

## OPPOSITION DISTURBS STALIN'S REGIME

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## Negro Leaders Are Stunned by Election Outcome

By George Lavan

Eisenhower's election and the strengthening of the Dixiecrats in both major parties has stunned the Negro leaders. "I do not fully understand the meaning of the election," Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, confesses. This, plus the traditional pledges of cooperation with the new administration, is the tenor of statements by other Negro leaders as far out on the Democratic limb as the NAACP head. These statements then end lamely with the demand that the Republicans fulfill their campaign promises to the Negro people.

Only a few short weeks ago these very Negro leaders were exposing the Republican promises on civil rights as inadequate and insincere. How to force the Eisenhower administration to live up to such promises is not explained. It is obvious no ordinary measures can do it. Past experience shows that ordinary measures couldn't do it even during the 20 years of Democratic rule.

Apparently the Negro leaders have no new measures in mind. In the labor movement, voices are already being heard for a break with the Democratic Party and formation of a Labor Party. Not a whisper on such lines has been heard from the Negro leaders.

### POLICY OF DEFEAT

Only from that small minority of Negro leaders who backed Eisenhower does there come any talk of political perspectives. And their perspective is — retreat. Keep the Negro vote split between the two old parties is one part of their "wisdom." Another runs: "The civil rights issue has

been raised in places where it should not have been." This policy means cancelling out the Negro vote and toning down demands for first-class citizenship.

Opponents of Jim Crow should compare this kind of "practical politics" with that of the past masters of practical politics — the Dixiecrats. These enemies of the Negro people and labor are riding high today because they are uncompromising in their demands. If the Negro people were equally firm they would walk out of the Democratic Party. Such a move would start the ball rolling in America for a new party based on the minority peoples, labor and poor farmers. And in the very process of building such a new party, the Negro people would see civil rights laws passed by Democrats and Republicans — trying to head off a Labor Party.

### ANYTHING TO HOPE FOR?

The Pittsburgh Courier, one of the few Negro papers that backed Eisenhower, had as its "victory" headline: "Nothing To Fear Under GOP." But is there anything to be hoped for? This remained unasked and unanswered.

There is no hope if the Negro vote remains "in the bag" for the Democratic politicians. Nor is there any hope on the path of political retreat. Hope only lies on the road of political boldness and independence. Today this means the perspective of a Labor Party that will wage political war on Jim Crow and those who profit from it.

## UNION HEADS FOLLOWED FATAL KOREA POLICY

By Joseph Keller

"The people have spoken," writes CIO Executive Vice-President Allan S. Haywood in the Nov. 10 CIO News. Many labor leaders are using this same phrase as their chief commentary on the elections. But most of them fail to reveal any clear idea of what the people have spoken about.

They know, of course, and even admit, as Haywood does, that "without question, the Korean situation... played an important part in the outcome." But they appear not to grasp in what specific sense the people spoke about Korea.

The people have spoken, all right, and what they have said is: "Stop the war in Korea now — get our boys out of there right away!" That big shift to the GOP wasn't the result of any new faith in traditional Republicanism — it was largely a repudiation of the Democratic war policy and a desperate hope that Eisenhower will bring the Korean war to a quick halt.

### CAMPAINED FOR WAR

The deep hostility of the American people to the Korean slaughter was brushed aside or ignored by the union leaders. Instead of voicing this sentiment, they came forward as the loudest supporters of the party and administration which initiated the "police action" in Korea and they campaigned openly for its continuation.

By going along with and even actively defending the most unpopular war in U.S. history, the labor leaders sacrificed much good will which the labor movement had built up among the lower middle class, dirt farmers and others who had come to look at organized labor as the chief defender of the people.

### CONTINUE FATAL POLICY

Have the union leaders learned anything from the election results about the folly of ignoring the people on such a crucial issue as Korea? Not much, apparently. Instead of putting the heat on Eisenhower to live up to his promises about ending the Korean War, some union leaders appear concerned that the general won't continue the war.

### NEED TO RE-EXAMINE

Here and there we begin to hear and read about the need for labor to "re-examine its organization, its methods, its goals" and "subject our whole approach to political education and political action to the most exacting self-criticism," as Hugo Ernst, General President of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' Union, said in the Nov. 15 Nation magazine.

Re-examination is certainly needed. But it will lead to nothing worthwhile if it is restricted merely to considering what new combination or coalition the labor bureaucracy might advantageously make with this or that capitalist party and political clique.

### NEED FOR A CHANGE

Any honest analysis of the election and labor's political policy must lead to the conclusion that failure to fight for what the people want — in this case, the end of the Korean war — drives many into the arms of reactionaries, like Eisenhower, who do not hesitate to capitalize on progressive popular aspirations to serve reactionary ends.

If organized labor does not take the lead in opposing capitalist war preparations and war, if it does not build its own party with an anti-war program as an alternative to the two war parties of Big Business, then the labor movement will lose popular support and go from defeat to defeat until it is crushed.

### Worse to Come



The "old-fashioned" type of atomic bomb, shown exploding in this picture, is out-classed by the new hydrogen or H-Bomb which can be made a thousand times more powerful.

## Defends Bolivian Workers' Ability To Run Tin Mines

Bolivia's workers are able to run the country's nationalized tin mines without foreign management, said Dr. Victor Andrade, Bolivian Ambassador to the United States, at a luncheon meeting of the Pan American Women's Association in New York City on Nov. 15.

His statement defending the Bolivian people's ability to run their mines was in reply to the criticism of six engineers who had arrived in New York City after quitting their jobs with one of the foreign-owned mining companies now taken over by the Bolivian government.

### FOREIGNERS COMPLAIN

The engineers — four Americans, a Briton and a Canadian — claimed that tin production in Bolivia would inevitably go into a decline because, they said, 80 to 90 per cent of the foreign mining engineers and technicians in Bolivia will leave their jobs.

The three foreign-owned mining companies before nationalization "did not dig the ore from the ground," declared Dr. Andrade. "The Bolivian workers did that and will continue to do it. They will work more willingly for their Government than they did for the tin barons."

The foreign engineers complained that all the workers are armed and that workers' representatives are acting as "commissars" in the mines and "issuing orders to the superintendents."

## THE TIME IS LATE

An Editorial

The Atomic Energy Commission has expressed "satisfaction" with tests at Eniwetok "including experiments contributing to thermonuclear weapons research." This refers to the hydrogen or H-Bomb capable of pulverizing the largest city in a flash. Thus, American capitalism announces the newest means of mass destruction whereby it hopes to terrorize and conquer the whole human race.

But there may be little left for U.S. capitalists to exploit if they have their way. The late Senator McMahon, warning that the H-Bomb would not remain the exclusive possession of Washington, said an all-out attack on U.S. cities might "incinerate 50,000,000" Americans in a few minutes.

The capitalist leaders understand full well the significance of their latest "achievement." We have come "face to face with a situation in which a world war might literally wipe civilization from the face of the globe," dolefully admits the Nov. 18 N.Y. Times. But it cannot offer any way to halt this descent into the abyss. The system of the exploitation of labor for private profit confronts man with "the doom of all his culture, all his hopes and all his civilization."

We are again warned, as by a bell clap, that time is short. The choice is capitalist annihilation or socialist co-operation and progress. By choosing socialism, the people will forestall the tiny capitalist ruling class from pushing humanity over the brink of planetary suicide.

## Philip Murray -- His Role and His Outlook

By Harry Frankel

When a man dies, it is the custom to recall the best about him. The last time I saw Philip Murray, he was addressing 2,000 hoarsely cheering delegates to the January 1952 convention of the United Steelworkers of America in the big hall at Atlantic City. The last previous time I heard him was during the steel strike of 1949 in Youngstown's Wick Park. Thirty thousand steelworkers in holiday clothes had gathered in the crisp autumn sunshine to hear the president of their union tell them of the progress of their fight for pensions and insurance.

Both speeches were made in strike situations, and in both cases Murray made his show of violence. Choking with rage, his face reddened, corded veins prominent on throat and forehead, his Scottish burr more pronounced than usual, Murray hurled bitter words at the steel companies.

"They think they can smash this union," he told the upturned faces in Wick Park, "but before we let them do that we'll stay out until hell freezes over." A great roar of agreement greeted this defiance. "The steel barons want to make slaves of steelworkers. They can go straight to hell!" he shouted to the cheering delegates at Atlantic City.

At times like those, the face of a labor leader shines with the nobility and power of the labor movement. With Murray this was not an inner glow (that is something leaders of his type have long ago lost), but a reflection that he caught momentarily from his worker-audience.

This was the best there was in Philip Murray. That far a socialist may honestly go in paying his respects to the ancient custom of honoring the dead, before fulfilling the custom which is far more important to socialists: that of telling the truth.

As a Lanarkshire breaker boy in his early teens, Murray was already a union man. As a 16-

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year-old immigrant miner he struck a foreman who fired him for demanding a union check-weighman at the pithead. At 19 he was president of his local union.

In capitalist-minded America, not many unionists found the way to socialist understanding of the class struggle. Murray was never tempted by the road of Debs; he willingly set his feet on the path shown to him by Gompers.

### A Chance for Survival



## FORD LOCAL 600 COUNCIL ADOPTS PROPOSALS FOR LABOR'S OWN PARTY

DETROIT, Nov. 5 — Drawing the correct lesson from the elections, the General Council of Ford Local 600, largest unit of the CIO United Automobile Workers, has called for the building of a labor party. At its Nov. 9 meeting, the Council of 165 delegates, elected by some 55,000 Ford Rouge workers, adopted two motions recognizing the necessity for labor to form a new party in the U.S.

