

WHAT TO DO IF FBI CALLS ON YOU

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THE MILITANT

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62 Organizations Added To Political Blacklist

By George Lavan

Without trial or jury, the Eisenhower administration has condemned 62 more organizations as "subversive." These organizations will now be subject to political persecution, their members will be fired from civil service jobs as well as from many jobs in private industry; many will be evicted from public housing projects or forbidden to draw unemployment compensation, and all will be harassed by official and self-appointed witch hunters.

Attorney General Brownell's action in expanding the "subversive" list to a total of 254 organizations broadens the original cornerstone of the witch hunt which was laid by Truman's At-

torney General, Tom Clark (now Supreme Court Justice). This blacklist was arrived at in secret, with the condemned organizations given no chance to hear the charges or "evidence" against them.

A sinister feature of the 62 new listings by the Attorney General is the high percentage of defense organizations condemned. Many of these organizations were set up to raise funds for the legal defense of men and women accused under the Smith Act, a law that has been condemned, at one time or another, by the whole labor movement. Some of these blacklisted organizations have also raised money to alleviate the needs of the families of victims

of the Smith Act and other witch hunt laws and to send small allowances for cigarettes, candy, etc., to those in prison. This is now listed as a "subversive" activity by the Attorney General.

Thus, not only leaders of the Communist Party are sent to prison, but people who contribute money to provide legal defense for them or to aid their families are branded as "subversive" and will be subjected to political persecution.

Subscription Campaign Winds Up Successfully

By Dorothy Johnson, Campaign Manager

The Militant Subscription Campaign ended with a total of 712 subs and several thousand single copies sold in six weeks time by Militant salesmen to shopmates and friends and door-to-door in working class neighborhoods. Sub-getters in all areas of the country pitched in to make the campaign a success. They can be proud of the increase in circulation resulting from the drive.

Several hundred people who never read The Militant before will be receiving the paper in their homes for six months or a year. Many old friends renewed their contact with socialist ideas during the campaign. And members of the Militant Army enriched their experience in selling the paper.

One of the best aspects of the campaign has been commented on by several literature agents — the good response to The Militant in spite of the witch hunt atmosphere. Many people though worried are not intimidated, and others are roused to anger and action by the threat to their civil rights.

The most inspiring example of what can be done was set by the enthusiastic Twin Cities comrades who brought in more and more subs during the weeks of the campaign. Compliments from Detroit — "We were really impressed with the work of Minneapolis and St. Paul," and Akron — "We take the solid outstanding work of the Twin Cities so much for granted that we sometimes forget to shout their praise." These expressions indicate the appreciation all Militant campaigners feel for their achievement.

In second place nationally, Chicago did a first-rate job. Not shown on the score-board are over 600 points given locally for subscriptions sold to Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. Chicago is also first in single-copy sales. Over 600 Militants were sold, principally at union meetings and plant gates.

Third place honors go to the New York comrades who are extending their drive an extra

week. Over 1,000 points gained after the close of the national campaign are not shown on the score-board. In addition to subs to The Militant, New York sold scores of pamphlets in door-to-door work — principally "The Coming World Showdown" by M. Pablo, "The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore" by George Breitman, and "The Socialist Workers Party, What It

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Legless Vet Makes Tenth Job Appeal

NEWARK, May 7 — James Kutcher yesterday revealed that he is making his tenth bid to recover the clerical job with the Veterans Administration from which he was fired under the government's "loyalty" purge program more than four and a half years ago.

The legless veteran was notified last week that the Veterans Administrator, Carl Gray, Jr., had rejected his ninth appeal, lodged with the VA Loyalty Board of Appeals last March. Gray told Kutcher that he could appeal this decision to the U.S. Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board. Kutcher said he had taken this step yesterday.

The Loyalty Review Board was abolished, effective next Aug. 27, in Pres. Eisenhower's new security program, issued last week. But in the meantime it can receive and finish up pending cases.

NOT SUBVERSIVE

Kutcher, who lost both legs in battle in Italy in 1943, was discharged from his VA job in 1948 because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, one of the groups on the Attorney General's "subversive list." Both the party and Kutcher have denied that it is subversive.

The veteran sent appeals to Pres. Truman and Attorney General Clark in 1948, and to Pres. Eisenhower this year. He also appealed to the VA Branch Loyalty Board in Philadelphia and to Mr. Gray in 1948, and to the Loyalty Review Board in 1949.

INTO FEDERAL COURTS

The case then was taken to the federal courts with the help of the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee and 800 national and local organizations sympathetic to the veteran's fight.

A federal judge in Washington again upheld Kutcher's discharge in 1951, but a year later the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that his membership in the Socialist Workers Party was not sufficient cause to justify his discharge.

However, Kutcher remained suspended from his job because the court sent the case back to Administrator Gray for a new decision, in effect starting the long procedure all over again. A new hearing, held before the VA Loyalty Board of Appeals last March, resulted in last week's decision.

ers the way the U.S. brass have, the British War Office studiously disclaimed in a public statement any special "disincentive" for British soldiers. On their arrival in London, some of the British ex-captives, according to the Associated Press, freely "made statements to reporters denouncing the Korean war and many spoke well of the treatment they received from their captors."

But U.S. military authorities treated the returned GIs like plague-bearers. Their first concern was to determine if any of the former prisoners had the slightest opposition to the war or considered their Asian captors as anything but racial inferiors — "gooks" — and brute sub-humans.

"Of the 30 Americans returned on the first day, nine were refused permission to talk, only one or two because of serious physical condition," revealed Time magazine. Washington's "democratic" South Korean ally, dictator Syngman Rhee, took no chances at all. His government simply announced that all South Korean returnees "would be sequestered for six months of 'reindoctrination,'" Time reports.

The May 8 U.S. News and World Report magazine quotes a very revealing "personal letter

from a correspondent who talked with prisoners of war released at Panmunjom." He wrote: "I can't figure out what the Communist pattern of attack on the Americans was as yet, or how it worked. A few of the American returnees are stupid. One, under the drumfire questioning of correspondents, finally gave in and said, weakly: 'Well, if you say there were atrocities, there must have been some.' Another, who as far as I can find out had no newspaper or radio experience, demanded 'a "pooled" interview' — one radio, one TV and one press-service man." So, I ask, who told him about poolers?"

You can well imagine, from this, the pressure put on the returned captives to make exaggerated statements about atrocities. What a hunt hunt atmosphere these sick and wounded soldiers met if a reference to a "pooled interview" is considered a sign of "Communist indoctrination."

But this was a mild case, evidently. "There were many Americans no one was permitted to see, and wounds were not the reason" writes this same correspondent. "But I am certain that among the American returned were a number who had been

Mother Weeps



Mrs. Elizabeth Jankovits of Philadelphia is overcome at news of release of her 23-year-old son, John, in second contingent of repatriated POWs. She is comforted by her daughter, Elizabeth Novak. Thousands of other American families with boys in Korea have no reason for joy in news that U.S. soldiers will be kept in Korea even if there is a truce.

BOLIVIAN MINERS APPEAL FOR AID IN TIN BOYCOTT

A stirring appeal to the "international organizations of Latin America, the people of the United States and the workers of the entire world" to help break the boycott which "the champions of democracy" have clamped on Bolivia was recently published in La Nacion, leading newspaper of La Paz, Bolivia.

The appeal, written by the Mixed Mine Workers Union of Huamuni, points to the grave consequences of the expansion of imperialism on countries producing raw materials such as Bolivia with its minerals, Argentina with its meat and wheat, Venezuela with its oil and Chile with its copper.

Bolivia today, for instance, owes its broken-down economy, rickety administration and permanent financial deficit to the imperialist-supported tin barons — Patiño, Hochschild and Aramayo. "For more than 50 years these three sovereigns thrived on the inhuman, merciless exploitation of thousands of miners, who day and night wasted away their energy and health in the dangerous, unhealthy subterranean galleries so that the tin barons could amass enormous fortunes to dissipate in matrimonial adventures with the European

nobility, in rent for the most luxurious suites of the Waldorf Astoria in New York. The millions of dollars could better have been spent improving the conditions of life and labor of the exploited workers."

"To our shame," continues the declaration, "it is the Bolivian magnate, Antenor Patiño, who without the slightest scruple spent \$50,000 for a chinchilla coat to give Princess Margaret while tuberculosis and silicosis ravage the lungs of the workers who amassed his fortune."

It is such people who made potentially rich Bolivia a poor country by deforming its economy, reducing it to one main product, tin. They are linked with the imperialist interests of Wall Street.

WORKERS GO HUNGRY

The declaration cites United Nations as well as other studies which agree that "the food of the Bolivian worker is below the standards commonly considered

operation because of the position taken by the Army and others that these men may have been misled under conditions of duress and hardship during the period of their captivity."

When the word got out, the Army officials found it difficult to keep their relatives and reporters from these POWs. They were able to make their views partially known. They described themselves as "bitter beyond expression," "depressed," and "insulted" by the propaganda leaked out about them.

BRASS "AT A LOSS"

The public kick-back was evidently so great that Army officials tried to disclaim responsibility for the treatment of these soldiers. Army spokesmen were reported "at a loss" to explain how the impression got out that these men were being sent to Valley Forge Hospital for "de-brain washing" against alleged "Communist indoctrination."

