

Campaign Opens For \$17,500 Election Fund

By Morris Stein

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

This decision was originally made at the May Plenary meeting of the National Committee which felt that these two matters are directly tied together.

In the 1952 election campaign we propose to bring the socialist program, the socialist struggle against war and the witch hunt to the attention of the American people. The Trucks Law represents an attempt by the witch hunters to silence the party, to keep it off the ballot even after it has met all the difficult legal requirements, and to drive the party underground. The Trucks law is not an exclusively Michigan measure; it represents an extension into this industrial state, the home of the UAW-CIO, of a law previously passed in the State of Texas. If the witch hunters succeed in getting away with it in Michigan, it can be expected that similar laws will be pushed through in every state of the Union.

The Plenum decided to give full backing, financial and otherwise, to our comrades in Michigan now challenging this law in the courts. By their fight against the Trucks law, the Michigan

comrades are spearheading the fight in behalf of socialism and in behalf of the entire working class. The Plenum recognized that it is the fight of the party as a whole. The Plenum was confident, therefore, that every revolutionary socialist will do his utmost to provide the necessary funds for a vigorous fight against the witch hunt and for an effective election campaign.

The Plenum decided against setting any branch quotas for the combined Election — Anti-Trucks Law fund. The decision, instead, was to put the question up to the branches and ask what they can do. Now we have their reports.

The goal of \$17,500 to be raised in the campaign represents the total pledged by the branches. The pledges and first payment are reported in the scoreboard below. This magnificent response is an expression of the high morale with which revolutionary socialists defend their party against the encroachment of reaction.

We are confident that the pledges made will be met in full and on time.

\$17,500 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$2,113	\$1,194	57
Connecticut	125	71	57
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	435	44
Chicago	1,500	625	42
Akron	150	60	40
Flint	300	100	33
Cleveland	300	80	27
Newark	1,000	262	26
New York	4,500	1,153	26
Buffalo	1,000	253	25
Philadelphia	350	62	18
Boston	600	71	12
Pittsburgh	40	5	13
Seattle	400	50	13
Los Angeles	2,200	0	0
Milwaukee	275	0	0
Oakland	300	0	0
St. Louis	50	0	0
San Francisco	900	0	0
Youngstown	400	0	0
General	115	39	34
Total through June 30	\$17,500	\$4,460	25

WORKERS DETERMINED ON STEEL PICKET LINES

By Bruce Petersen

YOUNGSTOWN, June 24 — Fifty-five thousand steelworkers in this major steel center started their strike of June 2 in a mood of lighthearted confidence. A feeling of power spread through the union ranks because for thousands of workers the strike of June 2, like that of May 7, was a real taste of independent job action. All steel strikes before 1946 were marred by the presence of scabs in the plants, and in the industry-wide strikes of 1946, 1949 and April 8 of this year, the steel corporations made elaborate and long-drawn shut-down preparations.

June 2 was different. Within minutes after the Supreme Court ruling on the seizure, the plants started going down. The daily flow of 25,000 tons of ingots in the Mahoning Valley steel-producing district was turned off like a sink faucet.

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

Picketing was apathetic the first week of the strike. Most workers felt that the man, called by steel union Secretary-Treasurer David J. MacDonald a "friend in the White House," would pull a new contract out of a magic hat. The collapse of negotiations on June 9 was like a splash of cold water. There is no longer any doubt in the minds of the steelworkers that hardships lie ahead in this struggle to win the union's demands.

A sailor-gang boss in the rolling mill at one of the big plants here approached a veteran engineer about 12:30 P.M. on June 2. "No matter what you hear," said the boss, "don't leave your job until your buddy comes at 4 P.M." Then, sidling closer, the foreman asked: "Do you believe in all this union crap?" The old engineer took his pipe out of

his mouth, and, blowing into the foreman's face said: "Believe it? Any worker who don't believe it is a goddam fool!" One hour later, walking out of the truck and idle mill, the old engineer remarked, "That oughta show him what the men think of the 'union crap.'"

The surest way to provoke a storm of profanity in any gathering of workers is to mention the Taft-Hartley law. Workers no longer question the one-sidedness of this law, or that it is a threat to their unions.

The proposal of the leadership of the CIO United Steelworkers

(Continued on Page 4)

Stalinists and the Smith Act -- a Lesson

By George Clarke

What has happened to the movement against the Smith Act? This question must occupy the thoughts of every workingclass militant, of every fighter for democratic rights, of all who keenly understand that the defeat of this vicious legislation is the key issue in the struggle against the witch-hunt. Powerful organizations, such as the CIO, the ADA, the ACLU, the NAACP, have finally gone on record in opposition to the thought-control Smith Law. But still the movement remains small, its voice weak and its active following limited only to the most radical elements in labor circles.

Obviously the chief reason for this weakness is the cowardice of the leaders of the trade unions and the liberals. Chained hand and foot to the State Department's world-wide war against "communism," they refuse to translate their paper resolutions into action against the Smith Law on the one front where the struggle now counts: in defense of the Stalinist leaders currently

serving prison sentences or up on trial under this very law. How to move them into action on this field, or at the very least how to stir dissatisfaction in the ranks of these organizations with this passive, do-nothing attitude, must therefore be the chief concern of witch-hunt opponents.

INDICATED CENTER

The Stalinists, as the present victims of the Smith Act, should be the indicated center for the organization of such a broad movement. But their record up to now on this score has been one of unkept promises, evasions and inactivity. Three months ago a conference of the Citizen's Emergency Defence Committee enthusiastically greeted proposals by Michael Bartlett, Socialist Workers Party delegate, that the Tom Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti movements should serve as the models in the anti-Smith Act fight. The Conference chairman, Clifford T. McAvoy, promised that Bartlett's suggestions would be favorably acted upon by the continuations committee.

Three months have passed. Not a sign of action.

On June 14th, a National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims went a step further than the CEDC and adopted a proposal by George Clarke, SWP delegate, which is quoted in the publicity issued by the conference as follows: "The Continuations Committee is authorized . . . (to issue) a special public appeal to the CIO, ADA, ACLU, NAACP, and all other organizations which have taken a public position in opposition to the Smith Act to join in a common movement calling for amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act."

In the two weeks which have elapsed, there has been no sight of such an appeal. The Daily Worker, which gave full publicity to the conference on at least two occasions did not breathe a word of this aspect of the conference.

DIRECT CALL ABSENT

On June 23, a "trade union conference to repeal the Smith

Act" met in New York. According to the Daily Worker, it issued an "Open Letter to the Labor Movement" warning it against the eventual consequences of the Smith Act for the labor movement. But conspicuously absent in these published excerpts is a direct call upon the heads of the CIO, AFL, etc., to lend their sanction to the organization of an actual movement against the Smith Act.

In a number of cases, such as the Tom Mooney fight, these efforts were finally crowned with success. The Civil Rights De-

fense Committee obtained the support of unions representing over five million members in its campaign for a presidential pardon for the 18 leaders of the SWP first imprisoned under the Smith Act by a Minneapolis court in 1941.

NYU EXAMPLE

A much smaller scale to be sure, but still illustrative of what can be done, was the united front conference and rally at New York University initiated by the Spartacus Club to fight the Smith Act and the present prosecutions under it. Among the sponsoring organizations were the Students for Democratic Action and a leading representative of the NAACP.

All these facts are well known to the Stalinist organizers of the anti-Smith act conferences and committees. It must be presumed then that they are acting deliberately and according to policy. Do they actually prefer to keep the movement small and ineffective

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Republicans and Democrats Gang Up Against the People

German War Pact Passed In U.S. Senate

By Thomas Raymond

The Senate ratified the Bonn "peace" contract with the Western allies and the protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty incorporating West Germany into the anti-Soviet, anti-working-class alliance on July 1. Thus the laying of the powder train designed to blow Europe and the world sky-high in a new war neared completion.