Mike Donnelly, Chairman of the Dearborn Assembly plant, introduced a motion proposing a local PAC conference to analyze the results of the national elections and to lay the groundwork for a labor party. Joe Berry, Chairman of the Miscellaneous unit, offered a motion that called upon the national CIO to take steps toward the formation of a farmer-labor party.

Donnelly, who has consistently put forward the idea of a labor

party, pointed to the failure of the labor leadership to build a labor party as the reason for the Republican victory. Local 600 Financial Secretary W. G. Grant cited the experiences of labor in England in his support of the motions.

James Watts, the local's FEPC director, described the plight of the Negro workers who faced the devil's choice between Nixon and Sparkman. He spoke of the nearly \$25,000 which Ford Local 600 members alone spent in the past election campaign, and asked if labor would not be in a far better position today if it had had its own party in the election, even if it had received only 20% of the votes.

Percy Llewellyn, the local's former president and former PAC director and a former UAW regional director, also supported the motions.

The Nov. 15 Ford Facts contains some interesting letters and articles commenting on the elections. A letter from Art Fox congratulates the General Council on its "historic action" and says: "Almost half the American people believed the Democrats when they pointed to the Republicans as the party of Wall Street and the depression. They were right. More than half of the American people believed the Republicans when they said that the only way the Democrats could solve the problem of depression and mass unemployment was war. And they were right. We must find an answer to depression other than war. We must find an answer to war other than depression. That is why we need a new party, a party dedicated to the needs of the vast majority of the American people."

## Eisenhower Gets Flood Of Letters

By Art Preis

Parents and wives of GIs who took Eisenhower's vote-catching promise about ending the war in Korea at face value are already clamoring for the general to make good. They don't even want him to take time off for a vacation — not while U.S. casualties are mounting at the rate of 1,300 a week.

The Nov. 17 Wall Street Journal reports: "Thousands of letters pouring into... President-elect Eisenhower, who is taking a rest... at the secluded and exclusive National Golf Club... make very clear that what's expected of Ike is ending the Korean War."

Similarly, in the Nov. 17 New Republic, Richard Neuberger reveals: "Newspapers in large coastal cities received many complaints over the telephone when Ike appeared on front pages playing golf in Georgia. Irate women wanted to know why he wasn't in Korea ending the war as pledged."

Over in Korea, GIs are expressing the same anxious feelings as their home folks. "WE'RE WAITING IKE," says a sign being tacked over a dug-out entrance by two marines whose photo is published in the Nov. 7 N.Y. Times. They're not waiting just to see Eisenhower when he comes to Korea — they're waiting for his speedy action to end the war.

### TYPICAL LETTER

"Dear Ike: I am writing about my son in Korea," is the typical beginning of many letters to Eisenhower, reports the Wall Street Journal. "Writes a Chicago mother: 'If you do this (end the war), we will all believe you are the great man we hope you to be.' She adds, somewhat ominously: 'If you don't, how disappointed and betrayed we will feel.'"

Millions of people who voted for Eisenhower in the belief he intends to end the Korean war and bring the troops home immediately have pinned their hopes on a gigantic lie. The general has no intention of ending the Korean war, or even securing a truce unless it contributes to Wall Street's broad strategic aims for a world war.

### CONFIRMED BY BRIDGES

This is confirmed by Styles Bridges, Republican floor leader in the U.S. Senate, in a Nov. 1952 American Mercury article. Its authorship and the fact that "it was shown to General Eisenhower before it was published" make it "particularly valuable and revealing," says Roscoe Drummond, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor.

The Korea fighting, says Sen. Bridges, is "not merely a Korean war; it is a world war... Korea is only the most active portion." He adds: "We are likely to be at war for many years. The President we have elected will be a war President... No responsible Republican or Democrat, general or admiral, to my knowledge, has any plan for 'ending' this war... We can't win in Korea; we can't withdraw; so we have to stay..."

### AGAINST WITHDRAWAL

Any truce would be only "some temporary and mutually convenient stalemate in the fighting," but it "is neither feasible nor desirable... to withdraw," Sen. Bridges asserts. This is a warning that American troops will be kept in Korea despite the opposite impression Eisenhower deliberately conveyed to the American people. But the suspicion and fear of many are already shown in their demand that Eisenhower act fast to halt the war now and "bring the boys home."



## HOW WOMEN IN AMERICA FIRST WENT ON STRIKE

By Joyce Cowley

"An instance of woman's clamorous and unfeminine declarations of personal rights which it is obvious a wise providence never destined her to exercise." That's how the Boston Transcript described the first strike of women in this country.

In Pawtucket in 1824, and New York in 1825, in Dover, Taunton and Exeter, women walked out of the mills, in one case marching through town to martial music and burning several casks of gunpowder.

These early strikes — "turn-outs" as they were called — were unorganized. They did not last long and were more like a spontaneous demonstration than a strike in the modern sense. Until 1834, there was no trouble in Lowell, New England textile center. Employers congratulated themselves on the lady-like girls in Lowell mills, too well-bred to engage in any kind of public demonstration.

But when wage cuts were announced, the well-bred girls held meetings. At a signal from their leader — a poke bonnet waved in the air — they marched out 2,000 strong. "A procession was formed," says the Boston Transcript, "to the amusement of a mob of idlers and boys and not altogether to the credit of Yankee girls. One of the leaders mounted a stump and made a flaming Mary Wollstonecraft speech on the rights of women and the iniquities of the monied aristocracy."

The girls issued a strike proclamation "Union is Power." They were resolved that "we will not go back into the mills to work until our wages are continued to us as they have been. That none of us will go back unless they receive us all as one."

They denounced "Tories in disguise" and declared they were issuing this proclamation in "the spirit of our patriotic ancestors who preferred privation to bondage and parted with all that renders life desirable, and even life itself, to procure independence for their children."

As they still had no organization, the girls were quickly demoralized and straggled back to work. But two years later they formed a Factory Girls Association with a membership of 2,500. They walked out again, engaging in the largest and most prolonged strike in the mills to that date. Harriet Hansen, an 11-year-old girl who was working as a doffer, describes the turn-out:

"In the spinning room, the girls were still undecided, asking each other, 'Would you?' 'Shall we turn out?' I became impatient and started on ahead, saying with childish bravado, 'I don't care what you do, I am going to turn out whether any one else does or not,' and I marched out, and was followed by the others."

The girls paraded through the streets singing a parody of the song, "I Won't Be a Nun":

"Oh, isn't it a pity, such a pretty girl as I  
Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?"

This strike received support from the Third Annual Convention of the National Trades Union. But within a month, the girls were starved out. Militants were persecuted, just as they are today. Harriet Hansen tells how her mother, a widow with four children to support, was thrown out of the company boarding house that she ran. "Mrs. Hansen," said the mill functionary, "you could not prevent the older girls from turning out but your daughter is a child, and her you could control."

After the failure of the early strikes, there was apathy in the mills. The spirit of the workers was at low ebb. But within seven years these girls emerge again, this time with a well organized union, with their own newspaper, *The Voice of Industry*. They had learned enough in these first encounters to take a leading part in the resurgent labor movement of the 1840s, and to assume leadership of the fight for a 10-hour day.

## World Events

By Charles Hanley

"AMERICAN EMPHASIS on armament is the main cause of our unpopularity in the allied countries," Anne O'Hare McCormick admits in the N. Y. Times in an article deploring the widespread anti-American feeling in Western Europe. The peoples of Europe, having gone through two world wars, understand the ominous meaning of arms stockpiling.

ERICH OLLENHAUER, German Social Democratic leader, declared in a speech Nov. 13 that his party will attempt to postpone the parliamentary debate on German rearmament and the ratification of the West European military treaty which is being pushed by Washington under the bi-partisan coalition of Republicans and Democrats.

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JAPAN will get 68 U.S. warships under a new lend-lease agreement. The plan seems to be to rebuild the imperial navy as well as army and push the Mikado forward as Wall Street's ally in a new struggle for the conquest of China.

FRENCH military police broke through the West German frontier illegally Nov. 13 with an Army bus carrying 19 volunteers for the Foreign Legion in Indo-China. Most of such volunteers recruited on German soil are former Nazi storm troopers. They are needed by French imperialism to go along with American dollars and arms in their colonial war against the freedom-seeking people of Indo-China.

THE GREEK elections Nov. 16 resulted in the victory of Gen. Papagos' right-wing "Greek Rally Party" (which corresponds to the Gaullist movement in France). Papagos was backed by Washington. N. Y. Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger indicates that Washington was irked, among other things, at the liberation under the former Plastiras government of some of the thousands of political prisoners held in the notorious Greek prison camps on vague charges of having "communist" views.

THE GOVERNMENT of oil-rich Venezuela is guilty of the death of five more unionists. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions reports that four of the men died from lack of medical care and undernourishment in the Guasima concentration camp. The fifth victim died in a Caracas jail after terrible tortures. The power behind the brutal army dictatorship in Venezuela is Standard Oil.

# New Deal Becomes War Deal--Stingy Welfare, Lavish Warfare

By Harry Frankel  
(Second of a series)

When the CIO Convention meets in Atlantic City on Dec. 1, and assesses a 20-year record of labor support to the Democrats, some delegate ought to ask the platform big-shots this question: "How come your Washington playmates have only been able to spend as much on social welfare and the peaceful side of government in 16 peace-time years (1933-40 and 1946-53 inclusive) as they spent in only 1 1/2 years of World War II?"

