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IT'S YOU THEY'RE AFTER!

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**I**t starts with somebody pounding on your door, early, while you're still asleep. It's dark. Even the children aren't awake yet. You go to the door, open it. A man stands there, a parcel wrapped in newspaper under his arm. "Are you So and So?" he asks—and since he knows your name you say, "That's me." Then he hands you a piece of paper and goes away. The paper says, "You are summoned forthwith to appear before the Federal Grand Jury of the Tenth District . . ."

What's this all about? Maybe you're still dreaming. You're a plain everyday American citizen, working hard for a living. "What does the Grand Jury want from me?" You figure it must be a mistake.

But it's not a mistake. Although you have committed no crime *it's you they're after*. And by midnight, within eighteen hours, you're in jail. Not for the night, not for thirty days or thirty years, but for a term without limit.

**This is a story** of political persecution and developing Fascism in the United States. It's a story of events in Los Angeles, California, U. S. A., but events just like it have occurred in Denver, in Cleveland, and elsewhere in this country in the past twelve months. It is a story that should wake up millions of Americans, and make them realize what is happening to the liberty we fought for in 1776, and from 1860 to 1864—from 1941 to 1945, the liberty we talk about every year on the Fourth of July.

*It is time for Americans to fight back—and this booklet tells you why.*

On October 25th, 1948, at daybreak, special process servers knocked on the doors of an unknown number of citizens of Los Angeles, armed with subpoenas to appear before the Federal Grand Jury at ten o'clock that same morning. By twelve o'clock that night, Judge Peirson Hall had found ten of these citizens guilty of contempt of court, had sentenced them to an indefinite stay in the County Jail, and eight were actually behind the bars.

*How could this happen?*

*Were these people criminals? Fugitives from justice?*

*No. The government attorneys had several explanations of what the Grand Jury was "investigating." One explanation was that they were investigating certain government employees who were suspected of having falsified a government loyalty oath.*

Is this anything like Fascism? Here is a law passed in Nazi Germany, in April, 1933:

**"Civil servants who have been members of the Communist Party or Communist auxiliary and substitute organizations or who have otherwise been active along Communist lines, are to be discharged from Civil Service."**

### **"NOTHING TO FEAR"**

These ten Los Angeles citizens had committed no crime, and none of them were government employees. They were subpoenaed by order of U. S. Attorney James Carter, merely as witnesses. Max Goldschein, Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General sent out from Washington to handle the "investigation," assured each witness as he appeared before the Grand Jury that he was not being investigated himself, that he himself was charged with no crime, that he had nothing to fear.

Then each witness was asked a series of questions about the Communist Party. All ten were asked almost identical questions, in the same order and the same way. They were questions which tended to show a possible connection between the witness and the Communist Party, or to show a kind of knowledge of the Communist Party which might be used as evidence of membership in the Party.

All ten of the witnesses refused to answer the questions, on the grounds they might incriminate themselves. They were aware that twelve leaders of the Communist Party were under indictment in New York, that they had been charged by the Federal government with violation of the Smith Act, which attempts to make not only membership in the Communist Party a crime, but the mere advocacy of ideas.

## HITLER TOOK AWAY THESE RIGHTS TOO

Here is another law passed in Nazi Germany, in May, 1933:

**"The supreme authorities of the State, or the authorities designated by them may confiscate in favor of the State, the property and rights of the Communist Party of Germany and its auxiliary and substitute organizations, as well as the property and rights used or destined for the advancement of Communist endeavors."**

The witnesses refused to answer the questions before the Grand Jury, and were immediately taken before Judge Peirson Hall, where the government attorneys asked for a court order which would compel them to answer.

Attorneys for the witnesses protested, asked for time to prepare arguments, but Judge Hall brushed them aside. The legal wrangling went on for hours. There was a brief recess for dinner, more argument. Ten o'clock at night came the order: the witnesses were to appear before the Grand Jury and answer the questions.

## INDECENT HASTE

The Grand Jury was still in session, and Judge Hall made it clear he would wait to see that his order was properly carried out. He asked attorney Goldschein:

**"Is it your desire that the Court remain in attendance?"**  
**Goldschein answered, "Yes may it please the Court."**  
**Said the Judge, "Until the Grand Jury recesses for the night?"** **"Yes sir,"** said Goldschein.

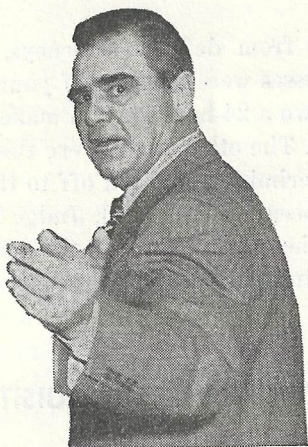
But the witnesses refused again to answer the questions—for the same reason. By eleven o'clock, they were back in

Judge Hall's Court, and now, for the first time, it became clear that the government's purpose was to cite the witnesses for contempt, and jail them forthwith.

