

Workers of the World, Unite!

Stop the Murder Of Koje PW's! Get Out of Korea

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

The killing of helpless prisoners of war by U.N. forces at Koje has shocked the world. This massacre in crowded prison compounds after two years of slaughter that has soaked Korea in blood, brands Truman's "police action" with the mark of the Swastika. It is in the tradition of the Nazi butchers. It is completely alien to the tradition that every American worker cherishes.

The brass hats in charge of the prisoners claimed they took a poll and found that 100,000 out of 170,000 would "forcibly resist" being sent home. This propaganda was not acceptable to the North Korean negotiators at Panmunjom. Truce negotiations broke down over this last remaining issue.

An iron censorship hid the real opinion of the prisoners. Even representatives of the American press were barred from the compounds.

Then the prisoners put on a demonstration to show who was telling the truth and who was lying at Panmunjom. Armed only with wooden spears and banners, they displayed "forcible resistance" to the pollsters in the face of an overwhelming array of tanks, machine guns, tear gas and bayonets in the hands of specially selected troops.

And even as they were finally smashed and broken up into smaller sections, only a few hundred prisoners out of the 170,000 came out of the compounds to the U.N. side.

The facts are now clear for all of us to see. On the basis of these facts, I charge that the Truman administration used the screening as a pretext to prevent a truce in Korea.

As presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party I demand that reprisals against the demonstrators cease at once and that the prisoners be returned unharmed to their homes. I demand that we accept the North Korean proposal for exchange of all prisoners so that the American prisoners of war can likewise return home unharmed.

The Koje prisoners have raised their voices above the rattling of machine guns and the explosion of napalm bombs in Korea. In the only way open to them they have appealed to us to help end the slaughter in their land. Many of them gave their lives to do this. We cannot remain silent.

Every American who believes in peace and in freedom and resistance to tyranny must respond to the voice of these heroic prisoners.

Let the Pentagon stop stalling. Let the fighting cease in tortured Korea. End this agonizing slaughter of civilians, of women and children and the aged and the unarmed. Save American boys from useless death in this test ground for World War III.

Get the troops out of Korea. Let the Korean people work out their own fate in peace and freedom!

LEWIS SUPPORTS STEEL STRIKE WITH HARD CASH

In a magnificent move of solidarity with the beleaguered steel strikers, the United Mine Workers headed by John L. Lewis pledged a \$10 million strike fund on June 18 to the United Steelworkers of America.

In a telegram to Steelworkers President Philip Murray, Lewis said:

"We are conscious of the strength of the vast array of adversaries which confront you. Rarely has a union membership faced such a formidable grouping of financial and corporate interests as now oppose the steelworkers of the nation in their long standing struggle to achieve their rightful aims and objectives in the industry.

"Any attempt to crush your strike, through the device of the Taft-Hartley machinery, for the benefit of the rapacious and predatory interests that oppose you, would be a heinous crime against American labor, anti-social in concept, and perilously destructive of confidence in the principles of our American republic.

"It would be equivalent to the creation of a neo-fascist movement in America, of which R. Alphonso Taft, with his jackboots

and velvet pants, would be the willing tool and symbol.

"Our union is in this fight with you. Indicative of this fact and as a preliminary step, United Mine Workers of America has today established financial credit for the United Steelworkers of America in the National Bank of Washington, D. C. in the amount of \$10,000,000 subject to your draft and order, as your need warrants and circumstances require.

"The men in the mining industry and those of our membership in associated industries salute the men in the steel industry and commend their brave hearts. Our full support is ever with you."

A similar action by all the powerful unions in the CIO and AFL would do much to strengthen the position of the steel strikers and assure their victory.

American labor, banded together and in solid support of the striking steel workers, could muster such overwhelming power as to break the stubborn arrogance of the steel industrialists.

12,000 Petitioners Sign to Put Beinin On Chicago Ballot

CHICAGO, June 17. — Irving Beinin, Illinois state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, will be a candidate for Congress from the 2nd Illinois District in the November elections.

Workers responded willingly to the SWP petition campaign for Beinin, with 12,000 signatures to put the anti-war candidate on the ballot signed in a ten-day drive. This is 4,000 over the minimum number of signatures required.

The petitions for Beinin will be filed in August. Although restrictive election laws will keep the SWP off the Presidential ballot, Illinois will hear the SWP program for 1952 through the Beinin campaign.

Soldier Calls Koje Killings A New Dachau

A young sergeant, C. Dean Chase of Salt Lake City, recently summoned the courage to send a personal letter to Gen. Mark Clark, protesting the cynical repudiation of the no-further-bloodshed agreement with Koje prisoners of war. This agreement, by which the U.S. officers obtained the release of Gen. Dodd, held captive by the Koje prisoners, was torn up by Clark.

Here is the full text of Sergeant Chase's letter to Clark, for which he has been ordered court-martialed:

INFAMY OF KOJE

When an officer in the military service proclaims himself God and invokes an amoral privilege of reneging on the sworn word of someone else, the state of the union, the state of the world, is indeed precarious. You must already know to what I refer. Koje! Koje is a name whose infamy will now echo through pages of history in company with Dachau, Nordhausen, Buchenwald, et al.

Whereas the commencement of the Koje incident involved activity on the part of prisoners which might be considered treacherous, nevertheless when an agreement is made it must be kept. You, General Clark, in no way relinquish a common, hard-won and necessary belief in humanity merely by carrying stars on your crown.

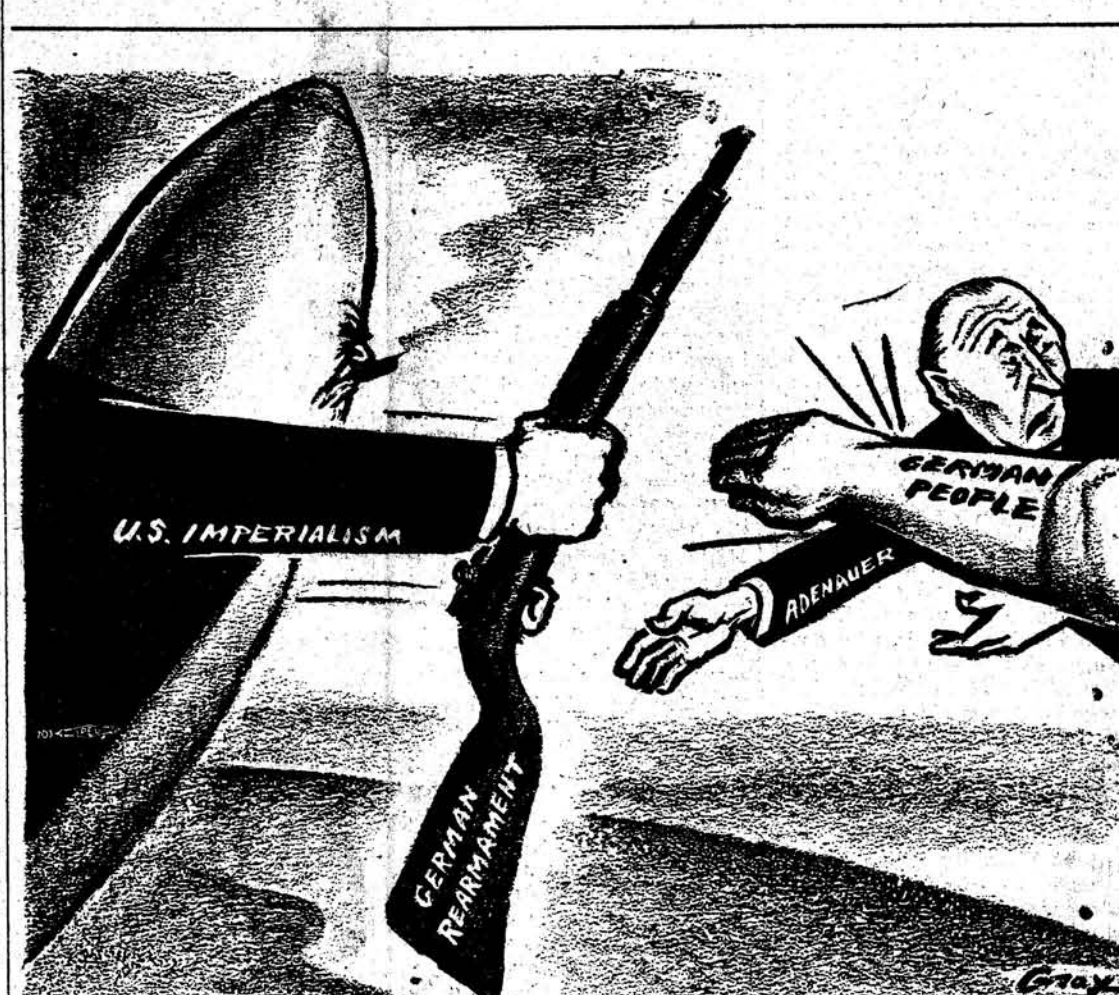
REPUGNANT, DISGRACEFUL ACT

Your action is among the most repugnant and disgraceful acts to be committed (in name of nationalism and militarism) against the decency of man. And the concurrence of your Congressional cohorts is a further disgrace.

Why have you succumbed to the decadent philosophy of an eye for an eye? As a citizen, I simply cannot understand how you can still hold up your head to mankind. You have failed in a trust.

Your act is another example of the stupidity and demoralization of militaristic discipline, just another step toward world disintegration.

Solid Steel Strike Faces Threat of Gov't Action



Mich. CIO Papers Call For Trucks Act Fight

Official CIO publications in Michigan clearly indicate both awareness of the threat to labor represented by the Trucks Act and the determination to resolutely fight against it. The Michigan State CIO News, which on May 22 denounced the Trucks law as "a totalitarian measure," imperiling "free speech and threatening 'to eliminate political opposition,'" carried in its June issue the following story.

"The Socialist Workers Party has been restored to the Michigan election ballot. The SWP was returned to the ballot because the Trucks law, under which they were expelled, has been challenged in the courts as being unconstitutional.

"State officials are restrained from enforcing the law under an order issued over a month ago by the U.S. federal court.

"The Trucks law was blasted by the recent Michigan CIO convention as being a threat to the labor movement and a vicious form of thought-control legislation."

NO TRUCK WITH TRUCKS ACT

The Searchlight, official publication of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, CIO, carried in its June 12

issue a hard-hitting editorial, "No Truck with the Trucks Act."