This disclaimer smells. It ignores not only the Air Force statement, quoted above, but an official Defense Department statement issued when the men were landed in this country. The Defense Department said these GIs were part of a "small group"

Dulles Rushes Military Aid to French Invaders Of Indo-China Republic

By Joseph Keller

As U.S. negotiators haggled over proposed Korean truce terms, a new threat was being raised to involve the American people in another Asian war.

The Eisenhower administration is moving to plunge America more deeply into French imperialism's "Dirty War" against the Indo-Chinese people.

Corporations Hit Profits Jack-Pot In Korean War

"Corporate earnings for the first three months of this year appear to have climbed back up to the third best quarterly rate in the nation's history," reports the lead article of the May 2 Wall Street Journal.

The only time bigger profits have ever been announced "were those racked up during the huge waves of public buying in the nine months from July 1, 1950, to March 31, 1951, just after the Korean War started," the Journal informs us.

In the three months up to March 31 of this year, according to financial reports of 369 major firms in 27 key industries, net profits have gained 2.6% over the first quarter of 1951, which had been previously the third most profitable quarter.

KOREA WAR DOES IT

This is the most conclusive evidence of how substantially the Korean "police action" has benefited the wars industries corporations and monopolies. It makes clear why Wall St. and its political agents in Washington are so reluctant to bring the fighting in Korea to a halt and why the capitalists suffer jitters at any mention of peace.

Ten industries showed profits gains of 10% or more over last year's first quarter, based principally on government war orders. The aircraft makers and the radio-television industries grabbed off whopping 124.4% and 178.8% increases respectively. Autos were up 21.9%; electrical equipments, 55.2%; finance companies, 17.2%; food products, 29.1%; steel, 14.6%; motion pictures, 18.5%; tobacco, 13%; utilities, 12%; railroads, 18.5%; other industries, 11.8%.

Secretary of State Dulles has revealed that the Administration is speeding additional vast military supplies to the French in Indo-China as the latter reeled back from the powerful thrust of the Viet-Minh popular revolutionary forces fighting for their national independence. The American people are footing the bill for the French colonial invaders in Indo-China.

We know from experience that where U.S. bombs, planes, tanks and guns go, sooner or later American flyers and infantry usually follow. Will thousands of American boys die in the fever-ridden, insect-infested, trackless jungles and swamps of Indo-China, as they have been dying on the bleak, sub-zero crests of the Korean mountains?

Senator William F. Knowland, California Republican on the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stated May 6 that he hoped Washington would "not foreclose the use of air or naval power, as our national interests may require . . . in Southeast Asia." Representative Dewey Short, Missouri Republican at the head of the House Armed Services Committee, proposed to serve Moscow an ultimatum to "keep out of southeast Asia" and, if colonial revolutions are not stopped, then "hit them with everything we've got."

ECHOED BY DEMOCRATS

These sentiments are echoed in the Democratic camp by Senators like Paul Douglas of Illinois who last week publicly criticized Eisenhower, as the Christian Science Monitor puts it, "for acting less promptly and effectively in this Indo-Chinese crisis than did President Truman in the Korean aggression in June, 1950."

Truman sent troops. The fact that the Indo-Chinese freedom fighters have extended their military operations into Laos, another state of Indo-China, has given the Administration the pretext to yell "Communist aggression." Thus, Dulles called the Viet-Minh advance into Laos "another case of ruthless and unprovoked attack upon a country peacefully ruled by a duly constituted government."

But Laos is not another country; it is one of the three Associated States of Indo-China, as Pennsylvania or Ohio are part of the United States of America. And the "duly constituted government" of Indo-China is the Viet-Minh, led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh. It was founded by the same kind of struggle against colonial despots as the American colonists in 1776 fought against King George III of England. The French government itself early in 1946 signed a treaty recognizing the Viet-Minh.

Later in the same year, however, the French invaded Indo-China and tore up the treaty with their bayonets. If ever there was a cold-blooded, merciless, imperialist aggression to grab a country and its rich resources, this was it.

PLAY-BY-BOY EMPEROR

In 1949, to give their attempted rape of Indo-China a cover of "popular" support, the French brought over from their Riviera resorts the degenerate play-boy ex-emperor of Indo-China, Bao Dai, and set him up as head of a puppet government.

The pretext for U.S. moves to bail out the French imperialists is the claimed threat of a Chinese

EVIDENCE OF "DISEASE"

What was the evidence of "Communist indoctrination" that made it imperative to build a "cordon sanitaire" — an iron

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TRADE AND AID -- HOW THE WALL STREET GAME IS PLAYED

By Harry Frankel

Anyone looking for a good belly-laugh should follow the "trade not aid" discussions now going on in Washington.

Capitalism is cut off from former vast markets in the Soviet bloc. Most capitalist countries, in contrast to the U.S., are compelled to import relatively much larger quantities of goods than the U.S., since not even Charles E. Wilson can teach them how to get workers to work without food, or to run industries without raw materials.

However, Wall Street won't let these other capitalist countries get their imports from Eastern Europe, or from China, from which a good part of these imports used to come. A far bigger proportion of imports now come from the U.S. But American capitalism does not, and cannot without danger to its own economy, import the same amount in return. This causes the big "dollar gap," which is nothing but a hole in the balance of payments of the rest of the world when the U.S. adds up the trade ledger at the end of the year. Average size of the hole since the end of World War II: about \$5 billion a year. This may look small to an American, who, even though he doesn't carry that much in his change purse, has grown accustomed to reading big numbers with dollar signs in front of them. In terms of the U.S. national product it is small: about 1 1/2% of the total. But for the rest of the world it is very big: for example, this trade gap is roughly half of the total annual Japanese product. Sums that are relatively inconsequential for American capitalism can disorganize all the rest of world capitalist economy.

WALL STREET SUCKS WIND

How has this gap been bridged? For the first couple of years after the war, Wall Street concentrated on siphoning off the rest of the world's gold reserves. Then these ran dry, and Wall Street's suction pump started sucking wind; that started the Marshall Plan. Uncle Sam turned philanthropist again, and every time he does that, watch him closely. Here is the way the deal works: Money is taken out of U.S. taxpayers' pockets, sent abroad as foreign aid, and sent back here to pay up the foreign trade balance. American businessmen pay only part of these taxes, but they get most of them back. Are they satisfied? Well, you can say anything you want about old J. Pierpont, but not that he can't add and subtract — dollars, that is.

For some time now, the European capitalists have been yelling for "trade, not aid." In case you think it's easy to live on a dole, you're mistaken, as this example proves once again. American capitalists have hollered back at them: "Sure, we'll give you trade and we'll be glad to cut the aid and try to balance our budget. But you'll have to cut your costs so that you can compete in the world markets."

That's what they say, but here's a good example of the kind of thing that has European magnates chewing the brims off their high hats: A short time ago, bids were submitted on the Chief Joseph dam (Washington State). Low bid on the electrical equipment contract was made by an English firm. That's what I call good competing, but who got the job? You guessed it — a home-grown star-spangled profiteer.

Here's another example: President Eisenhower has billed himself as a staunch advocate of "trade, not aid," and a supporter of the present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act which is soon due to expire. To hear him talk, he will do his damndest to fight against those portions of his own party who want to scuttle this act and raise import barriers above even their present levels, instead of lowering them as the Europeans want. Yet, when he had to make an appointment to the Tariff Commission, he named Joseph E. Talbott, who thinks the last President to handle the tariff question properly was Wm. McKinley.

So that, from all appearances, the discussions which started around the idea "trade, not aid," are going to wind up with "less trade and less aid"; as the London Economist put it, "words, not trade." We American workers have always had our troubles with U.S. capitalists, and we could have told the European magnates to sew up their pockets, but it probably wouldn't have helped.

THE TRUE NATURE OF THE KREMLIN BEAST

This is a good time to reprint my all-time favorite among the letters to the N.Y. Times, which appeared on Jan. 2, 1953, and was written by a foreign trade expert:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"Referring to your editorial 'New Trade Pattern' permit me to say that there can be no solution to the foreign trade problems now besetting the world as long as the Soviet Government survives. We may continue our present policy of patching up here and there, like the shepherd boy in the Russian story who tried to eliminate a hole in the front of his coat by cutting out pieces from other portions of the garment. Just as in his case the migratory hole remained in the end, so will our foreign trade problems remain with us unsolved as long as one-third of the world's potential consumers remain sealed off from the rest of the world and their rich storehouses of raw materials are rendered unavailable to us and other free nations.

"It is the considered opinion of our seasoned foreign trade experts, men who are also well conversant with the true nature of the Kremlin beast, that conditions will grow worse with the passing years.

"J. Anthony Marcus, President, Institute of Foreign Trade, N.Y., Dec. 27, 1952."

Bravo, Mr. Marcus! He has found the answer. Destroy the beast that prevents capitalism from exploiting one-third of the world.

Of course, Mr. Marcus is not alone in that opinion. That is straight Washington policy. He is only more candid; as you can see from his letter, he is a plain-spoken man. But in the meantime, some way must be found to keep the machine running for a while, and that is the reason for the trade-aid farce. Anyway, we can all get a laugh out of it, and that's something, these days.

As a Free American You Don't Have to Answer FBI Interview

(The following article, which should prove of interest to all those concerned about the defense of civil liberties in America, appeared in the April 1953 issue of the American Civil Liberties Union News published in San Francisco by the ACLU, Ed.)