"We move that the witness be committed to jail until such time as he answers the questions," said Goldschein.

### **NO TIME FOR JUSTICE**

The attorneys for the witnesses protested. They pointed out they had been on the run all day, had had no opportunity to prepare the case, research the law, produce evidence, that here were ten clients suddenly threatened with jail at eleven o'clock at night, after totally unprecedented proceedings in the Court and before the Grand Jury. Attorneys moved for a continuance, which means a postponement.



*Federal Judge Peirson Hall*

"Motion denied," said Judge Hall. By now it was eleven-thirty at night, and he was in no mood for further argument. He simply sentenced all ten to stay in jail till they answered the questions.

**Ten persons** *who were charged with no crime, sentenced to jail for an indefinite term. Can this happen in America, or could it only happen in Germany, where this law was passed in June, 1935:*

**"A person is punishable who commits an act which the law declares to be punishable, or which deserves punishment in accordance with the fundamental purpose of the law and sound popular feeling."**

*Under such a law, a German citizen need not have committed a crime to be punished. It was enough if the Judge THOUGHT he should be punished. Have we reached this point in the United States of America?*

After a protest from defense attorneys, who pointed out that two of the witnesses were mothers of young children, Judge Hall granted these two a 24-hour stay to make arrangements for their children's care. The other eight were then and there handcuffed like common criminals and led off to the County Jail.

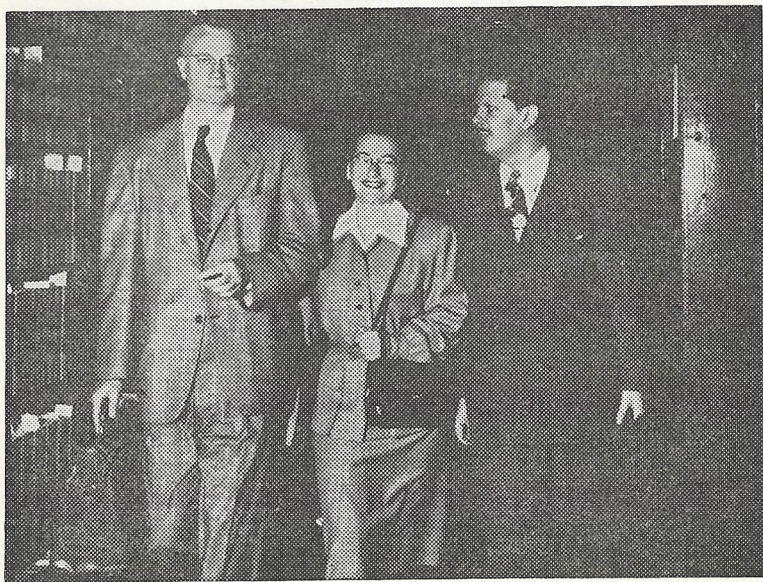
When this had been accomplished, Judge Hall felt suddenly tired. He refused to hear arguments on the question of bail until next morning, thus insuring for eight people at least one night in jail.

### **"16th CENTURY . . . INQUISITION"**

Nor did Judge Hall grant bail on the following morning. A whole week passed—a week marked by storms of public protest. The question was presented to Chief Judge Denman, of the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, who promptly ordered the prisoners released, *with the comment that the whole proceedings smacked more of the Inquisition in 16th century Spain than of 20th century democratic justice.*



Even so, Judge Hall held the prisoners in jail on a technicality until November 3. It was more than 38 hours after Judge Denman's order when the prisoners walked out of the County jail.



*Attorneys John T. McTernan, Esther Shandler, and Ben Margolis—legal ability, plus courage, plus faith in the people...*

They served nine days in jail—and as they left the tank, before they even got outside, they were handed new subpoenas to appear before the Grand Jury.

As a result of a new round of questioning along the same lines, three of the witnesses were hailed into court again, this time on charges of criminal contempt, and sentenced to jail for a year. They served fifteen days of this sentence before they were again released on bail.

**New batches** of witnesses have since been subpoenaed in the same way, and subjected to the same process of questioning, court orders, contempt citations, and jailing. Many of these witnesses have in addition been subjected to fantastic harassment by the machinery of the courts. Several of them, for example, were called before the Grand Jury once in November, twice in December, twice in January, and twice in February. In the words of one witness, "It makes it a little tough to make a living."

*Now, what did these witnesses mean by the danger of self-incrimination?*

They were aware, and their attorneys offered to prove, that the top leaders of the Communist Party were at that moment under indictment by a Federal Grand Jury in New York, charged with no crime other than advocating and belonging to an organization that advocates the ideas of socialism. Their position therefore was that they were not obliged to answer any questions which could in any way connect them with the Communist Party.

*The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution says "No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself."*

The special Federal Attorney, Mr. Goldschein, tried to poo-poo this whole argument. He said at one point; "The Government denies that there is any contention here that the Communist Party is an illegal organization or that they, as a party, advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. There is nothing that has been said in this courtroom, or by anyone else for the government, with reference to this statement. . ."