After citing the resolution adopted at the Steelworkers Convention, May 13-16, against "the anti-labor legislation pouring out of Congress and State legislatures," The Searchlight singles out the Trucks law.

"We must not forget," the editorial continues, "that the Trucks Act was passed in Lansing after the proper atmosphere had been created by the hysteria whipped up by the House Un-American Activities Committee. With the atmosphere of created fear, the auto corporations were too successful in forging new chains to bind labor in Michigan."

Pointing out that while the Trucks Act was ostensibly "directed against the Communist Party in Michigan," the very first victim "under this act is an organization which is in bitter opposition to the Communist Party," The Searchlight then

WHO IS NEXT?

"We might ask, who will be banned next? What is to prevent the party in office from striking all other political parties from the ballot? A close reading of the bill demonstrates that this is possible. For this reason we are in opposition to the Trucks Act."

It smacks of police statism, dictatorship, the worst kind of totalitarian measure.

"As if this were not enough, the state legislature sneaked into the Trucks Act a clause which gives labor cause for alarm. That clause is Section 6, dealing with sabotage. Section 6 is aimed against workers on picket lines. It is aimed at workers who fight speed-ups. It is aimed at unions that resist boss violence. The Trucks Act is dangerous. It has been denounced by the State CIO Convention. The State CIO intends to fight this union-busting measure. We are happy to join in the fight against this vicious piece of auto corporation legislation."

The June 13 Flint Weekly Review, official publication of the Greater Flint CIO Council, also carried an article calling attention to the May 22 editorial of the Michigan CIO News against the Trucks law.

Atomic Weapons Ready In Korea, General Says

Gen. James Van Fleet admitted June 11 that tactical atomic weapons are ready for almost immediate use in Korea. Personnel is already on the ground to direct use of the new horror weapons, he said.

Democrats and Republicans Make a Political Football Of Steel Dispute Issues

By Joseph Andrews

While Republicans and Democrats maneuver for political advantage in the handling of the strike of 650,000 steel workers, the picket lines have held firm, refusing to back down an inch on union demands since the strike began over two weeks ago.

But the steelworkers' struggle is entering a crucial stage. What CIO President Philip Murray correctly branded as "making a political football" of the steel dispute can only result in either a Democratic-Truman or a Republican-Taft blow against the union's right to strike.

This strike illustrates the fact, evident especially since the end of the war, that the powerful labor movement will not be allowed to use its economic power unfettered by government intervention. And the aim of government intervention has always been to rob the workers of their chance to beat down the corporations in direct struggle.

ELECTION FOOTBALL

Preparations for the 1952 elections further complicate the problem for the strikers. On the one hand Truman, seeking to win labor support, refuses to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction law. But he stands ready to use a plant-seizure bill which he has asked Congress to give him, which in effect would also

deprive the workers of their strike weapon, unless they are prepared to strike under conditions of government seizure.

On the other hand the Republicans, also seeking political advantage, want to stall any Congressional action, in order to force Truman to use the Taft-Hartley Act and thus confess it is "necessary" legislation. It is useless for the steel workers to look to either side in this cynical political maneuvering for a "friend."

FACE FORCED RETURN

Philip Murray was absolutely correct when he stated at a meeting of strike leaders in Pittsburgh June 13 that no group or individual is "big enough to whip this union." But the political facts of life are that unless the steel workers realize the dangers

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TRUMAN'S PHONY CIVIL RIGHTS CLAIM EXPOSED

By Jean Blake

President Truman renewed his lip service to his civil rights promises of 1948, without explaining why they were not kept, in a commencement day address at Howard

University June 13. He cited the last five years as "the best years in race relations this country has ever had," but failed to mention the murder of Harry T. Moore, Florida NAACP leader, or the wave of bombings and dynamiting of Negro homes.

Truman's so-called record of progress includes the following:

1. Political rights. Elimination of the poll tax in two states, Tennessee and So. Carolina. There are now five poll-tax states. The facts are that not Truman's efforts, but the struggles and sacrifice of thousands of Negroes won these legal gains in court fights.

2. Education. "The principle of no discrimination" said Truman, "is the law of this country today in institutions of learning supported by public funds." But one glaring fact exposing this claim was the issuing on Feb. 7 of warrants for the arrest of six local NAACP officials for attempting by peaceful, legal means to end segregation in the Cairo, Illinois, schools.

3. Housing. Truman cited the Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive covenants, and action by nine states against segregation in public housing. But despite these crumbs, the housing restrictions remain in force to keep Negroes out of "hilly white" communities, with dynamite enforcing segregation in Florida, Georgia, California, etc.

4. Protection of citizens from mob violence. Truman cited passage of anti-lynch laws in two states. "The civil rights section of the Dept. of Justice and the FBI" have helped enforce anti-discrimination laws and protect citizens from violence. This is news for the mother of Harry T. Moore whose murderers are still to be apprehended.

5. Equality in armed forces. This is, also, a false claim. Reporters for the Negro press after touring army camps in the past year state that segregation which had started to decline, has been resumed, and an increase of Jim Crow practices is evident.

Moreover, Lieut. Leon Gilbert is still in jail, victim of a discriminatory army discipline aimed at silencing all questioning of the slaughter of Koreans and American GIs in Truman's "police action."

Truman also tried to take credit for the passage of FEPC laws in eleven states and twenty municipalities during the past few years. Aside from the fact that most of these laws are without teeth and unenforced, the fact is that they were enacted only as a result of the insistent pressure of Negro and labor organizations.

It will take more than Truman's speeches at commencement exercises to convince the Negro people and the American people generally that the Democrats have in any way carried out the "Fair Deal" civil rights program of 1948. These unkept promises stand as a reminder of a cynical betrayal.

Senate Rushes to Ratify German War "Contract"

By Joseph Hansen

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee began hearings June 10 on the "contract" signed with the Adenauer government of West Germany. First witness was Secretary of State Dean Acheson. He demanded quick ratification by the Senate. He also demanded quick ratification of a proposal to include the German satellite power in the North Atlantic Treaty. The committee responded by closing hearings within a week, granting only one day to opponents of ratification.

Thus, Democrats and Republicans committed to the bipartisan policy of a plunge into World War III are speeding rubber-stamp approval of this giant step toward atomic destruction.

The argument pressed in favor of hasty ratification is the alleged danger of imminent assault by the Soviet Union. The argument

is false. The truth is that the Soviet Union, because of its economic structure, is under no compulsion to expand like countries driven by capitalist economic forces. And the privileged bureaucratic caste, dreading both war and revolution, wants nothing so much as maintenance of the status quo.

DAMAZING ADMISSION

General Eisenhower apparently had this mind when he admitted June 3 upon his return to the U.S. that "The chance of a deliberately provoked war is not great." He meant, of course, a war provoked by Moscow. Dozens of similar statements made in the past few years by men high in policymaking councils of Big Business could be cited. All the lying propaganda about the "expansionism" of the Soviet Union is designed solely to psychologize the public for the war of world

conquest planned by Big Business.

Thus there is every reason to oppose Acheson's demand for shot-gun ratification. The only segment of America interested in greasing the "contract" through the Senate is Big Business and its assorted brass, machine politicians, bureaucrats, propagandists and flunkies.

OPPOSITION IN FRANCE

In France, it appears that ratification will not have easy sledding. The French government, apparently without consulting in advance either Washington or London, has proposed another effort at "talks" with Moscow. No doubt this is in part a form of pressure on the Truman administration to secure more dollars and arms for the costly and bloody colonial war in Indo-China. But it is also a consequence of the weakness and weariness of the French bour-

geoisie who fear another war may be their last one. And it is a form of recognition of the deep-going opposition among the French working people to the headlong rush of the Truman administration toward another global conflict.

The British government, too, appears to be taking its time about ratifying. Like its French counterpart, the Churchill government undoubtedly sees an opportunity for putting the squeeze on Truman for more economic assistance; but, as in France, the opposition to Wall Street's early war perspective is also widespread and profound. Its most striking reflection at the moment is the growing strength of the Aneurin Bevan wing of the Labor Party which has voiced distrust of Washington's policy. Under pressure of the Bevan wings the Labor Party leadership issued a statement June 12 calling for delay in ratification. The state-

ment expressed confidence in the possibility of a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union and called for a four-power meeting to arrange for free elections throughout Germany as a prelude to unification.

In Germany itself, the unseemly alacrity with which Adenauer signed on the dotted line is offset by the difficulty he faces in getting it approved by the Bonn parliament. The Social Democrats, heading the opposition at present, are battling ratification on grounds the agreement violates the West German constitution.

STALINIST POSITION

Let us now turn to the Kremlin's position. This was stated most recently in the May 24 note to the United States. The "contract" is held to be a "separate treaty" that flagrantly violates the Potsdam agreement, preserving "a regime of virtual military

occupation" and leaving Western Germany dependent on and subordinate to the U.S. government as well as Britain and France.

By concluding a separate treaty, the note continues, the Atlantic powers "legalize the re-establishment of a German army headed by Nazi generals and thereby pave the way for a resurgence of aggressive Western militarism." The treaty is "actually an open military alliance" whereby "the German people are being involved by the Bonn government in preparations for a new war."

These acts attempt "not only to sever one part of Germany from the rest for all time, but to set that part against the rest of Germany." This signifies that the U.S. government is not interested in the unification of Germany or in a peace treaty. It means a deal with Adenauer. "This deal can only be founded

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Notebook of an Agitator

THE INFORMER'S MESSAGE

In these days of wholesale renegacy under witch-hunt pressure, one more convert to the side of the ruling powers, laying one more bone of information at their feet, couldn't expect to cause a sensation or rate more than a small stick of type in the daily press. Such news has grown stale by too much repetition of the same thing.

If Whittaker Chambers had done nothing more than that he could not have attained his present status as a modern oracle. His services as an informer, of course, would have been appreciated by those whom they serve, and like the less-favored of his dreary brethren, he would have been paid off, dismissed and told to wait on call for possible use in another case.

But Chambers is an exception who has been blown up into a celebrity because he went beyond the familiar routine of peddling information for immunity and bearing false witness against Communism. Chambers has written a book (Witness, Random House) with a message to the effect that, to his personal knowledge, God has taken a definite position against Communism and all revolutions past, present and future. That is a message which the instigators and beneficiaries of the current hysteria want to hear and have proclaimed far and wide.

