned all its cus-

tomary restraint to spread five separate reviews of "Witness" over nine pages. And all the other publications I have seen, from the *New York Post* to the *Christian Science Monitor*, give this literary event of the year the full treatment in their review columns.

The Motive Behind the Ballyhoo

There is a motive behind this stupendous ballyhoo. The insecure and frightened reactionaries sense that they are losing ground in the "propaganda war." Chambers has a "message" for them and offers them a program. He claims he has had a "religious experience" and has come to Christ with a bang. He has heard voices, and the voices have told him that the struggle for the status quo against social revolution must be explained as a war of God versus human reason. There is nothing that an unreasonable and outlived social system needs more than that formula.

In my time as a hobo, I have known mission stiffs to confess Christ for a bowl of soup and a flop. Chambers has done better than that. His resounding literary fame is being supplemented — incidentally, of course — by material rewards. *Time Magazine*, which has no motive for lying about its distinguished alumnus, says "Witness" has already earned him more than \$100,000. It may well earn over \$200,000 (before taxes) by 1953 or 1954. And even this not untidy sum leaves out of account prospective fees for lectures before audiences of believing McCarthyites, radio serialization and movie rights.

Chambers, in fact and by his own report, never got very far in the scramble for prominence in the Communist Party. And in the spy apparatus of the GPU, to which he claims he belonged, he never rose above the lowly role of courier, with the special privilege of developing microfilms in an improvised darkroom. But there's no denying that he is now a literary lion, in the chips, and in a fair way to be built up and passed off as a shining exemplar of the All-American Boy. As such he and his book deserve notice; and, after I get these introductory remarks out of the way, I intend to offer my contribution, from my own point of view, which is different from that of the other reviewers, and for my own peculiar reasons, as follows:

No Love for Informers

First, I have had no love for informers since, at an early age, I heard the story of the struggles of my Irish ancestors and learned the verse of the poet who longed for "a tongue to curse the slave" who betrayed them. Chambers, on the record, only strengthens my original prejudice in this respect.

Second, I know something about Chambers and know that he is a sanctimonious liar by commission and omission. I don't know whether he lied about Alger Hiss or not; the spy business is outside the field of my experience and competence. Competent legal authorities, however, have expressed grave doubts about the guilt of Hiss. Charles Alan Wright, Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Minnesota, writing in the *Saturday Review*, says flatly that he thinks Hiss is innocent and characterizes Chambers' book as "one of the longest works of fiction of the year." Besides that, new evidence assembled by Hiss' attorneys is widely held to indicate an elaborate frameup of the unfortunate Hiss and to justify a new trial.

I don't know about that. But I do know that Chambers is an imposter. He was never a Communist as he pretends, but merely a Stalinist who consciously practiced the Stalinist methods of double-dealing and betrayal. He is traveling as an ex-Communist on a false passport.

— J.P.C.

British Firms Forced Out Of China As Epoch Ends

By Harry Frankel

An epoch came to an end on May 19 when the British Government notified the government of New China that British concerns in China, many of which have exploited the Chinese people for an entire century, were going to wind up their affairs and leave. Losses on the so-called "investments" of these imperialist corporations will be, according to varying estimates, between \$40 and 1,400 million dollars.

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden made his excuses for the exploiting corporations, citing conditions of "acute strain and anxiety" in China as the reason for the withdrawal. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who has asserted that he did not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British empire, remained silent. He apparently sees that his empty boast cannot be redeemed by more grandiose rhetoric.

"Preside over the liquidation of the British empire" he must; because the British are not really "withdrawing" they are being driven out.

The meaning of this loss to Britain can be seen by comparing the value of British imperialist total empire. The remainder of British foreign investments abroad do not total, by the most favorable estimates, more than \$4 billion dollars. This total is only about one-quarter of British foreign investments at their height in 1914. Now, with the China liquidation, total British foreign investments are again cut by possibly another 25% of all remaining British investments abroad.

EXPLOITATION OF CHINESE

British investments in China were the chief cog in a gigantic machine of exploitation of the Chinese people. To see this clearly, one need simply compare the British investment in China in 1914 to the 1929 investment. In 1914, British capitalists had 608 million dollars in China, while in 1929, they had almost double that amount, or 1,189 million dollars. This 15-year increase represents only part of the profit on the 1914 investment. In other words, from 1914 to 1929, British capitalists doubled the amount of Chinese property they owned, and doubled it entirely out of China investment profits, which means out of the labor of the Chinese people.

British exploitation of the Chinese people started a century and a half ago, and came to a decisive turning point in the two "Opium Wars," (1837-44 and 1856-60). In these wars, the British and other foreign governments forced China to cede "treaty ports," to give up Hong Kong, to grant special treatment to foreigners, to permit foreign troops and gunboats in China, etc. The British even forced the Chinese government to lift bans on the highly profitable opium traffic in face of China's efforts to stamp out the opium evil.

PUPPET GOVERNMENTS

From that time until the Chinese revolution culminated in complete victory in 1949-50, China became practically a colonial country, and the various governments of China were more or less puppets of foreign powers. British, French, American, German and Japanese troops and naval vessels had the run of the country, and citizens of imperialist nations were virtually above the law in China. The foreign capitalists applied themselves diligently over the past century to the task of extracting enormous quantities of wealth from the labor of the Chinese people.

WALL STREET CONCERN

The meaning of this latest blow to imperialism was quickly recognized by the *Wall Street Journal* on May 26: "Decision of most of the British business organizations . . . in China to liquidate . . . has a grim meaning for all Point Four enthusiasts, wherever they may be." The editorial points out that British investments in China and Iran, now liquidated or in the process of liquidation, were really the same as Point Four foreign investment.

It concludes: "Capital investment across international borders has not ceased. Some American funds are going into other countries, but only where their fair and honorable treatment is a well established principle of national policy, as notably in Canada."

The demand for "fair and honorable treatment" means: stand still and let yourselves be exploited. But the colonial people are unwilling to do this any longer. That is why imperialism is in decline, and is doomed to complete collapse. The British withdrawal from China is a great landmark in this process.

Reuther Backs Murray



United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther (l) backs his arm around United Steelworkers President Philip Murray at steel convention in Philadelphia, having pledged financial, moral and organizational support to the steel union in its wage fight. The auto workers are tied up in long term contracts.

Mich. CIO News Hits Trucks Law

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nitions can be stretched to cover almost any political organization.

The penalty section of the Trucks law is another illustration of the broad language it contains. Here's what it says:

"It shall be a felony, punishable by a term in the state prison for not more than 20 years, for any person, with intent to injure the United States, the state of Michigan, or any facilities or property used for national defense, to sabotage or destroy, or to attempt to sabotage or destroy any property, facility or service that is being used in connection with national defense.

"Should any loss of life occur by reason of such sabotage or destruction, or by reason of attempted sabotage or destruction of such character, the person committing or attempting to commit shall be guilty of murder with malice aforethought and shall be punished by confinement in the state prison for life or for any number of years.

"The word 'sabotage' as used herein means the willful or malicious infliction of physical damage or injury to property.

"The penalty herein provided shall be cumulative of all other penalties which might be imposed by virtue of the fact that the acts constituting an offense under this statute also constitute separate offenses under other laws of the state."