But here are the questions :

- 1. Do you know the names of the County officers of the Los Angeles Communist Party?**
- 2. Do you know the table of organization of the Los Angeles County Communist Party?**

Goldschein also pooh-poohed the notion that the witnesses might tend to connect themselves with the Communist Party by answering the questions.

The defense attorneys took the position that anyone who could recite the names of the County officers and table of organization of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County, could be considered to have given evidence tending to show membership in, or affiliation with the Communist Party, and hence, in the Government's view, subject to prosecution.

The defense attorneys also pointed out the dishonesty of the Government's position. In Washington the Communist Party has been ruled by Attorney General Tom Clark to be a subversive organization; in New York the Government is prosecuting 12 Communist leaders on the grounds that mere Party membership is a crime under the Smith Act; in Los Angeles, Clark's assistant propounds the view that the Communist Party is an organization totally legal, and that no blame can attach to any member.

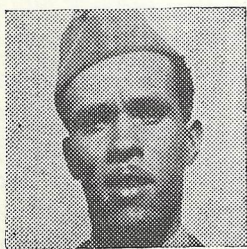
Judge Hall blandly ignored the Government's inconsistency.

### **WHO ARE THESE VICTIMS?**

Why were these ten people singled out for this peculiar form of persecution? (The list had been extended to twenty one by the middle of June, 1949.

They are ordinary working men and women. Among them are housewives, a musician, a carpenter, a lithographer, a machinist. Five of the six men were in the armed forces during World War II—the other was overage.

*All of them are fighting progressives. Take **Frank Alexander**, for example. He is a Negro, 37 years old. His father was born a slave, grew up a freeman, and became a pony express rider. Frank himself fought the Fascists in Spain, was wounded three times, and fought Fascism again in World War II, serving a year and a half in the Solomons, the Philipines, and New Guinea with a combat engineers outfit.*



Alexander is a carpenter by trade, a member of AFL Carpenters Local No. 634. He was the first Negro ever elected a delegate to the Los Angeles Building Trades Council, and is an active leader of the Negro people in his community.

**Wesley Bissey** is 45, the son of an Oklahoma farmer-preacher. He went to agricultural college for two years, worked most of his life as a steamfitter, is a member of the Steamfitters Union. He was active in organizing the Independent Progressive Party.





**Iris Noble** is a writer and publicist who has worked in the theatrical field. She worked in the last FDR presidential campaign in 1944. She is a graduate of the University of Oregon, and is married to the novelist Hollister Noble, author of "Woman With A Sword."

Mrs. Noble is an officer of the San Fernando Race Relations Council which has fought restrictive covenants, hospital restrictions against Negroes, and segregated schools for Mexican-American children in the Canoga Park District.

Most of them have families. All are married, and all but three have children. The ten have twelve children, eleven of whom are eight years old or younger.

**Miriam Brooks Sherman** is a pianist and accompanist. She was active in the Musicians Union in Los Angeles until she had the "honor" of being expelled by Jack Tenney, the honky-tonk piano player who later became California's leading witch-hunter.



Mrs. Sherman toured the U. S. for the International Labor Defense in the Scottsboro Case, and has been active in progressive political campaigns in Los Angeles, notably the McClanahan recall campaign of 1946. She is married and has two young daughters.

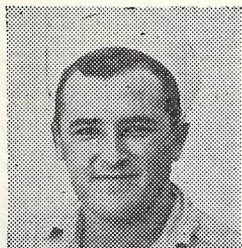
**Delphine Murphy Smith**, comes from an old California family, was educated in the public and Catholic schools of Los Angeles. During the war she worked as a first class machinist at the Douglas plant in El Segundo, and at the Los Angeles shipyards. She was a leader in the CIO Shipyard Workers Union, Local 9, twice elected to its Executive Board.



**That's a fair sample of the ten victims who were first to face the Grand Jury inquisition. They are patriotic, they are progressive, they are active and courageous citizens.**

### **ARE THESE PEOPLE COMMUNISTS?**

Many of them are, and proud of it. Frank Alexander is chairman of the Communist Party in the 62nd Assembly District.

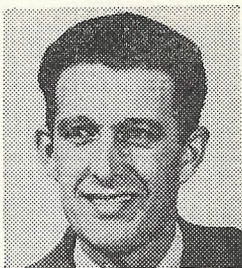


**Harry Kasinowitz** was former Legislative Director for the Communist Party in Los Angeles. He served three years with the Seabees, 27 months in the Solomons as a Boatswain's Mate First Class.

**Phil Bock**, who was a first Lieutenant and a bombardier in the ETO, flew fifty combat missions and received the Air Medal with five Oak Leaf clusters, and the Distinguished Flying Cross, is Chairman of the Youth Division of the Los Angeles Communist Party.