Powerful agencies, monopolizing the mediums of information and publicity, consciously strive to mold public opinion in a reactionary pattern. Chambers' revelation, wrapped up in 800 pages of Time-style literary trimmings, fits perfectly into this design and fills a special need. It puts an intellectual and spiritual gloss upon the crude and brutal operations of the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee, the loyalty boards, and all the various McCarthys, McCarrans and other vigilantes, national and local. The extraordinary build-up of the book and the author is well motivated.

America No Longer the Same

Our country is not what it used to be. Within the space of a single generation, a remarkable transformation has taken place in America's position in the world. Political thinking has changed correspondingly. For more than a century the United States, with a whole continent of its own to exploit, developed into a mighty industrial power in comparative self-sufficiency behind ocean barriers and tariff walls. This geographical security found its political expression in the doctrine of isolationism. Washington's warning against foreign entanglements was the popular creed.

All that is changed for good. The material basis for the doctrine of isolationism has long been outlived, and the doctrine itself has of necessity been relegated to the past. American capitalism is involved in the world, and there it is running up against all kinds of economic dislocations and the rising tide of social revolution and colonial insurgency. Bourgeois America is in a jam which its deepest thinkers never foresaw or bargained for. Even the thickest heads on the shoulders of our lords and masters have begun to ache from worry and apprehension over the problem.

They are confronted with the alternative: dominate the world or perish. This dilemma is pretty well recognized by all the factions in the ruling circles. Counsels are divided only about the policies and means whereby American capitalism can survive and establish its world domination. The division, however, is not really serious. The necessary decision has already been made.

Pious Talk About Welfare State

There is still a faction, more articulate than effective, which talks piously about maintaining all the material benefits of a Welfare State in the United States and, at the same time, scattering these peculiarly American blessings among the hungry and benighted people of other lands. This program expresses itself in the New Deal within the country and the blather about Point 4 abroad. The proponents of this paper program say we can outbid Communism and win peoples' minds to a better faith, a faith in democracy and universal prosperity as exemplified in the USA.

The other, more realistic, faction — the faction that is in the saddle whether in office or not — recognizes that this program, as a program for American capitalism, is impractical. They have no further use for the New Deal or

other welfare measures. And they don't intend to build any TVAs on foreign rivers either. American capitalism, they are convinced, can save itself and conquer the world only with force and not with largesse, which anyway it can't afford.

This is precisely the program that American capitalism needs — if it is to remain what it is. Moreover, it is the program that is actually being put into effect.

Domestic and foreign policy in practice are of one piece. At home there is the progressive destruction of civil rights; the thickening atmosphere of police-state terror and suppression of dissenting thought; the increasingly vicious anti-labor laws and the preparation for an all-out assault on the trade union movement. The aim of this domestic policy, bluntly put, is to beat down the standards of the American working people and make them pay for the impending war. From the standpoint of capitalism this is a simple necessity. The costs of a total war, high wages and a Welfare State don't go together; any bookkeeper can tell you that. Those who say otherwise are liars or muddle-heads. Abroad, despite all the tongue-in-cheek palaver about democracy, national independence, Point 4, etc., the same policy is extended. The world sees America everywhere in alliance with the most reactionary elements — capitalists, landlords and usurers — who exploit and oppress the people. Imperialist America's foreign policy has, and can have, only one counter-revolutionary aim: to support capitalism wherever it is threatened and to restore it wherever it has been overthrown.

Religion to Fit a Police State

But such a program and practice, frankly declared, should be very attractive to its present and intended victims. It has to be dressed up and disguised. Even the most stupid reactionaries realize that a war for world conquest, necessitating the mobilization of tens of millions, requires some kind of ideological justification, some sort of "faith" — all the better if it doesn't cost anything. That is why they are inclining more and more to the promotion of a revival of religion; a religion, that is, of a special kind, a religion which fits the needs of the trend toward a police state and eventual fascism — which will surely be America's fate if the workers' revolution doesn't arrive in time.

The religion they want is none of the easy-going, love-thy-neighbor Christianity which many humble rank and file followers of the gospels believe and practice to the best of their ability; none of the protestant liberalism which allows a person — more or less — to form his own idea of religion as a code of ethics and worship God in his own way; and certainly none of the freedom of thought and inquiry and reliance on human reason bequeathed by the Enlightenment of the 18th Century. No, the rulers of America who want to rule the world want an authoritarian religion with an iron-fisted God who decides what's good for people and has a temporal power to enforce his decisions.

That is why the Catholic hierarchy, which aims at totalitarian rule over the minds of men, gets more and more favor and support and thrives accordingly. That is also the reason why Chambers' book, with its formula of God standing above human reason and against it — God against revolution and even against New Deal social reform — has met such an enthusiastic response in reactionary circles as a literary weapon in their fight.

New Deal Clothes Don't Fit

Where do the New Dealers, the liberals, the literate ex-radicals and the rest of the literary social system who want to support an unreasonable social system without renouncing human reason where do they come in? Chambers' book upsets them — they like it and they don't like it. They support 20th Century American imperialism just as he does. But they want to dress it up in the ideological clothes of the 18th Century.

They are out of date. The clothes they offer don't fit any more. That's why their reviews of Chambers' book produce such a comic effect. Chambers is a far more authentic ideologist for imperialists trending toward fascism, because he offers a spiritual justification of the only program they can have, the program they are already carrying out — at home and abroad. — J.P.C.

U.S. Future Mirrored in South African Witch Hunt

By Charles Hanley

The South African regime of Daniel F. Malan has become a model for witch hunters and race chauvinists everywhere. The Malan government is the picture of the future for the United States if Washington and Wall Street continue on their present path of extending the witch hunt and refusing equal rights to the Negro people.

The white supremacists of the southern States and the red-baiters throughout the nation admire Daniel F. Malan. Their ideas are not very different from Malan's views on segregation, civil rights, communism and unions.

The U.S. State department's sympathy for the Malan government is obvious. Not only has it given aid to the South African reactionaries in the United Nations, but it also forbids American citizens in South Africa to criticize them publicly. For example, after South African Finance Minister Louw had charged that "adverse and inaccurate reports by foreign journalists of government policies amount to sabotage of this country's economy" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, May 19), American consular authorities warned an American cartoonist, Bob Connolly of New Jersey, employed by the South African Rand Daily Mail, a strongly anti-Malan paper, that he may lose the protection of the American government unless he stops participating in South African politics. It is hardly likely that this threat would have been addressed to Connolly if he worked for a pro-Malan paper.

DISCREPANCY MALAN POLICY

Emil S. Sachs, a leader of the South African Labor Party and for 24 years general secretary of the Garment Workers Union describes the fascist racial policy of the Malan regime in his forthcoming book "The Choice Before South Africa," as follows: "...the entire population is divided into three main racial groups, white, native and colored. The Minister of the Interior is given arbitrary powers for the establishment of immovable property and for allowing or prohibiting the occupation of land and premises by members of various racial groups in these areas.

"In effect, the Minister will be able to dictate to all individual persons and to entire racial groups where they shall reside, work or own property.

"Non-Europeans will be segregated from the urban areas where approximately 90% of the wealth of the country is concentrated, and relegated to areas already overcrowded and impoverished."

Recently Malan practically disfranchised one million colored people of the Cape province who had previously won a few elementary rights. South Africa's highest tribunal, the Appeals Court, declared this measure to be illegal. But Malan, determined to liquidate the 1909 constitution, had a bill passed by Parliament setting up a new "parliamentary court," as the court of last resort for constitutional questions. Thus the appeals court

Police Attack Tokyo Workers



Japanese police beat demonstrators after breaking up labor demonstrations in Tokyo. Similar parades and rallies against the war plans of the Japanese vassals of American imperialism occurred in four large Japanese cities and smaller communities. Three persons were killed and 80 injured.

is to be bypassed by the regime, the new court being Malan's obedient tool.

Under the new Malan law, the mulattoes can only elect four white representatives to Parliament, but are not permitted to participate in the election of the other 150 members of Parliament. The 1909 constitution stipulates that the fundamental laws of the country cannot be changed without a two-thirds majority, which Malan's Nationalist Party does not have. However, Malan has proceeded despite the fact that his acts are unconstitutional.

Under Malan's "Suppression of Communism Act," Minister of Justice Swart is empowered to limit the personal freedom of anyone on his subversive list. Every person named by him is ordered to resign from political and other organizations and prohibited from attending any meetings or gatherings whatsoever, except church meetings and social gatherings. Blacklisted persons are restricted to a certain territory which they cannot leave for two years. This really is Senator McCarthy's dream come true! The law is being used to label as "communists" any opponents of Malan.

Sam Kahn, a member of the Communist Party and a member of Parliament for the Cape Western region has been unseated from Parliament. Fred Carneson, a native interpreter, Johnson Nenevel, has also received one of Mr. Swart's letters, and was given 30 days to resign as an officer and member of the Franchise Action Council and the Cape Town Peace Council, and is barred from becoming a member of or participating in the activities of the African National Congress. He

is restricted for two years to the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

ARRESTED FOR SPEAKING

Emil S. Sachs was arrested at a demonstration of 10,000 in Johannesburg for speaking in violation of the "Communism" Act. His arrest touched off widespread protests on Saturday, May 24, according to the N. Y. Herald Tribune of May 27, which reported that he was released on \$700 bail on condition that he attend no public meetings. Mr. Sachs is charged with violation of the "Suppression of Communism Act" by twice defying a government order telling him to refrain from public speaking and to resign from his union position.

The Communist Party was driven into illegality in 1950. Its secretary, Moses Kotane, has been arrested for speaking in Johannesburg and thereby violating the "Suppression of Communism Act."

American Negro and labor organizations as well as all genuine liberals should protest any support given to the Malan regime by the U.S. government. Only the fighters against Malan's policies are deserving of sympathy from the American people.

Negroes, workers and liberals must also realize that the spirit of racial hatred and political persecution that makes the South African scene so revolting is also growing stronger in America. Police-state laws like the Trucks Act in Michigan, federal anti-subversive persecution under the Smith Act and the McCarran law purges of federal employees, the murder of Florida Negro leader Harry T. Moore and his wife; all point the way to dictatorship and terror. Where they lead is being shown in South Africa.