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

R.H.S. Crossman, writing in the British New Statesman and Nation two months ago, quotes a German friend as saying: "If everything goes according to schedule, June 20 should be our Doomsday." By this, he meant that ratification might be completed by that date, negotiations with the Soviet Union prevented and a war perspective imposed on Germany. "Moreover," Crossman wrote in the same article, "as I learnt in Bonn, it will be the Western Powers who will be responsible for deliberately preventing a Four-Power conference. True enough, the home public is smoothly assured that America, Britain and France are only too ready to negotiate with the Russians. . . But in private conversation no one in Bonn, whether German, British or American, troubles to keep up this pretense."

And in a May 24 editorial, the same British periodical writes: "What General Eisenhower and Mr. Acheson are courting is the creation of a new and more dangerous Korean Parallel in the middle of Europe."

The war alliance providing for the rearming of Germany as the spearhead of an aggressive European army was approved by the Senate with votes of 77 to 5 and 72 to 5. This shows the identity of the two major parties on questions of foreign policy. Taft and Eisenhower may rant about Truman "errors" but in the final analysis they are decided upon the same war course.

A Lesson from American History



Powerful Steel Strike Pinching U. S. Capitalists

By Harry Frankel

Reports of dissension in the ranks of the steel companies, and the capitulation of one company, herald the approaching victory of the CIO United Steelworkers of America in its month-old strike. These recent signs demonstrate the truth of the axiom upon which the industrial union movement is founded: that the capitalist class cannot withstand the united assault of the workers in a basic industry.

The Bethlehem Steel Company, one of the "Big Six" of the industry, has been reported ready to sign a contract including the union shop in a modified form. It was prevented from doing this by the other big steel companies. However, the Pittsburgh Steel Company, 14th ranking basic steel producer, on June 27 signed a contract that included the modified union shop. While Pittsburgh Steel is a small company, employing only 10,500 workers, the fact that it has put its name on the dotted line has a larger meaning than the mere size of the company would indicate. By

its signature, Pittsburgh Steel is saying that it believes the union is going to win this battle, and is acting accordingly.

"ESCAPE" CLAUSE

The Pittsburgh Steel contract, however, leaves much to be desired, from the union viewpoint. It provides a modification of the union shop in this form: All workers who are at present employed by the company are not affected by the provision. They are not compelled to join the union as they would be under an "unmodified" union shop. New workers must join the union at the time of hiring. The last ten days of their first month of employment, however, will be an "escape" period. During that time they may withdraw from the union.

This may not have much practical effect, since experience with the so-called "escape" period in the present maintenance-of-membership setup in the steel mills shows that hardly any workers withdraw from the union after joining. But it does fall short of

the full principle of the union shop.

Nor are the wage provisions of the Pittsburgh Steel contract up to the Wage Stabilization Board's recommendations. The WSB recommended a 15-cent-an-hour increase after July 1, and 17½ cents after Jan. 1, 1952, but the contract calls for only a straight 12½ cent boost. Further, the pay hike is retroactive only to April 1, although the last contract expired on Jan. 1. However, both signatories to the contract feel themselves covered because it provides that all issues except the union shop will be reopened and brought into line when contracts are signed with the bigger steel firms. Thus the contract is a partial union victory on only one point, the union shop.

CAN'T HOLD OUT LONG

The sagging of the formerly solid industry front must be traced to the ramifications of the steel strike throughout most of basic industry. The capitalists

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

By Joseph Andrews

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

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

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

On the issue of overriding Truman's veto, Democrats in the Senate voted 25 to 18 against the veto; Republicans voted 32 to 8.

The bill was originally passed in the Senate by a dozen Senators — less than a quorum — and not one so-called "Fair Deal" Democrat called the vote into question. They stayed away.

What is the McCarran Law? It is an American copy of Nazi race laws which enforces special immigration restrictions on racial and national grounds. Greeks, Turks, Italians, Yugoslavs, Poles, Austrians, Rumanians, all the peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe are virtually excluded from this country. The infamous ban on immigration for Asians in effect since 1924 is retained.

The law provides for the deportation of aliens if the Attorney General thinks they are engaged in activities "prejudicial to the public interest." This is so loose a formula it could be

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Firetrap Victim



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

DOBBS HITS TRUCKS LAW AT DETROIT SWP RALLY

DETROIT, Mich., June 30 — An enthusiastic audience met yesterday to hear Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, speak on the "Fight Against the Trucks Law." The meeting was held at 6108 Linwood under the auspices of the Dobbs for President Committee, and was chaired by Howard Lerner.

Dobbs said that once again Michigan stands in the forefront of a great social struggle, just as vital to the working people as the great strikes of 1937. He warned that the enemies of labor are on the offensive; the latest stage of their attack is the passage of the Trucks law which marks another stride toward police-state rule.

"This law," Dobbs said, "represents thought-control run wild. During the presidential campaign I intend to hammer away at the Trucks law in all its totalitarian aspects; and to show that the root cause of this assault on democracy is war — a threatening, world-wide, unimaginably destructive war."

The speaker gave a heartening report of the protest movement that is being organized to fight the Trucks law. In conclusion, Dobbs said, "We are proud that the SWP could play such a big role in mobilizing public opposition to the Trucks law, and in bringing together such principled people who have the courage to defend freedom of thought and speech. And we are confident that as events help make the truth plain for all to see, many new allies will join in the fight against the witch hunt."

Radio-TV Schedule Hear the Socialist Anti-War Candidates

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

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

Notebook of an Agitator

LABOR AND FOREIGN POLICY

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

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

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

The Necessary Premise

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

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

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

Strictly Hay

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Capitalists Fear Revolutions Abroad

Such a foreign policy cannot be the policy of the financial magnates who own this country and want to own the world. They fear the revolutionary events happening outside our borders and strive to halt them. The workers should welcome these events and help them along with their sympathy and support. The American capitalists feel in their bones that every blow at capitalist private property in any country whatever, every uprising of colonial slaves, helps to undermine their own international position and eventually their control of this country. And they are right about that.

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

— J.P.C.

Feel Steel Strike Pinch

(Continued from Page 1)

can't sustain a steel strike that extends too far beyond the one-month mark. Even if the capitalists were willing to make the profit sacrifice in steel, they find themselves hit at too many points to hold out for a very long time.

To take just a few examples: The coal industry depends upon steel as its biggest single customer. A large portion of the freight carried by the railroads, particularly in the eastern region, is made up of coal and finished or semi-finished steel products. The automobile industry and other major metal fabricators are dependent upon a steady flow of steel to their plants.

SPREADING PARALYSIS

Railroads are already counting up their losses from the steel strike. The Pennsylvania Railroad has estimated that it has lost from \$15 to \$17 millions in gross operating income. In the auto industry, the Chevrolet

Division of General Motors alone has laid off 23,000 workers since the steel strike started. The Wall Street Journal of June 23, after detailing the spreading paralysis due to the steel strike, indicates that the state of mind of the capitalist class is that "the steel strike cannot be allowed to continue much longer."

When it is considered that the big financial interests, the Morgan, Mellon, Dupont and other banking combines, are being hit by the steel strike not only through their steel interests but through their interests in many other parts of their vastly ramified empires, the enormous pressure being exerted by the steelworkers through their strike can be appreciated.

OTHER BIG ISSUES

Although the big noise in the press has been made around the union shop issue, other important issues divide the companies and the union. For example, job duties

assigned to each steel mill worker have been determined by a job classification setup which took years to work out and which was geared to early 1947. This job classification program is supplemented by local working agreements. The steel companies are now trying to destroy this forward step of the steelworkers. The companies are demanding that they be given the sole right to schedule and assign jobs, determine job duties, combine jobs, etc. Company spokesmen stated in negotiations that if they won their demand on this point, they could and would cut working forces in the steel mills by 25%. Thus the steelworkers face a speedup with a vengeance if they give in on this matter.