What are a person's rights when a couple of FBI agents call upon him for information? Must he answer their questions? Or can he tell them to go about their business?

These questions are prompted by the fact that in recent weeks seven or eight persons have complained to the Union about harassment by FBI agents and have sought information as to their rights.

The Union unflinchingly reminds such complainants that they are free agents. Whether or not they wish to talk to representatives of the FBI is up to them. An FBI agent is in no better position than the Fuller brush man or some other salesman who comes to your door.

You can do business with him if you wish: that's for you to decide. But the ACLU is concerned in coercion and harassment of people by police officers, whether they be uniformed members of the local constabulary or young, handsome, Arrow-collared agents of the FBI. They are all police officers.

These days, FBI agents are particularly ubiquitous because they are collecting loyalty and security data about public employees and others, and are also trying to interview ex-radicals. "All we want is some information to complete our files," the person is told. This type of data falls in the field of opinion and association and, whether the FBI likes it or not, Congress has turned it largely into a political police.

No FBI agent may compel a person to be interviewed without himself being guilty of violating the law. Of course, if agents ring your bell, show their credentials and are invited into your home, you cannot complain unless they then misbehave themselves in



J. EDGAR HOOVER

some manner or refuse to leave when asked to do so. But, even if you invite agents into your home, there is no legal duty on your part to answer their questions.

FBI DEVICES

FBI agents will resort to various means to secure information. One of the commonest devices is the friendly, father-confessor approach. If that doesn't work, a little lawful coercion may.

Of course, if a person allows information to be wheedled from him, which he later regrets giving, he has no basis for complaint. But it seems to us he may justly complain about such things as implied threats or telephone calls for interviews to his place of employment.

Naturally, he does not want the boss to know that he is not "cooperating" with the FBI; the boss might not like it. In order to get rid of the agent without the boss knowing what is in the wind, a person will sometimes make a date for an interview at the FBI office or his home.

Some people wouldn't mind such interviews if they could have the protection of an attorney or representative. But the FBI won't agree. Interviews must be conducted on their terms. They claim the interview is "confidential." It would seem to be ordinary good sense and caution for a person who is willing to talk to FBI agents to have counsel present and to insist upon receiving a transcript of his statements.

CIVIL LIBERTIES ISSUE

FBI agents are not easily discouraged. If a person refuses to give information, they try again. So would you if that were your job. But if the target of the interview says he refuses to be interviewed and the agents won't take "No" for an answer, then there's a civil liberties issue.

Many of the people who consult the ACLU about their rights in connection with FBI agents are former members of the Communist Party. These people are generally not averse to talking about their own past activities, but they do not want to involve other people. Of course, that is precisely the information the FBI is after.

Recently, the Union was consulted by a man the FBI apparently believes is, or was, a Trotskyite, although the man denies it. No doubt, other minority political movements are also under constant surveillance by the FBI.

Finally, there is the person who is interviewed by the FBI about a federal employee or an employee of the maritime or defense industries. Maybe he was only a neighbor or fellow employee of the person being inquired about. In any case, the agents want to discover the man's political opinions and associations as far as they are known to the informant.

DON'T HAVE TO ANSWER

In any of these situations, a person does not have to answer the questions of the FBI. In the past, where a person has complained to the Union about harassment by FBI agents, the Un-

ion has conveyed to the particular agents or to the Agent in Charge the wishes of the person.

Recently, the FBI questioned the Union's authority to act on behalf of two persons, a husband and his wife. D. K. Brown, San Francisco Agent in Charge, stated that while no person was under compulsion to talk to FBI agents, they would not respect requests to be left alone that come from either representatives or attorneys, and that such requests would have to come directly from the persons they wish to interrogate.

Accordingly, the ACLU has suggested to persons in this area who do not wish to be interviewed that they should address a letter to Mr. D. K. Brown, Agent in Charge, FBI, Federal Office Building, San Francisco, Calif., advising him that they do not wish FBI agents to attempt to communicate with them in any way. (Of course, there's no choice where an agent is making an arrest or is serving a subpoena.) The letter might well be registered and a copy should be retained by the sender.

In any case, if a person is being harassed by FBI agents or his person is being disturbed by them, he should consult the ACLU.

In an article in the Winter, 1952, issue of the Iowa Law Review, J. Edgar Hoover declared that "The FBI operates on the highest code of ethics, attempting to fulfill its responsibilities yet, in every iota, respecting the civil rights of the individuals involved. This means that Special Agents not only observe the letter but also the spirit of the law, not only the basic rights guaranteed to the individual by law, but also the rights implied in the American tradition of democracy."

We hope that the Special Agents in this area won't let Mr. Hoover down. In their investigations in the political field they will be supporting Mr. Hoover's brave words if they remember in word as well as in deed that the end does not justify the means!

MILITANT SCOREBOARD

Cities	Points		Pace-Setters	Points
Twin Cities	9,380	Milt	Twin Cities	1,000
Chicago	2,955	Evie	Twin Cities	962
New York	2,918	Paul	Twin Cities	831
Los Angeles	2,551	Bob	Twin Cities	584
Seattle	2,036	Perry	Flint	494
Buffalo	1,520	Helen	Twin Cities	445
Detroit	1,115	Ray	Twin Cities	394
Flint	910	Harry	Twin Cities	393
Milwaukee	891	Larry	Twin Cities	390
Youngstown	754	Frank	Buffalo	364
Newark	654	Charlie	Twin Cities	341
Boston	600	Sam S.	Los Angeles	317
Philadelphia	530	Bob H.	Chicago	316
Cleveland	524	Bud	Seattle	316
San Francisco	485	Dave L.	Detroit	312
Akron	279	Howard A.	Chicago	312
St. Louis	133	Clara	Seattle	299
Oakland	95	Manny	Chicago	282
General	286	Dave	Twin Cities	276

SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN WINDS UP SUCCESSFULLY

(Continued from page 1)
Is and What It Stands For" by Joseph Hansen.

Los Angeles got a late start but rolled up 2,551 points for fourth place. Their campaign will continue for another two weeks. Seattle's 2,036 points show a special effort by the Northwest comrades. Buffalo and Detroit also went over the 1,000 mark, and Milwaukee extended their drive an extra week after achieving an excellent score locally of 1,334 points.

"The sub campaign has been a real spur to us in Akron," writes L. Cooper. "Although the three-week-old bus strike has prevented us from getting around too easily, and we have not climbed any scoreboard ladders, we did get some encouraging results. Also we have plans for after the drive when the bus strike is over, to embark on some intensive house-to-house sales of The Militant with some additional public sales too."

"Susan has really shone in our local campaign. She and Kay went out in her car last Monday and secured two renewals — one from an old friend and one from a woman who bought The Militant years ago when our comrades were selling in a Negro project. Accidentally I ran into her six or seven months ago when selling door-to-door in that project. She renewed immediately after many years' lapse. Kay and Susan say it was a pleasure to see her. She was so full of life and glad to see our comrades. She loves the paper and constantly agitates her friends. So now after many

years she turns into a fresh addition to our Militant readers."

Louise Black reports for the comrades in Buffalo. "The campaign here has provided us with the necessary push to establish more intensive regular work with The Militant. House-to-house sales are a good way to find friends for the paper, and we'll be doing more of it in the future. We found one store which was willing to display The Militant in their window, and will take five copies a week. A few barber shops and beauty parlors take a copy each week for their customers to read."

New York's campaign director Tom Leonard reports, "Dubois' Black Reconstruction, our prize for top subscriber, goes to Renee who got a total of eight subs, five of them new. Although she couldn't go out on our first Sunday sale, she and Janet teamed up for the next two and brought in seven subs. The rest of her subs came from friends whom she found easy to convince that The Militant was a good buy. Special commendation also goes to our youth team led by Sherry for their excellent participation which enabled them to amass a large part of New York's score."

"New York extended its campaign one week, and our final score will run over 90 subs. I'm sure all areas join us in extending hearty congratulations to the Twin Cities for their inspiring work in the campaign. Their results are highly gratifying. We are also proud of Milt, Evie and Paul for a fine job of selling The Militant."

HOW TWIN CITIES WON NATIONAL SUB DRIVE

By Helen Sherman

The Twin Cities have just completed the most successful subscription campaign for The Militant ever undertaken. A total of 213 subs and 280 single copies of the paper were sold in the six-week period. \$525 was sent in for subscriptions alone. Forty-nine sub-getters participated to run up a score of 9,380 points.

Confident and enthusiastic at the outset of the national campaign, the results of our efforts far exceeded expectations. Our original goal of 120 subs was nearly doubled; team goals of 1,200 points each were more than doubled, with each team topping 3,100 points.

The explanation lies not in any individual or collective change in ourselves, but as compared to the campaigns in 1951 and 1952, there is a change in the "times" — in our favor.

We went out and talked to everyone we could about the paper — workers on the job, neighbors, former subscribers who had let their subs lapse — and found a serious, attentive, politically thinking audience. They are interested in what a socialist has to say these days; are open to suggestions and ideas.

Contrary to previous years, the labor press presented no competition to The Militant. If anything, the political fakery of union papers, as well as the outright class line of the capitalist press, stimulates interest in The Militant.