The American Way of Life

A Horseshoe in One Glove

Bob Hope, the eminent American humorist, once said that his studios did not type-cast him in his pictures; in one picture, he said, he was given the role of an honest man, and in another he was a politician.

We do not know whether Bob has been called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities yet for this slurring remark, but at any rate this quip, accurately describes capitalist politics.

Eisenhower and Taft, both "outsoken" and "courageous" opponents of corruption in government, are now locked in a knock-down, no-holds-barred scramble for votes. Their double-dealing, vote-stealing, bribery, and chicanery are a match for Truman and Pendergast's methods in everything but skill.

In Texas, as usual, they're doing things in a big way. There, the Eisenhower forces pulled a fast one by corraling a big Democrat-campbagger vote in the Republican primaries, thereby winning a majority of the delegates for the general. In political primaries under the two-party system, this is the equivalent of going into the ring with a horseshoe on one glove and a load of shot in the other.

This, says Taft, is fraud. And you've got to admit, that's exactly what it is. But the Ohio Senator, is hell-bent for election. He moved right in on the Texas machine, and got the State Republican committee to unseat the Eisenhower delegates, and arbitrarily name some of the boys who will vote right.

This, says Eisenhower, is "corruption." And, no matter how

you see it, that's exactly what it is.

Truman, an old professional at the game, probably looks upon the Texas vote-rustling episode as an inept display of amateur politics. After all, trained as he was in the Kansas City vote-theft school, Truman was able to get through a couple of terms before they caught up with his tax-fraud and deep-freeze racket.

There are three key men whose influence can probably decide the Republican convention outcome, Governor Pine of Pennsylvania, and McKeldin of Maryland, and Mich. State GOP chairman Summerfield. The Christian Science Monitor, looking upon these office-hungry jackals with pious reprobation, predicts that these three men might "unite their strength, accept competitive bids from either camp, drive the hardest bargain in patronage and prestige, and name the next candidate — and possibly the next President."

So if Eisenhower makes it, you can put down his victory to the fact that he had a bigger bucket of gold to hand out to the boys in the back room. And ditto if Taft is the "banter-bearer."

So if you want your boy to grow up to be president, teach him how to rabbit punch in the clinches, and then to make sure, settle a few million dollars on him so he can get in there with the high bidders when the vote-peddlers put their wares on sale. — Joseph Andrews

THE MILITANT ARMY

WEST COAST SCOREBOARD

	Points
San Francisco	2,204
Eastside Los Angeles	1,626
Oakland	1,434
Seattle	1,308
San Pedro	1,171
Westside Los Angeles	1,068
Southside Los Angeles	808

The West Coast Militant subscription campaign ended June 8 with excellent results. Militant subscribers sold a total of 215 six-months and one-year subs and almost 1,500 single copies. The five-week campaign netted over half the amount of subs gained by the mob, and Harry, steward of the last year's ten-week campaign.

The winning branch by nearly 600 points is San Francisco, which also gained the most in new subs. West Coast high scorer is Frank K. of Oakland, a veteran subgetter whose spirit and enthusiasm have well earned him top honors in the campaign. Frank's score of 1,081 wins the first prize given by the participating branches of one week's free vacation in New York.

Dave, of the Eastside Los Angeles branch, piled up 767 points, taking West Coast second place honors; and John of San Pedro is third with 488 points. Other high scorers are Ed Harris, San Francisco, 350 points; Tiby, Southside Los Angeles, 312; Jackie, San Francisco, 194; Frank, Seattle, 194; Frank B., San Francisco, 187; Clara, Seattle, 178; and Bill K., Oakland, 164.

Dan reports that Seattle wants to continue their sub campaign for two more weeks. They have already gained six subs in addition to those counted in their campaign score. Dan writes, "Although the West Coast campaign is over Mary and Sally went out house to house yesterday and sold three subscriptions, including a one year one. The high spot of the campaign was the number of subs that Frank got from workers in Bethlehem Steel. We also made a number of new friends as a result of the campaign. We hope to wind up with a total of 50 subs."

The Minneapolis Militant subscription campaign ended with a bang this week. Literature Agent Helen S. sends in a final "avalanche" of 40 subs and reports the results. "The most enthusiastic, most successful Minneapolis sub campaign to 'Make More Minneapolis Militants' was officially completed last Sunday. The enclosed 40 subs are the result of the final week's work, and subs are still coming in — too late to count for the campaign. We exceeded our greatest expectations with a total of 112 Militant subs, 35% of which are new! All of this in a five-week period! It is very gratifying to have the

Militant spread so widely here in preparation for the election campaign and all relative activities.

"The Minneapolis campaign, scoring one point for each six month sub, totaled 178 points. This amounts to 4,628 sub points, as other campaigns score, and does not include our sales of individual copies. The winning team to be royally honored at the Militant Cabaret on June 14 is the Lavender Hill Mob with 52 points. Other team results: Debs Banner Bearers, 41; Northside Tornadoes, 33; Campus Campaigners, 26; and the Portland Promoters, 26. Larry, steward of the Debs Banner Bearers, is the top individual scorer with 16 points. Wally, steward of the Mob, and Harry, 'chieftest' one of the Tornadoes, were a close second, with 14 points each. The wide, enthusiastic participation of all team members to make the sub campaign a success will guarantee for us a real celebration at the Militant Cabaret."

"In addition to sub getting, Militant salesmen are on the job. Last week, Jack, Donald, and Millie sold 22 copies at the AFL Hall; 25 papers were sold on the campus; and Donald regularly sells the paper in his neighborhood."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1542.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 8:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month. 7:30-9:30 P.M. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 5390.

CHICAGO—218 S. Wacker Drive. Open daily except Sunday, 12-8:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — 10009 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6297.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street, Phone 22406.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone AL 4-0535.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun, 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7761.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY—116 University Place. Phone AL 5-7252.

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PHILADELPHIA — 1305-N.W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone 5-1550.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.

ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters. Main 7781.

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SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., 8th and Wash-ton, Rm 201, Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meetings every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278.

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YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St.

Senate Rushes to Ratify German War "Contract"

(Continued from page 1)

on support of the revanchist (revengeful) aspirations of the Bonn Adenauer government, which is preparing to unleash a new war in Europe. The reviving West German Army, headed by fascist Hitlerite generals can only serve the aggressive aims of the German revanchists. On the other hand, the incorporation of this West German Army in the so-called European army and consequently in the army of the North Atlantic bloc re-emphasizes the aggressive character of the whole North Atlantic group."

Those who damn everything out of Moscow will, of course,

simply dismiss all this as propaganda. It is wiser, however, to recognize facts no matter where they appear.

KREMLIN AIMS

Moscow's response to the heightened war threat to the Soviet Union, only too evident in the Bonn "contract," is to try to frighten the western capitalists with the specter of intensified class struggle and even civil war wherever it has mass parties in countries dominated by the Atlantic powers. Hence the demonstrations centered around General Ridgway and the belligerent declarations of the Stalinist heads of Eastern Germany.

At the same time, through diplomatic means Moscow seeks a positive approach to the war fears of the capitalists of western Europe and the anti-war sentiments of the people. The Kremlin may even still have hopes of reaching some kind of agreement with U.S. capitalism that will permit "co-existence" on the basis of the status quo or at least postponement of the projected assault on the Soviet Union.

Who, looking objectively at the Soviet government's fear of an imperialist assault, can deny it is justified? But the big questions are, can the diplomatic road indicated by Stalinism bring enduring peace? Or even achieve the immediate intended aims?

WASHINGTON OFFENSIVE

The threat of intensified class struggle is apparently being discounted by Washington. The tide of revolutionary upsurge in post-war Europe was pushed back by the Stalinists and it cannot be summoned again on telegraphic notice from Moscow. On this field, Washington has now taken the initiative and has launched its own counter-revolutionary offensive, above all in France. That means the perspective for a deal narrows down considerably unless the Kremlin is prepared to make new far-reaching concessions.

Outside of a revolutionary upsurge in Europe that would upset all calculations, the balance of

forces can be altered drastically in favor of peace only through a persistent policy of revolutionary socialism. There is no other hope in this epoch of the death agony of capitalism. But here the Kremlin fails and fails abysmally.

THE MAY 24 OFFERS

Take the offers of the May 24 note. It reiterates agreement with the U.S. proposal "to examine the conditions for holding general elections," but insists it be done by a four-power commission, not a UN commission as demanded by Washington. More important, Moscow proposes "direct talks" with the U.S., France and Britain "to undertake joint examination" of the "issues" of a peace treaty and formation of a government for the whole of Germany. But these are to be "guided by the provisions of the Potsdam agreement." The note specifies that this applies "for one thing, in the matter of Germany's frontiers," also in the powers of the proposed central government.

The Potsdam agreement, which Moscow still demands the German people approve, was the infamous 1945 deal between Truman, Churchill and Stalin that carved up Germany, permitted the mass expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, agreed to the transfer of Koenigsburg and adjacent territory to the Soviet Union, moved

the Polish border westward to the Oder river, imposed occupation troops and puppet regimes, placed enormous reparations upon the German people, permitted plunder by the victorious powers including sacking of factories and destruction of industries, etc. Thus the Kremlin proposal for unification under Potsdam provisions means limited unification. Unification of German territory now within Polish borders, for instance, would be "revanchist" (revengeful).

It was the ruthless application of the savage terms of the Potsdam agreement that destroyed Stalinist influence among the working people of Western Germany. The fresh reminder about the Potsdam provisions is scarcely calculated to assuage the bitter feelings of those who made the error of welcoming the plundering Stalin regime as the banner bearer of socialism.

HARSH IRONY

The May 24 note concedes that the German people have an "indefeasible right" to "national armed forces of their own for the country's defense." What harsh irony this must be to the German people living in the rubble of World War II who need another 40 years, according to some estimates, simply to rebuild Germany's cities.

This recognition of an abstract right needs to be put in the con-

crete setting — Wall Street's drive for world conquest. Who will control these proposed armed forces? German cartels responsive to Pentagon push buttons? Does the right to armed forces mean the right to modern arms, including atomic and bacteriological weapons? Clearly, the Kremlin would balk at this, since it proposes disarmament to the U.S. and the outlawing of atomic and bacteriological weapons. Therefore, we must conclude that Moscow's recognition that Germany should have its own armed forces is as limited as the concession on unification.