CHISEL ON BACK PAY

The retroactivity issue is another important one. Pay increases would normally start on Jan. 1, when the old contract expired. It is the custom of the companies to start putting aside a sum of money roughly in the neighborhood of what would be needed to pay these wage increases from the contract expiration date. Thus we may be sure that the companies have set aside about \$85 million to pay at least \$130 back pay from Jan. 1 to the present to each of 650,000 steelworkers, since they knew from the beginning that they would not be able to settle for any less than 12½ cents an hour.

Now, however, the companies want to cheat the workers out of half of this amount by making the pay hike retroactive only to April 1. This is a clear proof of what the union may lose through Truman stalling. The union has weakened on this point in the Pittsburgh Steel agreement.

An Honest Book on the Spanish Revolution

By George Lavan

HOMAGE TO CATALONIA. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace, \$3.50.

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

"Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no 'well-dressed' people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working-class clothes or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was much in it that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for. Also I believed that things were as they appeared, that this was really a workers' State and that the entire bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed, or voluntarily come over to the workers' side; I did not realize that great numbers of well-to-do bourgeois were simply lying low and disguising themselves as proletarians for the time being.

BELIEF IN THE FUTURE

"Together with all this there was something of the evil atmosphere of war. The town had a gaunt untidy look, roads and buildings were in poor repair, the streets at night were dimly lit for fear of air-raids, the shops were mostly shabby and half-empty. Meat was scarce and milk practically unobtainable, there was a shortage of coal, sugar and petrol, and a really serious shortage of bread. Even at this period the bread queues were often hundreds of yards long. Yet so far as one could judge the people were contented and hopeful. There was no unemployment, and the price of living was still extremely low.

Above all there was a belief in the revolution and the future, a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom. Human beings were trying to behave as human beings and not as cogs in the capitalist regime."

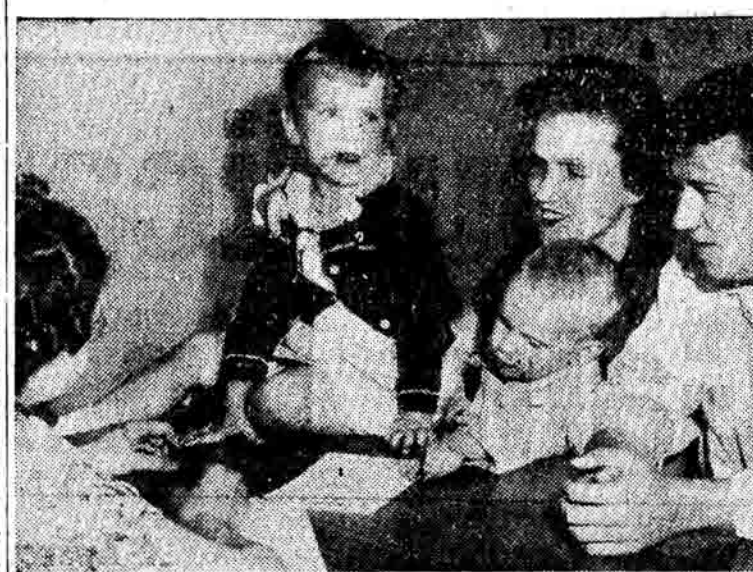
This is George Orwell's description of Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, Spain's largest and most industrialized province, in December 1936. Orwell had come to write about the Spanish Civil War but was swept along by the revolutionary enthusiasm, which five months before had smashed the military and fascist uprising in Catalonia. He volunteered and was sent to the Aragon front.

By chance he joined the militia of the POUM — Workers' Party of Marxist Unification — a left centrist party, from which the Trotskyist left wing was soon to be expelled. Still the POUM was the farthest to the left of the Spanish parties with a mass following, and was called 'Trotskyist' by the capitalists and the Stalinists. Its policy, which was to lead to disaster, was one of tail-ending the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders of the CNT, the great trade union movement of Spain and particularly Catalonia.

PRAVDA'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The same December that Orwell arrived in Spain, Pravda,

Fifth Week of Steel Strike



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

the official newspaper of the Kremlin bureaucracy, announced (Dec. 17, 1936): "As for Catalonia, the purging of the Trotskyists and the Anarcho-Syndicalists has begun; it will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the USSR."

Orwell undoubtedly didn't know this for he wasn't very much interested in politics. While in the POUM militia, to the extent that he had a political position, it was that of the Stalinists and the capitalist liberals — no revolution or social reform now but just military struggle against Franco.

The militias — recruited by the unions and working class parties — were part of the dual power which, along with workers' police patrols in the cities, workers' control of industries, division of the landed estates by the peasants, etc., had been created in Catalonia by the July Revolution — the reply to Franco's military uprising.

The Spanish bourgeoisie in the Madrid government, British and French capital with heavy investments in Spain, and the Soviet bureaucracy which was smashing workers' movements in exchange for ephemeral diplomatic gains, exerted their combined efforts to erase all traces of socialist revolution from the struggle against Franco.

IMPRESSIVE FORCE

Catalonia and the Aragon front — manned by Catalan militias — were the last remaining strongholds of the revolution, the only force that could smash Franco. Having an eye that never missed the shortcomings, Orwell was nevertheless greatly impressed by the Aragon peasants tilling the land of the former estates in democratic collectives and by the heroism and voluntary discipline of the militias where officers and men received the same pay, clothing and food. Where the petty tyranny of capitalist armies did not exist and where it was in order for a private to bum a general for a cigarette — if the general had one.

Orwell assumed this was the state of affairs throughout Loyalist Spain. He did not realize that only in Aragon and Catalonia did the peasants still own and rule the countryside. Nor did he yet know that the militias he so admired were being subjected to an international slander campaign by the combined Stalinist-liberal press. In the U.S. for example the liberal magazine New Republic carried articles like that of novelist Ralph Bates, stating that the POUM militia were "playing

football with the Fascists in no man's land" at a time when the poorly armed POUM troops were suffering heavy casualties. Bates and the Popular Front liberals carried on the propaganda campaign against the militias while Stalin stipulated that that no Soviet arms be sent to Aragon where the Anarchist and POUM troops were fighting — even though an offensive on that front could have split the Fascist armies in two and brought about a victory.

BARCELONA CHANGES

When Orwell got leave after three and a half months in the line and returned to Barcelona he could hardly recognize the city so much had the atmosphere changed. No longer was working class dominance evident. The upper classes in their expensive clothes set the tone of the avenues. Though there were supposed to be no private autos (commandeered for the use of the army and government) sleek cars were at the beck and call of prosperous men and elegant women — just as in London. A new "non-political" army was being created on capitalist lines with big pay differentials for the officers and these officers in their fancy uniforms were everywhere. A black market was in existence. Night clubs and fancy brothels were in open operation for the diversion of the well-to-do. Wounded men received no particular consideration and it was not considered "fashionable" to belong to the militias. The cost of living had skyrocketed. While money could command anything in the smart hotels and restaurants, gangs of barefoot children were begging for food outside the army mess halls.

This re-division of society into its normal capitalist categories of rich and poor was the measure of the success of the policies of the Stalinists, Social Democrats and liberals. Conversely it symbolized the tragic inadequacy of the programs of POUM and of the Anarcho-Syndicalists who led the overwhelming majority of the workers of Catalonia. Their policies of class collaboration had led to the defeat of the revolution, the defeat of the peasants and the defeat of the workers.