The bureaucrats might answer: The government was forced to spend extravagantly during the war, but that was because of the emergency. Every worker will see that this argument has a big hole in it. Why was it so great an emergency when two power blocs of imperialists clashed for control over markets, spheres of influence and investment and raw material sources 3,000 miles from this country, and so minor an emergency when 10-15 million wage-earners were unemployed, their families hungry, cold and ragged, the whole economy of the nation lying virtually in ruins?

### THE REASON

The reason for this sharp contrast between the action of the

Washington government in war "emergencies" and in real depression emergencies is very simple. It suits the capitalist class to act energetically in time of war. It helps their profits, helps their fight for world dominance. But in times of depression, they resist every step towards alleviating the sufferings of the people because every dollar spent for that purpose cuts across their profits, reduces their "home market," and accustoms the people to the idea that they can do without capitalists altogether.

Thus the Democrats, in 16 years of peace-time rule, did not spend much over \$110 billion on social security, aid to agriculture, public works, aid to education, medical grants, and all the other non-war purposes of government combined. But this same regime has spent more than that amount on war programs in only 2 1/2 years since the beginning of the Korean war.

In last week's *Militant*, I showed how the Roosevelt administration failed to end the depression. Only the war performed that job. Thus 1940, the first full year of the European war, was the last year of the New Deal and the beginning of the War Deal, although this change-over really started in 1937 with

Roosevelt's warlike "quarantine the aggressor" speech.

### REVEALING COMPARISON

To illustrate the completeness of the change, we need only compare the 8 pre-war years with the 8 post-war years (including 1933 for which we have budget estimates). Welfare and peaceful expenditures were very tiny, as I have already shown. Yet from 1933 to 1940, such spending took an average of about 61% of the federal budget, compared with only about 27% going to war and war-connected agencies.

After the war, the reversal was staggering. For the 8 years from 1946 to 1953, government expenditures of a welfare and peaceful intent took only on the average of 18% of the budget, while war items consumed a giant 73%!

An economist Mitchell has estimated that, during the four years of American participation in World War II, U.S. corporations amassed 14 years of "normal peacetime" profits. The economist adds: "Moreover, industry was practically guaranteed against losses for the two years after the war; more than \$2,250,000,000 was piled up in war taxes which the government would refund to enterprises encountering a drop below their prewar earnings."

Thus we see that while the "New Deal" wasn't very favorable to the workers, giving them only what was dragged out by fierce and sometimes bloody battles, the War Deal was very good to the corporations.

### FREE PLANTS

Here is another instructive summary of operations of the government War Deal. During World War II, at least one-fifth of the nation's total manufacturing capacity was built and operated by the government. This included 90% of the facilities for producing synthetic rubber, aircraft, magnesium and ships; 70% of aluminum capacity (built after private concerns refused to expand); 50% of the machine tool-building capacity of the nation; and smaller percentages of capacity in steel, high octane gasoline, tin smelting, heavy chemical works, etc.

Almost all of this vast industrial equipment, built at the expense of taxpayers and with the labor of millions who were hamboozled with tales about "equality of sacrifice in a war for democracy," now belongs to the industrial oligarchs of the nation. Most of it was turned over dirt cheap; some of it went for practically nothing.

This capacity does not include

the rest of the vast wartime industrial expansion which was accomplished at public expense under various dodges (tax rebates, etc.) and which now belongs to the monopolies. Suffice it to say that when the war ended, the 250 giant corporations that dominate U.S. capitalism owned a productive machine that was as big as all of U.S. corporate industry only seven years earlier, in 1939.

### THIRD REVOLUTION?

A big illusion about the Roosevelt-Truman years is that a new America was created; an America with a basically different income and wealth distribution. Louis Hacker, the overzealous Rooseveltian historian, for example, calls the New Deal period "the third American Revolution." (The Civil War being number two.)

There are no facts to bear this out. Ownership of industry, by all accounts, is even more concentrated today than it was in 1929, both the depression and the war economy having helped the process along. In another field, that of wages, the picture is quite clear. In 1937, the share of wages in the national income was 55%. By 1951 it had actually dropped to 54%, despite the fact that in the intervening years the sector of the population living off wages had increased sharply.

In 1929 the top tenth of the population got about one-third of the national income; today it continues to get about the same (even after taxes) despite the fact that the national income has at least tripled.

In 1929, 98% of net savings were accumulated by the top 20% of the population, the bottom 80% scraping along with the remaining 2%. In 1948 (according to Truman's Council of Economic Advisers) this top 20% of the population accumulated fully 99% of net savings done by the nation, while the bottom 80% netted only 1%.

Nothing in the historical record of the Democratic administrations of the past 20 years shows them to be anything but implementers of the capitalist system in continuing and deepening the exploitation of labor. If, as we suspect, the CIO bureaucrats intend to spend the coming years bewailing the "good old days of the New Deal" they won't be singing a very convincing tune. When the next upsurges of labor come, the workers will want a more substantial "economic revolution" than the Murray-Green-Hacker kind, and the union bureaucrats better talk that over a little at their coming Atlantic City conclave.

## War Policy Makers



John Foster Dulles (r.), Republican foreign policy advisor who engineered the Japanese treaty, is reported as General Eisenhower's likely choice for Secretary of State in the new cabinet. The two are shown at a conference in Paris just before Eisenhower's return to this country for the election campaign.

# The Coming World Showdown

By George Clarke

### CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM?

The Coming World Showdown. By M. Pablo. New Park Publications, London. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. 49 pp. \$30.

The meaning of epochs of great social overturns is generally better understood in historical perspective than it is by the participants. What we know today of the sequence of events set into motion by the French Revolution that destroyed the ancient feudal order is incomparably clearer than the vague ideas held by even the outstanding thinkers of that time.

Were it not for the doctrine and method of Marxism, we would again be blindly groping for an understanding of the vast changes going on before our very eyes. Precisely here is the significant contribution made by Pablo in his study, *The Coming World Showdown*.

He brushes aside the prevailing emotional reactions, the glib catch-words about "catastrophe," "totalitarianism," etc., to get beneath the conflicts that are rocking the globe from one end to the other. In a brief 49 pages, using the method of Marxism with the competence of a skilled technician, he sheds more light on these infinitely complicated problems than all the voluminous writings of capitalist professors and journalists, Social Democrats and Stalinists rolled into one.

"The process" we are living through, Pablo says, "appears as though unleashed by catastrophic forces beyond anyone's control." In reality, it is "the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the phase immediately before us for some years to come is that of the decisive and final struggle between these two social systems."

It is not mere "intelligence," he explains, that gives one the "privilege" of understanding this viewpoint. On the contrary, intelligence in social questions is

the outcome of the class position of the political thinker. "For if it had been otherwise, the 'kingdom of reason' would long since have been established on this planet instead of the extremely fantastic reality which rules in our day."

### "LIVING CONSCIOUSLY"

This lucid conception should help explain the confused currents of thought that are so rampant, particularly in our country. It also explains, as Pablo puts it, why the "conception of the World Socialist Revolution now going on belongs only to the revolutionary Marxists. These are the genuine ideological representatives of the revolutionary class which is the bearer of this revolution: the proletariat. Only a very small minority of humanity consciously lives through the history of its time, participates with full awareness in it, and from this very fact is already liberated in spirit from servitude to the 'catastrophic,' 'blind' forces which shape their destiny as well as that of mankind."

It is this feeling of "living consciously through the history of our time" that comes so fully to the reader of Pablo's pamphlet. Within its brief space he has crammed a world of fresh thought and sharp, original analysis, providing a kaleidoscopic picture of the forces at work in the world, and a scientific examination of the mainpistons that drive them forward. Each of the seven chapters of the pamphlet could easily be extended to the size of the pamphlet itself. Behind every lean paragraph, stripped of the superfluous fat of description, there is a wealth of fact and historical material. The reader will be well repaid to study the pamphlet slowly and deliberately. He will emerge with the pleasure of clarified, enriched thought.

### SHIFTS IN WORLD POWER

Pablo summarizes the changes which have turned the world upside down since the Second World War. He digs into the meaning of the decline of capital-

ist Europe, the emergence of the U.S. as world power No. 1, and the unsettling effects of this development on the economic and social structures of all countries. He analyzes the significance of the colonial revolutions, the elimination of capitalist rule in Eastern Europe and China.

"The encirclement of the Soviet Union," he points out, has been definitely broken following the second World War, and is in the process of turning into its opposite: the envelopment of capitalism by the non-capitalist countries both in Europe and in Asia."

### KEY QUESTIONS

There is not space enough in this review to deal at length with all the other manifold "problems" Pablo discusses. We can only list some of them:

The colonial revolutions, and why they move inevitably from the plane of national rebellion to social struggles.

The non-capitalist one-third of the world. Here he treats with their great progressive significance, discusses the problem of nationalization. The most illuminating part of this chapter is the analysis of the role of the Kremlin bureaucracy which clarifies such events as the Slansky and Anna Pauker purges, the three-fold reason of recurrent crises and the historic contradictions which are undermining this transitory ruling caste.