The first touch of analysis reveals how illusory Kremlin policy is, what a blind alley it lands in, and how little it has in common with revolutionary socialism.

WITHDRAW ALL TROOPS

For American labor the problem is to give every possible aid to the German people in their opposition to ratification of the "contract." We can best do that by opposing Senate ratification of the "contract" and by demanding that all troops now occupying Germany be withdrawn. This would give the German people a free hand to deal with the puppet Adenauer government and to begin the process of uniting Germany on the basis of a socialist program, which alone can open the road to enduring peace.

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Monday, June 23, 1952

Advocate of the Hell-Bomb

Senator McMahon of Connecticut, who is campaigning for nomination as presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, has hit the headlines as the advocate of total destruction. In our times this is favorable publicity, at least according to the standards of the Democrats and Republicans. The Democratic Senator has taken as the main plank in his platform the demand for a thousand Hell-bombs. Thus he hopes to outshine Truman, who did not spell it out, but only asked for \$4,200,000,000 more for production of the hydrogen bomb.

As a recommendation to American voters, McMahon can point out these possibilities for cleaning up our cities with this instrument: One such bomb could level all the buildings on Manhattan Island, killing every human being within 100 square miles and thoroughly sterilizing the entire area.

Within the radius of the next 80 square miles the bomb's cleaning capacity is somewhat lowered, although it would devastate homes and buildings, killing and maiming those trapped in the explosion. However, these deficiencies of McMahon's atomic sweeper will very likely be overcome. Scientists say that we are only at the beginning.

Properly placed, McMahon's thousand bombs could wipe out all the major capitals on earth with all their teeming millions of human beings. That is the prospect even before the opening of the third world war toward which American big business is dragging the country. After the outbreak of hostilities, the incentive for stepping up quality and quantity will of course heighten accordingly, as is usual under capitalism.

Does this seem like a nightmare perspective? Unfortunately it is the reality that faces us in this fateful election year.

From the infancy of civilization men of science have searched for the answer to the riddles of matter and energy. Now that the walls of the atom have been breached and the first great secrets have become the property of mankind, an outmoded economic order, capitalism, is turning them against civilization, threatening its utter doom.

What greater proof is needed that capitalism has outlived its progressive stage? That its giant productive capacities have become stultified and turned toward destruction? Must McMahon's thousand H-Bombs actually be produced and used before America wakes up to the fact that capitalism can only wreak havoc and smash what human labor and genius has thus far created?

Socialism has long urged that civilization can no longer progress until we bring our economic order in line with the times. Now McMahon is adding arguments that should convince all but the deaf, dumb, blind and suicidally inclined. We must take from the capitalist rulers their power to destroy. Otherwise in their insane drive for profit and world domination, they will raze the globe.

The Need for a Fresh Approach

The kind of political thinking that is being done in leading labor circles was illustrated by a poll reported in the June 14 Nation, a liberal weekly, which sent out a questionnaire "to AFL and CIO leaders in ten states, representing almost all sections of the country."

Of those who replied, only a minority thought it important enough to deal with foreign policy. Not a single reply posed the need of breaking with Washington's foreign policy. No one suggested that labor adopt an independent foreign policy of its own. There was no mention of Korea; no reference to the upsurge of the colonial people.

Ray W. Atkinson of the Washington State CIO Council found it sufficient to say: "We are opposed to universal military training and to military control of atomic energy, and we support full cooperation with the United Nations."

Of the minority who considered foreign policy, none opposed the "cold war" and the arms race. Paul C. Sparks, secretary of the Texas AFL, underwrote support of "the United Nations (and) the mutual security program."

John M. Eklund of the Colorado AFL Teachers plumped for "a foreign policy based on continuation and expansion of Point Four and the full functioning of the United Nations and its agencies."

Frank Rosenblum of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers called for "positive efforts toward a resolution of the basic issues involved in international tensions," without bothering to specify just what are these "positive efforts" which would, as he claims, avert world war.

This representative poll shows that the labor leaders are perfectly content to let the capitalist politicians and the militarists decide U.S. foreign policy. It never enters their heads that the American workers and the mass of the people should have their say in a nationwide referendum on whether there shall be war or peace.

The abject dependence of labor leaders on capitalist politicians is likewise fully expressed on domestic issues. The Nation's questionnaire takes it for granted that "labor planks," foreign and domestic alike, fall exclusively within the province of the Democratic Party; and all the replies tacitly or explicitly accepted this continued tie-up between labor and the Trumanites. That labor should strike out on its own independent road with its own independent labor party, seems inconceivable to all these labor "statesmen."

The widening gap between the primitive, servile thinking of these labor leaders and the vital needs of the labor movement underscores the long-existing political crisis of the American working class. This crisis will not be resolved, but, on the contrary, will grow more acute until American labor, in the interests of its self-preservation, finally breaks irrevocably with the foreign and domestic policies of Big Business.

Your Rights Under Fifth Amendment

The constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, incorporated in the Fifth Amendment, is explained by Eugene Grossman, Washington, D. C., attorney, in the June 9 issue of New Republic.

"The framers of the Bill of Rights," Grossman writes, "reflecting the overwhelming public demand of the Revolutionary period, took the view that compelling a person to convict himself of crime is contrary to the principles of a free government."

The Supreme Court has stated that to compel testimony of an incriminating character "may suit the purposes of despotic power, but it cannot abide the pure atmosphere of political liberty and personal freedom."

Thus, this important protective privilege is "there for the use of witnesses before House committees, as well as persons summoned before other official inquiries," Grossman states.

At hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, or Federal Grand Jurors, the inquisitors consistently attempt to intimidate the witnesses who use the Fifth Amendment. Standard tactics are to imply that the witness who refuses to answer certain questions is thereby admitting guilt. But, the fact is that this is the only way to avoid self-incrimination or being forced to stoop to giving testimony about others.

The Fifth Amendment states, "nor shall (any person) be com-

McGRANERY



The new Attorney General, J. P. McGranery, whose first statement before Congress assured the witch-hunters that he would not only continue the thought-control offensive, but extend it.

elled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The moment a witness answers a question which might tend to provide evidence in a prosecution under the Smith Act, he is voluntarily discarding the protective umbrella offered by the Constitution.

Through the intimidation of witnesses, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has compiled "far more than one million names neatly indexed and cross-referenced" in its files.

Grossman discusses the reactions of a so-called "un-cooperative" witness called before the federal inquisitors. "He knows the brutal aim of the committee . . . of prime significance is his awareness of the committee's mania for names. He shudders at the proposed ruthless invasion of his own right of privacy. He rebels even more, however, at the thought of becoming an informer as to his friends and associates, who would thereby lose their privacy."

Thus, Grossman says, "the witness tends to look to the Fifth Amendment as the only possible means of preserving his self-respect."

But, the attorney explains in his article, "Having made the moral choice of refusing to answer the committee's crucial questions, the . . . witness is then confronted with a variety of legal conundrums. He must know what questions may and may not properly call forth use of the privilege against self-incrimination."

Moreover, the witness must be on guard against answering seemingly innocuous questions which later may be held to have constituted a waiver of the constitutional privilege. If certain kinds of questions are answered it automatically will have the effect of the witness voluntarily

giving up the right to protect himself under the Fifth Amendment.

DOES NOT HAVE TO PROVE IT

The Amendment permits a witness to refuse to answer questions "only if the answers actually would tend to incriminate him criminally." But he does not have to prove to the committee or to the judge before whom he is cited for contempt that the answer to any question would in fact incriminate him. He need only show that his answers "are likely to be dangerous to him."

In Grossman's opinion "if it is reasonable to infer the possibility of incrimination from the answers the witness might give" the constitutional privilege will hold.

Since the Smith Act, for example, is extremely broad, and has been interpreted to include as evidence against a victim the loosest kind of connection with the advocacy of socialist ideas, any testimony which would link a witness with any kind of activity or opinion critical of the government, would be incriminating testimony.

DANGERS IN ANSWERING

As a matter of fact, about the only thing a witness is safe in giving is his name and address. Anything that provides a link in a chain of evidence may incriminate a witness. Thus, anything which the witness thinks might furnish a clue later to be used against him constitutes

evidence that he may legally refuse to give.

"Once he admits or denies his own party activities or sympathies," says Grossman, "the privilege has been waived. He has opened the door, and he must answer any and all questions about himself and his friends." This applies to any admission of past or present membership or sympathy.

Thus, the article points out, "the witness who is anxious to protect his friends from the perils of the House committee must assert the privilege as to himself in the first instance if he is to have any chance of accomplishing his aim." This would apply as well to Grand Jury hearings.

The privilege has been used to date without challenge by witnesses who refuse to answer questions which might provide even remote or nonexistent links

with activity that could be interpreted in such a way as to incriminate.

MAY BE A TRAP

For example, if a witness is asked, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" — and he has never been a member of that organization, or sympathetic to it, if he replies "No," this might be used to show he has waived his constitutional privilege against incriminating himself, and he would be constrained to answer all other questions, to stool on his friends, to give evidence that could later be used to frame him up and send him to prison.

Under conditions of the current witch-hunt more and more victims of the smear campaign are turning to the Fifth Amendment as their best guarantee to protect their civil rights.

WHAT SHALL TAKE THE PLACE OF FEAR?

British socialists take a critical view of Aneurin Bevan's recently-published book, *In Place of Fear* (Simon and Schuster, 1952, 213 pp., \$3). They fail to find in the

book any satisfying answer to the main question raised by Bevan. This opinion is well expressed in the following review by John Lawrence, left-wing leader in the British Labor Party and editor of *Socialist Outlook*, which we reprint in part from the May 16 issue of the British socialist newspaper.

THIS IS AN EXASPERATING BOOK.

It promises so much and it gives so very little. It is full of excellent ideas which lead nowhere. The very title — clear, simple and challenging — encourages one to expect an equally bold and clear description of what the author thinks should "take the place of fear." But it doesn't happen.

You will find excellent descriptions of the material basis of the socialist ideology. (Mr. Bevan has certainly not forgotten his early life as a South Wales miner.) And you will come across passages which effectively expose the jungle nature of capitalist society. (None of it is very original (except in the high-flown style employed) but it is all very stimulating and guaranteed to whet the appetite for the ultimate conclusion, the program of action which you feel is bound to follow.