MAY UPRISING

The dismay and discouragement of the working class burst forth on May 3. The police force tried to seize the telephone building occupied and operated by CNT union members ever since

the defeat of the Fascist rising in Barcelona. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. Not only was it another act of aggression and provocation against what was aimed at the symbol of that control. As CNT members in the telephone building fought off their assailants, spontaneously throughout the city workers put up barricades and seized strategic buildings. Fighting lasted five days. The workers held all of Barcelona except the downtown section where the police and Stalinist forces were surrounded. The Anarchist and POUM leaders gave no direction to the movement except to restrain it and then call it off.

The "settlement" reached with the government was called a victory by the POUM but this victory was followed by the suppression of the POUM, the murder and frame-up of its leaders as agents of Hitler and Franco, the accelerated smashing of the remains of workers' control and finally the victory of Franco.

On leave, Orwell was caught up in the struggle and even though he was negotiating for a transfer to the Stalinist International Brigade on the Madrid front, he helped defend the POUM headquarters from the police. His account of the May Days, though deficient in political understanding, gives a good picture of the lack of leadership of the revolutionary outburst.

ORWELL ESCAPES

Having learned enough about Stalinism not to transfer to the International Brigade, Orwell returned to the Aragon front where he was severely wounded. Discharged from the hospital he returned to Barcelona at the height of the counter-revolutionary reign of terror. All POUM members were being arrested. Andres Nin, POUM leader, had been arrested and murdered. Orwell spent his time dodging arrest until he and his wife succeeded in crossing the border. Had he not, he certainly would have been murdered by the

Stalinists or bourgeois liberal police, as so many revolutionists and anti-fascists in Spain were.

As can be seen from the above summary, this is a book well worth reading. It gives an eyewitness account of the key happenings in the destruction of the Spanish Revolution. It is an account that it is now published. The current rage for Orwell is based on his middle-class night-mare novel, 1984. That fantasy fits the needs of today's liberals who despair of the future. It also serves their propaganda campaign in support of U.S. imperialism's drive for a war against Russia.

IGNORED BOOK IN 1938

But the sales success of 1984 and the fact that Orwell is dead and can produce no more novels has forced the printing of the books he wrote long ago. *Homage to Catalonia* is one of these. When it first appeared in 1938 the liberals ignored it. They and their intimates, the Stalinists, were busy as beavers distorting the truth about Spain and shouting down and libelling those who were telling the story Orwell tells.

The liberal reviewers pretend that this is the first time they have heard the facts about Catalonia, the POUM and the May Days. This, of course, is a downright lie. They heard the facts from the Trotskyists and left-wing socialists and they usually replied: "That's a Trotskyist-fascist lie," or politely refused to listen further.

I know this well because in 1938 and 1939 I personally carried on a campaign to get liberal "Friends of Loyalist Spain" to read *Homage to Catalonia* hoping that they would accept Orwell's testimony where they had rejected Trotskyist accounts. Hostility or polite disbelief were the reactions of this particular but typical cross section of academic liberals. They did not believe because they did not want to. Now they "accept" the book and try to convert it into a U.S. weapon in the cold war.

The American Way of Life

He Will Never Do a Better Thing

The faiths of children are always touching because they spring from unsold natures. Even more touching than usual is the faith of a child when it is informed with an understanding greater than

we usually expect from children. The child who forgives the birthday toy he had in mind all year because he understands the meaning of poverty wrings the heart. He seems to us to be more deserving because he has taken some of the heavy burdens that plague his parents upon his own slight shoulders.

The IUE-CIO News of June 16 carried a tale about such a child in the following item:

"Members of Local 1162 CIO Communications Workers at Tonawanda, N. Y. found a new hero in the person of a little Negro boy and renewed faith that their strike against Western Electric plant here just couldn't be lost.

"Wayne Gray, CWA staff representative, and several strikers were making a pay-day collection from Steelworkers at the gates of the Bethlehem Steel Co. at nearby Lackawanna. The youngster approached and asked why people were putting money in the cans. Gray told the boy who later — much later — identified himself as 8-year old Osie Smith, that more than 1,000 members of his union had left their jobs six weeks before seeking better conditions and that other workers were helping them. Osie left, returned soon with a dime.

"Hours later Gray and members of the collections committee were in a store counting the contributions — more than \$500. Again the boy appeared, said, 'I've been looking all over for you,' and handed Gray 50 cents. He wouldn't tell where he got the money.

"Then a girl striker arrived to tell the story. She had watched Osie shining shoes. Each time he completed a job he put a nickel in his left hand trousers pocket — the rest went into his other pocket to be used to help win the strike.

"Osie said he was going to throw more shoes, keep giving more money out of what he earned. The collections committee cut down its collective foot on that.

"I want to help others," explained Osie, 'because some day I might want someone to help me.'"

That is all we know about Osie. I don't know if he is obedient at home or not, but I know he is a good boy. If he grows up to be as good a man as he is a boy, he will be a man who cannot turn his back on suffering humanity.

Osie may grow up to be a brave and determined man, who will tax his will and his strength to the utmost in good fights. If he does, I am sure he will do many good things. But he will never do a better thing than he did in the strikebound mill-town near Buffalo when he was 8 years old.

— By Harry Frankel

Twin Parties Gang Up

(Continued from page 1)

stretched to mean anything the whim of the Attorney General requires.

Naturalized citizens could be de-naturalized on the same basis — and subsequently deported. Judicial review of such cases would be restricted and in many cases eliminated. Final decision would be up to administrative officials.

It is without question the most violently undemocratic law aimed against the foreign born since the Alien law of 1798. And it is the work of a majority of Democrats and Republicans.

The Nation stated when this bill was being debated that it provides "thirteen new grounds for excluding future immigrants, more than twenty new grounds for deporting displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years, and a practically undetermined number of new ways of depriving a naturalized American of citizenship."

The purpose of this law is to terrorize and gag Americans of foreign descent under threat of deportation. There are millions

of Americans who view U.S. imperialism's reactionary role in Asia and Europe with revulsion.

The Statue of Liberty, inscribed, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free," should now carry the legend, reflecting the actual attitude of the capitalist government: "Stay out! Shut up!"

TAFT-HARTLEY PATTERN

This police state legislation is only the latest in a long list of two-party crimes against the people, the Taft-Hartley law of 1947 was passed the same way. Truman talked against it, but a majority of Democrats lined up with Republicans and enacted it.

An identical coalition vote passed the McCarran Internal Security Concentration camp bill in 1950. Some of the most aggressive spokesmen for concentration camps were such so-called "fair dealers" as Senator Hubert Humphrey (Minnesota).

The wage freeze and a price "controls" law were passed by a big majority of both parties in Congress, allowing prices to skyrocket while the only controls

were in reality imposed on the wages of the workers.

The tax program, putting the main burden of war production on the backs of the workers while the multi-millionaires became billionaires, is also the work of the two-party bloc.

Civil rights legislation was killed by Democrats and Republicans, while Trumanites in Congress only went through the motions of pushing FEPC and other legislation promised in 1948.

The record shows that neither of the old capitalist parties can be trusted to represent the masses in this country. Both are controlled by Big Business.

Failure of the labor movement to organize a labor party, leaves the workers with a Hobson's choice. That is why the Socialist Workers Party is running a presidential ticket this fall. At its convention this month the SWP will nominate candidates and adopt a platform, written by workers in the interests of workers.

That is the only ticket worthy of support this year.

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Secret Commitments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Right to Bail in Danger

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

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

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

I. F. Stone, Communist columnist, correctly pointed out in his column July 2, "The FBI had no more right to those names than to the names of depositors in any banking institution closed down for liquidation. . . . What will the FBI do with the names? The FBI will probably use them to . . . furnish guilt-by-association 'evidence' for loyalty and other cases. It might also seek to frighten some of them into becoming informers."

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

Every day the FBI illegally invades the privacy of citizens' homes, questioning them, threatening them, leading them to self-incriminating statements, in its search for informers and for victims of the thought control drive.