**Henry Steinberg**, a former newsboy and cannery worker who has lived on the East Side of Los Angeles for twelve years, is now Legislative Director of the Communist Party for Los Angeles, has often been a candidate for office as a Communist. He is known in his neighborhood as a fighter for the rights of the Jewish people and Mexican Americans. He is 35, the father of four young daughters, and seven months of his two years in the Army were spent in Okinawa.



Henry Steinberg was one of the ten who served two separate jail sentences as a result of the Grand Jury investigation, the second on a conviction of criminal contempt for refusing to answer a similar series of questions. His second conviction kept him in the County Jail for 15 days.

*Steinberg was imprisoned for the second time while running for Office Number Four of the Los Angeles Board of Education. He ran as a Communist, made speeches at meetings and over the radio as a Communist. The election was held while he was still in jail, and he received almost 35,000 votes in Los Angeles.*



**Ben Dobbs**, a Los Angeles citizen for the last 28 years, who went to Lincoln High School and had three years at the Universities of California at Berkeley and Los Angeles is Labor Chairman of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. When he was only 19 he was beaten up by Ku Klux Klanners while participating in a civil rights meeting. He has worked in the rubber and clothing industries, and spent four years in the Army, including a year overseas as a technical sergeant with the armored infantry.



**Dorothy Forest**, Chairman of the Communist Party in the 57th Assembly District, is a graduate of Hunter College in New York, lived in Colorado during the war, where she was a Communist candidate for the State Legislature, and received the highest vote ever recorded there for a minority party candidate. Since the war she has been an active progressive in Los Angeles.

Yes, some of these people, and many of the others who have since been added to the original ten, are Communists, known Communists who have appeared at public meetings both before and since this investigation, as Communists.

**Frank Spector**, is one of the later victims—a fighting labor leader who has been a hero to California workers for a decade. Spector, convicted under the State's Syndicalism Act in 1932, served a year and a half of a 42 year sentence in Folsom and San Quentin before a higher court reversed his conviction and ordered his release.



*Here are the other victims of the Los Angeles witch-hunt.*



**Jane Swanhuysen**



**E. C. Greenfield**





**Alvin Averbuck**



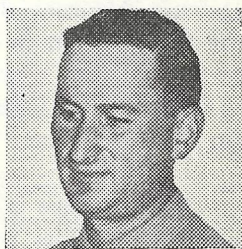
**Dorothy Healy**



**Morton Newman**



**Max Appelman**



**Irving Caress**

Working men and women, veterans, labor leaders, business men, professionals . . . people from all walks of life.



**Robert Blair**



**Lillian Doran**



**Merle Brodsky**

*The FBI knows many of these people are Communists, Judge Hall knows it, the government attorneys know it. Why do they ask questions to which they know the answers?*

## **WHY DIDN'T THEY ANSWER THE QUESTIONS?**

The witnesses answered legitimate questions readily and cooperatively. They chose jail rather than answer questions which infringed upon their rights. When Judge Hall reminded them that they "carried the key to the jail in their pockets," Defense Attorney John McTernan replied: "They also carry the Constitution in their hearts."

And that is indeed the explanation. They refused to answer for three reasons:

They believe in the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of religious and political belief, and freedom of association; they deny that any government authority has the right to inquire into their beliefs or associations.

They believe in the Fifth Amendment, which restrains the Government from forcing any one to testify against himself.

*Most important of all, they believe it is the duty of every American to defend the principles on which our freedom is founded, even if their defense involves them in public vilification, loss of occupation, or even the loss of their personal liberty.*

Many Americans believe sincerely in the First and Fifth Amendments. These ten believe so sincerely as to jeopardize their own security to maintain the Bill of Rights.

**The attempt** to compel the witnesses to answer the questions involves another serious threat to the civil liberties of all Americans, and especially of workers and trade union members. This threat is the simple fact that the witnesses were in danger of being used as stool-pigeons.

Obviously, for anyone who answers "yes" to the question "Do you know the table of organization of the Communist Party?"—the next question could be, "Give us names," "What progressive trade unionists do you know?" "What civil servants do you know?" In Cleveland, Ohio, where there was a similar Grand Jury "investigation" some months earlier than that in Los Angeles, witnesses were in fact asked to produce lists of Communist trade union members.

The witnesses refused, and there was such immediate and widespread protest from the trade unions of Cleveland that the "investigation" was abandoned.

*There is an obvious connection between this attempt by the government to create stool-pigeons in these cases, and the parade of stool-pigeon witnesses who have testified against the leaders of the Communist Party in the New York trial. It has been observed that these FBI operatives are almost always stool-pigeons not only in the Communist Party, but also in trade unions, and that they turn in to their employer "information" on both organizations. (One of these operatives testified he had persuaded his relatives to join the Party, then given their names to the FBI.)*

There are plenty of trade unionists in this country who remember bitterly the long struggle to establish the security of union organization, the days before the Wagner Act when organizers were fought by company goons, and union membership was of necessity a closely guarded secret.