No question about it — workers are thinking politically and looking for political answers as never before. By dealing with the questions and problems of workers and organized labor — war, the witch hunt, insecurity and oppression — The Militant gets a serious hearing. Not only do we stand to gain increasing numbers of readers but qualitatively superior readers.

Glowing accounts of conversations with fellow-workers and contacts, of success in selling subscriptions, came from all sides. Everyone had inspiring reports to make. The really significant thing is that no one individual's experience is unique.

Anybody and everybody can talk politics these days, and can go out with The Militant and sell it. That is what happened here in the Twin Cities. Unusually favorable opportunities are at hand. And we're for bigger and better campaigns for The Militant.

Build a Labor Party Now

By GEORGE CLARKE

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No "Freedom Road" for Returned GI Captives

(Continued from page 1)

curtain quarantine — around these men?

Robert Alden, N. Y. Times correspondent, on April 21 spoke of the use of the word "reactionary" by one of the returned prisoners as "an apparent indication of indoctrination in catchwords used by the Communists. Other evidence of careful training of prisoners was found in the use of the term Chinese People's Volunteer Army by some when they were referring to Chinese soldiers, and concern about 'indiscriminate bombing' by United Nations planes."

Thus, anyone who speaks of the Chinese by their official name, who uses any political word or who indicates some revulsion at the bombing atrocities committed against the whole Korean populace by the U.S. air forces, is treated by the Army brass as a dangerous disease carrier or mental case.

MORE "SYMPTOMS"

"A number of the former prisoners acknowledged signing one Communist propaganda document under coercion," reported the May 4 N. Y. Times. "Apparently they referred to the Stockholm peace appeal. They said the document seemed relatively harmless."

So, the longing for peace that captive soldiers who have suffered the hell of Korea indicated by signing a petition, even if circulated by the Communists, is now to be treated by the military brass as a sign of mental aberration.

One of the men sent to Valley Forge Hospital for "reorientation" was the first American GI returned, Pvt. Carl W. Kirschhausen. His symptoms were the use of

such expressions as the "forces of Wall St." and "parasites of the Stock Exchange" in letters to a relative. Even if he didn't mean them — what's wrong with these phrases?

If everybody who's against the Korean war and wants peace, if everyone who's against "the forces of Wall St." and "parasites of the Stock Exchange" is to be subjected to "special treatment" like POWs sent to Valley Forge Hospital, these United States of America would be one giant "reorientation" hospital — or concentration camp.

The men who learned something from the war and who might have something to tell the American people about the real nature of the war and the abominations committed in their name by the

U.S. militarists, are suffering victimization. But there are other returned prisoners who are considered the model of enlightenment. These are some men who have given out the highly-colored atrocity stories which the military officials and the press have been clamoring for. And then there are a few like PFC James R. Dunn, of Anderson, S. C.

He boasted that there were "seven or eight guys we called rats or progressive boys" and added, "We had a Ku Klux Klan organization in our camp to try and straighten out the progressive boys. We'd write notes to them, signed KKK. . . If they didn't straighten out, they'd usually get thrown into the latrine."

With what gusto and undisguised admiration did the capital-

ist press write of PFC Dunn, from the deep Jim-Crow South, and his method for dealing with anyone considered "progressive." Ku Klux Klan threats, the latrine treatment — and worse — is what the purveyors of war and reaction would like to see used against all progressive-minded, anti-war people.

Release from Chinese captivity does not mean the ex-prisoners will now travel down the "Freedom Road" in America. There can be no "Freedom Road" for them, or the American people generally, with Eisenhower's new "disloyalty" purge, with McCarthyism rampant, with freedom of thought and expression in all walks of life intimidated, terrorized and smeared as "disloyal" and "Communist."

THREAT RAISED TO PLUNGE U.S. INTO WAR AGAINST INDO-CHINESE

(Continued from page 1)

"invasion." But Wall Street's government in Washington has financed and armed the French invasion of Indo-China from the start in 1940 — three years before the present government of China took power and while Chiang Kai-shek was still in control.

This is such a clear-cut case of imperialist thievery and aggression that neither the U.S. nor France has dared, as yet, to go before the U.S.-dominated UN and get that body to call the Indo-Chinese struggle for national independence a "case of ruthless and unprovoked attack."

The real score is intimated in a May 4 Washington dispatch by Neal Stanford, Christian Science Monitor correspondent, who affirms:

"One complicating factor is that this struggle is all within Indo-Chinese territory; and that the French, to date at least, have been reluctant to carry the aggression to the United Nations, lest the UN become more interested in investigating French colonial policy than in meeting aggression in Laos. It is significant that the invading Communists have not come from Communist China but from the Ho Chi Minh troops that have been fighting the French for seven years."

U.S. intervention against the Indo-Chinese people points up the criminal aims of the Wall Street imperialists in all Asia, including Korea, where American boys continue to suffer several hundred casualties every week. We must

never forget that Truman's "police action" in Korea was a ruthless invasion to support the capitalist-landlord regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea against the North Korean regime backed by the workers and peasants. It was like British support to the South in the American Civil War of 1861-65.

Long ago the Chinese-North Korean leaders showed they were ready to conclude a cease-fire in Korea. It was the U.S. which raised all sorts of objections and obstacles, including the artificial issue of "voluntary repatriation" of war prisoners. The Chinese-North Koreans conceded on this — and have made further concessions with each new demand of the U.S. military officials. But the Big Business-military clique in control in Washington is playing its own devious game.

This is proved in part by the admissions of Orland K. Armstrong, newly appointed Director of Public Affairs for the State Department, in a speech on May 2 before the New Jersey Manufacturers Association. Speaking in "confidence" to this group of capitalists, Armstrong disclosed that one of the new moves of the Eisenhower Administration might be "the immediate release of all our Korean prisoners of war, and all Chinese prisoners, who desire to fight for the United Nations."

In short, he confirms the charge made from the start by the Chinese-North Korean negotiators that the "voluntary repatriation" issue was raised with the aim of supplying dictators Syngman

Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek with scores of thousands of impressed Koreans and Chinese for their armies.

NO PEACE IN SIGHT

Even if the Chinese-North Korean leaders make every last concession demanded and the U.S. authorities are compelled by American and world public opinion to make a temporary truce in Korea, the moves by Eisenhower and Dulles with respect to Indo-China show that no real peace is in the offing for Asia. The Wall Street government is intent on supporting every reactionary, counter-revolutionary bandit gang in Asia against popular uprisings for national independence and social betterment. Eisenhower himself has said that regardless of any truce or even "peace" in Korea, that U.S. troops will be kept there "quite a while."

There can be no peace until the American people mobilize in organized action to demand and compel Eisenhower to recall all U.S. troops from Korea and Asia. That is a pre-condition for prevention of the ultimate spread of the present war in Korea and Indo-China into an all-Asian and world war of atomic annihilation.

American battle casualties in Korea increased last week by 395; bringing the total to 134,805. Since June 1950, 23,958 have been killed, 97,937 wounded and 9,043 are missing. In addition 2,325 are reported captured and 1,542 previously missing have been returned.

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A Good Court Decision

The decision of Federal District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl throwing out four of the seven counts of perjury against Owen Lattimore and raising serious doubts about the "materiality" of the remaining three counts is unquestionably a serious blow to the witch hunters.

Of all the portions of his decision, the section dealing with the first count is the most important. The facts on this count were as follows: Testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Owen Lattimore, Johns Hopkins University professor and Far East specialist, denied that he had ever been a sympathizer or promoter of "communism or Communist interests." An indictment for perjury against Lattimore was then secured, the first count of which stated that this was a lie told under oath.

In throwing out this count, Judge Youngdahl made a point that is so important in today's fight against thought control that it deserves to be quoted in full:

"Defendant in the first count is charged with lying in denying that he was a sympathizer or promoter of Communist interests. It seems to the court that this charge is so nebulous and indefinite that a jury would have to indulge in speculation in order to arrive at a verdict. Sympathies and beliefs and what they mean to different individuals involve concepts that are highly nebulous and speculative at best. I presume a person could sympathize with a belief and yet still not believe. To probe the mind in a situation like this would give rise to sheer speculation on the part of the prober. It is fundamental that a jury should not be asked to determine an issue which can be decided only on conjecture. . .

"But there is another reason why count 1 is fatally defective. It is in conflict with the First Amendment (to the U.S. Constitution). It restricts the freedom of belief and expression which the (Supreme) Court clearly points out is a limitation upon Congressional inquiry."

It must be pointed out that the principles enunciated by Judge Youngdahl have a broad application to many other cases that have been tried in the courts since the present witch hunt began. There are many individuals serving prison terms right now who were convicted upon the basis of a "highly nebulous and speculative" "probing of the mind" and juries have been forced, in an atmosphere of hysteria, to arrive at verdicts on the basis of what Judge Youngdahl correctly calls "conjecture."

Many persons have been imprisoned, for example, under the Smith "Gag" Act, which, to use the same words that Judge Youngdahl applies in the Lattimore case, "restricts freedom of belief and expression" and is thus "in conflict with the First Amendment." For, under the Smith Act, no proof of any overt acts is required, but only proof of beliefs and expression of those beliefs.

The Youngdahl decision is a welcome one, but all defenders of civil liberties must work hard to see that its principles are applied to all cases. It may be that Federal judges find it easier to apply the principles of the First Amendment to anti-communist college professors than to professed radicals, socialists, communists. But the guarantees of free belief and free speech are supposed to be applied to all on an equal basis, and no true supporter of civil liberties can rest until this is the case in the U.S.