The drive of imperialism to war. Writing before the recent Congress of the Russian C.P., Pablo answered all of Stalin's arguments in advance. He shows the exceptional nature of the war-time coalition and why it broke up so quickly. He dissects the nonsense that the quarrels between the capitalist nations are stronger than their antagonism to the non-capitalist world. He dismisses the possibility of any long-term compromise on the basis of the status quo, both because of the restricted sphere of concessions, and the economic factors driving to war. Here his discussion of the time element, the situation in the U.S., and the

most probable variants before us pin-point the main trends of the immediate period.

### THE COMING WAR

The nature of the coming war. In a comparison between the last war and the impending conflict we see the vast changes which have occurred and which will occur. In comparing the differences between the Spanish and Korean Civil wars, Pablo highlights the social nature of the present conflict and the greatly changed relationship of forces today. "It will be a war against the revolution," Pablo says, in which the victory of imperialism "belongs in the domain of theoretical speculation, and not of practical possibilities."

In conclusion, Pablo returns to the fears that immobilize many people in the world today, particularly intellectuals. Here he takes up the skepticism that socialism can overcome the evils of the "machine age," the crisis of modern art which is viewed as a crisis of human culture, and finally the fear that Stalinism can dominate the world. His answers, penetrating and conclusive, bear reading again and again.

To those who want to know, to those who need the truth, we heartily recommend Pablo's pamphlet. It is the Marxist work on the world we live in. New Park Publications, Ltd., of London is to be warmly commended for having made it available to the English-speaking public.

### Hiroshima Mayor Say H-Bomb May 'Destroy Mankind'

The mayor of Hiroshima, Japan, where the first atom bomb was dropped in 1945, expressed concern over American explosion of an H-Bomb. "Once the United States does employ it," he observed, "it won't be long until Russia and Britain have it, and both sides in any future war will suffer terrible consequences. If the bomb gets out of hand, it may destroy mankind."

# The American Way of Life

## Anything Can Happen Here

America is so vast, so complex, so variegated you can expect almost anything to turn up somewhere in its borders if you wait long enough. Yes, unbelievable as it may seem, you can even run across that rarest of all species, a humane judge. Now don't put *The Militant* down, thinking what a whopper that one was. Truth, don't forget, is sometimes stranger than fiction —

It happened just the other day in a court in Toledo, Ohio. At the age of 21, George W. Sponsler started working for the First National Bank of North Baltimore, a small town not far from Toledo. That was in 1920. He put in 32 years; and then at the age of 53, a few months after he resigned, the bank executives hauled him into court on charges of embezzling \$7,500. They demanded that he pay back the shortage and surrender the 50 shares of stock in the bank he had earned.

The bank had started Sponsler out in 1920 at \$1,000 a year. The miserably paid bank employe had difficulty making ends meet, especially with a wife and family responsibilities. Over the years, it was alleged, Sponsler began taking home small samples of the stuff passing through his cage. He didn't put it on the horse races, the way some might have done. He needed it to help support his family.

By 1942 when the war-time boom was swelling the bank accounts of the rich at phenomenal rates, Sponsler was getting only \$1,900 a year, but he had already stopped making those unauthorized adjustments in his pay. Finally his salary was upped to \$5,000 a year before he resigned and got another job.

"It's a shame to look at such a record," Judge Kloebe said. "The bank should actually have been indicted in this case. If I had the authority, I would sentence the bank officials and the board of directors to read the story of Scrooge at Christmas and think of the defendant." Scrooge is the flint-hearted character in Charles Dickens' well-known story, "A Christmas Carol."

The judge lambasted the bank for demanding reimbursement and gave the officials a tongue-lashing for paying their employe such a low salary: "If the bank was honest, sincere and decent when this shortage was discovered, they would have permitted this man to resign and marked the loss off from their surplus funds without any publicity and without any embarrassment to this man."

The judge did not put Sponsler on probation. That would have made him a criminal, the judge said, and he didn't consider the cashier a criminal. Instead, he deferred sentence indefinitely and meanwhile let the accused man go free. The bank officials had nothing to say to all this — no doubt shock at running into a judge capable of handing out justice as well as the law.

Those are the facts; but don't start drawing any hasty morals. A wolf sparing the sheep sounds startling but the animal sure doesn't run true to form.

— Joseph Hansen

## THE MILITANT ARMY

"I need not stress the importance of selling *The Militant* as it is one of the main tools in spreading the message of socialism," writes San Francisco Literature Agent Nick Bennett. Nick reports some recent results obtained by San Francisco and Oakland Militant salesmen.

"George L. is doing a fine job each week in selling a regular 10 papers and other literature at times. Marie Hahn sold 30 Militants on the campus in only an hour. At Myra's meeting there Mary and Bill sold 27. Bill is from Oakland. G. Bailey is another consistent seller of the paper and does a good job at San Francisco State. Dick B. covers a route each Sunday spending time with the readers discussing the questions they have. Marie also spends her Sundays on this work. M. Ellis is selling at one of the local schools and together with his partner usually sells around 15 Militants along with some copies of *Fourth International*. Jim from Oakland is on the streets consistently each week at one of the schools here. He has made many new friends of the paper."

Philadelphia Literature Agent Clara Raymond writes, "Our October sales were quite good. Besides the sales already reported, at the Weiss rally on Temple campus the comrades sold

20 Militants and several copies of 'What is the SWP' and of 'Socialism on Trial.' Our Saturday night street meeting resulted in the sale of 25 Militants and a wide distribution of campaign literature."

"The Minneapolis branch is putting on a two-week renewal campaign right now to get all November and December renewals," writes Literature Agent Helen Sherman. "We want to get these subs in before the bad weather and before the holiday rush and expenses."

Clara Kaye reports that in Seattle "our last few bundles have been practically sold out — on the newsstands and in door-to-door campaigning. We also sold some on street corners and to a few union meetings. George sells regularly every Sunday at a good spot in the University district."

Literature Agent Fred Martin reports encouraging Militant sales during the election campaign in Milwaukee. Regular sales were begun in new areas. One of these is a local UAW meeting where one comrade sold 11 papers in only 40 minutes. "Regular repetition of sales at regular meetings is the best way to build up consistent sales to a serious paying group of Militant readers," Fred writes, "and we will continue these sales."

Thanks to S. R. of New York City for his contribution of \$20 to help pay the printing costs of *The Militant*.

## MARXISM AND WORLD CRISIS

A Debate at N.Y.U.

The Military Coup in Egypt ..... S. Munir  
Capitalism and Democracy ..... Harry Frankel  
Social Conflict in Indonesia ..... Tjokro  
Behind the Marty-Tillon Case ..... M. Pablo

All in the September-October issue of "Fourth International." For a copy send 25 cents to "Fourth International," 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



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## THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 24, 1952

### Peace Without Recognizing China?

The heat is already on Eisenhower, as the letters to the general, reported in our lead article this week, indicate. The majority of the American people want the troops back home — now, not after they're casualties.

We do not exclude the possibility of Eisenhower agreeing to a truce — if it fits in with Wall Street's plans for another world war. But a truce is one thing, peace something else again. The possibility that Eisenhower would agree to the withdrawal of American troops from Korea is remote. At most his plan may be to supplement and relieve them to one degree or another by Rhee's troops or the imperial forces of the Mikado as Japan is restored to its former place in the sun.

Eisenhower, we repeat, will try to maintain the American position in Korea. A truce, if agreed on under such conditions, would be highly unstable with Syngman Rhee's bloody-minded, trigger-happy top brass on the loose.

Peace in the Far East cannot be counted on at all so long as American Big Business and its political representatives refuse to recognize the mighty power that stands back of the Korean people — the New China born of the colossal revolution that overthrew dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

So long as Wall Street insists on continuing American recognition of the deposed Chiang regime and of refusing to recognize the popular government that

replaced the hated butcher, American-Chinese relations will smolder, ever in danger of flaring into full war.

Up to now Washington has not indicated any inclination to recognize New China. Instead it has clamped an economic blockade on that land and done its utmost to build around it a hostile ring such as the Allied powers tried to build around the Soviet Union after the 1917 revolution. Instead of seeking friendship, or at least normal relations, the State Department has done its utmost to antagonize the new regime. It permitted MacArthur to drive his armies up to the Manchurian border in a futile and costly attack that could have no other effect than what was predicted on all sides — provocation of Chinese defensive action.

The Republicans centered their campaign propaganda around one slogan, "It's time for a change." They really meant a change only in the administration of the fatal policy that took American troops into Korea in the first place. That fatal policy they intend to keep. But if there's one thing America needs today it's a change in attitude toward Peking. Continuation of the present belligerent course can only mean deeper involvement in a frightful and hopeless struggle that can drench the Asiatic mainland with the blood of American youth.

Let's get out of Korea now and recognize the new government of China without any further delay.

### What Murray Stood For

The tributes paid the late Philip Murray by numerous industrialists, publishers and government officials are sincere. They will miss him. In their eyes, as U.S. Steel President Benjamin F. Fairless put it, the CIO president was a "great labor leader." If they must deal with union leaders, the capitalists prefer men like Philip Murray — conciliatory, yielding, timid and devoted heart and soul to the profit system.

Murray was little known outside of union circles before 1940. He had been merely a lieutenant and shadow of John L. Lewis, CIO founding president and head of the coal miners union. When Lewis resigned the CIO presidency after breaking with the Roosevelt administration in 1940, Murray was pushed into the top CIO post.

There Murray gained prominence not through any superior program to defend labor or through outstanding fighting ability but by his undeviating support of the Democratic war administration and his knuckling under to Roosevelt. Murray consolidated his power in the CIO by riding the war-time tide of bureaucratism and conservatism that set in after the heroic days of the rise of the CIO.