This section not only leaves "injury to property" to the broadest possible whimsical interpretation, but it makes violators subject to penalties under two or more state laws.

A violator could be subject to two life sentences plus 99 years. The Trucks law is a totalitarian measure. It imperils freedom of speech. It can be used to eliminate political opposition.

It is dangerous and it is unnecessary. There already exist federal and state laws dealing effectively with sabotage and treason. The FBI has proven itself an effective fighter against traitors and saboteurs.

If the Republican-ruled state legislature is sincere in its announced desire to combat communism, it will not use a totalitarian measure to fight a communist totalitarian group.

The Hidden History of the Korean War

By I. F. Stone

364 pages — Price \$5, Postpaid

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116 University Pl., N. Y. 8

There could be no more effective blow struck at communism in Michigan than passage of a fair employment practices law, minimum wage legislation, decent unemployment and workmen's compensation and a fair tax program.

Social unrest can be curbed only by treating the causes, not the symptoms.

Congress Amends Puerto Rico Bill Of Human Rights

When the new Constitution, adopted by the people of Puerto Rico last March by a four to one vote, came up for approval in the House of Representatives in Washington May 28, the Democrats and Republicans threw out the following "human rights" provisions as "socialistic" or "communist":

"The right of every person to receive free elementary and secondary education.

"The right of every person to obtain work.

"The right of every person to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, and especially to food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services.

"The right of every person to social protection in the event of unemployment, sickness, old age or disability.

"The right of motherhood and childhood to special care and assistance."

Congress was right. These human rights are no longer obtainable under capitalism. They can be secured only under socialism.

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The American Way of Life

'I Guess I'll Have to Rob a Bank'

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a leading contender for the Presidency and a sure-fire expert on the American way of life, told the people of this country some time back: Anyone who wants security can go to prison. The General wasn't wrong, as the following story shows:

On Thursday, May 22, a tiny 34-year-old woman entered a branch of the City Exchange Bank at Broadway and 91st St. in New York City, handed a note to a teller and exposed a black-metal toy pistol. The note read: "There's a gun pointed at you. Hand me exactly \$400 and don't make a sound." The teller passed out four one-hundred dollar bills, the woman took them and walked out, and the bank alarm was sounded. An armed bank official captured her before she had walked more than a few blocks.

The woman, who weighs only 81 pounds, told reporters who asked whether she thought she could "get away" with it: "I hoped so. I hoped I would either get away with it or that in jail they'd give me the operation I need."

Mrs. Anne Myers, who has two children and is divorced from her husband, said she has never stolen so much as a pencil before in her life. But she has been seriously ill for more than six years. A major operation might cure her. However, long illness has so weakened her that she could not survive such an operation. She found a physician who said he could perform a less serious operation that would correct the worst of her condition and that drugs would clear up the remainder. "That doctor," she said, "isn't a greedy man by any means. He only asked \$250 for the operation and I figured that \$150 would cover my hospitalization."

So Mrs. Myers needed \$400. She was on relief because she

had become too weak to work, and she told a social worker a few hours before the robbery, seemingly in jest, "I guess I'll have to go out and rob a bank." She later told reporters that "I thought I might get to a hospital before they caught me. I picked a bank near home because I'm too sick to run very far or very fast. As a matter of fact, I had to stop twice on my way to the bank as it was."

Facing the police desk for arraignment, Mrs. Myers was composed and dignified, but she almost broke down when police brought in her daughter, Loretta, aged 14. Loretta said: "I heard about it over the radio at 3:30 this afternoon. It was an awful shock. No, of course I didn't know anything about it beforehand. And I'm not going to answer any more questions about it!" She also said: "My mother's sick, terribly, terribly sick. And there isn't anybody to help her. She's awfully young — only 20 years older than me."

Mrs. Myers was aided by a neighborhood cafe owner who put up \$500 bail after she was arraigned in felony court.

Only one small news item need be added to this tale. On the Monday prior to Mrs. Myers' "robbery," the U. S. House of Representatives rejected a bill to increase certain social security payments. The measure was at first unopposed, until the American Medical Association attacked it as containing "socialized medicine" features. And of course, socialized medicine is the last thing we want in this country. If they need an operation, let 'em go to prison.

— Thomas Raymond

THE MILITANT ARMY

The Militant really gets around. Its hard-hitting articles, stories, and cartoons are appreciated by many newsmen for their truthful and direct reporting.

The *Miami Whip*, a Florida Negro newspaper reprinted an April 14 Militant editorial in its May 17 issue. The editorial, entitled "The Truth Will Out," discussed statements by Secretary of the Navy, Dan A. Kimball revealing the real policy of the State Department in relation to Formosa.

In New York, Art Preis' review of I. F. Stone's book, "The Hidden History of the Korean War," appearing in the May 19 Militant was reprinted in full in the following introduction by the editor: "The article which follows recalls the story of Androcles and the lion, though in this case the 'lion' is no more than a fierce kitten. Ten years ago I. F. Stone was the only Washington correspondent to protest when the government, under the newly enacted Smith Act, began to prosecute the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyist group, for sedition. Last week *The Militant*, weekly organ of the party, published a reply by its Korean war expert, Art Preis, to the four-column attack with which the New York Post greeted the appearance of I. F. Stone's new book, 'The Hidden History of the Korean War.' The source and the salty writing alike give this reply unusual interest, and it is reprinted today for the interest and amusement of COMPASS readers. — Ed."

The big news in the West Coast competition for Militant subscriptions this week came from San Francisco. Leaping ahead of Oakland, San Pedro, and Seattle, the Bay City salesmen have settled down in first place with a 389 point lead. Close behind are Oakland and San Pedro. Oakland, in first place since the beginning of the campaign, has made steady gains each week. This week San Pedro showed its determination, however, by closing a 567 point gap between the two competitors and gaining a two point advantage for second place on the scoreboard. Seattle added 346 points to its score and Los Angeles reports a combined score for its four branches of 2,662. The scoreboard reads:

San Francisco	1,326 points
San Pedro	937 points
Oakland	935 points
Seattle	690 points
Westside Los Angeles	286 points
Eastside Los Angeles	276 points
Southside Los Angeles	282 points

High scorers in the competition for first prize of one week's free vacation in New York are Frank K. Oakland, 777 points; John Los Angeles, 364; Dave, Los Angeles, 239; Frank, Seattle, 142; Myra, Los Angeles, 137; and Bill K., Oakland, 90.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen S. writes, "Enclosed are 17 subs — the result of the second week's work in Making More Minnesota Militants in May. Naturally enough, we are very gratified at the response of our various team members to the campaign. The Debs Banner Bearers are in the lead with 15 points but the Lavender Hill Mob are breathing hot on their necks with 14 points. The Northside Tornadoes and the Campus Campaigners are tied with nine points each. The Portland Promoters have seven points. (A 'point' in our campaign is a six month sub.) Individual high scorers are Larv, nine points; Donald, seven; and Shirley, five."