The Men to See

The May 2 *Business Week* had an inspiration which is likely to save business men many precious hours. It printed a complete directory of Washington officials newly installed under the Eisenhower administration. The list, which runs 13 pages, is frankly intended to help the profit-seeking industrialist, and is billed on the front cover as "The Men to See in the New Administration."

A brief explanatory note at the start points out: "If you're planning to come to Washington, you had better line up your appointments ahead of time. There are several ways of doing this. . .

"As in the past, a businessman with a problem will often find that the best thing to do is take it to his congressman or senator."

But why deal through intermediaries? *Business Week* goes on: "If you intend to deal direct, here is the new lineup of Washington officials, with title, room number, and telephone number and extension. If you're writing, just address the man, his division, and his department at Washington 25, D. C. — the common address for all government mail."

This is certainly a useful feature, and this number of *Business Week* ought to sell out. Suppose you are a Detroit manufacturer of shell fuses, or shoelace tips, or coffin nails, or hypodermic syringes. The armed forces use

all these things in great quantities. You want a contract. How do you go about it?

Of course, you might forward an official form to the proper quarters, and wait for your answer. The duffer does it that way, but suffers don't get rich. Here's what you do. You scan the handy index that *Business Week* prepared for your guidance, and on it you find: a friend of your wife's cousin who used to be in the lumber business in the Northwest and whom you met twice; a General Motors official you once played golf with at Grosse Pointe; an Atlanta chewing-gum magnate you went night-clubbing with in N. Y. after a Lions Convention who is now in the Small and Medium-size Profits Administration; and several other old friends.

Then all you have to do is call the one you think would be most *sympatico*, and your contract is well on the way. There's more to it, of course, but a word to the wise is sufficient.

Some *Militant* readers may protest: but America is made up mostly of workers, not of businessmen. *The Business Week* index is useful for workers, too.

For example, you can call Executive 3-2420, ask for Extension 1, and ask the man who answers how to go about installing a sink in your basement. You don't think it would be proper to bother the Secretary of Labor about a little thing like that? That's all right; he doesn't have much else to do.

Two Scientists Speak Out

Scientific progress in the United States is in serious danger. This is the view of increasing numbers of scientists.

The danger does not arise from some crisis within science itself. The danger is a political one, and its immediate source is the witch hunt that was begun under the Truman administration and is now spreading like a virulent epidemic under Eisenhower.

Last week's press carried two statements by prominent scientists that indicate the uneasiness in their circles over the present-day Inquisition headed by Senator McCarthy and his crew.

Albert Einstein, accepting a \$1,000 award from Lord & Taylor, a New York department store, pointed to the need for freedom of thought. "It gives me great pleasure, indeed, to see the stubbornness of an incorrigible non-conformist warmly acclaimed."

Then the great mathematician went on to score the witch hunt. "To be sure, we are concerned here with nonconformism in a remote field of endeavor, and no Senatorial committee has as yet felt impelled to tackle the important task, the task, namely, of combating, also in this field, the dangers which threaten the inner security of the uncritical or else intimidated citizen."

Einstein, we may point out, believes that such evils as the witch hunt are in the final analysis due to the capitalist system. In his opinion the evil can be remedied basically only by going forward to socialism.

The other statement was made by Dr. D.

Ewen Cameron, president of the American Psychiatric Association, at a conference attended by 3,500 psychiatrists from the United States and Canada. He said that the "rising fears of the hour" and the "degrading of inquiry into inquisition" were warning signs that authoritarian forces such as had conquered in other countries are rising in this country.

He warned his listeners to be alert to the "contagion by hostility and anxiety, forces which our long history has shown to have been far more destructive of human life than any plague."

He pointed to what is happening in America. "One thinks of chance meetings of already huddling little groups of men and women — afraid to look, to speak, to act, save in accepted form; afraid to tread off the beaten track, afraid to be different, for difference is danger. One thinks of men at great universities who will not speak out on controversial subjects — and those who will not these days speak out against error and fear and hate may never speak again in freedom's name."

Those are good words. We subscribe to them. But having laid down these premises isn't it necessary to draw the correct conclusion? If science and freedom are in danger in America we must be prepared to fight for them. And we must not be afraid of being different, or treading off the beaten track in such a cause. Our great progressive heritage can be saved only by ending capitalism and replacing it with socialism. Like Einstein, that is what Dr. Cameron and all who agree with his premises must have the courage to say.

French Stalinist Leaders Face Deep Party Crisis

By Charles Hanley

In his recent report to the Communist Party members of the Seine region (Paris), Raymond Guyot, one of the Stalinist leaders, admitted a decrease in membership, a decline in the sale of the party paper *L'Humanite*, enormous absenteeism at meetings of Stalinist cells, a loss of influence especially in working-class districts and the disappearance of many factory cells.

The leadership of the French CP appears to be caught between the necessity of stopping the weakening of Stalinist influence in the factories and factory areas by mobilizing the masses in struggle for their own interests, and, on the other hand, the demands of Kremlin diplomacy. As a result, the CP leadership staggers from right to left, from left to right like a drunk. The unanimously decided line of today becomes the unanimously condemned deviation of tomorrow.

In February the Politburo directly prevented the Paris federation of the Stalinist-dominated CGT unions from carrying out a united-front demonstration with other working-class organizations which might have raised great hopes among all the leftist opponents of the present French government. The Paris CGT federation actually approved a united-front agreement with the independent Teachers Union. The latter sternly refused to exclude the Trotskyists or any other working-class party or group from the meeting that had been planned. The CP bosses tore up the agreement.

As this episode shows, the top CP leaders' "leftist" speeches about unity have no practical value whatsoever. At the same time, it proved that Stalinist union leaders of the Paris region like Henaff are inclined to do something about the idea of united action.

MARTY-TILLON CASE

The differences within the French Stalinist hierarchy revealed in the famous cases of Andre Marty and Charles Tillon are even more instructive.

The Duclos-Mauvais clan had probably decided long ago to "liquidate" Andre Marty, hero of the Black Sea mutiny of 1919 and Charles Tillon, partisan organizer of World War II. These two leaders were less permeated with the spirit of Stalinist bureaucracy than the patented agents of the Kremlin. The uneasiness that numerous militants felt following the Politburo's "blunders" — really betrayals — in the period after World War II crystallized around Marty and Tillon.

The "purge" was timed in Stalinist fashion with the obvious aim of making them scapegoats for the low ebb in party influence. The entire arsenal of Stalinist slander and character assassination was employed as soon as the accused proved unwilling to sufficiently recant.

Marty's main enemy, Politburo member Leon Mauvais, published an article in the official Cominform paper, March 6, 1953, boasting that the French CP did not lose but gained in strength after the expulsion of Marty. However, he felt obliged to add: "On the other hand, it would be naive to think that the anti-Marxist ideas which Marty disseminated in the Party and in the different organizations have been completely eliminated and the difficulties overcome. . ."

Mauvais' anxiety stems from the distribution of Marty's pamphlet in thousands of CP cells all over France. This pamphlet contains Marty's letters to the CP leadership written August-December 1952.

MARTY'S POSITION

Marty proudly points out that even during the war when the CP went into a frenzy of anti-German propaganda he always distinguished between the German people and German fascism. He was the first one in the Central Committee, he says, to take a correct position on the Indo-Chinese war.

In the Peace Movement he talked less about collecting signatures for the "Stockholm appeal" than about the mass action of the working class — a necessity which the other "peace" propagandists of the CP hardly ever mentioned.

Concerning the party's policy after the liberation of France in 1944, Marty denies having advocated the immediate taking of power (in order to create a socialist France) and affirms "conditions permitting this did not exist." This is not quite right, as the workers were armed in the summer of 1944, and no force being strong enough at that moment to prevent them from carrying out great structural reforms, could have established a

new power had not the CP leadership, under Thorez, prevented them from overthrowing capitalism.

Marty was not against Stalinists taking posts in the capitalist government, but held that such actions should have been based upon "the development of the popular masses' action and unity of action" and on the struggle of the colonial peoples in North Africa and elsewhere. He says that the CP should at least have pushed for carrying out the program of the National Resistance Council which did not ask for the seizure of power by the working class but wanted to considerably improve the workers' living standard at the expense of the "big capitalist traitors."

Marty favored the development of a dual-power system by approving the Avignon resolution of October 1944. This resolution of the Resistance Committees of Southern France, asked for the reelection by the people of all liberation committees in order to really put into practice the program of the resistance movement.

DIDN'T WANT FACTION

The "mistakes" Marty admits in his letters are not political but pertain to Stalinist "discipline." He denies he had any intention of forming a faction. Marty does not yet attack the Stalinist conception of "discipline" which makes criticisms of the leadership or its policies a crime. He does not yet attack Stalinism as such. He still quotes Stalin.

The encouraging facts are these: Marty has started to fight back. He has begun by asking to be readmitted into the CP but can hardly avoid going forward in his political criticism of the party bureaucrats who refuse to readmit him and accuse him of being a police agent "since May 31, 1919!"