**These workers** cannot regard it as a step toward democracy when the stool pigeons and labor spies who were formerly hired by private industry are now supplied free to all employers by the Federal Government. And organized labor must continue to fight resolutely against any attempts by government to create, as they have tried to do in this case, new stool pigeons by a process of intimidation.

And labor is fighting on this issue. One of the later witnesses, Robert Blair, a college graduate and a veteran, is a steelworker, a member of the CIO Steelworkers Union. Blair refused to answer the Grand Jury stool-pigeon questions in November, 1948, and was then fired from his job at Consolidated Steel because, his employers said, his refusal made him "an undesirable employee."

The local union membership voted unanimously to protest Blair's dismissal, on the grounds that if the company could dismiss as "undesirable" any employee held in contempt of court, the security of the entire union would be endangered in any strike situation where the boss secured an injunction against picketing.

The local also voted unanimously to join officially in presenting a brief to the Court of Appeals in Blair's defense.

### **IS THERE A "PLOT" AGAINST DEMOCRACY?**

Attorneys for the ten offered to prove the persecution of their clients was indeed part of a nation-wide pattern of harassment for Communists and progressives, and that it was politically motivated. Judge Hall ruled this argument immaterial, but here are some of the facts:

In July, 1948, five days after President Truman was nominated at the Democratic Convention, the twelve national leaders

of the Communist Party were arrested in New York, on indictments under the Smith Act. Actually, they were charged with no other crime than advocating and teaching the science of Marxism-Leninism—or in other words, advocating socialism.

Thus Mr. Truman was able to say, in a campaign speech three months later: “Long before these Republicans started their Communist talk for political purposes, my administration was engaged in a direct attack on subversive organizations and persons in the United States.”

*And Mr. Truman had more to boast about than the indictment of the Communist leaders. In March, 1947, he had issued his own notorious “Loyalty Order,” for which Congress has already appropriated nearly 17 million dollars, and under which more than two million federal employees have been checked, spied on, and snooped at by the FBI.*

### **“I AM THE LAW”**

The Loyalty Order also gave Attorney General Tom Clark the arbitrary right of deciding which organizations in this country are “subversive,” and Clark lost no time in proclaiming the Communist Party to be so, along with a host of liberal organizations of the most varied political character and purpose.

The case of the ten Los Angeles citizens, arrested one week before election day, had obvious political value in a campaign in which two major parties vied with each other in slandering Communists. But the Los Angeles case itself was not the first attack on Communists and liberals made in the guise of a Grand Jury investigation.

In September, just five days before Mr. Truman made the speech quoted above, five witnesses were called before a Federal Grand Jury in Denver, Colorado, and asked a set of questions relating to the Communist Party. When they refused

to answer, the same procedure was followed as in Los Angeles, and they were jailed for contempt of court.

Similar attempts have been made under the direction of Attorney General Clark's office in Cleveland and New Orleans.

## **AND NOW—THE LAWYERS**

On Thursday, June 9th Judge Peirson Hall committed Attorney Ben Margolis to jail for contempt of court upon his refusal to answer the §64 question: "Are you a Communist?"

Judge Hall stayed execution of sentence until Friday morning. A battery of Los Angeles lawyers, with Robert W. Kenney as chief counsel, moved into the tense, crowded courtroom, to give battle to what they considered a major attack on American democracy and its judicial process.

The immediate reaction of the legal profession and the people forced the government to retreat. Embarrassed, red faced U.S. Attorney James M. Carter, announced that the government would withdraw the question, after a vicious hit and run attack on the integrity and loyalty of attorneys who consider it their duty to defend the Bill of Rights.

Defense Attorney John T. McTernan said, "This proves that this is not an inquiry into any crime, but solely a means of intimidation—first people dragged before the courts because of their opinions, and now—counsel who represent them."

The Administration in Washington made political capital of these direct attacks on Communists all through the campaign. Attorney General Clark made speeches for Mr. Truman, for instance, in which he said the Government was going to prosecute Communists all over the country under the Smith Act, although even the author of the Smith Act admitted it was designed to "get around the limitations imposed by the First Amendment."

*But the direct political value of a red hunt for competitive campaign purposes is only the smallest part of the explanation of this pattern of political persecution.*

It does not explain the attack on labor in the Taft-Hartley Act, the dismissal of Communists and alleged Communists from schools and colleges, the dismissal of teachers all over the United States who were charged with no other offense than the support of Henry Wallace in the presidential campaign.

It does not explain the national drive to deport progressive foreign-born labor leaders; the savage attacks in the press on the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York; the threat to the Hollywood Ten, writers, producers, and directors; or the jailing of Emil Freed and five others for picketing.