Lou reports that Akron is making good progress toward fulfilling their promise to double their list of subscribers. With the subs sent in this week they have accomplished 20% of their goal. Lou writes, "May we add our voices to what is undoubtedly the thunderous applause for Laura Grey's side show cartoon? Kat took the power over to a rubber plant to sell. Although she sold very little due to a degree of antagonism right after the strike, she was far from disappointed in the response, which showed no deep hostility and a genuine curiosity. 'You don't start selling by leaps and bounds in front of a plant at your first few sales,' Kat says. Her slogan was the headline of the issue. 'Workers need a labor party in '52.'"

IN PLACE OF FEAR

By Aneurin Bevan

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U.S. Warmakers Dictate West German "Contract"

(Continued from page 1)

the German capitalists are not free agents. They are bound to the American war juggernaut.

As for Stalin's threats, they are discounted in Washington. The Pentagon and the State Department are aware of Stalin's anxiety to avoid war because of the threat it holds for his regime. They know that the "civil war" Stalin is talking about is conflict between East Germany and West Germany. Such a conflict, however, especially if it broke out like the civil war in Korea, would mean the opening of World War III.

"CALCULATED RISK"

But how far can the Kremlin be provoked? That, after all, is an unknown, a "calculated risk," in the terminology of these aggressors. Truman's last "calculated risk," the one in Korea, paid off with entry of New China into the conflict. That is why some of the commentators call the Bonn "contract" a "gamble"

and why Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the *N. Y. Times* said (May 26) "war is quite possible today, two weeks from today or ten years from today."

The Kremlin's offers have undoubtedly met with response among the working people of Germany as well as the capitalist class. This is a measure of the depth of the opposition in Germany to the war "contract" which the Truman administration is trying to force down their throats.

For Stalinism is thoroughly discredited in West Germany and deservedly so. At the end of World War II, the Red Army did not bring the program of socialism as many workers hoped and expected it would. Stalin followed a "savage policy of barbaric Russian nationalism, a hate-everything-German policy that succeeded in bitterly alienating the German workers. The Stalinist pillage, division of Germany, mass expulsions and partnership in the infamous Potsdam agree-

ment did not help to assuage the bitterness.

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST PACT

Consequently the responsive chord struck by the Kremlin's offers concerning unification of Germany in place of integration into the American war machine is all the more significant. It follows a series of popular demonstrations against the "contract" in West Germany despite the menacing grins of the Allied occupation forces.

This sentiment should be taken up and supported by every one in America who wants peace. Our obvious duty, our obvious self-interest, demands that we side with the German people in their opposition to another war. They don't want any "contract" for a new slaughter. They want peace. We say, the German people are right in this. Let them decide their own fate. Get the troops out of Germany. An end to the mad drive toward atomic destruction!

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Monday, June 2, 1952

Labor's Stake in Bolivia

Almost two months have elapsed since the Bolivian people overthrew an oppressive military dictatorship and installed the new government headed by the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR).

The new regime was brought to power by a popular uprising. It includes in the cabinet representatives of the powerful Bolivian labor movement, the miners and the textile workers. It is generally acknowledged that this new government has the backing of the majority of the Bolivian people.

But the U.S. State Department has thus far refused to recognize this new regime. The reasons are clear.

Under pressure from the miners, the government headed by Victor Paz Estenssoro has announced it is preparing to nationalize the tin mines of Bolivia. These mines have been the private preserves of foreign imperialists including powerful American combines, who have kept the Bolivian miners in extreme poverty.

Moreover, the new government includes in its cabinet labor representatives who are pressing for speedy action in returning the tin mines to the Bolivian people, and the ousting of foreign exploiters.

American imperialism refuses to countenance such a regime. It wants harmless puppets who will serve as flunkies for Wall Street financiers.

The same American capitalists who press the anti-labor drive at home, are plotting to subvert the independence and the economic interests of the Bolivian people.

The same corporations who ruthlessly exploit the miners here, are determined to keep their stranglehold on the Bolivian miners; the same financial interests who refuse to give the steelworkers a decent wage increase, refuse to allow the Bolivian workers to benefit from the natural wealth of their native land.

It would seem from this that American labor and Bolivian labor should be natural allies against their common enemy. But not a single leader of the U.S. union movement has spoken a word in defense of the Bolivian miners who want to nationalize their mines, or in defense of the right of the Bolivian people to choose their own government.

At stake in Bolivia is simply the right of a nation to determine its own political and economic fate. Here is an issue that will show clearly who is for and who is against the democratic rights of a nation.

American workers should rally to the support of their Bolivian brothers. Demand the immediate recognition of the new Bolivian government!

Is Hitler Really Dead?

In the House of Representatives debate on the new McCarran-Walter immigration bill the following startling exchange occurred between Representatives Celler of New York and Wood of Idaho:

Wood: "If you followed the crime investigation last year you would not have failed to observe... the tremendous development of crime among a goodly portion of those who came here (as immigrants)."

Celler: "I think if the gentleman will take the trouble to check on the crime statistics he will find some of them very startling. The FBI will tell you that there is more crime among the native born than among the aliens."

Wood: "But even granting that this is true... crime still exists among those who are undesirable citizens, however they came here, even if they came here by accident of birth... It seems to me that the question of racial origins — though I am not a follower of Hitler — there is something to it. We cannot tie a stone around it and drop it into the middle of the Atlantic just because it worked to the contrary in Germany... I believe that possibly statistics would show that the Western European races have made the best citizens in America..."

This is pure Hitlerite racial theory, as Rep. Wood hints, despite his coyance about admitting it completely. Change the words "Western European races" to "Aryan races," and "America" to Germany, and you have a precise duplicate of Hitler's ideology.

Is Representative Wood speaking for himself alone? Not at all. He was on the side of the immense majority of the House and Senate in the debate and vote on the McCarran-Walter bill. The handful of liberals who opposed the measure collapsed completely before the onslaught of the racists. They didn't even show up for the Senate vote. Notice the contrast between their shabby inactivity and the determined actions of the Dixiecrats, who never fail to start a filibuster the moment their white-supremacy rule is threatened.

The immigration bill which has been passed by both houses of Congress puts quota limits on immigration from foreign countries that are exactly in accord with Hitler's propaganda ideology about foreign races.

It contains fantastic discrimination clauses against people of Asian descent, South and Eastern Europeans, Negroes and Jews. It even sets up a special inferior status for any person "attributable by as much as one half of his ancestry" to "Asiatic races."

This Hitlerite bill establishes new and loose grounds for deportation, and abolishes existing statutes of limitation in deportation cases; statutes which at present protect people against deportation moves long after an alleged act, when the defendant can no longer establish evidence in his favor.

The McCarran-Walter bill, if it becomes law, will be a Third Reich statute on the U.S. law books. Don't let it happen here!

Proof that the Witch Hunt Affects Every American

By George Breitman

The Militant has shown in several recent articles that there is a vigorous and concerted campaign going on in certain liberal and Social Democratic circles to discredit,

smear and intimidate other liberal and even conservative figures and organizations that are alarmed by the spread of the witch hunt and want to do something to stop it and preserve American democratic traditions and liberties.

One of the chief arguments used in this smear campaign is that there really is no witch hunt; that there may be some deplorable "excesses" but that they are few in number and have no genuine significance; and that therefore the people who are expressing concern over a trend toward totalitarianism are exaggerating things out of malice or stupidity and are themselves the chief generators of "hysteria."