As I. F. Stone points out in his column, this is "often done on a 'friendly' and confidential basis. But the effect all the same is to throw a scare into many people."

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

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

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

But believers in democratic processes who provide funds to be used as bail for political minorities persecuted and hounded for their ideas, are now to be subjected to a pressure campaign. If they understand their legal rights and retain their courage, they will not be intimidated. They will stand up for their rights.

What Has Happened to Freedom

By Joseph Andrews

Americans are in the grip of fear. This fear is corroding the political structure of the country. Freedom of thought is fast giving way to the drive for conformity.

This transformation of "The Land of the Free" into an ideological prison house did not just happen. It was planned, organized and pushed step by step by the government, functioning in the interests of the billionaire rulers of the U.S.

Our nation, which arose from a struggle for national independence, is now ruled by imperialists determined to destroy the revolutionary movements for independence of the colonial peoples, and to dominate and exploit the world. To do that, they need a police state at home. Since

such a program is alien to the traditions of our people, they must be impressed into the armies of imperialism, and forced to submit to its consequences, by means of terror.

The liberal weekly, The Nation, devotes its June 28 issue to a discussion of this process in a special edition titled "How Free Is Free?" In every walk of life, in every field of endeavor, the Nation reports, only the remnants of freedom are left. For more than ten years an uninterrupted process of subversion of civil rights has eaten away at the fundamental liberties of Americans.

Following is a report of the devastation wrought by the witch-hunt thus far, much of the evidence based upon the valuable special edition of The Nation:

Smith "Gag" Act--The Major Weapon

The 1940 Smith Act makes it a crime to advocate and teach socialism. It is the first law since the notorious Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 to make thinking and expression of opinion a federal crime.

First indictments under this law were leveled against 29 leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party on July 15, 1941. On Dec. 8, 1941, 18 of those indicted, were convicted. On Sept. 20, 1943 the Circuit Court upheld the convictions and on Dec. 31, 1943 the 18 victims in the Minneapolis case began to serve their 12 and 16-month prison terms.

But a dangerous blow against the Bill of Rights had been dealt,

a precedent established. Imprisonment for ideas now threatened every dissident political current.

The only segment of the radical labor movement which refused to support the Minneapolis case was the Communist Party. Rather than join the broad united front in defense of free speech in this important test, the Stalinists called upon the Department of Justice to throw the book at the Socialist Workers Party defendants.

Today 61 leaders of the Communist Party have been indicted under this same act, 11 already convicted, and 50 still on trial. By rejecting the principle of a united front against the witch hunt in 1941, the Stalinists gave assistance to the establishment of a precedent now being used against them.

This is a lesson for the whole labor movement, which refuses, despite its opposition to the Smith Law as such, to join in a defense of the Stalinist victims of that reactionary law.

This thought-control law is aimed against every critic of the government's war program. It first victimized the Socialist Workers Party, next the Communist Party, tomorrow it can be directed against liberals and leaders of labor who protest against the policies of the administration in Washington.

More and more liberal leaders, and the CIO, at last aroused by the drive against the Bill of Rights, now demand the repeal of this law.

As long as this law stands on the statute books, free speech does not exist in America!



HOWARD W. SMITH

6,000,000 Second Class Citizens

Ralph S. Brown, Jr., associate professor of law at Yale University, reports in The Nation what has happened to the civil rights of the 6 million government workers.

First step against the democratic rights of these workers was passage of the Hatch Act in 1939, limiting their right to political activity. Section 9-A of this act provided a loyalty oath test for federal employees, first step in the whole loyalty oath program now reaching into unions, schools, universities, and into private industry.

This was followed by Truman's so-called "Loyalty Order 9835" by which government workers can be fired, without a hearing, on the basis of secret evidence not made public.

Not only does this deprive the victims of their right to government work and effectively blacklist them for private employment, but as Prof. Brown says, "it seems certain that a program of 'thought surveillance' operates to twist the political and social thought and action of anyone who is or may want to be a federal employee."

Most flagrant example of the government purge, not mentioned by Brown, is the firing of

James Katcher, legless veteran of World War II, who was deprived of his job at the New Jersey Veterans Administration because he admits membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Katcher never got a fair hearing. He was never given a chance to prove either that his opinions were not what the Veterans Administration claimed, or that his Party was "subversive" in the sense of the Attorney General's definition of that term.

Katcher's appeal on constitutional grounds is now under consideration by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Should the 3-judge panel reject his plea, the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court. On this case the fate of millions of government workers hangs in the balance. Their right to a fair trial and a hearing is at stake.

The end result thus far of the government purge is the arbitrary and unconstitutional destruction of the civil liberties of millions of citizens; these millions live in daily terror of stool-pigeons and informers; they dare not say a word which might be interpreted as "independent" from official government policy. Here conformity is the rigid ideological rule. The penalty for non-conformity is the blacklist.

Civil Rights and the Negro Struggle

One of the aims of the witch-hunt is to suppress the struggle for Negro equality. How this operates is well-described by Carey McWilliams in The Nation:

"In 1949, it will be recalled, occurred the savage Peekskill riots, which began as 'anti-communist' but quickly became the occasion for the manifestation of extreme hostility not only to Negroes but to Jews. . . . Evidence of the same trend may be found in the killing of two unarmed Negroes in Westchester County, New York, by a retired Yonkers policeman and his recent acquittal by an all-white jury."

"The year 1949 also witnessed the Peoria street riots in Chicago. . . . the week-long violence in Groveland, Florida. Reports of the NAACP and AJC (American Jewish Congress) refer to 34 Negroes killed in 1949 while in 'custody of the police,' to 41

cases in which Negroes were injured by mobs, to 42 acts of anti-Semitic violence, and to scores of attacks on Negroes who sought better housing in Chicago, Atlanta, Richmond, Chattanooga, Nashville, Birmingham and Washington.

"The trend continued the following year. . . . According to the . . . NAACP and AJC 'after fighting broke out in Korea, the civil rights issue rapidly lost ground. . . .'"

"By 1951 the full impact of the witch hunt on the struggle for civil rights became apparent. The murder of the Florida NAACP leader Harry Moore and his wife, the Cicero housing riot, and a succession of dynamite bombings in Miami. . . . In 1951 at least 131 cases of police brutality . . . were reported, and 33 Negroes were killed 'while in the custody of police.' While the number of lynchings declined in the post war

years, the night-time dynamite bombings greatly increased. . . . mobs no longer needed to lynch Negroes — the police killed them 'by due process of law.'"

Meanwhile, the witch hunt, McWilliams points out, has terrorized those who would fight for the rights of minority groups. The NAACP report states, "Many persons have refrained or withdrawn from active participation

in or identification with the cause of civil rights."

End result — "The 'fear of the smear' has today become a major deterrent to participation in committees concerned with cases involving civil rights."

The witch hunt is accomplishing its aim. It is opening the way for the terror drive against the Negro people and other minority groups.

Hollywood and Broadway

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

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

Simultaneously, and supplementing the government fear campaign, private organizations, such as the American Legion, the Catholic Church, Counterattack and Red Channels, forced their totalitarian views on the movie colony. Everyone in this industry now lives in terror of inviting the hammer blow of one of these agencies of ideological pressure.

Today, the same system is purging the legitimate stage of many actors, writers and directors by the same methods. The play, "Death of a Salesman," has been effectively boycotted on its road tours, being forced to cancel many engagements because of local pressure groups. "Actors are afraid to act, writers are afraid to write and producers are afraid to produce anything amateur sleuths could possibly attack," says Elia Kazan, a director who sang before the House Committee.



JAMES KATCHER

Total effect of the drive in Hollywood and Broadway, is to stultify both movies and the drama as art mediums, removing them from the field of realistic portrayal of life. They are bound in the totalitarian straitjacket.