**Nor does it explain the activities of California's Senator Jack Tenney, who is sponsoring bills which would muzzle lawyers, teachers, all state, county and municipal employees, and even political candidates. (Twenty-one states have now introduced or enacted similar repressive legislation.)**

No, the real political basis for this national pattern of political persecution is far broader than the dubious fixed fight between Truman and Dewey. The big employers behind the government know a depression is coming, and they know

it will be even worse than the last one. They cannot face a depression nor trick the people into supporting their drive toward an imperialist war, until they have destroyed, or tried desperately to destroy, the fighting strength of organized labor and the fighting morale of all liberal and progressive organizations. In an atmosphere in which every militant voice has been silenced, the monopolists can cut wages, close plants, and starve workers into submission—they think.

## IS THIS SOMETHING NEW?

Attacks on minority political groups are, of course, not new in American history. And, because of our Constitution, they have consistently been obliged to take one pattern. The pattern is the cry of "Treason!"

The founding fathers who wrote the first ten amendments, the protection of freedom of speech, freedom against search and seizure, freedom from self-incrimination, the guarantee of jury trials, confrontation of witnesses, and all other basic guarantees in the Bill of Rights did not put in these safeguards to make things easier for burglars, murderers, and bootleggers a hundred and fifty years later. They included these safeguards in the basic law of the land to guarantee forever *political liberty*. The memory of encroachments on political liberty in England and in our own colonies was all too fresh in the minds of the people, and the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution by public demand.

Being thus bound by language of unmistakable clarity and vigor, parties in power wishing to silence opposition have traditionally in American history resorted to the cry of treason. *The ink was hardly dry on the Bill of Rights itself before Thomas Jefferson was called a traitor by the Tories of his day and scores of his followers were imprisoned as agents of a foreign power, under the Alien and Sedition Acts passed by*



*Congress in 1798. The unconstitutionality of these Acts was not determined in the Supreme Court, but in the election of 1800, when an indignant electorate swept the Federalists out of power and sent Jefferson to the White House.*

Jefferson's first deed in office was to pardon those imprisoned under the Acts, which were immediately repealed. And it was in his first inaugural address in 1801 that he made one of the great statements on political freedom:

**". . . and let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions . . ."**

With the rise of abolitionist sentiment in the 1840's and 50's, a new kind of treason theory was developed by the reactionary politicians of the day. Prominent Catholic employees, even in the post office, were called members of a spy ring for the Pope, and it was said that an Austrian missionary society was "pouring gold into America to undermine the Protestant faith." The real object of these slanders, then as now, was to divide the workers and win support for the property claims of the slaveowners.

William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist leader, also ran head-on into the 3-billion dollar property interest that controlled three million slaves. Garrison was twice jailed, was labelled a traitor for thirty years. Emerson and Thoreau were branded traitors for the same reason, and so was Abraham Lincoln by half the nation's press.

Calhoun, a leader of the slave power, in 1844 charged that the abolitionists who were against the annexation of Texas as a slave state were traitors—tools of a British plot. Abolitionists by the score were persecuted, investigated by Congressional committees, of which one, the Mason Committee, alleged it was investigating treason.

*And again we must remember*—it was not the courts which settled those gigantic questions. The Supreme Court upheld the institution of slavery in the Dred Scott decision, and it took the election of Lincoln, followed by the Civil War, to reverse it. *In the long run, attacks on political liberty, skillfully masked as attacks on foreign agents, can only be repelled by the pressure of the people.* The outcry of the people against the Mundt-Nixon Bill was a magnificent example of Americans in action.

The campaign on behalf of the Grand Jury victims has not been fought in the courts alone—nor can such a struggle be limited to the legal front. From the first day there was a mass demonstrations outside the Federal Building in Los Angeles, whenever there were further proceedings before the Grand Jury or in the trial court. Thousands of citizens signed petitions denouncing the procedures of the trial court, and sent telegrams and letters of protest to James Carter, U.S. Attorney for Southern California.

The struggles cannot be confined to obtaining redress in the courts for those who have been injured by this travesty. All must work that the Government will cease its unlawful activities.

The courage of the witnesses themselves in refusing to subvert the Constitution by becoming stool pigeons, and the militant support given them by the citizens of California, has resulted in the freeing of the witnesses on bail.

### **WHAT'S ALL THIS TO ME?**

Too many Americans, much as they hate to get shoved around or told off, find it easy to say, "Oh, well, what do I care if a couple of reds or fellow travellers get thrown into the can?"

*For those Americans, who have forgotten our own history, there is at hand a nearer and more urgent proof that any nation which starts an attack on Communists, radicals, liberals, can only end by destroying the liberty of every man and woman within its borders.*

**H**ow many times have we asked ourselves, "What were the German people doing while Hitler fought his way to autocratic power?" Americans have taken the easy view that there must have been something wrong with the Germans, that they must have been stupid, or asleep, to let the monster Fascism steal away their liberty.

*But the German people were just like too many Americans today. Hitler did not snatch their liberties—he chipped away at them. In May, 1933, the Nazi Law was passed which was quoted on page 6 of this pamphlet, outlawing the Communist Party of Germany.*

Six weeks later, in July, 1933, the liberal, non-Communist Social Democratic Party was outlawed in almost exactly the same language:

"The provisions of the law regarding the confiscation of Communist property of May 26, 1933 are applicable to property and rights of the Social Democratic Party and its auxiliary and substitute organizations, as well as to property and rights used or destined for the advancement of Marxist or other endeavors found by the Reich Minister of the Interior to be hostile to the people and State."