Diana Trilling, joining in the New Leader's muck-slinging at Bertrand Russell, presented this line in its clearest form on April 28. Discussing "loyalty" oaths, she deplored them, and then asked: "But... are the teachers who refused to swear their loyalty dead or in concentration camps?" The implication being: Since they are not dead or imprisoned, then what right has anybody to talk about a police state, or a trend to a police state? In other words, what are you hollering about?

Continuing with the same ap-

proach on the "loyalty" purge of government employees, she writes: "But even under our present gross procedure, how many government employees have actually lost their jobs?" Then she quotes statistics to show that at the half-way point in the federal purge, the authorities "had recommended the dismissal of only .016 of 1 per cent of present or prospective workers, of whom, after appeal, only a fraction more than half (.009 of 1 per cent) were actually dismissed."

And she makes her clinching point: "Suppose this figure were even doubled, and suppose that even five or ten times as many more persons were unwarrantably troubled by investigations, this would be lamentable, but would it constitute a purge of government workers such as is the everyday business of a reign of terror?"

"I find myself embarrassed to have to make these points, they are so elementary. Yet obviously they must be made, for apparently even someone like Bertrand Russell can lose sight of what it is that makes a totalitarianism, or a drift toward totalitarianism."

Apologies for Complacency

The joker in this "elementary" apology for complacency about the witch hunt is, of course, the deliberate confusing of "totalitarianism" and "a drift toward totalitarianism." Practically nobody has said that the U.S. is today totalitarian; the issue under discussion is the direction, the trend.

The charge made by us and others is that the U.S. is being driven and dragged toward totalitarianism. Like Rome, no police state is built in a day. It takes time, a gradual weakening of defenses, the spread of hysteria and confusion, the introduction of one step at a time, followed by a pause to check the reactions of the people before the next step is taken.

Another element in the deception practiced by these apologists is this: They want us to think that the effects of the witch hunt can be measured only in terms of the number of people who "actually lost their jobs" or ended up in prison.

But the full scope and effectiveness of the witch hunt must be gauged in terms of its major objective — which is not to jail or fire a certain number of people. These are only the means toward an end — and the end is thought control over the population as a whole. When Hitler executed his opponents, the aim was not only to get rid of them but to terrorize the German population as a whole by providing an example of what would happen to them if they dared to offer any resistance to his policies.

It's the same thing with the

WILLIAM-W. REMINGTON



Government employee, purged after being cleared several times under the "loyalty" program, who will soon face a second trial, not for "disloyalty" but for alleged perjury.

witch hunt in the U.S. today: If you want to get an idea of how deadly it is, you must examine not only the number of people discharged or jailed but the effects that these discharges and prosecutions have on the people of this country as a whole.

A New Climate of Thought

Needless to say, such a study is much harder to make statistically. But fortunately a preliminary inquiry has already been conducted and summarized in print. It is entitled *Security Measures and Freedom of Thought: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of Loyalty and Security Programs*, published in the March issue of the Yale Law Journal. It is written by Marie Jahoda, Associate Professor of Social Psychology, and Stuart W. Cook, chairman of the Graduate Psychology Department, both of New York University, as an elaboration of a paper presented at a symposium of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its annual convention last December.

As social psychologists, they set out to make a "study of the social-psychological impact of the loyalty and security program upon people to whom it applies."

Interviews were conducted with 70 federal employees of professional rank and 15 faculty members from different universities in Washington, D. C. The government employees came from more than a dozen different agencies, held various ranks, had worked for the government for different periods of time, etc. Most were Democrats or Republicans, although some called themselves liberals or independents. The interviews involved "prolonged conversations which often took several hours."

It is important to stress that practically all of the people interviewed were not under suspicion of "disloyalty" — it is based almost exclusively on interviews with employees whose records were unimpeachable even

from the standpoint of the purgers. In this respect they were typical of almost all government employees, and this is one of the factors that makes their study so valuable and revealing.

The authors do not claim that the 85 people interviewed are "representative" but that they covered "a fair range of attitudes" and got responses "as extreme in either direction as would be the case in a representative sample." This explanation by them is an example of their scrupulous objectivity, which restrains them from drawing any hard-and-fast conclusions; they insist that since theirs is an "exploratory" study, their task is to "formulate questions for more systematic research rather than to provide answers." Nevertheless, they arrive at an extremely important "hypothesis" — which they want studied further — namely:

"... Federal loyalty and security measures are undermining the great traditions of American democracy which they should seek to preserve."

Does the "loyalty" program occupy a central position in the lives of government employees, or is it just an isolated aspect of their experience with little or only occasional effect on their thinking and behavior? Based on their interviews, the authors suggest "for more thorough inquiry the hypothesis that the security situation... is a very salient issue for federal employees in Washington; that it is not confined to an intellectual concern with the problem but pervades the entire atmosphere; in other words, that the security issue has become part of the prevalent

climate of thought, and underlies in the form of tacit assumptions many aspects of everyday behavior."

The character of these tacit assumptions is illustrated by the frequency of jokes about the "loyalty" program occurring in informal conversation in Washington. Here are a few reported by the authors:

"At a small social gathering a federal employee, well known to his friends 'as an expert on oriental rugs, reported laughingly that he had just attended an auction. The auctioneer who knew him well had announced to the public, pointing at him: 'Up there sits a real Far Eastern expert.' 'What will this do to my position?' the employee asked his friends. The joke was highly appreciated by everyone present."

'Why Lead With Your Chin?'

In the Soviet Union, the authors note, you cannot publicly utter the phrase, "Stalin has made a mistake." In the U.S. you can still say, "Truman has made a mistake." However, the interviews indicate that government employees are becoming more and more cautious about what they say: "Traditional standards for behavior are deemed by many respondents to be inappropriate in the present situation. New standards are being established, and traditional ones reinterpreted..." For example:

"Why lead with your chin? If things are definitely labeled I see no point in getting involved with them. If communists like apple pie and I do, I see no reason why I should stop eating it. But I would." The employee who said this was not opposed to having a "loyalty" program.

Then there were a few people who refused to participate in the interview. "I don't know whether the government approves of this study," said one. This, as the authors explain, is based on the "assumption that a federal employee should avoid not only what the government explicitly vetoes but also what the government does not explicitly approve, a position which inevitably limits the range of possible behavior considerably."

The people interviewed told about precautions they were taking. Some took them merely "to avoid difficulties." Others had the conviction that failure to take the

He Took an Earlier Bus

What can be discussed: One person, "a convinced anti-communist of some standing," told this story: "A friend and I were riding on a streetcar and he read a newspaper reporting about the American Legion and began to mock it so that our immediate neighbors could hear him. I thought to myself: why doesn't he shut up before we are accused of being communists. Several friends have told me that they found themselves in similar situations and that they had experienced feelings similar to mine."

"One person remembered that a year or two ago he used to have discussions with colleagues about the advisability of admitting Red China to the UN. All points of view were represented in these office discussions. He added: 'If someone walked into my office today and would advocate admission, I would not believe my ears.'"

"Another one feels that governmental decisions should not be questioned as one did before, but 'what's handed down' should be accepted. Several respondents recommend that federal employees keep out of discussion on any controversial subject. And by those who are more specific in this respect the following taboos are mentioned (among others): atomic energy, religion, equal rights for Negroes, etc."