Hopefully you read on to the end, but the great question posed in the title remains unanswered . . . what IS to take the place of fear?

"DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM?"

Perhaps it is "democratic socialism"? If so, the author's explanation of that much-abused term doesn't help us much. Judge for yourselves (on page 170).

"Democratic Socialism is the child of modern society. It seeks the truth in any given situation knowing all the time that if this be pushed too far it falls into error." You don't understand? Perhaps the next passage will explain?

"It struggles against all the evils which flow from private property yet realises that all forms of private property are not necessarily evil."

Now either Mr. Bevan is here restating (in an extraordinarily pompous manner) the simple socialist truth that we seek to abolish all forms of private property in the means of wealth production (my old shoes, though private property, are certainly "not necessarily evil") — or, his double-talk is meant to justify the theories of "mixed economy" so beloved of the Right Wing leaders of the Labor Party.

I incline to the latter belief, having a vivid recollection of Aneurin Bevan at the 1949 Annual (Labor Party) Conference eloquently defending what he called "healthy competition between private and public enterprise."

Other passages in the book appear to contradict what I have written above. On page 117, for example, we read "To steer a wholly private enterprise economy in a given direction . . . is practically impossible." But the book

is full of such worthy statements . . . lying side by side with such "advice" as "don't push the truth too far" or "all private property is not necessarily evil."

MUDDLED THINKING

The most glaring example of muddled thinking occurs in the section of the book dealing with the colonial revolution. Mr. Bevan, as distinct from the average run of Labor leaders, really understands something of the nature of the great social forces which are at work today in Asia and Africa.

To the colonial revolution he concedes historical justification and admits it is aimed at imperialism. (But this, incidentally, doesn't prevent him supporting the wars in Korea and Malaya and approving the rapid dispatch of British troops to Hong Kong to "defend our treaty rights.") However, having recognized the nature of the colonial revolt, he then proceeds to plead with its arch enemy, imperialism, to give it aid! Such aid, he writes on page 42, "will tax the idealism of the developed nations!" Indeed it will!

Without a blush, Mr. Bevan then informs us that "The United States has already made a contribution." Where? In Korea? In China?

BASIS OF POPULARITY

Aneurin Bevan has, deservedly, won an enormous popularity in the Labor movement for his vigorous defense of the Free Health Service, and, more lately, for his insistence on a reduction in the huge and ruinous rearmament program.

Thousands of his supporters — and all socialists will support him against outright imperialists like Shinwell, Morrison and Attlee — will turn to this book for a program and a guide to the future. They will, I'm afraid, come away disappointed.

Nevertheless, the book should be widely read. Even if it doesn't give many answers, it at least poses serious problems in a serious way. To his credit, Mr. Bevan acknowledges his debt to Marx and Engels. If his own book is studied in conjunction with the works of those two great founders of scientific socialism, it can provide the starting point for a real forward movement in the theoretical understanding of the British Labor movement.



ANEURIN BEVAN

Press Hides Steel Strike Issues

By Harry Frankel

In its public announcements since the breakdown of steel negotiations, the steel industry has tried to make it appear as though the union shop issue were the sole remaining point of disagreement between the companies and the union. Big advertisements have appeared in the newspapers, and the press in general has assisted this campaign by concentrating attention, both in its news columns and in editorials, on the union shop.

The companies hope, by thus focussing on a "no-wage" item, to weaken support among the workers for the steel union's fight, and to add substance to their charges of union "dictatorship."

The union, while not inclined to minimize the union shop demand, points out that there are other important issues upon which a "complete deadlock" still exists. The union shop is important to the steelworkers because of their wish to strengthen the union against continual company attacks. The workers are particularly resentful of the handful of men in each mill who hide behind company protection and "freeload" on the union; that is, accept all union-won benefits but refuse to help strengthen the union with dues payments and support of union activities.

OTHER ISSUES

Foremost among the other disputed issues are the "job-classification" and "management rights" issue, and the "incentive pay" issue. Although the press is silent on these, they represent important company demands on the union. For two or three years before the present contract dispute opened, these matters gave rise to bitter guerrilla warfare in important mills across the nation, involving hundreds of firings, strikes, stoppages and penalizations of workers. In addition, when negotiations started in the present dispute about 6 months ago, these issues were very bitterly contested in union-company talks.

The incentive pay dispute involves many workers in production departments in the mills. The union favors incentive pay plans which would give workers added earnings above their regular rate, increased earnings to depend on increased production. The companies, a couple of years ago, began installing incentive plans

based on the "effort" expended by the men. These plans, worked out in the American Iron and Steel Institute, the big steel employers' association, were set up in many cases against union opposition, despite union company agreements that no new plans would be installed without joint agreement of both parties.

MORE STEEL, LESS LABOR

This "incentive" controversy took on great importance because most mills have undergone extensive modernization in the recent period, enabling them to turn out more steel with, in many cases, fewer men. The workers want some of the benefit of this, and the companies reply: We will not give you any more money because, despite the fact that you are turning out more steel, you are not working any harder.

The "job-classification" and "management rights" issue is really the speed-up issue in the steel mills. Its background is this: During the war, the steel union tried to straighten out the fantastic muddle of jobs and job rates in the steel mills. There were literally thousands of job classifications, with almost as many rates of pay. Different pay was given for the same work, job duties were unclear, and the pay that a man got and the work that he did were almost entirely at the discretion of his "superiors."

Government intervention helped the companies stall the union, and committees were set up to study the problem. These committees, representing the union and the companies, spent years working on this project, employed firms of industrial consultants, and finally, in 1947, arrived at a setup that was agreeable in basic respects to both sides. Under the new job-classification, the duties of all workers were clearly defined, and were graded according to skill, responsibility, etc. These gradings were then used to establish pay rates.

In the years that followed, the companies began to find that this agreement, to which they had affixed their signatures, was irksome. Workers stood on the rights they had established through years of struggle, refusing to undertake work outside their defined job duties, demanding higher-rate pay for higher-grade jobs, etc.

Now, in the present negotia-

tions, the companies want the management prerogative clause of the contract changed so that they have absolute power to shift workers to any work. They want to throw much of the job-classification setup out the window in other words, and be free to speed up the men to any pace, or fill in "spare minutes," all of which were accounted for in the original job study, with floor sweeping, etc.

COMPANY OFFENSIVE

Thus the incentive and job-classification disputes are a company offensive to take away from the workers conditions which they now have. Despite this, the nation's steel-collared press has tried to picture the negotiations break-down as purely over a union demand, the union shop!

The seniority issue is also still deadlocked, according to President Philip Murray's report to the June 13 meeting of top officers of the United Steelworkers of America. Seniority is at present mainly on a department basis. Workers must be laid off,

or promoted, in accordance with seniority within each department. This has a very important bearing on the fight to eliminate Jim-Crow discrimination in the mills.

JIM-CROW PROBLEM

It has been very easy for the companies to establish Jim-Crow departments in the mills. The present seniority plan, as company-interpreted, gives the union a basis for a fight to upgrade Negroes within specific departments. However, in the main, Negroes are kept in departments having the hardest work and the lowest pay, like the blast-furnace or coke-oven departments. The company interprets the present seniority clauses in such a way that new men are hired right off the street into better departments, while men with 10 and 20 years seniority keep slaving away in the hot-spots.

The union wants to change this so that it will be in a better position to put up a stiffer fight on the Jim-Crow and other seniority issues.

STEEL STRIKERS FACE ACTION BY GOVERNMENT

(Continued from page 1)

that confront them from the government they face a forced return to work without a contract. This would mean another long stall.

For months the government has sidetracked and stalled the steel workers' demands. While the WSB took its good old time and whittled down their demands, the steel workers cooled their heels. They did the same while the nine old men on the Supreme Court decided the issue of presidential powers.

Now what do the steel strikers face as possible alternatives? Political maneuvering with the fate of the workers, their wives and children, their wages and working conditions, can only result in some form of back-to-work order from the government; this may come in the form of a Taft-Hartley injunction.

Or, the back-to-work order may come after Truman is authorized by Congress to seize the mills, and then demands that the workers return to their jobs.

WILL NOT GRANT DEMANDS

After such a move forcing an end to the strike, the government will not grant any of the contract demands of the union, but will once again put the union through the rigmarole of government mediation, long and drawn out.

Another possibility is that the union will either have to face a long period of working without a contract, like the railroad workers did, or retreat on their demands and settle for less than the WSB formula.

How in all this does Truman fit in as a "friend of labor"? The whole record shows that he wants to save the skin of the Democratic Party, not the United Steelworkers.

Since the labor movement has no

representation in Congress, it must face the fact that the government is its enemy. In such a situation, the steel strikers have only their economic strength upon which to rely.

THE RIGHT POLICY

Some key locals of the steel union have demanded that the union defy any Taft-Hartley injunction. Some leaders opposed opening mills for war production. This is the kind of policy that will bring the steel barons to their knees.

The only way the steel workers can win their demands is to keep the mills shut down tight. The steel moguls are taking full advantage of the fact that the unions have no genuine representation in Washington. They can afford to maneuver politically, knowing full well that no matter what happens they will win by government action.

The steel companies could afford to go through the Supreme Court test of Truman's authority, in order to give a boost to the Republicans. They had on their side, a backlog of steel, and a knowledge that win or lose in court, the government would not move in such a way as to force them to accede to labor's demands.

But soon the steel backlog will be gone. The real pinch will begin to be felt. Then labor faces two alternatives; either stand tough and fight, or give in to government intervention which is sure to come.

It is true that no one can bust the steel strike. But the steel workers can be maneuvered out of their deserved victory, by a weak-kneed policy toward the government. "No contract, no work" is still the best program for the steel strikers.

MINNEAPOLIS BANQUET HAILS "MILITANT" SUB CHAMPIONS

MINNEAPOLIS, June 14 — The Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party wound up its successful Militant campaign here tonight with a gala affair. Headquarters were converted into a cabaret for the occasion and appropriately decorated to emphasize the importance of the Militant in the struggle for socialism.

The winning team, the Laverne Hill Mob — properly designated with badges of honor — sat at the head table and enjoyed free of charge a delicious smorgasbord supper. In addition they received a toast with sparkling burgundy.