Ideas Are Put Behind Bars

Every dictatorship tries to teach its youth the ideological lock-step. It is happening here. In his report in The Nation, "The Public Schools Retreat from Freedom," Goodwin Watson, faculty member at Teachers College, Columbia University, cites the following cases as examples of the drive against freedom of thought in the public schools:

"The number of states with one or more laws designed to assure teacher 'loyalty' oaths . . . has grown to 33. Maryland's Ober Law, enacted in 1949" makes it a felony for a teacher "to become or remain a member of a subversive organization."

"The Feinberg Law enacted in New York calls upon the Board of Regents to promulgate a list of subversive organizations and requires dismissal of any teacher who belongs to them. . . . When the Supreme Court sustained this law. . . . John O'Donnell exultingly proclaimed in his column in the N. Y. Daily News, 'Guilt by association is now the law of the land.'"

Latest case involving the suppression of thought and opinion in public education was the removal of Dean Lenz from his post as Dean of Queens College. He had opposed the refusal of school halls to communists. He was put on the American Legion "list." He did not advocate socialism, he merely defended civil rights. For that he was purged.

Hundreds of teachers have been fired by officials, at the behest of small pressure groups of a semi-fascist character. Watson quotes the Macmillan Company (publishers) which stated in an introduction to its book "This Happened in Pasadena," "It is a fact that certain forces, vicious, well-organized, and coldly calculating would like to change the face of education in the United States."

Some examples: "A Colorado teacher was advised to discontinue a study of the Mexican laborers in beet-sugar fields as 'too controversial.' An English teacher (same state) found it wise to remove John Steinbeck's books from the literature course. A

Kansas teacher reports that he interprets the state oath to mean that 'a teacher must be thoroughly sold on the American system of free enterprise and must not support rent control or price control.'"

Catholic pressure on the school curriculum was illustrated by a charge that UNESCO (United Nations educational and cultural organizations) "is under atheistic control." A Unesco club at East High School, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was suspended Jan. 20, 1952.

On June 29, N. Y. Times education specialist Benjamin Fine reported that minority pressure groups (he does not name the Catholic hierarchy) charge that the United Nations and its educational branch, UNESCO, are atheistic. UNESCO-sponsored studies have been banned on many campuses.

H. H. Wilson, associate professor of politics at Princeton University, also in The Nation survey, states, "Of all the civil liberties currently under attack, perhaps the one most seriously threatened is academic freedom." Discussing the effects already apparent, Wilson states, "A recent Purdue Opinion Panel Poll of 3,000 students carefully selected from 15,000 high school respondents in all parts of the United States . . . showed, 75% state that obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children should learn."

The present assault (on American educational freedom) says The Nation is "national in scope, uniform in procedure, and apparently initiated by a few powerful groups."

Every major college has its list of banned visiting lecturers, its banned books, its purged teachers, its cowed students. Youth, characteristically rebellious, is being suppressed.

The Harvard Crimson in its 1951 survey, cited eleven examples of censorship of college editors. And this month, the Crimson found 53 violations of academic freedom in 25 of the nation's colleges.

Scientist, Healer and Defender

The professional world is not immune from the police-state drive. In fact, the drive of the witch-hunters for conformity proceeds in this field with particular fury.

Kirtley F. Mather, professor of geology at Harvard, and retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, states in The Nation:

"The headquarters files of the American Association for the Advancement of Science are rapidly filling with documents, many of them confidential, revealing the startling extent to which individual scientists . . . are suf-

fering the consequences of . . . the campaign to paralyze all independent thought, discussion, and dissent concerning America's foreign policy."

He adds, "political screening, rather than mere technical competence, has been accepted as necessary at many academic institutions even where the work is completely unclassified (non-military)."

Lawyers and judges have been deprived of their traditional rights and privileges, even duties, by the anti-civil liberties offensive.

Attorneys who defended Com-

HOW TO FIGHT AGAINST THE WITCH HUNT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

munist Party members, have been disbarred, as was Albert Goldman, attorney for the 18 Socialist Workers Party victims in the Minneapolis case.

After Judge Metzger reduced bail of the Smith Act defendants in Hawaii from \$75,000 to \$7,500, he was attacked by Senator O'Mahoney, and not reappointed.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities directed its attention to the medical profession, when in January this year a number of doctors were summoned to testify on their political activities and opinions. . . . and as usual, about the activities of others.

Doctors who will not take loyalty oaths are denied military commissions, but are drafted anyway as privates. The American Medical Association has contributed its funds to a political campaign against social health legislation, and itself is among the forefront of the red-baiters against those who oppose its views on health and welfare for Americans.

The AMA capped this campaign with a provision in New York State making a loyalty oath obligatory for all its members. Doctors now must not only be healers — but faith healers for capitalism.

Organized Labor -- Main Target

The Nation survey of the witch hunt, in the section dealing with labor and civil liberties, states, "There are those who say that the effect of the witch hunt on the learned professions, the churches, universities, the courts and the institutions which concern themselves with things of the spirit and intellect may be even more serious in the long run than on the labor movement. That may be true, but if the labor movement is destroyed, there will be no 'long run.'"

The same forces directing the thought-control campaign are behind the anti-labor drive. One cannot be viewed as separated from the other. They are part of the same plan: to put America in the chains of a police regime.

Biggest problem of all for those who would wreck the democratic rights of Americans, is the powerful organized labor movement. It stands in the way of dictatorship. It is the traditional guardian of civil liberties.

But the unions have been retreating, under the weak leadership of government-dominated leaders.

It was once a tradition in American labor to brook no government interference. Today union leaders carry out the "purge" within their unions as agents of the government.

The campaign begun in the late 1940's to oust "communists" from the CIO, culminating in the split of several international unions from the CIO, has been reaching deeper and deeper into the unions, purging militants and discouraging others from taking leading roles in their organizations.

Political conformity is now the rule in the unions. But the services rendered by the labor officials to the witch-hunters have not won them the benevolent protection of the government for unionism.

First thanks the CIO and AFL got for their services in the witch hunt was the Taft-Hartley Law, with its loyalty oath and all its slave labor restrictions. This has prevented the organization of the unorganized.

Dozens of anti-labor laws have been passed in the states, "Little Taft-Hartleys" even more repressive than the parent law.

Recently the "respectable" CIO members of the Wage Stabilization Board were branded "Reds" because they upheld the steelworkers in their demands against the corporations.

Congress is threatening to emasculate the WSB, which even in its present form is designed to prevent the unions from using their independent power, stalling their demands in long-drawn-out government mediation.

The Smith "Union Seizure" Bill, now before Congress, would impose permanent injunctions against strikes and completely shackle unions.

This is the real aim of the witch hunt. It means to strike a blow at the heart of democracy — the labor movement. By conducting their own purges in the unions, the labor leaders have committed two crimes against labor's cause: (1) They have submitted to the principle of thought-control. (2) They have weakened their union's militancy and internal democracy, thus rendering them less effective in a struggle for self-preservation.

Viewed as a whole, the witch hunt has reached into every major part of American life, and into every organization, institution and group. It has left an ugly mark on this nation. And it has only begun. Its causes, and how to fight against it are discussed in an editorial on this page. Its affects are clear: the Bill of Rights has been torn from the pages of the constitution. This is no longer a nation of free people.

The Govt., Not the Heat

By Jean Blake

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

White workers have the same kind of political action . . . and help the Negro leaders sell this false program to their ranks. Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers head, told the NAACP convention that the moral issue of the campaign for Fair Employment Practices legislation "must be the mobilization of every decent American in an all-out crusade to square American democracy's day to day practices with its noble promises in the field of civil rights."

But his political program won't do it for the Negroes any more than for their white fellow workers. He, too, proposes to "reward friends and punish enemies" in the two capitalist parties.