"One person carried his avoidance of conversations involving controversial subjects so far that he decided to take an earlier bus to work every morning because he had heard some regular bus riders on his original route discussing politics."

The United States has long been known as a country of joiners. For over 100 years its people have belonged to more clubs, lodges, clubs, societies and so on than any other country in the world. But the witch hunt and the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist are changing this radically.

One question asked in the survey was: "What sort of persons, if any, do you think are the most likely targets for unfounded accusations of disloyalty?" These were some of the answers:

"Union members because they are in the minority in government."

"Those who join organizations."

"Natural joiners."

"Those who are useful in organizations. If you don't do anything you are never questioned."

"Those who actively work in organizations."

"People who don't mind living next to a Negro."

"Generous and sentimental people who might speak up on impulse for a minority group."

"A person willing to hire a Negro secretary."

"People vitally interested in problems such as racial conflict, reduction of poverty, and furtherance of human rights."

"So-called free thinkers who would naturally at one time or another be associated with people of communist leanings."

"People not members of an organized church."

"People with strong convictions."

"Liberals."

"Intellectuals."

"People whose job is international affairs."

"People who have had something to do with China."

"An interviewer reported that, while sitting in the home of a respondent (one of those interviewed), the respondent's wife came in and said jokingly: 'You are probably collecting information for the FBI.'"

"One federal employee told a joke against himself: He had a very good short wave set, and in fiddling with the set he caught Radio Moscow. 'I looked over my shoulder to see whether anybody was observing me, being scared for a moment,' he said, laughing off his hysterical reaction."

The authors add that as a rule jokes have the function not only of entertainment but of "releasing tension" and their frequency can be taken "as an indicator of the degree of tension in Washington with regard to security regulations."

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What books can be read: "One respondent said in the context of pointing out that the haphazardness of charges was much exaggerated: 'If there is only a rumor that a person reads Marx nothing will happen to him. Of course, if the rumor turns out to be true, this is a different matter.' Another one, indicating that there were really no restrictions worth mentioning, stated: 'There is no reason to refrain from reading the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's.'"

What books can be kept: "Several people commented on the changing character of the books displayed at the homes of their friends. The book shelves of some of my friends have changed their nature in the last ten years. Books usually stay on the shelves year after year unless somebody is deliberate in moving them around.' One person said that when moving to another house he came across the first few years of the New Masses. 'I didn't know what to do with it; it seemed dangerous. So in the end I burned it.' Several persons consider it better to buy the Nation from a newsstand than to be on the subscribers' list."

What happens when word of something like this gets around — when people realize that "one may be suspected of disloyalty (and subjected to the discomforts of investigation) simply because people sing songs in a foreign language"? Informal pressure to conform, of course. The same thing happens with newspaper publicity. Even when the press only reports that employees can get into trouble for innocuous behavior, it "may have the unintended effect of serving as a caution to federal employees that, in order to avoid trouble, they must limit their behavior to the most conventional."

To summarize then: This investigation (although expressed tentatively in the form of hypotheses) definitely disproves the contention that the effects of the "loyalty" program can be measured simply in terms of the number of people who were purged, and demonstrates that it has affected

"One person suggested (not satirically but quite seriously) that a federal employee should join nothing but The Knights of Columbus, and perhaps, the Masons."

At this point Professors Jahoda and Cook quote from de Tocqueville's famous book on America 120 years ago, where he made the observation (not in connection with the United States of that time):

"When some kinds of associa-

DR. FORREST O. WIGGINS



University of Minnesota instructor, another victim of the new climate of thought induced by the witch hunt, purged from his job because he defended ideas critical of capitalism.

Pressures to Conform

There are also informal pressures. A man heard songs in a strange language from the next house. Looking through the window, he saw "what he considered strange behavior: a group of people were sitting in a circle on the floor and singing. He concluded that since communists were strange and the scene observed was strange, the two strange elements must be identical. The result was that what was in fact a Zionist meeting was reported as communist" — and a government employee was charged with holding communist meetings in his home.

What happens when word of something like this gets around — when people realize that "one may be suspected of disloyalty (and subjected to the discomforts of investigation) simply because people sing songs in a foreign language"? Informal pressure to conform, of course. The same thing happens with newspaper publicity. Even when the press only reports that employees can get into trouble for innocuous behavior, it "may have the unintended effect of serving as a caution to federal employees that, in order to avoid trouble, they must limit their behavior to the most conventional."

To summarize then: This investigation (although expressed tentatively in the form of hypotheses) definitely disproves the contention that the effects of the "loyalty" program can be measured simply in terms of the number of people who were purged, and demonstrates that it has affected

Consequences Were Intended

That is why we urge everyone interested in combatting the fiction that the witch hunt affects only a small number of people to spread the news about the Jahoda-Cook study and to read it themselves. (We have not had the space to fully cover its contents here.)

At the same time a few words of caution are necessary here. Professors Jahoda and Cook base their study on a premise (codified in the "functional" sociological school headed by Robert K. Merton) which they express as follows: "the social-psychological consequences of a social policy can, but need not, coincide with the purposes for which the policy was designed."

Continuing, the authors explain: "We have singled out the social-psychological consequences of the security measures as the main focus of our analysis, without here making the distinction between those which are intended and those which are unintended."

But two pages later, in the very last sentence of their article, after calling for a broader investigation than they were able to make, they write: "If such a study should confirm the hypotheses suggested here, it would indicate that as an unintended consequence of their operation Federal loyalty and security measures are undermining the great traditions of American democracy which they should seek to preserve." (Our emphasis)

At this point we must call our authors sharply to order: Throughout the entire article they shy away from definite conclusions, refusing to commit themselves and stating everything in

tions are prohibited and others allowed, it is difficult to distinguish the former from the latter beforehand. In this state of doubt men abstain from them altogether, and a sort of public opinion passes current which tends to cause any association whatsoever to be regarded as a bold and almost an illicit enterprise."

And that is just what is happening in this country today. Federal employees are afraid to exercise their freedom of association because they know it can lead to unfounded accusations of disloyalty.

The authors devote some space to analyzing the "two types of social pressures which enforce conformity." One type arises directly out of the procedures of the "loyalty" program:

Personal agony and suffering caused the employee while he waits and worries whether he will be cleared or fired; the financial expense of hiring a lawyer; the loss of reputation that follows even after the employee has been cleared; his uncertainty about whether the case will be reopened later on. In short, "the hazards of being investigated — even if one is subsequently cleared — are so great that individuals are induced to limit their behavior by avoiding (or trying to avoid) anything that might conceivably arouse anyone's suspicions and thus lead to charges and an investigation."

ALL employees by creating a new climate of thought and new standards of behavior leading to conformity.

If it did nothing more than throw light on what the witch hunt has done to two million Americans employed by the government, the Jahoda-Cook study would merit the widest attention. But it does more than that, because the situation of these two million people is by no means unique in this country today.

Take the teachers — the great majority of whom are not individually suspected of "disloyalty" (in which respect they resemble most government employees). Aren't the teachers as a whole affected the same way by the "loyalty" oaths, even if these are not universally required yet?

Or take the labor movement: Doesn't the non-communist affidavit required of union leaders by the Taft-Hartley Act, to say nothing of anti-communist union regulations and the spectacle of the Smith Act prosecutions, have a similar effect of discouraging the union members from exercising their freedoms of speech and political association?