V. R. Dunne, as M.C. and a member of the winning team, expressed his satisfaction with the results of the campaign and, irrepressible as always, lent an extra note of gaiety to the occasion. Helen, in a brief talk, summed up the record of the campaign. Larry, top sub-getter, was presented with a copy of L. F. Stone's latest book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*.

Truman Says Taxes Will Go Up Not Down

In reply to the campaign promise of presidential candidate Taft that he would reduce taxes by 15%, Truman stated on June 20 that the truth was taxes would have to be increased.

He pointed to the huge national debt and the armaments program as requiring more federal tax income. Both Taft and Eisenhower, looking for votes, have given phony promises of tax reductions.

Revolution in Bolivia To Be Discussed at Los Angeles Forum

An interesting talk is promised on "Revolution in Bolivia and the Role of American Imperialism" at the Los Angeles Socialist forum, June 27, 8 p.m., 1702 East 4th St. Myra Tanner Weiss will act as chairman.

The talk will be followed by discussion and refreshments.

The Negro Struggle

Negro Youth and Marxism

By Jean Blake

This month brings graduation and commencement day to youth in grammar schools, high schools and colleges throughout the nation. That means an extra dose of speeches and editorials full of advice, exhortations, flattery and cautioning.

One of the best articles this writer has seen appeared in the St. Louis American of June 5. An editorial headed, "PANTY RAIDS VERSUS LOYALTY RAIDS ON THE AMERICAN CAMPUS," makes the point that many commencement speakers will exhort their youthful audiences against the moral decay that has crept upon the campuses, citing the recent epidemic of "panty raids" by men students in women's dormitories as a horrible example.

But, says the editorial, "there is another side of our ethical breakdown that has almost inundated the American campuses from without, and the careful commencement speakers will be wary of saying anything about it. This is the direct threat against the 'freedom to teach and the freedom to probe and learn' that has been the forte of our American educational institutions. The American schools are in a life-and-death fight with the 'loyalty oaths' and probing political busy-bodies. The dead corpus of orthodoxy is threatened to be installed on the American campuses in place of the living body and spirit of free study and research."

The writer points out that "For American business it is 'free enterprise' and 'lift the controls' and the 'sky is the limit for our way of life for free men'... Yet these same advocates turn to the American schools and demand just the opposite. It goes even further than that: American business men may continue to trade with the Reds, sending them materials of war, and they are protected from censure and prosecution... But if a professor in a college dares teach along with all the other various philosophies that of Karl Marx (who was not a Russian) he is to be pilloried as a subversive or a 'pink'..."

"Compared with the question in morals that the 'panty raids' have stirred up, this political harassing of the great and free American institution of education, the very foundation of our democratic ideals, is far more dangerous and devastating."

We heartily endorse that conclusion, and we believe it will touch a responsive chord among many students. In this field, as in every other, there is one segment of the population that is subjected to a double-barreled attack. Negro students are not only threatened, as are their white fellow-students, with the dire consequences of failing to conform to the behavior and thought

patterns of our increasingly regimented life, but are also filled with the insidious philosophy that "In America it is bad enough to be black without also being red."

Thinking students will question this bromide carefully. They will ask, "Why?" They will recognize that the reason they are given this warning is that Negro students, even earlier than their white classmates (in schools where they have white classmates) are forced to see the hypocrisy of American democracy. Negro youth learn at a very tender age that they are expected to be loyal to a nation which provides "liberty and justice... for some."

Those who think, who refuse to accept their second class status as given, and want to pursue the question further, try to learn why they are jim-crowed, and what, if anything, can be done about it.

If they examine without prejudice the body of thought that exists on the subject, they are bound to study Marxist ideas on the cause and cure of race discrimination. Those who close their eyes and ears to Marxism are already victims of the insidious warning against being "both black and red." They have already succumbed to jim crow in the world of thought as well as in society.

Moreover, if they let the fear of being labeled "red" dominate their thought and actions, they will be effectively disarmed not only in their struggle for full economic, social and political equality — their democratic rights — but what is no less important, in their development as thinkers.

Why should a Negro youth have less right to be "red" — radical — in his thinking than a white youth. How can a youth who accepts his color as a bar to any field of thought and ideas absorb the best that our civilization has to offer, and proceed, on a par with the advanced men of our age, to make whatever contributions his capacity permits.

Fortunately, for youth who want to learn, it is possible to circumvent all the thought-control measures of our official institutions. It is possible to seek and find the whole body of Marxist thought currently being banned or distorted in the schools. Socialist publications are available for all who wish to study the science of society.

And Marxist teachers, unlike defenders of the status quo, are not afraid to match their ideas against their critics and opponents. Socialists say to youth: Question everything. Read anything. Emancipate your mind. There is no field of human thought barred to you. Make your graduation day the commencement of your freedom as an uninhibited thinking young man or woman.

One-Tenth of Malaya

By Thomas Raymond

The British Government reports from Kuala Lumpur in the Malay Federation that the "rural resettlement" program, part of the campaign to defeat the Communists and Malayan nationalists in their anti-British uprising for freedom, is nearing completion.

Lest anyone be misled by the name, the "resettlement" program is decidedly not a program to improve the conditions of rural inhabitants of the Malay Federation. The high-sounding title conceals what is merely a concentration camp project.

The British imperialists, facing a stubborn and militant popular fight for independence, undertook this program to try to cut the rebels off from the population which is supporting the colonial rebellion. Communist-Party-led liberation fighters operate mostly in the jungle and plantation areas, although the movement has considerable support in Singapore, where it is of course underground, and in other important cities.

The jungle guerrillas are drawn mostly from among the plantation workers, peasants, etc., and the population of these rural areas participated in the struggle by providing supplies for the liberation units, sheltering them, and so on.

The "resettlement" program, named "The Briggs Plan," was begun in June 1950 by British General Sir Harold Briggs. It was decided that hundreds of thousands of people should be uprooted from their homes, and settled in British Army-guarded stockades, or in other words, concentration camps.

To this date, the Kuala Lumpur report says, about 500,000 persons have been "resettled." Since the Malayan population is not much over 5 million, this means that 10% of the people have been put into these stockade-villages. Originally, the Briggs plan called for the resettlement of only about 1/5 that number, but increasing resistance broadened the concentration camp program.

The effect of herding a half-million people into enclosed areas has been mixed, according to the British government report. Of course, the guerrilla armies have been hurt by the round-up. However, the government reports that despite the one and sometimes two fences around the camps, despite the police and army detachments guarding them, the people continue to aid the fighters. The survey reveals this by "admitting" that "Communist sympathizers" have been "resettled" in the new "villages" and that the liberation armies continue to get support from the population of the stockaded regions.

Further, the report says that Communists have "exploited" the resentment of the settlers over the disruption of their lives. This resentment extends to all parts of the country, since the forced movement of half a million people has caused a big decline in food production and higher prices and inflation in almost all commodities because of the large-scale use of materials in building the new camps. The Briggs Plan, far from helping the British suppress the Malayan people, has only added to the anti-British feeling.

Notes from the News

SENATOR MORSE OF OREGON, a Republican, made a speech on the Senate floor against the arbitrary refusal of the State Department to give passports to citizens for political reasons. He was called on the phone by the writers of "Red Underground" a column in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, and questioned as to who "told him" to make this speech. The Senator placed in the record his denunciation of this smear, pointing out that because he objected to violation of the Constitution by the Passport Division, he was branded a "Communist."

APPLES ARE GETTING ROTTEN in the state of Denmark. The mystery surrounding what has been rotten there since Shakespeare's time is now cleared up. It is the stupid profit system, which now is causing a situation in which Danish farmers are preparing to burn a million apple trees because of falling demand. If you can't sell them at a profit, you burn 'em. That's private enterprise.

BRITISH IMPERIAL POWER has turned its guns on a little tanker making its way from Iran to Italy with a load of oil. The British claim that the oil, which comes straight out of the soil of Iran, belongs to them. But the Iranian government insists on its right to sell and ship its oil. The British oil grabbers figure this is a test, so they got a temporary injunction on the tanker "Rose Mary" when she put in to Aden for emergency repairs and armed British police seized the cargo.

THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS reports that housewives in the first two weeks of May had to pay \$2.31 for the same amount of food that cost only \$1 in 1939. Since the beginning of the Korean war, food which cost \$1 has gone up to \$1.37. Food prices will shoot up even higher, since the OPA has authorized increases of from 1 to 2 cents on 14 kinds of foodstuffs.

SEVEN PERSONS DIED in a fire in a Brooklyn building declared a firetrap in 1948. The victims, all Puerto Ricans, included four children and three adults. Authorities could have closed down the building, but instead allowed the landlord to collect gouging rents although she had ignored all directives to make repairs. This landlord was

getting \$15 and \$20 a week rent from occupants of the firetrap.

TWO THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE are suffering from hunger, according to the Manchester Guardian. How imperialism exploits colonial lands is clearly shown by figures on incomes; the 19 richest countries, with only 16% of the population, enjoy over 66% of the world's income; the 15 poorest countries, with over half the world's population, have to live on less than 9% of the total income.

OLD AGE PENSIONERS were handed a \$5 a month bone by the House of Representatives June 17. The Senate has still to act on it. If passed, this miserly increase will not do much to ease the poverty and misery of the 4,500,000 pensioners who have been tossed aside by capitalist industry.

THE ARMY HAS RULED THAT ITS regulation forbidding political activity by its personnel does not apply to MacArthur. Rules under regulation 600-10 of the army code forbids officers from influencing an election. But they've made an exception in the case of the former Far East commander. The Pentagon tried to excuse its action by claiming MacArthur was not active. But the fact is he is not retired either, although he has not been given a new post. Maybe they will allow the GIs to speak out on politics, say, their views on the Korea war? Maybe.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS in New York state medical schools is practised in almost every medical college, according to a survey made by the American Jewish Congress. This despite a law which is supposed to guarantee fair educational practices in the state.

A DOCTOR UNWORTHY OF THE NAME refused to continue caring for an 80-year-old patient in New York recently, because he didn't like his patient's politics. The patient is a retired Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Eliot White, who had participated in the N. Y. May Day parade. "I advise you to go to one of Stalin's ophthalmologists (eye specialists) to look after you," the doctor told White.

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THE MILITANT

Guns Against PW's



Rifles poised, U.S. troops stand over North Korean prisoners of war as they sit outside one of large compounds on Kojido Island. Forty prisoners were killed and many more injured when American soldiers, armed with tear gas, bayonets, grenades and flame-throwers were commanded to break up compound.