As Lewis, aggressive and resistant to government attacks, symbolized the period of mighty struggles that successfully built the CIO, Murray represented the CIO's decline in militancy and independence, its growing reliance on the capitalist government, and the increasing subordination of labor's needs and aspirations to the government's reactionary war aims and policies.

While Lewis fearlessly led a series of war-time strikes to defend the miners from

government assault, Murray was acquiescent to the government's wage-freeze, its no-strike demand and other measures for dominating labor and making the workers pay for the war.

From first to last, Murray was a devoted servant of American imperialism and a faithful executor inside the labor movement of the foreign policies handed down by the U.S. State Department. He was ruthless in lining up the CIO behind the Second World War and the Korean war. He sought to drive out of the CIO every opponent of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and their war program. He engineered the bureaucratic expulsion of ten unions and provoked a sizable split in the CIO in 1949 with an anti-Communist witch-hunt that paralleled Truman's "cold war" and "loyalty" purge.

Murray leaves a CIO that has declined from more than 6,000,000 to 4,000,000 members in eight years. It is ridden with a crucial crisis over policy and leadership. He bequeathed the CIO neither program nor example that will help to guide it safely through the storms ahead.

If the corporations and capitalist politicians could make the choice at the coming CIO convention, they would select as its head someone as like Murray as possible. But for the defense of their own interests, the CIO members need leaders fundamentally different from Murray in class outlook, understanding and loyalty. They need aggressive, fighting leaders, free of all ties with the capitalist government and politics, and devoted completely to labor's independent class interests.

### Scratch a Red-baiter

Scratch a red-baiter and you'll generally find a crook. Is this just coincidence? Take the following cases:

There was J. Parnell Thomas, Republican chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He made a profession of red-baiting. Inquiry into his private affairs revealed that he was a crook and he was sent to prison for illegal diversion of federal monies.

There was Andrew Mays, Democratic chairman of the wartime House Military Affairs Committee. This loud-mouthed red-baiter was caught taking a "fee" to help a war contractor get government orders and he too was sent to jail.

Then came Richard M. Nixon. He rose to fame through his red-baiting. Right in the midst of his election campaign, it was revealed he had a secret slush fund financed by real estate sharks or promoters, bankers and similar interests. He didn't go to jail. Instead, the Republicans continued to run him for the Vice-Presidency and so the poor boy with the well-greased palm is now in line to move into the White House should anything happen to Eisenhower. But that doesn't make him any the less guilty.

Now comes a new set of red-baiters who show some peculiar colors when the surface is scratched.

There's Thomas F. Murphy who was promoted to the federal bench for prosecuting Alger Hiss. Testimony before the N.Y. State Crime Commission now links his name with that of Three Fingers Brown, otherwise known as Thomas Luchese, reputed to be boss of the New York underworld. "I knew him well," said Luchese.

And Irving M. Saypol, who won a savage death sentence against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg largely on grounds of their political views — he too was named by Luchese. "Yes, I know Mr. Saypol," said New York's alleged underworld chief.

Finally Luchese named Myles J. Lane, U.S. Attorney who is now prosecuting 13 Stalinist leaders in New York. "I might have asked him to come with me to West Point."

Red-baiting pays off well nowadays as these cynical capitalist machine politicians have discovered. First of all it means rapid promotion in the government bureaucracy — juicy posts and emoluments. Secondly, it means a swift rise to influence and power, as proved in the case of McCarthy and Nixon. And finally it's the perfect shield for those off-the-record contacts with the underworld or for that plundering of the public treasury that goes with making sure one's own nest is feathered.

## Opposition in Soviet Union Disturbs Stalinist Regime

By John G. Wright

Continued scarcities of consumer goods and the resulting low living standards are feeding the mounting dissatisfaction with Stalin's regime inside the Soviet Union. This was indicated both by the reports at the 19th Congress of the Stalinist party and by Stalin's latest document "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR."

So long as the country remained predominantly agricultural, the Kremlin bureaucracy could point to the low technical level of development as the primary source of all the shortages and difficulties. But this alibi has fallen away with the transformation of the USSR into the world's second largest productive power, equipped with a first-rate industrial apparatus, and a corresponding multi-millioned working class and a large technical force.

The tendency has thus been strengthened to view the policies of the regime more closely and critically, and to blame it for intolerable conditions. This opposition finds its expression within the ranks of the bureaucracy itself through recurring demands for a more "rational" and "balanced" and "proportionate development" of the economy. Stalin, for his part, seeks to take refuge in "objective laws" of "political economy," which allegedly dictate the existing economic policy and preclude any other.

#### CONSUMER GOODS

Consumer goods are the easiest and cheapest to produce. Besides, as Stalin concedes, they are "the most profitable." The need and the demand are most acute. Expansion of this sector is rendered alluring to a section of the bureaucracy, especially those in charge of the light industry. From all indications, this has given rise to a whole school of Soviet economists who according to Stalin, regard "the law of balanced, proportionate development of national economy" as "the basic economic law of socialism."

"That is not true," Stalin argues. The remarkable thing is that there are individuals, if not groups, bold enough to challenge the official standpoint. Stalin cites only the case of Yaroshenko who in a letter to the Politburo said that "he does not agree with the definition of the basic economic law of socialism which Comrade Stalin gave in his 'Remarks.'" But Yaroshenko is not the only one.

This is apparent from Stalin's constant references to "certain comrades" as well as from the fact that the Kremlin "genius" is not content merely to crush the dissidents by police measures but must argue against them in

public. This by itself is a gauge of the new conditions and new difficulties confronting the regime.

Stalin's line of reasoning in this connection is likewise quite significant. "Obviously, if we were to follow the lead of these comrades, we should have to cease giving primacy to the production of means of production in favor of the production of articles of consumption," he says. This would be fatal, he argues, because "The effect would be to destroy the possibility of the continuous expansion of our national economy, because the national economy cannot be continuously expanded without giving primacy to the production of the means of production."

#### THE REAL PROBLEM

The real problem is deliberately distorted by Stalin. It is not at all a question of giving consumer goods "primacy" over "the means of production." It is a matter of adjusting each annual plan so as to meet the vital needs of the mass of the population and in this way lay the basis for a healthier and more vigorous expansion of Soviet economy as a whole.

Stalin seeks to erect a fictitious contradiction between "the production of the means of production" and "the production of articles of consumption." The two are not in any basic conflict. Increased production of articles of consumption itself requires the expansion of corresponding means of production, and by this token of heavy industry as well. The entire development of capitalism is a historical illustration of this fact. Capitalist growth began not with heavy industry but on the basis of expanding light industry, first of all, textiles.

Bureaucratic rule and management, with its utter contempt and disregard for the masses, has dictated the expansion of Soviet heavy industry at the expense and to the detriment of the consumer goods industry. So inefficient, so wasteful and so costly is the bureaucracy that it remains, as it has been, unable to bring the two fields of production into the necessary and proper balance.

This is the real contradiction of Soviet development that Stalin must at all costs hide. But life itself is pounding home the truth that hardships and evils of Soviet development do not arise from any "objective economic laws" but from the uncontrolled bureaucratic regime.

#### PRO-CAPITALIST DANGER

There is one field in which Stalin himself is compelled to "force" grave difficulties, namely, a clash between the nationalized industry and "such economic factors as group, or collective-farm, property and commodity circulation."

The extent to which capitalist tendencies have been strengthened in agriculture is strikingly expressed in such proposals as those by "Comrades A. V. Sanina and V. G. Venzher . . . to sell the basic implements of production concentrated in the Machine and Tractor Stations to the collective farms as their property."

Years ago the Kremlin boasted of having forever destroyed the kulak (well-to-do-farmer) danger. It now confronts the "millionaire" collective farmer. How strong this pro-capitalist current is, remains unknown. But the danger must be serious. Voices have been raised for the immediate expropriation of the collective farms.

"Some comrades think that the thing to do is simply to nationalize collective-farm property, to proclaim it public property, in the way that was done in the past in the case of capitalist property," declared Stalin, who opposes this as "absolutely wrong and quite unacceptable." But — and this is most significant — Stalin does not deny that the existing conditions in agriculture are already acting as a brake upon planning and upon industrial growth.

"But it would be unpardonable blindness," Stalin wrote, "not to see at the same time that these factors are already beginning to hamper the powerful development of our productive forces, since they create obstacles to the full extension of government planning to the whole of the national economy, especially agriculture. There is no doubt that these factors will hamper the continued growth of the productive forces of our country more and more as time goes on." Stalin never before made such sweeping admissions in this connection.

#### LEFT OPPOSITION

But what the regime fears most is, of course, opposition from the left. Again, there is no way of knowing how strong this tendency is. But there is no doubt of its existence. It is criticism of party and government policies. "Certain comrades," said Stalin, "affirm that the party acted wrongly in preserving commodity production after it assumed power and nationalized the means of production in our country. They consider that the party should have banished commodity production there and then." Evidently what these dissenters criticize most is not only past failure but especially the continued preservation of capitalist relations.