The answer is: of course! The Jahoda-Cook study is valuable not only for what it tells us about the insidious effects of the witch hunt in infringing freedom of thought among government employees as a whole but also for what it shows us about the similar thought-control process among the American people as a whole.

tentative form. Perhaps we can't make them understand that partisanship and a scientific approach to social questions are not incompatible, but the least we can demand of them then is consistency: If you take such pride in being tentative and impartial in what you say, then be tentative and impartial all the way, and don't start changing the rules in your last sentence.

There is absolutely no reason to say that it is the "unintended consequences" of the "loyalty" purge that are undermining democracy — especially after they have just told us they don't distinguish between intended and unintended consequences. They don't offer a single shred of evidence, scientific or otherwise, to support this concession to the witch hunters. And they can't.

They can't because there isn't any. All the evidence points the other way. The deliberate and conscious intention of the "loyalty" program and other witch hunt measures is to impose thought control on the American people (even though the witch hunters of course would never publicly avow such an intention), and the means are in complete accord with the ends pursued. The Truman administration knows about the consequences of the witch hunt as well as our two authors; its stubborn refusal for five years to alter its measures is proof enough that the main consequences described by our authors are the ones it had in mind in the first place.

But fortunately these and other errors and shortcomings do not detract appreciably from the value of the concrete findings of the Jahoda-Cook investigation.

The Negro Struggle 'Counterattack' Vs. NAACP

By Jean Blake

A dangerous campaign against the independence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was revealed in a front-page story of the May 17 Washington Afro-American.

Counterattack, a reactionary group of former FBI investigators and other police-state minded characters, reportedly has sent a memorandum to the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and to the Attorney General charging there are Communists on the staff of the NAACP and demanding that the membership and contributors files be opened for investigation by the FBI.

The Afro-American correctly points out that this represents an attempt "of certain groups to have the NAACP placed on the subversive list" and to "cripple all groups that are fighting for the freedom and civil rights of minorities."

The reply by Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, that the charge by Counterattack is a "malicious lie," is true. But it is also beside the point. It will take more than the truth or falsehood of the specific charge to defend the NAACP.

The Socialist Workers Party can vouch for the fact, from its own experience, that truth is entirely irrelevant to witch-hunters. Anyone at all familiar with the SWP — its principles, policies and record — knows that we neither "advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence" nor are "agents of a foreign power," the two standards the government has set up for placing groups on the subversive list. But that did not stop the Attorney General from labeling the SWP "subversive" — without even the formality of a hearing.

Such arbitrary labeling of a number of organizations was enough to set in motion a whole chain of similar acts to deprive many Americans of their civil rights and liberty, to deprive foreign born workers of the right to become American citizens, and to make a mockery of this country's democratic traditions.

Many of our readers are familiar with the case of James Kutchner, the legless veteran of World War II, who was fired from his job as a clerk employed by the Veterans Administration in Newark, N. J. — not for anything he did, but because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

More recently, the Michigan Trucks Act has

been applied to the Socialist Workers Party to bar it from the ballot and require that all members register with the state police — also on the basis of the arbitrary listing of the party as "subversive."

These are only a few of the things that have happened to us and can happen to the NAACP regardless of how much its officers may deny the charges of Counterattack.

But those are only the dangers from outside. They can be withstood. The SWP has not folded up or given up the struggle against capitalist injustice, against war, against discrimination.

The danger the NAACP must guard against is from within. It must not permit weaklings and cowards to give in to the reactionary demand that its members and contributors be subjected to the undemocratic mercies of the FBI and the McCarran witch-hunting committee.

Once the NAACP lets the pro-Jim Crow Congress dictate who may be members or contributors, the organization may as well fold up, for all the good it will be able to do.

The struggle for the independence of the NAACP is the struggle for its life. It is the struggle for the right of "second class citizens" to attempt to win full equality.

The NAACP cannot afford to make a single concession to the witch hunters. If the organization embarks on the course of trying to make itself "acceptable" to the McCarran committee and the FBI, there will be no end to the demands made upon it for "purgings," loyalty oaths and screenings until every ounce of fight in the NAACP is destroyed.

NAACP policy on this question should be considered and discussed in all the branches, as well as in the national board of directors, and should be clearly and firmly stated at the national convention of the organization in Oklahoma City next month.

The NAACP should fight all attempts of Counterattack, of the FBI and of any other group that would subvert the organization into one for restricting rather than expanding civil liberties. The NAACP will find it has many allies in its struggle to maintain its independence. Any "friends" it may lose by rejecting a policy of stool-pigeoning for the FBI, are best cleared out before they become an effective "fifth column" for white supremacy.

"Our Mutual Destruction"

By Tom Conlan

There is one boom that keeps growing bigger and better as the weeks and months slip by. It is the boom in atomic weapons. Production facilities have constantly expanded and the atom-bomb stockpile has grown accordingly. Columnist Walter Millis, a reputed authority on military affairs, commented on May 20 that these "peculiarly horrible and terrible" weapons are now "appearing in much greater numbers in the world — our own stockpile is now thought to be in four figures."

But this news that the A-Bombs are beginning to number in the thousands pales in significance by comparison with the "progress" presumably achieved in the development of the far more powerful H-Bomb.

President Truman will shortly ask Congress for several more billions to spur the "atomic energy program." Reporting this on May 16, Roland Sawyer, staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, declared that this "means that the hydrogen bomb is being developed more rapidly and more successfully than generally has been realized," and that the U.S. will go "much deeper into the hydrogen bomb business," developing "atomic weapons to a larger extent than heretofore."

Correspondent Sawyer interviewed a number of "informed people." One of them confirmed that Truman would demand a new multi-billion atomic appropriation from Congress. A second "informed individual" stressed to Sawyer the need of building "a lot of Savannahs." (Savannah is the South Carolina H-Bomb plant.) A third who "certainly knows what he was talking about," and who refused to "even begin to discuss what he knew," told Sawyer that the H-Bomb "is the most important thing we are doing by far and away."

What especially appalled Sawyer was the statement by "one informed individual" to the effect that "The hydrogen bomb presents the possibility of our mutual destruction."

While no "authorized source" has confirmed either the feasibility of the hydrogen super-bomb or its destructive potential, Sawyer is convinced that those who do know are certain that such a super-bomb "is going to be built," that "its destructive power is beyond the average mind to

comprehend," and that the H-Bomb supersedes the A-Bomb as "the real question mark of the future."

Sawyer was informed by "atomic energy people" that "the Soviets are doing at least as well as the Americans" in the atomic arms race, "including the hydrogen bomb." His own conclusion is that:

"There can be not the slightest doubt that the atomic arms race, in its hydrogen development, has taken a most serious turn. Forces have been discovered which if unchecked could destroy much of modern civilization."

For this Sawyer is able to offer only his own "unsubstantiated statement," lamenting it as "one of the costs of secrecy, which involves the whole atomic program."

It is noteworthy that not only has there been no denial forthcoming from Washington, but also that Sawyer's report has generally been ignored by the press.