Committees for a "Communist Recovery" have appeared in Paris, Toulouse — and perhaps in other cities too. Now that Marty has been expelled they demand

that the militants "take the CP away from the clique which, in order to defend interests that having nothing to do with those of the French workers, has seized leadership." They also propose a sensible slogan for trade union unity and against the union bureaucrats. And it is unlikely that Marty who has been a militant for more than 45 years, will suddenly go over to the imperialist camp. "I am a Communist, and a Communist I shall remain until death," he says, "and if I live long enough, I am going to prove it." (Nov. 2, 1952.)

The French Trotskyists are following the evolution of Marty and his friends as well as the situation in the French CP with serious attention and trying to make possible a patient exchange of ideas and experiences, a fraternal debate, with the Marty group. A new chapter may be opening in the history of communism in France.



GEN. CHARLES DE GAULLE, would-be fascist dictator of France, announced dissolution of his party, the Rally of the French People May 6, after suffering crushing defeat in recent election.

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

Conflict Over Policy in Agriculture

By John G. Wright

Up to 1929, Stalin steered a course toward concessions to restorationist elements — those wishing a return of capitalism in the Soviet Union. These were primarily the well-to-do peasants. But in the early Thirties he came into head-on conflict with them in a crisis that caught the bureaucracy by surprise.

After World War II, the internal tussle over agricultural policy again became sharp. As against the anti-restorationist wing of the bureaucracy, Stalin sought to maintain the status quo, rejecting drastic changes in rural property forms.

Private owners in agriculture, big, medium and petty, Stalin argued, "are unwilling to alienate their products except in the form of commodities. . . At present the collective farms will not recognize any other economic relation with the town except the commodity relation — exchange through purchase and sale." (Stalin, *Economic Problems*, etc.)

Stalin saw no need for "any particular hurry" to abolish "the commodity relation" and the private property forms underlying this relation. Somehow, sometime they would "grow into communism." Even Stalin, however, was compelled by 1952 to admit: "But it would be unpardonable blindness not to see that these factors are already beginning to hamper the powerful development of our productive forces, since they create obstacles to the full extension of government planning to the whole of the national economy, especially agriculture." (Same source.)

Such was Stalin's answer to the problem of restorationist tendencies confronting the regime and "already beginning to hamper the powerful development of our productive forces . . . especially agriculture."

Needless to say, involved here is not a "beginning" at all, but the resurgence under post-war conditions of an ancient social antagonism, for the survival of which Stalin's regime bears responsibility.

Expressing the needs and interests of the Soviet neo-bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in the countryside and of their counter-agents in the cities, one wing of the bureaucracy favors concessions. Today, as yesterday, they demand that the rate of industrial growth should be retarded in favor of agriculture.

They demand the sale of equipment and machinery to private owners, citing "the fact that in

the early period of the mass collectivization farm movement . . . the CG, CPSU [read: Stalin] was itself in favor of transferring the MTS [Machine and Tractor Stations] to the collective farms as their property, requiring them to pay off the cost of the MTS's over a period of three years. They consider that although nothing came of this at the time [1929-30] 'in view of the poverty' of the collective farms, now that they have become wealthy it might be expedient to return to this policy. . . " (Stalin, "Reply to Comrades A. V. Sanina and V. G. Venzher.")

Arguing against these restorationist proposals, Stalin labelled them "untenable." He didn't even bother to deny that the collectives and individual farmers are wealthy enough today to purchase the most expensive equipment, and are indeed clamoring for this concession.

The rival wing of the bureaucracy, again in Stalin's own words, think "that the thing to do is simply to nationalize collective-farm property, in the way that was done in the past in the case of capitalist property." This Stalin rejected as "absolutely wrong and quite unacceptable."

"Collective-farm property," Stalin lied, "is socialist property, and we simply cannot treat it in the same way as capitalist property. From the fact that collective-farm property is not public property, it by no means follows that it is not socialist property." Individual ownership of land in "perpetuity" is obviously anti-socialist. Since inheritance was legalized by Stalin years ago, group ownership of land likewise partakes of this anti-socialist character. Notwithstanding Stalin's rationalizations, it does follow that Soviet agriculture is the breeding ground of restorationist tendencies.

FEARED COLLISION

Stalin stood in fear of a head-on collision with the Soviet neo-bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Hence his claim that there was no danger from this source. That is also why he was so anxious to steer a "gradual," "unhurried," middle course. After all, he had cheated before, and "only" millions of peasants paid with their lives for "the destruction of the kulak as a class." Besides, how could Stalin possibly admit a resurgence of the "kulak danger"?

Have then some post-war collisions already taken place? There is evidence of it. For example, the attempt a few years

ON MAY DAY, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin, Soviet Defense Minister, declared that the Soviet government "will welcome any steps of other states which are really directed at diminishing tension in international situations." Obviously referring to Eisenhower's recent speech on the same theme, he called for deeds, not words, and said there were no signs of such deeds. As for domestic policy, he pointed to "a series of important measures having as their purpose the improvement of state economic leadership, an increase in the welfare of the Soviet people and the safeguarding 'of the inviolable rights of Soviet citizens.'" The thoughts of the revolutionary socialists, still in the prisons and slave-labor camps of the Soviet Union on May Day, were not reported. Perhaps in their commemoration of the international holiday they expressed the hope that the Soviet workers will soon clean out the hated Stalinist bureaucracy and reinstitute the democracy enjoyed under Lenin and Trotsky.

IN BERLIN on May Day, two rival demonstrations took place. In the Western sector, some 250,000 heard speeches by Social-Democratic leaders Lord Mayor Ernst Reuther and Belgian ex-Premier Paul-Henri Spaak. In the Eastern sector, a crowd of 500,000 watched a parade of 5,000 unarmed "People's Police." The marchers carried virtually no anti-American banners this year.

PRESIDENT ZAPOTOCKI of Czechoslovakia in his May Day speech called for cooperation of the Big Five, an Austrian peace treaty and unification of Germany.

IN PARIS the Stalinists, failing to get a united demonstration with members of the Socialist party, marched alone on May Day. According to a UP dispatch, a bare 22,000 turned out for the parade, 8,000 more joined for speeches by Stalinist leaders. Maurice Thorez, who recently returned from the Soviet Union, did not show up. In Anzin, a

mining town in northern France, workers from Algeria armed with nail-studded clubs and cobblestones battled police. Fifty people were injured.

OPPOSITION to imperialism was the theme of the Tokyo May Day demonstration. About 300,000 participated, of whom some 10,000 were estimated to be Stalinists.

IN GUATEMALA, 70,000 paraded through the streets of the capital on May Day. "Hundreds of banners and posters, gave the main propaganda themes of this year's parade, of loyalty to the President, repudiation of foreign intervention, and attacks on Yankee imperialism," according to the *N. Y. Times*. "Other banners were inscribed 'We demand that the UN and Eisenhower accept popular China's peace terms,'" Pres. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, denying that his government was "communist," thanked the workers for the demonstration of solidarity. The charge of "communism," he said, was due to the agrarian reform bill. Y. M. Gutierrez, Stalinist member of Congress and Secretary of the Confederation of Labor, praised the President's policy and promised the workers' support for the government program.

SEVEN BOMB explosions shook Buenos Aires May Day morning. The last two occurred while Pres. Peron spoke at the opening sessions of the Argentine Congress. He hotly assailed his political opponents, alleging they were in league with imperialist forces abroad. All the bombs were set off in small public parks where damage was unlikely.

GENERAL CHU TEH announced in a May Day address that the Soviet Union has loaned China sufficient funds to buy \$300,000,000 worth of Soviet machinery and industrial equipment. The commander of New China's armies said that the prices were 20% to 30% lower than current British and American prices.

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Civil War in Kenya

By George Lavan

It has become apparent from even the Big Business newspapers, with their bias in favor of imperialism and against the Negro people, that the struggle going on in Kenya marks a turning point in the history of Africa.

What is going on in Kenya is a full-fledged civil war. This is no mere assassination campaign by a band of superstitious, witchcraft fanatics, as the capitalist press originally tried to make out. It is a consistent, well-planned, military campaign by resistance fighters who have the support of the great majority of the population.

It has many similarities to the resistance struggle of the partisans in France and Italy during the Nazi occupation. Militarily, however, it resembles most the heroic fight of the Irish people against British Imperialism at the end of World War I.

The struggle in Kenya is no longer that of natives armed only with pangas (a long-bladed knife used in agriculture) attacking white "gentlemen farmers," although, for lack of better weapons, some Kenya Africans may go into battle only with pangas, as during the Mexican Revolution some of the Mexicans went into battle armed only with machetes.

But, as in Ireland during the fight against the Black and Tans, the Kenyans today are raiding police stations and military garrisons. They have captured their arms from the enemy and now enter battle with the equipment of a guerrilla army — rifles, machine guns and even some trucks.

Again, as in Ireland, the fight is not only against the British but against mercenaries in

the population who have sold out to the British — informers, policemen and political quislings.

It is a military axiom that guerrilla warfare can only exist where the population gives support to the guerrillas. How widespread support is among the population is betrayed by a *New York Times* dispatch of May 5. It tells how police in Nairobi surrounded a market place and rounded up 776 Africans. "All but 20 were held as suspected members of the Mau Mau terrorist society." That is probably a pretty accurate percentage for the whole of Kenya. Out of 776 Africans rounded up at large the British imperialists can figure 750 are against them and the other 20 are their paid spies and informers.