It is also clear that these dissenters propagate views to the effect that the threat of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union still exists. Stalin condemned as "absolutely mistaken" those comrades "who allege that, since socialist society has not abolished commodity forms of production,

### Tory Minister Visits Kenya



British Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttleton poses with African children and priests during visit to Kikuyu Reserve in Kenya. Wholesale robbery of native lands by British has caused appearance of terrorist Mau Mau organization. Under pretext of combating Mau Mau, British are jailing all native opposition leaders of Kenya African Union. Floggings and mass arrests are the order of the day.

we are bound to have the reappearance of all the economic categories characteristic of capitalism: labor power as a commodity, surplus value, capital, capitalist profit, the average rate of profit, etc." This is directly counter to Stalin's claim that he has built socialism in the Soviet Union.

#### FEAR THE YOUTH

Fear of the youth haunts the bureaucracy. Stalin has suddenly discovered that the Soviet youth lacks "Marxist education," refuses to accept easily the Stalinist dogma and is "groping" — for new pathways.

Here is the way Stalin put it: "The fact is that we, the leading core (read: the bureaucracy), are joined every year by thousands of new and young forces who . . . do not possess an adequate Marxist education, are unfamiliar with many truths that are well known to us, and are therefore compelled to grope in the darkness."

It is in this context that one should read the appeals for "self-criticism" and warnings against the "blunting of vigilance by functionaries of the party" launched by Malenkov and others at the 19th Congress. This applies all the more to Malenkov's venomous denunciation of "people alien to us, all type of elements from the dregs of anti-Leninist groups smashed by the party" who seize every opportunity "for dragging in their line and reviving

and spreading various kinds of non-Marxist (that is, anti-Stalinist) 'views' and 'conceptions.'"

#### NEEDS THE CARROT TOO

The whip is not enough. The bureaucracy finds it needs the carrot, too. All sorts of promises are now being dangled. Stalin personally assured a reduction of the workday "at least to six, and subsequently to five hours." He did not say when. He also promised greater opportunity for education and even the introduction of "universal compulsory polytechnical education" plus a "radical improvement" in housing conditions and "at least doubling, if not more" the real wages of workers and employees.

Despite its victories in war and the successes in postwar economic construction, the Stalinist bureaucracy has not succeeded in postponing indefinitely the reckoning at home. From all indications it is heading for a historical showdown at home, as well as abroad.

### Police Victimize Alleged Leader Of CP in Akron

By L. Cooper

AKRON, Nov. 15 — Claiming that he had falsely registered an automobile, city police raided the rooms of Frank Hashmall three days ago and confiscated his "communist" books and literature. Charged in court, he was placed under \$5,000 bond. The press called him the Ohio "underground" leader of the Communist Party and his additional "crimes" were listed as working for a living under an assumed name in a west side machine shop and allegedly carrying additional social security cards.

In its lurid red plot article, the *Beacon Journal* was nevertheless forced to acknowledge that neither the FBI nor the Ohio Un-American Committee "wanted him at this time." It was the Cleveland Plain Dealer however that gave the clue as to why Hashmall works under an assumed name. His home in Columbus in 1948 had been stormed by "mob of 40 persons" after a newspaper there had printed the names and addresses of alleged members of the Communist Party. Obviously, Hashmall was bucking a blacklist.

Having been transferred to the county jail on Friday, Hashmall was set upon by prisoners in the bull pen and beaten. His cries for aid went unheeded by the jailers. Finally they put him in a separate cell but he spent a night of terror. Prisoners were allowed to try to start fires in his cell and throw objects at him. Finally this morning, bond was posted by his lawyer, Mrs. Furry, and he told his story to the press.

His lawyer is requesting the American Civil Liberties Union to intervene and protest his mistreatment. Also, she is attempting to enlist the aid of "any other organizations" in behalf of Hashmall's civil and constitutional rights.

A celebration of the publication of the New Revised Edition of the Bible was held at the city auditorium in Nashville, Tenn. When religious Negro men and women appeared to rejoice over the great religious event they were curiously ordered by their "Christian brethren" to a Jim Crow section of the hall.

## Socialist Party in India Torn by Deep Crisis

INDIA — In last summer's general election the Socialist Party of this country suffered a heavy setback, especially in parliamentary representation. When its hopes of a big victory at the expense of the Congress Party were cruelly dashed, the party underwent a crisis.

Instead of seeking the causes of the defeat in the right opportunistic course of their past policy which had greatly disappointed the masses, the principal leaders of the party stepped-up their attempts at "political consolidation" of the party by alliances with groups and currents in opposition to the Congress Party and the Communist Party but even more confused and to the right than themselves.

The left wing of the party, on the other hand, wanted to impregnate the policy and action of the party with a more clearcut, aggressive and dynamic revolutionary Marxist temper so as to facilitate the polarization of the leftward current in the masses which the CP threatened to absorb.

#### TURN TO GHANDISM

At the special SP conference held in September at Pachmarhi, the SP leaders opened a concerted attack in their first battle against the fundamental ideology, the program and the current political line of the party. The opening address to the conference was delivered by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, substituting for Acharya Narendra Deva, the party secretary who was away on a trip to China at the time. To their great surprise, many of the delegates observed that this speech in effect constituted an attempt to replace the party's old program, which adhered to Marxism, by a variety of Ghandism, and proposed "as close as possible" an alliance with other

groups "loyal to national freedom and democracy."

Immediately after the conference and without any special mandate from it, the leadership entered negotiations with Acharya Kripilani, former leader of the Congress Party who now leads the Kisan Mazdoor Party, not for some kind of collaboration with this party but with the object of a fusion of the two organizations into a new party!

This fusion has in actuality already been consummated, the leadership, without consulting the ranks of the Socialist party, having decided to form the Praja Socialist Party (People's Socialist Party) together with the KMMPP.

#### LEFT WING OUTRAGED

The left wing of the party reacted violently, as much to the idea of fusion with a group hostile to Marxism as to the manner in which the fusion was effected. The left declared that it wanted to remain loyal to the party, its program, traditions and to all its positive achievements and therefore did not recognize the arbitrary dissolution.

At a meeting held Sept. 27 at Bombay, many leading figures of the party and about a hundred active SP worker militants decided to elect a national ad hoc committee of seven members which will implement the following resolution:

"The decision of the General Council which recently met in Bombay to dissolve the Socialist Party into a new formation is unconstitutional and undemocratic and is not binding upon the party membership, insofar as —

"(1) According to the constitution, the General Council has no power to dissolve the party or to change its statutes in any way

whatever, that power residing in the National Conference if it so desires by a two-thirds majority;

"(2) The leadership has abandoned the socialist principles and program of the party, substituting for them an adulterated version of Ghandism although they publicly claim that there has been no agreement between the two sections on the ideological question.

"The SP membership is under no obligation to follow the party leaders when they act in this shameful and anti-democratic manner and betray the very ideals for which the party is fighting.

"Few as they may be, those who want to remain loyal to the party and its program should join together to preserve the banner, traditions and program of the SP.

"With this aim in view, the SP members in meeting assembled decide to establish an ad hoc committee of seven members, with the power to co-opt others, to take all necessary measures to repair the damage done to the reputation and organization of the party by the desertion of the leadership, and to reconstruct the party of democratic socialism in India. This ad hoc committee is especially invested with responsibility to convene a National Conference of the party as soon as possible and to assure the utmost conformity with the present program of the SP between now and the holding of the conference."

#### COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The seven members of the committee are: Anthony Pillai, president of the Madras unions; Hector Abhayavardhan, co-secretary of the Madras city socialist organization and editor of the magazine *Socialist Vanguard*; Prabhakar More, Bombay Municipal Councilman and co-secretary

of the Bombay Mill Mazdoor Sabha; Vasant Bhalekar, co-secretary of the Maharashtra socialist organization; Bharatputra, representative from western Bengal; Sheila Perera, representing the same district and member of the General Council of the Socialist Party; Rajendra Trivedi of Saurashtra.

Tulsi Boda, co-secretary of the All India Federation of Textile Workers and prominent SP member in Bombay, presided at the meeting. Shri K. G. Sivaswamy, veteran Madras socialist leader, also attended.

The October *Socialist Vanguard* is completely devoted to the SP crisis and to the regroupment of its left wing. It contains in addition a summary of the discussion at the meeting of left wing members of the SP on Sept. 27 in Bombay; two press releases issued by Sheila Perera on the party crisis as well as an appeal by Tulsi Boda to all members of the National Council of the Party.

#### DEVA DEPLORES FUSION

It is noteworthy that on his return from China, Acharya Narendra Deva, secretary of the party, deplored the fusion that had been decided upon with the KMMPP in his absence and declared that if he is remaining in the new Praja Socialist Party it is because he does not desire to separate himself from the founding nucleus of the SP. However, he refused to assume any responsibility in the new party and declared that he would leave the Praja Socialist Party if any attempt was made to deprive the Marxists of freely expressing their opinions within the party.

While Eisenhower golfed in Georgia last week casualties in Korea rose another 839, bringing the total up to 126,726.



# CBS Complains

By Fred Hart

On October 31 the Socialist Workers Party won an important case against the Columbia Broadcasting System. The Federal Communications Commission ordered CBS to grant free time to the SWP and other minority parties equal to that which had been given to Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate Sparkman.

CBS ungracefully complied with the ruling but at the same time started a propaganda campaign to end the small amount of political democracy which exists on radio and television. This was done in the form of a "discussion" on the CBS program "You and the World" between CBS Vice-President Salant and a stooge employee named Cooke. This one-sided "discussion" tried to show what terrible "hardships" the FCC rule imposed on the radio and TV hucksters.