It's only common sense to repair the leak in the boat to keep from drowning; and in society, to eliminate class exploitation which prevents men from uniting in their common interest. That is what the political action program of workers of all colors must aim to do.

Such a program would call for an end to all support to capitalist politicians and for the building of an independent workers' party prepared to take decisive action, to make revolutionary changes in our society. It would eliminate the basis of class divisions, and divisions within the working class by race, color, etc. by ending the privileged position of the capitalist class, by making all men equal in their rights.

It would ensure this equality of rights by putting control of all the functions of planning and organizing production into the hands of the producers of useful things — into the hands of the producers (who are also the consumers).

It would end the dictatorship of production and society by the parasitic private owners of the wealth produced by working men and women.

A truly independent program of political action must aim at power for the workers to organize a society of production for use, not profit, and for participation in and contributions to society from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

Five-Star Lie Peddler

By Tom Conlan

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

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

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

"Young America," he said, "is sick at heart." Some are "confused and bitter." Others "feel disillusioned." "Most of all," he said, "they (the youth) want to be freed from the dreadful uncertainty of the present, so as to plan ahead without fear that all their planning will come to nothing because of the war." He'd take good care to remove this "dreadful uncertainty." To believe him, he had something different, something special in store for the youth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"It is nothing but a dream to think you are going to live in a carefree world where everything will be all right. At the very, very best, gentlemen, most of your life is going to be lived in a period of tension."

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

"WE WERE SHOCKED BY THE photograph that appeared in the June 27 Times showing what appeared to be civilized Europeans bringing batons down on the heads of unarmed women who were left sprawling in the streets of Johannesburg, South Africa," wrote A. J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph and J. J. Singh in a letter to the July 2 N.Y. Times. They add: "Such are the means

which the Malan Government is resorting to in its efforts to impose a racist policy which has been declared unconstitutional by that country's own Supreme Court."

CLAPPED INTO A JAIL CELL by the Vermont Supreme Court, widow Leola Drohat Yates, who suffers from asthma, is guilty only of the crime of owing money. She has been imprisoned under Vermont's 144-year old poor debtor's law, which means that if she can't get \$2,500 while she is in jail her first chance for freedom comes in six months. At that time she may take a "poor debtor's oath." Attorneys are arguing for her release because of ill health, but the hearing on this motion has been set for two weeks from the time of jailing.

WHISKEY MONEY FOR POLITICIANS has been flowing freely according to testimony before a House Judiciary subcommittee. A Seagram Distillers executive testified that he had given \$50,000 to the Republican and Democratic parties in 1948. Other liquor companies testified to donations to both parties, with the Democrats getting the bigger jigger and the Republicans getting a smell of the cork. Seagrams whiskey, say the ads, is "Known by the Company it Keeps." A Seagrams executive, however, is "Known by the Envelopes he Gives."

"CONFORMING TO COMMUNIST DOCTRINE" and "un-American" is what Senator Pat McCarran (Dem., Nev.) called Truman's veto of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill. When Truman first started his "loyalty" purge, The Militant predicted it would be turned against him.

DRAFTED MEDICAL MEN who refuse to fill out a loyalty questionnaire on grounds of personal principle are being "punished" by induction as privates and assignment to non-professional duties. This was the case with two New York area dentists, both of whom signed the Army loyalty oath but refused to fill out a prying questionnaire.

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Taft-Hartley Perils Union Medical Care

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 26 — One of the oldest and best systems of medical care for union members in this area, the St. Louis Labor Health Institute, may be declared illegal under the Taft-Hartley law.

The St. Louis plumbing warehouse bosses, in retaliation for a strike that Teamsters Union Local 688 has conducted for some months, has charged in the National Labor Relations Board and in federal court that the Institute is illegal under the Taft-Hartley law.

The union health institution gives complete medical and dental treatment to most of Local 688's members under contracts with different shops. The bosses pay 3 1/2% of their payroll in shops where members of the union only are covered and 5% of their payrolls where members and their families both are covered. Many of the shops have the 5% complete coverage plan. The plan has long been recognized as a model.

Once before, the Labor Health Institute was attacked in the courts and was held legal. This time, however, union lawyers say that the Institute is in danger of losing the case. If it is held illegal in the plumbing industry it will be illegal in all the shops. That would mean that the achievements of long struggle by union members will be wiped out overnight.

PLAN DEFENSE

As a result of the emergency in the plumbing strike a meeting of rank and file leaders was called to plan the defense against the plumbing bosses.

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

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

One shop leader asked, "Why can't we get some of our own people elected as Democratic committeemen?"

Gibbons responded, "We are not attempting to take over the Democratic party."

WANTS TO SOUND ALARM

Another shop leader stated, "I think we ought to take this to other unions. This fight against the Taft-Hartley law is bigger than just our union. Can't we have a mass meeting or do something to bring this to the attention of other unions?"

Harold Gibbons' answer was that most of the unions in St. Louis are not interested in political action, and Local 688 has the reputation of being the most politically active union in town.

"Most of the others do not even know how to plan a political program. When we were trying to get Mark Hennelly elected (as President of the Board of Aldermen) they would not even help us. And I cannot think of a nicer guy."

If the Labor Health Institute is lost, it will be a serious blow to St. Louis unions. But its effects can be much broader as it will set a precedent for similar suits against union health programs throughout the country.

Convention Ball To Be Held in N. Y.

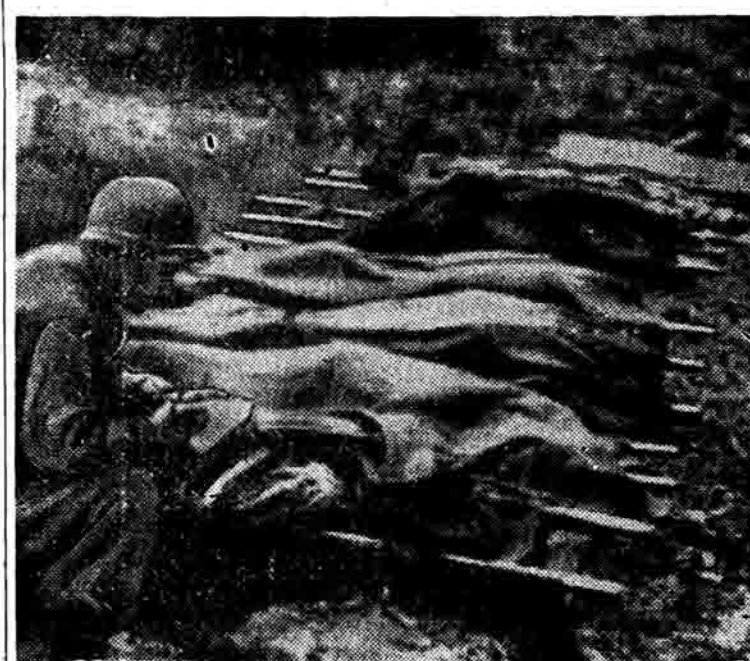
NEW YORK — The arrangements committee of the National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which will touch off the party's 1952 presidential campaign, has completed its plans for a National Convention Ball.

The place: Cornish Arms Hotel, Grand Ball Room, 311 West 23rd Street, Corner Eighth Ave., New York City. The time: Saturday, July 19, 1952; doors open at 8:30 P.M. There will be music, entertainment by "National Talent Review," and a refreshment bar. Admission is \$1.20, including tax.

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THE MILITANT

The Cost of War



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

WORKERS DETERMINED ON STEEL PICKET LINES

(Continued from page 1)

of America to reopen plants for arms production is opposed with considerable bitterness. "A sure way to bleed the union to death," is the general remark. The Korean war begins to appear to many workers as another club in the hands of the corporations.

One thing about a picket line is that it gives workers an occasion to talk over big problems that they tend to forget in quieter periods. One middle-aged picket, after recounting the years of struggle for bread during the depression paused and then said: "By God, if it wasn't for this Korean war I think we'd be going through all that again right now."