Consumer Slump Shows War Basis of Economy

By Tom Conlan

With the year 1952 at its halfway mark, the economic experts, as is the custom, have donned their conjuring robes, and have gazed into their assorted magic mirrors and crystal balls to discover what lies ahead. The consensus of these mid-year forecasts is that the arms program alone stands in the next period between capitalism and another calamitous depression.

Actually, this is not a forecast at all. It happens to be a fact, underscored by the slump in "soft goods" which is now well into its second year. This slump is worldwide and gives few signs of improvement. In country after country it has given rise to mass unemployment in the consumer goods industries. Severe import restrictions have likewise reappeared on a global scale. Huge diversions into arms production in the U.S. and Western Europe have barely maintained total production. In Britain and the U.S., where the rise of arms production has been the steepest,

no notable increases in total production have been recorded in recent months, an alarming symptom.

In this situation the capitalist economists are talking quite incautiously, telling a few truths for a change. For one thing they are now seizing upon inflation, and factors feeding inflation, as the most "positive" features of the unfolding economic development.

This is being done, for example, by Business Week, weekly mouthpiece of Big Business, which noted with obvious satisfaction on May 17 that "The Treasury has just begun to borrow the new money that it will need to finance government deficits this year and next." This large-scale deficit spending by the government is put down as a big economic "plus" for the next period by Business Week. It will unfailingly feed inflation, hence it is now regarded as "favorable."

Business Week welcomes the fact that this country is being plunged deeper and deeper into debt at a time when federal, state and local debts have already reached staggering proportions. In public, as in private, life there are few surer ways of heading for bankruptcy than by going into debt. Deficit government spending is what has wrecked the fiscal systems of Western Europe, just as it will wreck any fiscal system in time, including that of the U.S. Business Week editors are not fools; they know this, but for the moment they prefer to forget it. Dire necessity compels them to make a virtue out of going into debt. As matters stand, the bigger the inflationary dose, the better!

On the other hand, what they do view with anxiety is the prospect that "Military spending will increase more slowly from now on." That's "deflationary." Hence a "minus" from the standpoint of American capitalism.

The weekly U.S. News spells

out this same attitude even more plainly. There will be, assured this weekly on June 6, "continued prosperity, over all" for the rest of 1952 and the first part of 1953. Why? Because by the end of this year, arms spending, currently at the annual rate of \$52.3 billion, will be boosted to an annual rate of \$66.4 billion.

PREDICTS "TURNDOWN"

But, again, the whole trouble is that "barring war," these arms expenditures will begin leveling off next year and then start to taper off. As a consequence, U.S. News predicts a "turndown" during the second half of 1953 "running well into 1954."

"The chances," it hastens to add, "that another 1929 will occur in the foreseeable future is regarded as remote. Recession, when it does occur, most probably is to be moderate, not severe, short-lived, not prolonged."

This is by no means so reassuring as it is, rather emphatically, intended to sound. A "moderate" depression, however short of 1929, is still a depression. It may not loom disastrously in the eyes of U.S. capitalists and their apologists. But for the rest of the capitalist world, it can prove little short of catastrophic. Bankrupt capitalist Europe is in no condition to withstand the blows of a general depression, no matter how "moderate."

The condition of Britain, the strongest capitalist power in Europe, illustrates the over-all situation quite strikingly. The slump in consumer goods has sufficed to plunge Britain into her fourth and worst postwar crisis. A general slump would thus push Britain, along with the rest of Western Europe, to the wall. Meanwhile the fact remains that an annual rate of over \$52 billion in arms expenditures does not suffice to keep the strongest capitalist economy, that of the U.S., on an even keel. A boost of these expenditures to above the annual rate of \$66 will not suffice, either. Any "tapering off" means a depression. These forecasts, or more accurately, admissions of authoritative capitalist spokesmen, demonstrate to what extent production for war, and ultimately war itself, has become inextricably bound up with the normal operation of capitalist economy. They now admit implicitly or explicitly that "barring war" there is no avoiding depression. In other words they admit that for capitalism there is no alternative other than: EITHER war OR depression.

PLAN JULY FOURTH WEEKEND AT MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

Mountain Spring Camp at Washington, N. J., is preparing a big Fourth of July weekend celebration. Besides the regular attractions of swimming, hiking, fishing, etc., that make the camp such a pleasant retreat from the hot city, special recreations will include baseball, volleyball, campfires and square dancing.

Early season visitors have enjoyed acting as sidewalk spectators in constructing the beautiful modern building which is now racing toward completion. In addition to large cool recreation rooms, the new building will include a spacious sun deck and double rooms for sleeping quarters.

The pre-season rate of \$5 a day ends June 30, so those wishing to take advantage of this low cost have only a short time left. July and August rates are \$6.50 a day

Smith Act Called Illegal by ACLU; Aims at Repeal

By James Walcott

In 1940 the Smith "Gag" Law was passed by Congress. Since that time 23 members of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted under its provisions and 18 convicted and sentenced to prison terms; 61 leaders and members of the Communist Party have been indicted, with 11 of these already convicted and 50 still on trial.

This law, which bears the name of a poll tax representative from Virginia, is clearly the most important weapon in the hands of the witch-hunters. On June 4, 1951, it was declared constitutional in a 6-2 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a pamphlet issued recently by the American Civil Liberties Union, the law is analyzed and the opinion of the organization and its statement of policy in the struggle against it are given.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The ACLU pamphlet states that the Smith Law is unconstitutional on three major points:

"1. The Court held that while discussion of violent overthrow of the government is permissible, advocacy is not. The ACLU believes the distinction is not practical, and that it will inevitably infringe on free speech. To quote Max Lerner, it means that 'if you wear a cap and gown and turn around in a swivel chair, you can discuss Marx and Lenin, but if you get serious and go into the market place and hawk your ideas, it's no go.'"

"2. The Court has abandoned the 'clear and present danger' test of Justice Holmes for one of clear and probable danger. And the majority did not meet Justice Douglas' argument 'that it is impossible for me to say that the Communists in this country are so potent or so strategically deployed that they must be suppressed for their speech.'"

"3. The Court ruled that the question of whether a clear and present (or probable) danger exists is a matter of law for the judge and not a matter of fact for the jury. The Union rejects this view; it believes this question should be decided by the common sense and judgment of the members of the community who form the jury; decision by a judge takes it into a realm of legal abstraction where it does not belong in the tradition of our law."

INTENDS TO FIGHT

The ACLU makes clear in its pamphlet (available at the ACLU, 170 Fifth Ave., NYC, 25c.) that it does not intend to give up the fight against the law. The pamphlet outlines the ACLU program against the law:

"The ACLU disagrees funda-

mentally with the Supreme Court 6-2 decision. The Union, as always, opposes this law because it infringes upon the rights of free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment."

Calling for repeal of the law, the ACLU states that the Supreme Court decision is no bar to further legal testing of the Act's constitutionality, or to attacks upon its wisdom.

The ACLU further pledges its support in the attempt to obtain an overruling of the June 4 decision by "participating independently in further Smith Act cases."

The Union also "stands ready to help insure that the limits of Supreme Court's decision are not overstepped, and the defense is allowed to present evidence, and present it to the jury, as to whether there is a clear and present danger" involved.

The pamphlet states that the ACLU will fight "vigilantism and any actions which go beyond the scope of the Supreme Court decision."

DISSENTING OPINION GIVEN

The minority opinion of Justices Douglas and Black, and statements of Justices Jackson and Frankfurter which to some extent differ from those of other majority members of the Supreme Court, are included in the pamphlet.

The Smith Act, interpreted by the Supreme Court to forbid advocacy of ideas which might "probably" lead to the violent overthrow of the government, constitutes a direct violation of the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech.

Without question this law is the greatest threat to civil liberties in the Federal Statutes. Since it is now being used to railroad members of the Communist Party to prison, it must be fought on the basis of the cases involving Stalinists.

Those who refuse to fight the law because they do not like the policies of its victims, merely help to provide precedents which will in turn be used against others at the next stage of the witch hunt.

For success, the ACLU program to repeal the Smith Law must be given strong support by every labor and liberal organization and individual. United struggle is necessary against this law regardless of differences with the Stalinists who are under direct attack.

RENT HOGS SPREAD LIES TO DEFEAT L.A. HOUSING

By Louise Manning

The bitter Los Angeles housing controversy, which has occupied the City Council for months, shows how the democratic processes under capitalism are subverted by the wealthy for their own enrichment instead of acting as a free expression of the will of the people.

With lies, slander, and a publicity campaign backed by unlimited funds, the real estate interests were able to defeat a housing referendum at the polls on June 3, in spite of the fact that Los Angeles has long been recognized as a critical housing area. Calling themselves the "Committee Against Socialist Housing," they spoke of the rights of the individual while coldly pushing thousands of individuals into despair over the difficulty of getting decent housing.

With the use of such formulas as "Do you want to pay someone else's rent?" they did not tell the people that the funds for the project were provided by the federal government, and that the city would benefit financially. They did not tell the people that \$13,000,000, already spent on the project, would be endangered by a "no" vote.

CITY COUNCIL BOWS TO PRESSURE

The pressure of the big property owners has so intimidated the City Council that even though they had previously unanimously approved the project and closed a contract with the Federal Public Housing Administration for the necessary loan, a majority have now voted to abandon the project.

This means, if it goes through, that the people will have to bear an additional tax burden to repay the loan of \$13,000,000.

Legally the vote cannot repudiate the contract, which has been upheld by the State Supreme Court, but on the basis of the vote, the anti-public housing forces are now trying to get Congress to agree to break the contract.

The rent hogs, who do not refuse to stoop to any kind of deceit to squeeze more profits, now pose as the champions of democracy. They point to the vote, claiming that the people have given a mandate against public housing. Thus through the unfair distribution of the means of propaganda, and through the influence which their money can buy, the real estate interests were able to "put one over on the people."

So flagrant is this violation of real democracy, that Mayor Bowron has been forced to defend the Los Angeles Housing Authority, and to expose many of the lies. According to the L. A. News of June 11, the Mayor, in a letter to Congress said that the anti-housing forces purposely confused the voters and are now "mis-using" the "no" vote on the proposition, and that if the people had been informed of the facts, the proposition would have been approved.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.