Are the rebels members of the Mau Mau? This is still unclear. According to the British and U.S. press all the resistance to imperialism in Kenya is led by the Mau Mau. Whether or not this is so cannot be determined from here. The Mau Mau was legal in Kenya until August 1950. It was not the principal organization of the people. The Kenya Africa Union was. Under guise of the campaign against the Mau Mau, native newspapers, schools and organizations, especially the Kenya Africa Union, were suppressed by the government.

Certainly the campaign of repression — supposedly against the Mau Mau — has called forth a resistance much greater than the Mau Mau alone could have put forth. Therefore it is a possibility that the British play up the Mau Mau because they think they can spread atrocity propaganda about it more easily than about the other organizations.

How to Get a Traffic Light

By Joyce Cowley

This week in New York City a dozen women faced disorderly conduct charges in Lower Manhattan Court. According to Traffic Commissioner Wiley, they engaged in an "un-American" demonstration. They helped to organize a baby-carriage blockade on Avenue D between Houston and 14th St.

Over 500 determined women in the area are struggling to protect the lives of their children. They want a traffic light at 8th St. and Avenue D. Commissioner Wiley promised this light two years ago. In the last year, there have been three traffic deaths.

I know this district very well. For over a year, I've been selling *The Militant* door-to-door on Avenue D and I know it has become particularly dangerous the past few months because of road work on the East River Drive which has forced fast traffic into Avenue D. The mothers organized their first mass demonstration a couple of months ago when a young child was killed. Again, they were promised a light.

Last Wednesday when a five-year-old girl was injured, the mothers of Avenue D decided not to wait any longer. On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, hundreds of women succeeded in completely blocking traffic on Avenue D from 14th St. to Houston. "Until we advised it for their own health situation," reports City Councilman Weisberger, "they wouldn't even let a garbage truck through." A line of baby carriages stretched over every cross street, too, so that no car could enter Avenue D from any direction.

Commissioner Wiley said that the Avenue D job was no more important than any of 30

others. He pointed out that there was a light on 4th St. and at Houston St. and that they should do until the 8th St. light goes up in due course.

"Are women blocking traffic at any of these other places?" demanded Councilman Moses. (Weisberger and Moses would obviously like to get re-elected next fall.) "Do you know," he continued, "that mothers threaten to keep their children out of school and go from door-to-door getting recruits for the blockade and swamping the police station with phone calls?"

Last Friday, plainclothesmen posed as reporters in order to get the names of the blockade organizers. Instead of publicity, the organizers received summonses.

"We're not ashamed about the summonses," said one of the mothers, "we're proud. My neighbor is insulted because she didn't get one and she stood in that blockade three days, too."

The blockade has been called off temporarily. Wiley announced that work on the light would be started within a few days. The mothers say they will give him until Friday night. "If it isn't on then, we'll start the blockade all over again and we won't send our children to school."

The next time I get off a bus at 8th St. & Avenue D I expect to see the light. I expect it because I know these mothers are putting up the kind of fight that brings results. I just hope that now they know how it's done, they won't stop with one traffic light. There are a lot of other changes needed along Avenue D and these women have got the fighting spirit to see that things get done.

Notes from the News

THOSE ADS about the glories of "free enterprise" and the horrors of socialism run by Warner and Swasey, a machine tool company in Cleveland, are of course figured as public relations expenses. Some light on this company's finances is shed by the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the company has to repay to the government \$12,600,000 in excessive profits it made during World War II.

TURN ABOUT. It was reported in this column last week that Arthur J. Glover, president of the AFL Switchmen's Union, had been forced to resign as a result of a scandal concerning his personal employment of non-union carpenters. The next day Glover withdrew his resignation and fired the four executive-board members who had forced his resignation.

FRANCO'S political police continue their bloody repressions against the Spanish working class. During February a number of members of the CGT — before fascism the largest union federation in Spain and now underground — were arrested. One of them, Tomas Centeno, was reported by authorities to have committed suicide in his cell. The International Transport Federation of Workers states that actually Centeno was inhumanly tortured and then murdered by the fascist police.

A MAY DAY GREETING was sent out by the CIO "to workers in all lands who observe May 1 as their labor holiday."

YALE UNIVERSITY NAACP succeeded in getting an apartment for a Negro veteran of Korea and his family in a hitherto lily-white building. The landlord had refused on the grounds that the other tenants would object. The Yale chapter interviewed all the tenants and then confronted the landlord with statements from them that they would welcome the Negro family into the building.

EXPANDING operations of Senator McCarthy include the sending out of a weekly column or newsletter at government expense. Practically every weekly paper in the country received issue number 1 of this newsletter along with a

covering letter on U.S. Senate stationery stating: "This column will be available to you at no cost if you care to use it."

NEGRO CANDIDATES have entered municipal elections in 20 North Carolina cities.

WHO CALLED WHOSE BLUFF? The May issue of the magazine of the Junior Chamber of Commerce has an article by Oliver Vickery, a brash businessman, who last year wangled an invitation to an economic conference in the Soviet Union. In his speech to the conference, Vickery praised "free enterprise" to the skies and was not at all abashed when he got "a big round of silence" at the end. When a Soviet official made a speech declaring his government would like to do \$14 billion worth of business with the U.S., Vickery decided to call his bluff by asking for the order. The official called Vickery's bluff by giving him a billion-dollar order for a long list of items including electric generators, high compression machinery and machine tools; the list also "included some pharmaceutical things like toothbrushes." As soon as he was back in the U.S., Vickery went to the State Department with his billion-dollar order. The authorities crossed everything off the order except the toothbrushes.

CHRISTIANITY IN MIAMI. Negro delegates to a convention of Churches of God in Christ found that at the last minute a Miami hotel, which had been reserved for them, had cancelled the arrangement. The Betsy Ross Hotel on the ocean front had agreed to a "noble experiment" — it would rent the hotel to the Negro convention on a Jim-Crow basis. However, news of this brought an avalanche of threats from white supremacists. The hotel would have been the first on Miami Beach to be occupied by Negroes. Now it has a sign reading "temporarily closed" on the door.

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" racket was shown up by a sub-committee report of the Mississippi Legislature on education. It disclosed that the amount spent on white children in the state's public schools was from two to eight times as much as on Negro children.

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N.Y. MAY DAY MEETING HEARS FARRELL DOBBS

NEW YORK, May 1 — A well-attended meeting this evening at Adelphi Hall celebrated May Day and heard spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party reaffirm their confidence in the socialist future of America.

The speaker of the evening was Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the SWP and its candidate for president in 1948 and 1952.

Pointing out that the present lull in the class struggle in the U.S. and the supremacy of reaction are only temporary, and episodic phenomena, Dobbs declared:

"To get the complete picture of May Day 1953 we must look at the great world social panorama. We must see the vast masses fighting against capitalism; the tidal wave of colonial revolution against imperialism;

May Day Parade Banned by City Officials in N. Y.

NEW YORK, May 1 — City Hall and the Police Department here struck a heavy blow at the rights of working-class organizations to parade and demonstrate by banning any May Day march on any street of this city. The ban revoked the parade permit of the United Labor and People's May Day Parade Committee. May Day parades have been traditional for decades in this city. In recent years, they have been largely dominated by the Communist Party.

Mayor Impellitteri personally intervened on April 25 to urge revocation of a police permit originally given the May Day parade committee. He said that Corporation Counsel Denis M. Hurley would not support the permit in a petition brought before the State Supreme Court by the Catholic War Veterans, and West Side Association of Commerce, Inc., to forbid the city to grant a May Day parade permit. Customarily, the Corporation Counsel's office appears in court to support a city department's action like the police grant of a permit.

After Impellitteri declared he would be "very happy if the permit were revoked," Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan issued an order banning the parade from any city street. The May Day committee was permitted to hold a meeting in Union Square only.

To make the permit ban stick, State Supreme Court Justice Carroll G. Walter revoked in advance "anything which may be deemed a permit issued intentionally or inadvertently." He cynically pretended this was not an attack on free speech and assembly and the rights of political minorities by invoking a statute that forbids parading in "congested areas" by any organization that has not marched for at least 10 years prior to 1914.

This legal gimmick can be used in the future in the case of protest demonstrations or parades by labor unions and other organizations defending labor's interests.

Police spokesmen and press first whipped up lynch hysteria and an atmosphere of mob violence and then claimed the parade ban was justified by the threat of clashes between May Day marchers and reactionary mobs mobilized by the American Legion, Catholic Veterans and others.

The Stalinists did not defy the ban. They met in Union Square, surrounded by 1,100 cops, before a big banner showing Eisenhower and Malenkov shaking hands and the slogan, "Let's Make It Happen Again." It was the smallest turnout in their history, due to the pressure and intimidation, although they have been steadily declining since the end of the last war.

NYU Student Editor Gets Axe for Stand Against Military

New York University has suspended Harold Goodman, student editor, because he dared carry on a campaign against the subordination of education to military training. An outstanding student and member of Phi Beta Kappa, Goodman will not be allowed to graduate this June as scheduled. Goodman had protested the university's plan to demolish buildings housing veteran students and their families as well as a building housing two liberal arts departments on NYU's Washington Heights campus.

The demolitions are to make room for the federal government to erect an armory that will be used for drilling students and teaching them military "science" and housing Bronx units of the National Guard.