Where is the real difference between this law and Mr. Truman's Loyalty Order, which gives Tom Clark the power of deciding what organizations are "hostile to the people and the State?"

*Hitler began with the Communists, too.* But it was only six weeks before he moved from the Communists to his attack on the Social Democrats who had helped him to power. Hitler then proceeded systematically with his attacks on trade union leaders, Jews and others—whom he identified with Communists for his own political purposes.

## TENNEY COPIES HITLER

*Does this sound reminiscent of Senator Tenney's recent attack on a Los Angeles AFL leader because he was "only mildly anti-Communistic?" Does it sound like Senator Hickenlooper's attack on Atomic Commissioner Lillienthal for not hating Communists enough?*

This is the way Hitler built up the atmosphere of terror in which the Germans learned to think their only safety was in crying, "I hate Communists and Jews! Heil Hitler!" And the end result, as all the world knows now, was a nation incapable of protesting the grossest inhumanities, incapable of protesting their own murder by the millions, in Hitler's war of conquest.

Cases like that of these Los Angeles citizens have only one purpose—to build up the same atmosphere of terror Hitler built in Germany. Hitler's plans for war, like those being hatched in our bi-partisan Wall Street government in Washington today, demanded the silencing of organized opposition from the working people who are the victims in every war. He silenced opposition behind a smoke screen of anti-Communism, as Tom Clark and the FBI are doing today.

**We must learn from history. The tragic story of Germany, Italy, Japan are there, plain before us—the story of what happens to a people who allow their liberties to be gnawed away by squirrel-men like Hitler and Mussolini.**

**A**mericans have a longer tradition of freedom than the Germans and the Italians. But we must wake up, now, before it is too late, and fight the small encroachments which every day are growing bolder—by defending the rights of Communists, by denouncing the lie of "foreign agent," by demanding a return to the principles of political liberty for all on which our country was built. We can still defend America—but we must start NOW!

**To sum up**— This whole pattern—the trial of Communists for advocating socialism, the jailing of innocent witnesses who refuse to stool-pigeon, the attacks on civil servants and teachers, on foreign-born labor leaders, the Negro people, both in the North and South—all of these things are part of a deliberate, Hitlerian plan to scrap the Constitution and take away our American freedom.

In our country, attacks like these in the past have only been successfully fought by organized mass protest from the people. That is what saved the Scottsboro boys, that is what freed Tom Mooney, that is what killed the Mundt-Nixon bill last year.

That is the kind of action we must take now. The defense of the Los Angeles Grand Jury victims is *your* fight for freedom.

**“IT’S YOU THEY’RE AFTER.”**

**T**housands upon thousands of citizens in Los Angeles and throughout the United States have already demonstrated that they understand the full meaning of the present day witch hunts. These are the people who have participated in mass protest meetings, picket lines and petitions directed to Attorney General Tom Clark and local U. S. Attorney James M. Carter. These are the same men and women whose letters and wires have, up to now, helped to prevent the newest legal trick of jail-without-bail from being put into full scale operation here and in other parts of the country.

At this writing the Los Angeles case is before the Ninth U. S. Circuit Court. If necessary the fight will be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court. To carry out this action, to expose and fight these threats of suppression wherever they strike, we must mobilize ever increasing support. It is time to call out the *FULL* arsenal of democracy—YOU, YOUR NEIGHBOR, YOUR FELLOW TRADE UNION MEMBER, IN SHORT, THE PEOPLE!

**The defense** of the 21 Los Angeles witch hunt victims is but one of the many nationwide civil liberties cases being fought by the Civil Rights Congress. In this case *and* in the defense of the New York Communist leaders now on trial; in the vigorous campaign to free the Trenton Six; and in the fight against lynchings in the South, the Civil Rights Congress needs your financial support, your active participation as a member, and the assistance of the organizations to which you belong. Here is what you can do:

1. Get your organization, church, club or union, to protest the witch hunt by passing a resolution and sending communications to Attorney General Tom Clark, President Truman, and your own senators and congressmen.
2. Send delegations from organizations in your community to the local U. S. Attorney to raise the whole question of our vanishing civil rights.
3. Contribute financially for the extensive legal costs involved in these fights and for bringing the facts to the American people.
4. Get your organization to affiliate with the Civil Rights Congress.
5. Become a member of CRC *TODAY!*
6. *Help distribute this pamphlet.*

**CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS**  
307 So. Hill Street—Los Angeles 13, California

I would like further information on civil rights issues

I wish to become a member of CRC

(\$1 General \$3 Associate \$5 Subscription  
\$10 Cooperating \$25 Supporting)

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for the  
Los Angeles Defense Fund.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