The eventuality of what Sawyer mildly terms as "a most serious turn" in the current atomic arms race is obviously of the utmost importance to the American people and the people of the world over. Their physical survival is literally involved. Yet they have been permitted to know exactly nothing.

Will the projected war, to which the Pentagon has for years referred as "Atomic War I," actually prove to be Hell-Bomb War of "Mutual Destruction"? Who is better entitled to a clear answer to this question than the American people who are being dragged step by step into such a war? And it is an answer that must be forthcoming in advance, because it will obviously be too late once the Hell-Bombs start to drop.

From Washington's current policy of "hush-hush" in connection with the atomic arms race, there obviously flows the danger of the American people being caught off-guard. But by far the greatest danger is that the American people, as matters stand, will have no say whatever on the all-decisive issue of peace and war. It is not too late to take the war-making powers away from Truman and Congress and let the people decide by a national referendum on whether there shall be peace or war!

Notes from the News

THE RECENT "PANTY" RAIDS at several universities are due in part to the growth of "McCarthyism" in university and community life, Rabbi Louis I. Newman said in a sermon at Temple Rodef Shalom in New York last week. "A vast silence has descended upon young men and women today in the colleges of our country and they find an expression for their bottled-up energies in foolish and unseemly acts like the 'raids' upon dormitories. . . Instead of channelizing this vitality into healthy argument on the vital issues of the times, they grow restless and inhibited because the expression of dissent is deemed dangerous."

W. AVERILL HARRIMAN, millionaire candidate for the Democratic nomination who is making a special bid to line up the support of the labor leaders, will meet with New York CIO officials at an "unofficial" cocktail party June 6.

THE NATION was not too impressed by Truman's liberal demagoguery on civil liberties at the Americans for Democratic Action convention in Washington. Commenting on his statement about the dangers that would result "if we surrender to McCarthyism and adopt the principle of guilt by association," the Nation said: "But guilt by association became the law of the land with the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Feinberg law. And even the Feinberg law provides that organizations cannot be listed as 'subversive' without a hearing — which is more than can be said of the President's own Loyalty Order."

WALTER WHITE, NAACP secretary, has protested to Frank McKinney, Democratic national chairman, that his efforts to work out a "compromise" on a compulsory FEPC in the Democratic platform have "gravely disturbed" Negroes and that a watered-down civil rights plank "would not receive the support of Negro voters or of a considerable number of other liberal voters who are concerned about this fundamental issue."

"THE GREATEST HOAX ever perpetrated on the American people" is the notion that the U.S. "is and has been in a sound prosperity," the convention of the National Association of Credit Men was told by its vice president, Henry H. Heimann. Discussing international trade, he lamented: "There has been nothing real about it for 20 years. We have loaned money abroad so they (other nations) might buy, or we have given money abroad and had them use it to buy our production. International trade on that basis is moving down a one-way street. There must be an end to it some time."

THE GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT is preparing a bill to nationalize most of the country's privately owned uncultivated and sharecropped land for redistribution among the landless peasants. Owners would be compensated in bonds based on present tax values and redeemable in a maximum of 25 years. Not counting land now held by the government, 2% of the agricultural population now owns 70% of the land, 76% owns 10% of the land, and 22% the remaining 20% of the land.

THE COMPASS, in reprinting Art Preis' review of the new book on the Korean war by Compass columnist I. F. Stone (see Militant Army on Page 2), had an editorial note with the misleading implication that The Militant defends Stone's book in return for Stone's defense of the Socialist Workers Party members convicted in the 1941 Minneapolis Smith Act trial. While Stone merits praise for his principled defense of civil liberties for all victimized groups, that was not the basis for The Militant's review of his book, which was judged strictly on its merits.

THE BAN on the showing of the Italian film, The Miracle, was lifted by a unanimous Supreme Court decision. The film had been prohibited as "sacreligious" in New York under pressure of Cardinal Spellman.

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Trucks Act Called 'Unconstitutional' By 'Wage Earner'

DETROIT — "The real danger of the Trucks law," states the May issue of the Wage Earner, "is that it is so vague, so all encompassing, so patently open to abuse that it could, if strictly enforced, permit half the population of the state to put the other half in jail."

Making clear that it has no political sympathy toward the victims of the Trucks law, the official organ of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists calls the law "one man's unconstitutional idea of how to deal with communists."

FLOUTS BASIC RIGHTS

Provision of the law considered unconstitutional by the ACTU paper are: denial of equal protection under the laws; making mere membership in an organization the basis for a felony prosecution; and denial of an accused person's right to refuse to testify against himself, by making such refusal evidence of guilt, a practice that has never been permitted even against the worst criminal.

Among the examples cited by the Wage Earner of how the law could be indiscriminately applied to the general population are the following:

"A couple of years ago the New York Times made scarce newspaper available to the Daily Worker, an act which, under the Trucks law, would come very close to making the Times liable to prosecution. . .

"Every non-communist member of the Lawyers Guild who chose to remain in the organization and attempt to wrest it from communist control could be prosecuted if any of the Guild's funds found their way into the Party's coffers. . .

"This could also be applied to union members who paid their dues to a communist dominated union. . .

With reference to the provision requiring members of "communist front organizations" to register with the state police, the Wage Earner asks, "Would the mere listing of the organization by the attorney-general be sufficient to apprise a man that he is a member of a communist front organization — though he stoutly and honestly denies that the organization fronts for the communists?"

"Lest we inadvertently come under the Trucks law ourselves," the article adds, "we hasten to explain that this is not a treatise of the question of whether the communists should have constitutional rights. . ."

Shock of His Life

Ellis Arnall told the House Banking Committee he got the shock of his life "when I gave the grocer a dime for a quart of milk." As housewives in the audience laughed, Arnall said that he was "pretty far behind the times. Good Lord, when I handed the man a dime I found out the price was about 28 cents!" The joke, however, is not on Arnall. He happens to be Price Stabilizer. And a few days later he ordered another increase in grocery prices.

Next Week: The Ceylon Elections

Witch Hunt Brings New Protests

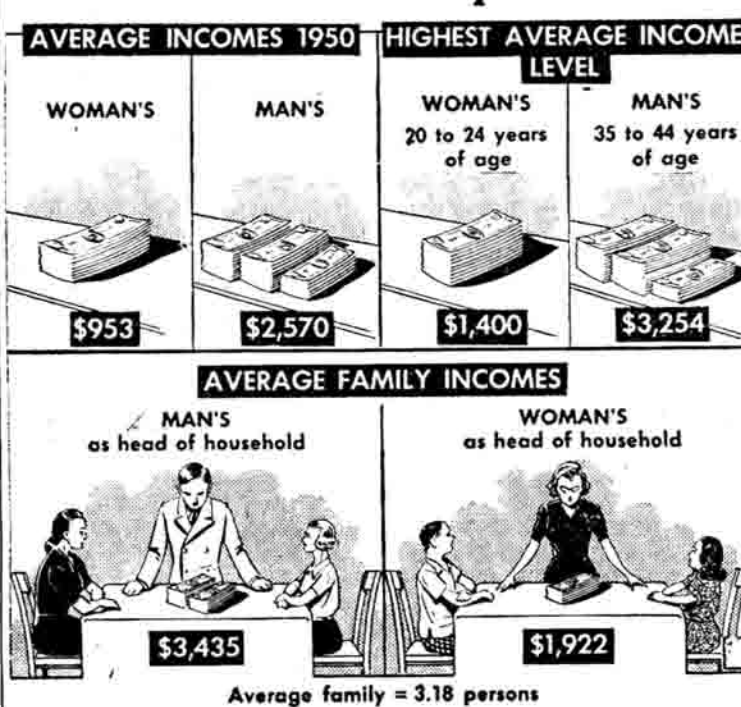
(Continued from page 1)

On May 22 WSB members Joseph W. Childs, vice president of the CIO United Rubber Workers, appeared before the House Labor Committee to denounce Rep. Richard B. Vail (R, Ill.) for "red-baiting" and making "dirty insinuations" against him and two other CIO members of the WSB, John Brophy and Benjamin Sigal.