The air through which radio and television waves travel, is conceded in all democratic countries to belong to the people. In England and Canada, for example, all broadcasting is done by an impartial, non-profit authority set up for that purpose and beyond the reach of politics.

This accounts for the superiority of British and Canadian programs to American. There are no commercials to badger and disgust the listener. There is a smaller percentage of such trash as soap operas, etc. U.S. soldiers got a taste of commercial-less radio through the Armed Forces Net-

work during the last war. They and an unsuspectedly high number of other Americans would probably go for nationalization of the industry if given a chance to vote on it.

In the U.S. the air waves belong to the people, but the FCC allots them to profit-making companies on franchise. To keep their franchises these broadcasting companies are supposed to follow certain rules "in the public interest." One of these is Section 315 which says that if a broadcaster gives free time to one party's candidate for office then it must give equal time to all other legally qualified candidates for the same office.

This is a simple guarantee against any one or two parties monopolizing radio and TV during election campaigns. CBS, whose commercials are interrupted from time to time by alleged entertainment programs — which are nothing but the crassest type of propaganda against totalitarians and in favor of democracy — doesn't like the simplest kind of democracy — giving equal time to all candidates.

Radio and TV franchise holders are supposed to abide by the FCC rules, not to organize political pressure for changing them. But this is what CBS is doing and apparently is going to do in the new Congress. If so, CBS deserves to lose its franchise. Perhaps the time has come for a campaign to do away with profit-making on the air waves, too.

## Who's the Thief?

By Harry Ring

"Never use slang or profane words, or converse on subjects which are debasing, and banish from your mind all evil thoughts and inclinations."

"Cursing our Flag, our Country, or State or national Governments, or this institution, is strictly forbidden."

"While attendance at these (religious) services is not compulsory, the Administration, realizing their value, insists upon your attendance."

These are samples of some of the fancier rules laid down for prison inmates. They give the impression that prison officials are 102% Americans, as well as pillars of the church. Most likely they are. A majority of them are also political appointees, according to Edward R. Cass, head of the American Prison Association. Only 24 states, he says, employ civil service examination in the selection of wardens and guards.

Political appointees, a host of investigations have indicated, are generally not quite as scrupulously honest as they might be. Prison officials don't appear to be an exception to the rule. In fact corruption and favoritism are so rampant among them that penal authorities label it an important factor in provoking the numerous prison riots that have recently been hitting the headlines.

In 1945, the warden of Jackson Prison, and six of his top officials were fired for maladministration and moral laxity. The District Attorney charged that investiga-

tion had proved that inmates of Jackson prison with sufficient money at their disposal could: Buy a trip by prison van to a brothel or saloon; attend parties at the homes of prison officials (bring your own woman, liquor and sleeping quarters provided); a bed and a girl in the prison hospital; a syndicate to peddle soft jobs to other inmates at \$3 to \$2 each; the right to steal and sell prison property. Only a tiny minority, of course, could afford these "privileges."

David Dressler, former New York Parole Director, insists in his series of articles in the N.Y. Post that such corruption is widespread in the nation's prisons. He says: "At Sing Sing a guard shopped daily in the village for goodies, liquor, anything ordered by inmates with money. Convicted Tammany leader Jimmy Hines had a 'job' cultivating plants in the hothouse. He slept in no cell, but in private quarters back of the firehouse."

"A parole violator boasted to me that while serving a term in Bridewell, Chicago, he owned the 'blanket' concession. Each inmate was entitled to a blanket but didn't get it unless he paid off my informant. I have spoken to hundreds of prisoners about favoritism, and, with few exceptions, they have expressed bitterness over it."

For my part, I raise my hand in agreement with the sentiments of the prisoner who told Dressler, "Those political bastards are worse thieves than we are!" (Next week: Brush Mountain and Chino)

## Notes from the News

**PRICES PAID FARMERS** for hogs and cattle have dropped from 11% to 14% during the past year. But the prices you pay in the butcher shop for pork and beef have dropped only 1 1/2% to 2%. The packing trust seems to be doing right well with a squeeze that hits both farmers and workers.

**MYSTERY SOLVED.** A U.N. mission in Iran has four jeeps — each with its number painted on it. Jeep No. 4 continually had stones thrown at it by Iranians. Officials finally discovered that Iranians thought Jeep No. 4 worked for the "humanitarian" Point 4 program of U.S. imperialism. The number was changed to 5 and it is reported that "all is well."

**DUPONT ANTI-TRUST SUIT** has begun in Chicago. In his opening speech the government prosecutor declared: "This combination of a tiny handful of people is monopoly run amok, arrogant and ruthless. . . . Never in the history of anti-trust legislation have so few people controlled so much." He revealed that the Duponts had "absolute control" over General Motors and U.S. Rubber. The Duponts had 33 lawyers at the defense tables but many more than this are working on the case. A whole floor of the Palmer House has been rented for their legal battery.

**THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY** renewed its attack on public schools and its campaign for federal funds to support and extend parochial schools. A conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington, D. C. also attacked those who are against mixing religion and education linking them with former admirers of the Soviets and thus trying to smear them as "reds."

**ASSISTING THE BRITISH** anti-native campaign in Kenya, U.S. officials have ordered Mugo Gathuru, African student at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania to return to Kenya. Gathuru has been in the U.S. for two and a half years; his passport is good until June 1953. Though State Dept. gave no reasons for ousting Gathuru, he was recently questioned about his attitude on Kenya politics, the leaders of the Kenya African Union and articles he wrote some years ago in the paper of that organization. Under pretext of suppressing the terrorist Mau Mau, British imperialists are arresting the leaders of the Kenya African Union, which opposes terrorism but stands for Kenya's independence. If returned to

Kenya now, Gathuru will certainly be jailed by the British officials who fear and hate educated Africans belonging to the independence movement. Gathuru states: "I want to finish my education, then return home and teach my people."

**THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA** is hearing an appeal by an insurance company that doesn't want to pay heirs of 23-year old Andrew Beley, killed in Korea. The company, whose policies contain a war clause, claims that the "police action" is really a war.

**NEGRO PARENTS** of 1,200 Kansas City, Mo., children kept their children home from the Booker T. Washington School. This was a protest boycott against a school board decision not to relieve overcrowding at the school this year. Parents have been fighting the overcrowded conditions at this Jim Crow school since 1949.

**DEATH BY DELAY** seems to be part of the procedure of settlement of unfair labor practices brought by unions under Taft-Hartley. A Senate Committee report shows that in the first six months of 1951 the T-H National Labor Relations Board took an average of 399 days to process a case; in the second six months it took an average of 406 days; while cases closed in May 1952 took an average of 469 days.

**DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSION.** Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. concurred with the State Department and denounced Josephine Baker for telling South Americans that Negroes are "treated like dogs" in the U.S. and that U.S. laws are "barbarous" regarding Negroes. On the same day it was revealed that a Florida district attorney had kept a Negro in prison for more than a year after he had been found innocent.

**TWO-THIRDS** of the American workers are not organized.

**JIM CROW RAILROAD CARS** were declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. Negro leaders point out, however, that it will probably take several years and many court cases before the segregated cars are removed completely. It is hoped that the decision will also apply to segregation in interstate buses, which is an even more acute problem for the Negro people than the Jim Crow trains.

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## Smith Act Trial in Hawaii



Washington witch-hunters reach to Hawaii for new victims. In this Honolulu courtroom seven men and women are on trial charged with "conspiring to teach and advocate" the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence. Seated are four defense lawyers. Standing (l to r.) are defendants: Dr. John Reinecke, Regional Director Jack Hall of the Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, Jack Kimoto, Eileen Fujimoto, Koji Ariyoshi, Dwight Freeman and C. Fujimoto.

## READERS REPORT ELECTION REACTIONS

We present below excerpts from letters of our correspondents and readers commenting on the election results and the workers' reaction to them in several key localities. Here are samples of the kind of observations we would like to get from all parts of the country:

### DETROIT

"The feeling was overwhelming that the workers had suffered a serious political defeat. Certain politically-minded workers who were active supporters of the Democratic Party now say, 'This is the time to organize a labor party.' But 10 days after the election apathy in politics is the rule."

"The name Eisenhower is being given to Eisenhower. This is a synonym for depression and reaction which the workers fear. Apathy and fear are combined with a 'let's wait and see' attitude on the part of the majority."

"The defeat of the Democratic Party has created a political vacuum in the minds of many workers. My contact with workers indicates a more receptive attitude toward a labor party and toward socialist ideas."

J. R.

### AKRON

"Reactions in the shops range primarily from a morose refusal to discuss to a general pessimistic outlook for 'labor's rights.' Some workers are so angered at the 'stupid women,' etc., who they claim 'put' the Republicans in, that they even refuse to comment. The election results were a shock to the workers in the shops because they in the great majority supported the Democrats."

"There is a hope that Eisenhower will 'prove' independent of the Republicans and workers comfort themselves with the 'theory' that the Republicans won't try anything for a couple of years at least (by anything they mean 'depression,' 'cutting social security,' etc.)."

"The Militant is very accurate when it speaks of the danger of the Democratic Party remaining a symbol of progress in the eyes of the workers."

"I distributed eight of the Nov. 10 issue of the Militant analyzing the elections in one shop, where I obtained good reactions from all the workers because The Militant alone analyzed accurately the reasons for Eisenhower's victory. In other words, even though they had been for Stevenson, these workers found themselves in step with The Militant (apart from its radical conclusions)."