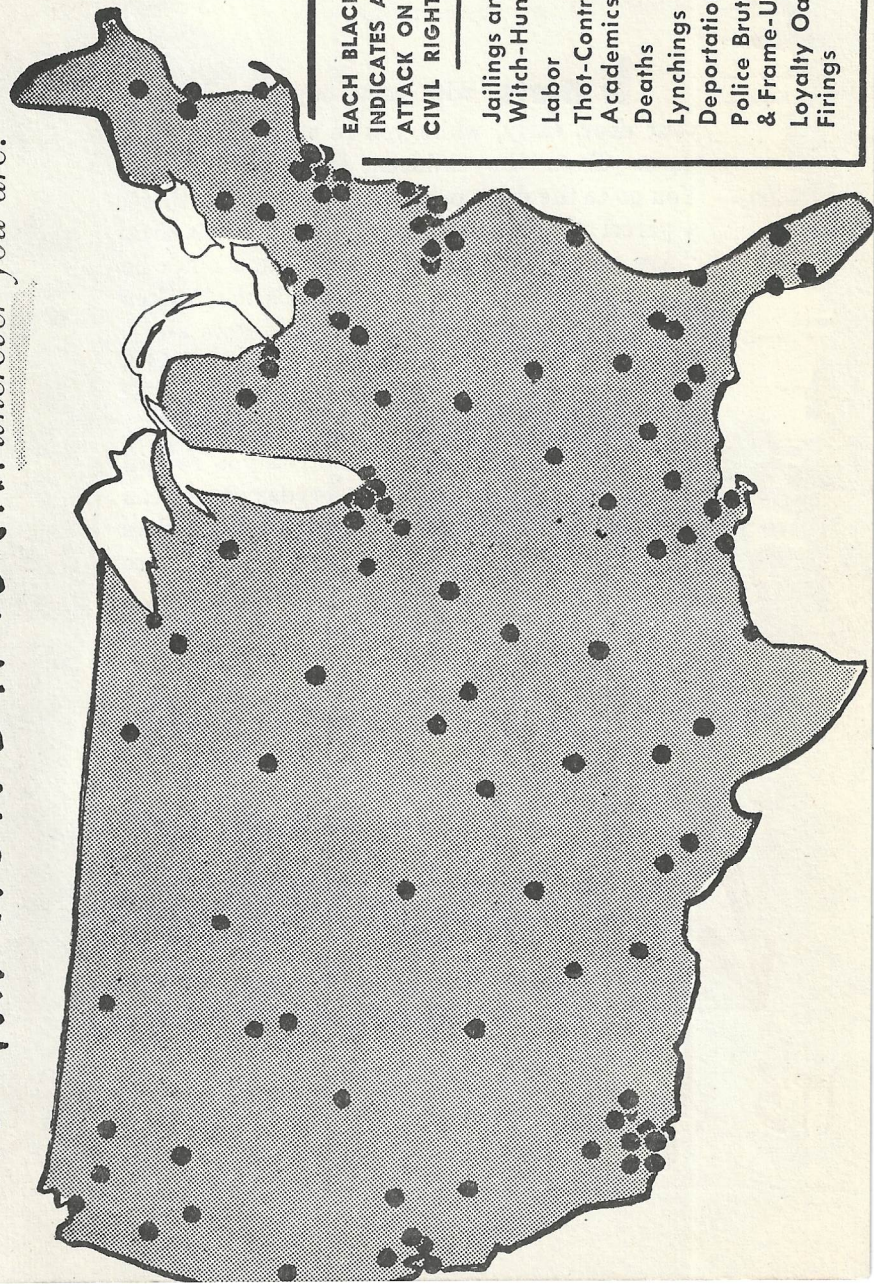
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Zone \_\_\_\_\_

IT'S YOU THEY'RE AFTER... wherever you are!



EACH BLACK DOT  
INDICATES AN  
ATTACK ON  
CIVIL RIGHTS

Jailings and  
Witch-Hunts  
Labor  
Thot-Control &  
Academics  
Deaths  
Lynchings  
Deportations  
Police Brutality  
& Frame-Ups  
Loyalty Oath  
Firings

**I**t starts with somebody pounding on your door, early, while you're still asleep. It's dark. Even the children aren't awake yet. You go to the door, open it. A man stands there, a parcel wrapped in newspaper under his arm. "Are you So and So?" he asks—and since he knows your name you say, "That's me." Then he hands you a piece of paper and goes away. The paper says, "You are summoned forthwith to appear before the Federal Grand Jury of the Tenth District . . ."

What's this all about? Maybe you're still dreaming. You're a plain everyday American citizen, working hard for a living. "What does the Grand Jury want from me?" You figure it must be a mistake.

But it's not a mistake. Although you have committed no crime *it's you they're after*. And by midnight, within eighteen hours, you're in jail. Not for the night, not for thirty days or thirty years, but for a term without limit.



IT'S **YOU** THEY'RE AFTER!