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

Stalinist's Policy On the Smith Law; Lesson for Labor

(Continued from page 1)

but securely under their control rather than risk a united front of widely divergent political elements in which the Stalinists, possibly a minority, would not always get their own way?

Do they merely desire to stir up a little fuss to keep their own members and followers satisfied rather than create a strong instrument which can deal some effective blows to the witch-hunt? What is involved is not merely the fate of their own leaders, on trial and in jail, but the cause of democratic rights in general. Are the Stalinist leaders prepared to sacrifice both for factional and bureaucratic ends? The evidence at hand appears to confirm that conclusion.

The task at hand, however, is too big, too urgent to be deflected by Stalinist maneuvers. The defense of the persecuted C.P. leaders is not a private affair. If it is impossible to organize a broad defense movement with the Stalinists, then it must be organized independently. Naturally, independent radicals, liberals and trade unionists will continue to seek their cooperation but they cannot afford to await the Stalinists' pleasure, to remain inactive because the Stalinist line makes no genuine provision for their participation.

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

How to Get a Liner

Like a brand-new \$78 million liner for \$8 million? Very simple. Let the government build it out of public treasury funds, then deliver it to you for \$28 million. Of this sum, let the government take a 20-year mortgage at 3 1/2% on \$20 million. That leaves you only \$8 million to put up. This shouldn't be hard to raise together if the government pays you a high enough subsidy.

Incredible? That's how the U.S. Lines got their new flagship, the "United States," delivered June 20.

Now try the same procedure to get that new car you need, or a TV set or washing machine. It's your government, ain't it?

Lattimore Smear Based on "Tips" Of Drunken Liar

By Fred Hart

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

capitalist press calls the "fasco" in the latest attempt to frame up Prof. Owen Lattimore, John Hopkins University authority on the Far East, as a "Communist" and "Kremlin agent."

Acting on a "tip" that Lattimore, one-time State Department consultant, was planning a trip to the Soviet Union, the State Department sent a "confidential stop-order" to the Customs Bureau not to permit Lattimore's departure from the United States. This was reported in last week's Militant.

The fact that a government agency investigates such a "tip," true or false, is not news. But in this case the "tip" against Lattimore was leaked out to the press and the State Department "stop-order" was widely proclaimed as "proof" of Senator McCarthy's well-known charges against Lattimore.

Moreover, it was made general public knowledge for the first time that the State Department has been secretly operating an "iron curtain" for eleven years through the method of "confidential stop-orders" to bar American citizens from leaving this country.

It was finally revealed on June 27, as a result of the State Department's hand being forced by publicity, that a Seattle travel

agency executive named Harry A. Jarvinen, a former Finnish army veteran of the Soviet-Finnish war, had knowingly fabricated a report to the CIA and FBI that Lattimore had bought tickets from his agency for an alleged trip to the Soviet Union.

Jarvinen, who was subsequently indicted by a special Federal grand jury, complained that "few people will risk their necks giving information to the Government now. Such information should always be confidential whether true or false." That's just fine for the rats who act as informers, but how about those who are victimized by these slanders and liars?

Jarvinen's "defense" is that his false remarks were made "at a social occasion where there was excessive drinking." He wasn't too drunk to give them to CIA and FBI. But why did the State Department act and why was the story made public even before Jarvinen was investigated or Lattimore was asked whether the story was true or not?

It wouldn't make any difference whether the informant was drunk or sober. The fact is that the witch-hunters eagerly accept and use the fabrications of malicious and lying informers — both drunk and sober.

HOW WE WON GRACE CARLSON AND HOW WE LOST HER

By James P. Cannon, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

Tells About Break At Press Interview

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., July 1

— At a press interview reported in yesterday's Star and today's Tribune, Grace Carlson made public her resignation from the Socialist Workers Party June 18 and her return to the Catholic Church.

Grace Carlson was SWP Vice-Presidential candidate in 1948 and had been nominated by the SWP National Committee to run again this year. The nomination was subject to approval by the convention to be held this month.

She told the press that she still retained the "deepest economic and social convictions" of her 16 years in the socialist movement, and is still "opposed to capitalism and United States participation in the Korean war."

Grace Carlson is a victim of the reactionary atmosphere in general and the witch hunt in particular. Her sudden action in resigning from the numerically small and persecuted Socialist Workers Party for sanctuary in the rich and powerful Catholic Church, is only the final effect of the many successive blows of persecution, poverty and discrimination which had been inflicted upon her during the long time she fought on the side of the poor for the great ideals of socialism.

There had been no previous intimation of this sudden decision. Within the past month she spoke and debated on the campuses of New York University and the University of Minnesota in defense of Marxism against political opponents. The reason she now gives for her precipitate resignation from the party — "a difference in basic philosophy" — is not the real reason.

When Grace Carlson came to the Socialist Workers Party in 1936 she held a good position in the Minnesota State Department of Education, received a good salary and was honored and respected in the Twin City circles of the rich and powerful as a Doctor of Philosophy. Her decision at that time to join with us in the service of the great ideal of socialism was a happy decision, as she stated at the time and repeated many times thereafter. We won her by our ideas and ideals and kept her for 16 years. We won her by persuasion, by arguments and by the example of comrades putting service to a great cause above personal interest.

PRESSURE OF REACTION

The forces of reaction have finally broken her away from the socialist movement by a different method. They made Grace Carlson pay for her idealistic and self-sacrificing work for socialism. She had to give up her position with the Minnesota State Department of Education and drastically cut her standard of living. She had to sacrifice her honored position in the community. In 1943 she had to go to Federal prison along with 17 other members of the party. On her return from prison in 1945 she had to register with the Police Department of St. Paul as an ex-convict. She was blacklisted from all employment in the Twin Cities. Sacrifice after sacrifice was imposed upon her.

For 16 years the powerful forces of reaction hammered and pounded at this woman until they finally beat her down, broke her spirit of resistance and compelled her to leave the party which she had served so long and so honorably. That's how the Catholic Church won a shabby

EXPRESSED NO DIFFERENCES

In her press interview, reported in the Minneapolis Star, June 30, Grace refers to her last meeting with me in Minneapolis on Friday, June 20. The reporter quotes her as saying: "It was one of the saddest meetings I have ever attended." I don't doubt that, but the reason for her sadness should be explained.

She did not make any arguments to sustain her action. She did not express any differences with the party program nor any grievances against its people. On the contrary she affirmed her love and respect for the comrades with whom she had worked so long.

I spoke to her about the Catholic Church which exploits

the religious sentiments of its communicants to support reaction and oppression everywhere. I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world. I reminded her of Cardinal Spellman who broke the strike of the cemetery workers in New York and who has just recently been to Spain where he paid homage to the bloody dictator Franco. I reminded her that her socialist comrades in Spain are in Franco's prisons and torture chambers if they are not in their graves.

Grace Carlson knows all that as well as I do, and has said it many times. She didn't answer my reminders with any argument or justification, but with the bitter tears of a defeated and broken woman. She does well to say that it was a sad meeting for her. It was a sad meeting for me too, but for different reasons.

SOCIALISM IS GROWING

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

The forthcoming convention of the Socialist Workers Party in New York, called to nominate its presidential candidates for the 1952 campaign, will demonstrate this. The convention will demonstrate the determination of the members to do a little more and give a little more to make up any losses suffered by this defection.

The convention will reaffirm again, what Grace Carlson said many times before her defection, that the place to fight against the threatening war, and all the evils of this diseased capitalist society and for a better life on earth, is not in the Catholic Church but in the socialist movement.

I. F. Stone's Book in England

I. F. Stone's book "The Hidden History of the Korean War" has been issued in England and appears already to have made an impact in labor circles.