Vail had read into the record excerpts from testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in an attempt to portray the CIO leaders as "openly loyal" to some organizations on the Attorney General's blacklist.

Labor Committee chairman Barden deplored Childs' use of "right wrong language." An AP dispatch noted that such "blunt language" was "unusual for a witness before a Congressional committee." Which only goes to show that even anti-communist labor leaders can get aroused when the witch hunt spreads to involve them, as it inevitably must.

Women Underpaid



These figures from the 1950 census, compiled and issued by the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, show graphic evidence of the discrimination against women in wage payments. Although the labor movement has long been on record for equal pay for women, these are still the facts.

FLORIDA POLLING PLACE BOMBED IN NEW WAVE OF ANTI-NEGRO TERROR

Anti-Negro bomb terrorism exploded in Florida again on May 27 as white supremacists tried to intimidate Negro voters from participating in the Democratic convention delegate elections.

A dynamite blast rocked a polling place in a Jacksonville Negro college early in the day, before the polls had opened. No one was in the building at the time. Police said two sticks of dynamite had exploded, tearing a three-foot hole in the roof of the Walker Vocational College.

On the same day another dynamite bomb was found on the porch of David H. Dwight, a Negro who is president of the Duval County Democratic Alliance. Fuses on the bomb had been lit but had gone out. Dwight's home is a block away from the Walker Vocational College.

Harry T. Moore, state coordinator of the NACP, and his wife Harriette, were both murdered when a bomb was exploded under their home last Christmas night. Moore was a special target of the Jim Crow elements not only because he led the fight against the Groveland frameup and killings but also because as executive secretary of the Florida Progressive Voters League he organized a number of court battles against moves to disfranchise Negroes.

FAILURE TO ACT

Despite many promises of action from the federal government, the Moore murders went unpunished, and bombings spread through several Southern states, reaching as far as Cairo, Ill., and Los Angeles. The authorities' failure to apprehend and punish the anti-Negro terrorists encourages the use of bombing as a weapon for maintaining the Jim Crow system.

It is still a dangerous and even revolutionary undertaking for Negroes to vote in many southern parts of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." That is why they deserve and need the active help and support of all labor, Negro and liberal organizations, who should protest the refusal of the government to protect Negro voters against reprisals and who should encourage their Southern affiliates to get together in united defense of the right of all to vote.

MORE REGISTERING

The latest cases of bomb terrorism in Florida foreshadow the kind of violence that Ku Klux and Dixiecrat gangs will aim at Negroes when they attempt to exercise their right to vote in this year's elections. Almost two

Gov't. "Seizure" Didn't Pay Off For Rail Workers

By Joseph Andrews

"Government seizure" has come to an end in the railroad industry. The rail barons have doffed their brass-decorated army uniforms and are once again attired in their customary banker's grey.

The 21-month "seizure" of the industry ended when leaders of the three operating railway brotherhoods were finally bludgeoned into accepting union contracts incorporating no substantial gains beyond what was offered the unions in Aug., 1950, when the four operating brotherhoods were about to go on strike for a decent contract.

This strike threat, after 16 months of fruitless negotiations, was broken in advance by Truman's seizure of the industry under provisions of the Railway Labor Act of 1916.

Leaders of the unions had literally begged Truman to seize the industry. They had no stomach for a strike; moreover, they held the illusory belief that Truman would, under government seizure, give them the wage increases and improved working conditions to which the railroad workers were entitled.

But belief in "labor's friend" in the White House was repaid with bitter medicine.

Truman's "seizure" of the railroad industry was conducted wholly in the interest of the railroad companies. Their profits continued as before. Their stockholders continued to clip their coupons. Their big shots continued to run the roads — with the added authority of army commissions.

But the unions were deprived of their right to strike; they were forced to work without a new contract.

STRIKE BROKEN

And when the railroaders could no longer tolerate the forced labor imposed on them, and struck despite government seizure, they were smashed with four separate anti-strike injunctions. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, broke the solid front of operating brotherhoods, by signing a separate contract a year ago.

The rail workers have for years signified their dissatisfaction both with the craft division of their unions, and the cowardly policies of the leadership. The next stage of railroad struggle will necessarily see the formation of a new leadership, based on a program of consolidation of the unions on industrial lines, and a policy of militant action.

When they agreed to the new contracts proposed by government mediator Steelman, representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, and the Order of Railway Conductors, stated they "had no other alternative under one-sided government seizure and rule by labor injunction."

The new contract provides for a 16 month wage freeze, a 37-cents an hour wage increase for yardmen, 22½ cents for roadmen, retroactive to various dates. Most of the major rule changes demanded by the unions were rejected.

This agreement is substantially the same as that proposed in Aug., 1950. At that time the contracts were approved by top officers, but rejected by local union leaders. This time the top officials were empowered to commit the unions to binding agreements.

Railroad workers have learned the hard way that they cannot depend on Truman or the courts to defend their living standards and working conditions. The same leaders who in 1950 asked Truman to seize the railroads, are today in court on the same side

Akron SWP Fights City Income Levy; Asks Tax on Rich

AKRON, May 23 — "We are opposed to any tax on workers income," Kay Kean, Secretary of the Akron Branch of the Socialist Workers Party stated in a declaration to the press today in reply to a proposed 1½% tax on workers pay initiated by Mayor Slusser.

The city administration claims that "vital" expenditures such as sewer renovation, salary increases for city employees, hiring of part time playground supervisors, will have to be abandoned unless such a tax is adopted.

"Even if we are to assume that the budgetary needs of the city are not misrepresented by the Mayor, the workers of Akron cannot afford to foot the bill," the SWP spokesman said. "Working class families are suffering under the terrible tax load sponsored by the bi-partisan war administration in Washington."

"The six largest rubber companies could alone supply the city with the required amount of \$3,500,000 if they were taxed 3%," Comrade Kean's statement continued. "Based on their 1951 profits, such a tax would leave them with only 125 million dollars instead of their reported 129 million dollar profit."

Opposing any tax on low income groups, the SWP secretary proposed a "corporation tax of 3% instead." Under the mayor's proposed tax the corporations would be taxed only one and one half percent — a so-called "equality of sacrifice" tax.

The Akron Socialist Workers Party branch will present its tax program for raising city revenues to the city council at a forthcoming public hearing. The party plans to speak of the real budgetary needs of the city, such as low-cost hospital clinics and playgrounds, and point to the fact that a 3% corporation tax would net ample revenue to start such projects.