Deported



Ignatz Mezei of Buffalo waves from N.Y. ferry taking him to Ellis Island for possible life imprisonment. The 56-year-old cabinet maker, U.S. resident for 30 years, has been ordered deported as "security risk," but 17 nations have refused to accept him. Mezei has not been told why he is considered a "risk."

Twin Cities Hold May Day Meeting

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1 — "On May Day 1953, 60 years after the International Harvester workers of Chicago were shot down in cold blood, militants all over the world are marching toward socialism," declared Dorothy Schultz, St. Paul organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, in a talk in SWP state headquarters here tonight.

An inter-racial audience of workers, housewives and students listened intently as Comrade Schultz explained that capitalism is the cause of war and racial discrimination. "Socialism is the only road out," she said.

The May Day observance here was combined with the celebration of the successful conclusion of the militant subscription campaign. Describing such work as subscription campaigns as an important activity in building a revolutionary socialist party, the speaker read a telegram from the national office of *The Militant* congratulating the Twin-Cities' subscribers on winning first place in the national campaign with a total of 9,380 points and 213 subs.

Comrade Schultz awarded prizes to the three leading Minnesota subscribers, who are also the three leading pacemakers in the national campaign. To Milt, who led with 1,000 points, went first prize, a copy of W. E. B. DuBois' book *Black Reconstruction*. Second prize winner was Evie with 962 points. She was presented with a framed print by Vincent Van Gogh, "The Potato Diggers." Paul, who placed third with 831 points, was awarded a desk fountain pen.

The meeting concluded with the singing of "The Internationale." Following the meeting, a social was held at which the Marching Militants, winning team in the local campaign, wore special badges and were guests of honor.

Detroit Forum Hears Cochran Speak on Bolivia

DETROIT, April 27 — Bert Cochran, popular Marxist speaker and writer, delivered a stirring account last night of the revolution now progressing in Bolivia. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Detroit Labor Forum.

Cochran gave a very realistic and vivid account of the social struggle now taking place in the crucial South American plateau country. The speaker presented in arresting detail the political and economic background to the present social overturn. He fitted the Bolivian events into the great revolutionary movements of colonial and semi-colonial peoples now developing in rising crescendo throughout the world which make this the greatest revolutionary age in history.

Yankee imperialism, he said, is deadly afraid that the Bolivian example will start a conflagration throughout Latin America which will have as its aim the expulsion of American monopolists such as the Rockefeller interests.

Cochran pictured the living conditions of the Bolivian workers and peasants, explained how they fight, live, work and think. His vivid pictures of personalities as types representing social groups and layers of the population were particularly interesting. The meeting ended on a note of great optimism, with the Bolivian events serving as a harbinger of the future for all the Americas. The audience responded generously to a collection appeal.

West Coast Longshoremen Balk Isthmian Line's Attack

SAN FRANCISCO, May 5 — The Isthmian Steamship Line, a U.S. Steel subsidiary, has been forced to back down on its announced plan to bring the gangster-ridden AFL

International Longshoremen's Association to the West Coast to supplant the established International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, independent. The previously recognized ILWU compelled the company to agree to enter negotiations for a new contract with the threat of a west coast tie-up of all shipping.

Isthmian's move to replace the union of the workers' own choice was encouraged by the recent decision of the California State Supreme Court in a case involving a dispute between the CIO Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (MEBA) and the AFL Seafarers' International Union (SIU). The court ruled that when a bargaining union is on strike for wages and conditions, the company can, during the strike, sign a back-door agreement with a second union or a company-dominated union, and thereupon the strike becomes a jurisdictional strike and, as such, is illegal.

The case that led up to this court ruling stemmed from the MEBA's 1951 strike against Isthmian. The SIU ran scab engineers aboard the truck ships and succeeded in operating all but those on the west coast where

SWP in Ohio Fights Proposed Police-State Bill

CLEVELAND, May 5 — In a statement to the Ohio House Judiciary Committee, Jean Simon, State Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of Ohio, urged opposition to H.B. 308 on which hearings were scheduled to be held May 6.

The measure, one of a half dozen so-called anti-subversive bills, was introduced by Rep. Samuel L. Devine, chairman of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission, and includes most of the recommendations of the witch-hunting committee in its report on its work for 1952.

Criticism of the bill has appeared in the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union bulletin, *News and Views*, in the State CIO newsletter, and in CIO and other local union papers.

Text of the SWP statement issued today follows:

TEXT OF STATEMENT

House Bill 308, ostensibly a measure providing for "the investigation and control of subversive activities," is itself a most clear and present danger to the freedom of the people of this state.

The broad, emotional rather than scientific, definitions of the bill provide handy legal weapons for a governing clique or party

to use in suppressing all opposition. Its loose designation of groups, individuals and activities considered suspect and subject to investigation provides a means of harassing and intimidating the labor movement in the conduct of its business, and all minority parties or groups with dissenting opinions in the exercise of their democratic rights.

Every organized effort to better the condition of the working class, every spark of militancy, every attempt to strengthen independent political action by labor could come within the purview of investigations, grand jury investigations, grand jury indictments and common pleas court hearings.

House Bill 308 creates machinery for continuous investigation and policing of the thoughts and actions of any citizen. It is a police-state and thought-control measure worthy of the most totalitarian European regimes.

The proposed law is in clear violation of the federal Bill of Rights and the even more explicit Ohio Constitution, which states:

"All political power is inherent in the people. Government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit, and they have the right to alter, reform, or abolish the same, whenever they may deem it necessary. . . ." (Article I, Sect. 2.)

"Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of the right; and no law shall be established to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. . . ." (Sect. 11.)

The bill deprives persons convicted of any of its broadly defined offenses of the right to hold public office, to stand for election, or even to vote — thereby closing peaceful avenues of political expression to them.

In addition to these and other provisions which would inhibit free thought and exercise of democratic rights, the bill would intimidate movements for social change by threatening them with inclusion in the broad category of "subversive" organizations.

The Socialist Workers Party of Ohio considers House Bill 308 a threat to its rights, as well as the rights of all other critics and persons of unorthodox or dissenting views, and urges that the House Judiciary Committee oppose passage of the Bill.

If, despite all opposition, the measure should pass, the matter will by no means be settled. Court actions will undoubtedly be instituted to have it ruled unconstitutional and its repeal will be advocated until the reactionary measure is but an unpleasant memory in Ohio history.

BOLIVIAN MINERS APPEAL TO U.S. WORKERS FOR AID IN TIN BOYCOTT

(Continued from page 1)

necessary for good health" and that "among many groups of workers food consumption is dangerously low." On top of this, housing does not meet the most elemental hygienic requirements, not to speak of comfort. As for the mines, despite the permanently dangerous working conditions, no measures whatsoever have been taken to improve them.

The union speaks bitterly of the pauperized miners, their wives and children, toiling to dig the strategic minerals demanded by the "so-called democracies" as a contribution to save their positions and their imperialist interests in the Second World War.

During that period, the Bolivian workers got little advantage from the soaring price of tin on the world market, since the price of Bolivian tin was fixed at 67c. a pound. "How mistaken the Bolivians were to believe in the glittering promises about 'continental friendship,' 'Pan-Americanism,' and the 'struggle for liberty and a better life' for the future. Now we face the harsh reality . . . now that it is we who are in need, they tell us: 'We don't need any more tin! Give up from hunger and need!'"

ECONOMIC AGGRESSION

Characterizing this as "genuine economic aggression directed solely and exclusively against our people and particularly against the miners," the declaration charges that the "champions of democracy" have placed themselves "at the service of our old

oppressors: Hochschild, Patino and Aramayo; and are using extortion to reduce us once more to servility and slavery."

While Nigeria, the Congo and Malaya are guaranteed a market for their tin at \$1.18 a pound, Bolivia is now forced to try to sell tin on an unfavorable world market.

What is the reason for this pressure politics and this "noose of gold" of the State Department? The answer is clearly evident from the facts: The government of the United States, in accordance with capitalist interests, wants to punish Bolivia for wishing to relieve its government and its people from oppression and economic domination and for placing its national wealth at the service of its progress and welfare.

The State Department wants to prevent the revolutionary example of Bolivia from spreading and it feels so powerful that it can with impunity "finish with the spirit of independence and nationalism of weak peoples."

It is for this reason that the State Department has cut down purchases of tin so as to "leave the Bolivian people without the most necessary materials, without bread, sugar and the most elemental means of subsistence for its population."

But the miners declare that the State Department has forgotten an item — "the valor of our rebellion." "RATHER DIE THAN LIVE AS SLAVES," they valiantly declare.

"The workers of Huanuni appeal to all the workers of the free world, to all our brothers struggling against the action of the imperialist conquerors. We ask you in the name of the declarations of the Charter of the United Nations, the agreements of San Francisco and Chapultepec, not to forget that here in Bolivia we are carrying on a heroic and unequal struggle for our fate as a free people and our right to dispose of our mineral wealth in behalf of our progress and welfare. We stand in the vanguard and we are sure that all other peoples will support us morally in order to gain the final victory."

RARE PAMPHLET by Leon Trotsky THE KIROV ASSASSINATION \$1.50 incl. postage 32 pages PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum presents a talk on What Is Happening to Our Civil Liberties? Speaker: Frank Solter Fri., May 15, 8:30 P.M. at 52 Market Street