"As for the labor party 'lesson,' they're of course all for that 'lesson' and it's truer than ever now that if labor leaders showed the way, the rank and file would quickly jump on the labor party train."

L. C.

### 4,806 Votes Cast For Milton Snipper

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 13 — Milton Snipper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Representative from the 19th District, who was on the ballot as an independent, received 4,806 votes in the recent election.

The Progressive Party candidate Ida Alvarez received about 13,000 votes. Hoffeliff, the incumbent who ran on both Democratic and Republican tickets, was re-elected.

The Los Angeles Local of the SWP felt gratified over Snipper's showing. An energetic campaign was conducted for him. Numerous meetings were held and thousands of pieces of literature distributed. Many new friends were won for the SWP in the campaign.

### PHILADELPHIA

"This was the one city that ran counter to the general trend by giving Stevenson a large plurality. . . . The majority of comment reported revolved about the idea, 'Well, we can expect a depression now,' or, 'We'll soon be selling apples on the street.' The general feeling is that Eisenhower is anti-labor and that the election was a serious blow and a threat to labor's rights."

"A few comments were on the order that Eisenhower would clean out corruption, that he would be more decisive in the crises than Truman and that a change was needed. These were fewer than expressions of the views mentioned in the previous paragraph. There seems to be quite a bit of skepticism about what Eisenhower can accomplish on his trip to Korea."

"One shop steward in ROA expressed the view that the Democratic Party was not much good and it was about time for a labor party."

B. C.

### CHICAGO

"The general response to the Republican victory was surprise and apprehensiveness. There is a feeling in my plant that management is going to get tough and crack the whip. Even among the few who voted Republican there was little jubilation. Some of them explained, 'Well, if Eisenhower doesn't show something, we'll vote him out in four years.'"

"Among active PAC workers the complaint was, 'The Democratic Party did not do much work — it was all left up to PAC. If we had had more cooperation we would have done better.'"

"An active Negro unionist and PAC supporter accounted for the Republican victory as 'first, it was Ike's promise to do something about Korea' and then he went on to speak of other factors. One staunch Democratic ex-businessman investing money in small homes said: 'I have covered three excavations with boards, tar paper and earth because I cannot safely invest further under a Republican administration.'"

H. M.

### LOS ANGELES

"Comments of workers here indicate no faith in the capitalist system. The opinion of one warehouseman, 'Now we'll have a depression for sure,' is typical of the view of the majority of workers. Another warehouseman, hearing a remark that the Democrats would keep a war going to provide jobs, said, 'I don't want that kind of money, do you?'"

"In one General Motors shop, according to report, many voted for Eisenhower in hopes he would stop the war and reduce taxes. Their disgust with the Democrats and the present situation led them to vote for Eisenhower in the hope that any change might be for the better."

"Many workers, seeing no solution to fundamental problems in either of the two major capitalist parties, adopt a wait-and-see attitude. Some of Eisenhower's heaviest support came from women, on the strength of his promises to try to stop the war. Many students, like workers, generally think that Eisenhower's victory represents depression in place of war."

## "Catch-All" Parts Of Smith Act Used In Baltimore Case

In the rapid progression of Smith Act trials since 1949, government attorneys have been taking greater and greater liberties in their interpretation of the law. In the earlier trials, the government at least went through the motions of pretending to show a "conspiracy" on the part of the defendants, but in the more recent trials it has limited itself to evidence showing nothing more than membership in the Communist Party.

In a recent Nation article analyzing the Baltimore Smith Act trial, Frank Donner, New York attorney, points out:

"After years of effort, particularly through the trade unions' struggle for legal existence, we have eradicated from the law the notion that an unincorporated association is a conspiracy if one of its objectives may be condemned as illegal, and that a member of an unincorporated association may be vicariously liable for acts in which he has not participated if those acts go beyond the association's charter. In the Baltimore case all these limitations upon the conspiracy concept were abandoned."

The case was submitted to the jury as though the Communist Party were a vast ready-made judicially condemned conspiracy of which the defendants became a part by joining it. Under the court's charge, the jury found that the Communist Party taught proscribed doctrine, the defendants were guilty . . . by the mere fact of membership. Not the defendants but the Communist Party was placed on trial, and the conspiracy of which the defendants were convicted was that of joining the Communist Party and remaining members of it."

Donner adds: "A reading of Judge Parker's decision (Parker is a justice of the U.S. Court of Appeals) shows how wide the case has opened the door to mass trials in which guilt is imputed solely by association."

In the Baltimore Smith Act case the defendants have been found guilty, their appeal rejected and a Supreme Court review is being sought. Judge Parker, who wrote the dangerous Appeals Court ruling, in 1927 approved a sweeping anti-labor injunction against the United Mine Workers, its officers and members. His nomination to the Supreme Court by Hoover was rejected partly because of this decision and partly because of NAACP opposition. Parker had injected Negro-baiting into the 1920 governorship campaign in North Carolina in 1920.

The opening talk will be on "America under Eisenhower." Following this, Cannon will deal with the major current questions facing the American people. The topics will be announced in The Militant from week to week. The Friday Forum is a unique institution in this community. It is the only public forum where people are free to come and state their views and opinions and try to refute the speaker, if they wish.

This series of lectures, connecting today's problems with the over-all development of America from capitalism to a socialist society, is expected to arouse considerable interest. Cannon, a founder of the early Communist movement in the United States, and later of the Socialist Workers Party, is well known in radical circles in this area.

The lectures will be given at 1702 East Fourth Street, in the Boyle Heights region of Los Angeles. Tuition will be 35 cents a lecture.

### Soviet Scientists Face New Purge

A purge of scientists is under way in the Soviet Union. This was announced by A. Topchiev, President of the Academy of Sciences. As in previous purges of Soviet scientists, alleged "reactionary" theories in biology, chemistry, physics, geography, etc., are the target of the Stalinist witch hunters.

### NEW YORK Militant Bazaar

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# Liberals Target Of Red-Baiters During Election

By George Lavan

The recent presidential campaign marked the opening of a new stage in the witch hunt. No longer are the heresy hunters content to persecute the Communist Party and anti-Stalinist organizations opposed to war and capitalism. They have shifted their sights to the liberals and particularly to the Americans for Democratic Action.

The aim of the witch hunt is to destroy the left wing. But when the left is destroyed those who were the center automatically become the furthest left, since "left" is a term of relative measurement. Thus many liberals and labor leaders who helped, or did not object to the building of the Smith Act loyalty purge scaffold for the radicals, may soon find themselves mounting that very scaffold.

The Democratic administration started the political repressions against the Communist Party but the McCarthyites soon stole its thunder and went it one better. On a nation-wide TV and radio hookup the Democratic presidential nominee and his close advisors were smeared as "commies" front men by McCarthy — the Frankenstein monster created by the Democrats.

### LESSON OF GERMANY

In Hitler Germany the witch hunt ran its logical course. First came the radicals. Upon their destruction the liberals and labor leaders automatically became the "left wingers." After they were in the concentration camps the only "leftists" on the political scene were the conservatives. They had to shut up or go to prison also.

The shift of the witch hunt to the liberals in this country didn't come suddenly or without warning. From the very beginning The Militant urged the liberals and labor leaders to defend the Stalinists — not out of any love or sympathy for their political role, but because the destruction of the Stalinists' political rights would set the atmosphere and precedents for the destruction of the same rights of the labor and liberal movements.

This was a warning based on theory and the lessons of history. As the heresy hunt went on, The Militant kept pointing to the inclination of the reactionaries to extend their witch-hunting to labor and the liberals. The Militant reported many cases which were straws in the wind.



McCARTHY

tant reported many cases which were straws in the wind.

### LENZ CASE

For example, last May Dr. Harold C. Lenz was dismissed as Dean of Students at Queens College in New York. Never a communist, Lenz had incurred the hatred of reactionary groups such as the American Legion and Catholic War Veterans for his outspoken liberal views. He was Deputy Chairman of the New York City ADA and an officer of the American Civil Liberties Union. His dismissal was possible only in the atmosphere produced by the persecution of Stalinist professors.

Dr. Henry Carpenter, Executive Secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York, an "outspoken anti-communist," was denied a passport. His crime? Along with other clergymen he had asked the Secretary of State to negotiate an end to the "cold war."

When the Wage Stabilization Board made its compromise ruling on the steel case half a year ago the red baiters jumped into action in defense of the corporations. The "public" members of the WSB were given the smear treatment as "left-wingers" and the labor members were denounced by name on the floor of Congress as "subversives."

### ATTACK THE UN

These were forewarnings. An indication of the way things will go now, unless stopped by positive action, is the post-election Senate investigation of the United Nations. This investigation resulted in firing of employees, the suicide of A. H. Feller, Chief Counsel to the UN, and McCarran's threat that the UN had better "clean up" or get out of the U.S.

It is no eccentricity that McCarthy attacks the World Citizens Association and McCarran the UN. These smack of liberalism and internationalism to super-patriots and are therefore "left wing."

Far from sinking into obscurity, as many liberals foolishly believe, McCarthy will probably grind his axe in this Congress as much as the last. Moreover, many ambitious politicians have admirably watched McCarthy's rise to national importance. They will emulate him.

The only way the witch hunt can be stopped is by the labor movement and the liberals waking up and realizing that civil liberties are indivisible. If the Communist Party loses its rights, then all others, save the reactionaries, will lose theirs. A united front of all for the defense of the civil liberties of all is the only means that can stop the juggernaut.

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