

Taft Joins With M'Arthur, Wants War on Peiping

By John G. Wright

On April 27 Sen. Taft delivered a full-dress speech on "American Policy in the Far East" on the Senate floor which marks a sharp departure from his previous foreign policy stand.

In the early stages of the "Great Debate," as late as last January, Taft was cautiously maneuvering, seeking to narrow his differences with Truman and even making an "olive-branch" offer to discuss with administration spokesmen the possibility of a "bi-partisan" agreement on foreign policy.

SEEKS PRESIDENCY

Today, he is seeking to widen the differences and render them more bitter. Evidently, the Senator from Ohio has decided that the Truman-MacArthur rift offers him a golden opportunity

More Big Strikes Loom Against Dictator Franco

More strikes on a gigantic scale are looming in Spain following the massive "folded arms" strike in the heavy industry Bilbao-San Sebastian area on April 23-24 and the general walk-out of the Barcelona workers six weeks earlier.

So far, upwards of a million workers in Spain's chief industrial provinces have defied the terror of Generalissimo Franco's fascist regime in strikes that have shaken the dictatorship to its foundations.

MADRID STRIKE

Reuters, British news agency, reported from Madrid on April 29 that leaflets have been distributed in Madrid, Spanish capital, calling for a general strike on May 22 and in Malaga, a leading city of Southern Spain, announcing a May Day strike.

Meanwhile, strikes in various industries have continued unabated for several weeks both in the Barcelona and San Sebastian areas. At Manresa, near Barcelona, the government closed down 67 plants where sit-down strikes have been in progress in the textile industry for several weeks, the United Press reported on April 28.

Thousands of San Sebastian workers resumed their "folded arms" strike on the same day in protest against harsh measures of the government, which ordered workers deprived of various benefits for participation in the April 23-24 struggle.

Franco's repressive acts, instead of frightening the workers, are provoking greater resistance. The struggle is taking on a revolutionary sweep that might soon topple Washington's newest fascist ally.

of cinching the Republican presidential nomination and a popular issue on which he can ride into the White House in 1952.

With reservations on a few secondary points, he has solidly backed MacArthur. "I have no difficulty whatever in lining myself up with the general principles announced by Gen. MacArthur," declared Taft.

In his attacks on the State Department as "pro-Communist," Taft is virtually indistinguishable from McCarthy. To all this Taft added something which neither MacArthur nor McCarthy have found advisable to do. He openly challenged the personal integrity of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

ATTACKS "STOOGES"

As a preliminary to his speech, Taft declared on the previous day that he had lost all confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and found it necessary to "expose" them as stooges for the administration.

"I have come to the point," he said on April 26 "where I do not accept them as experts. . . . The Joint Chiefs of Staff are absolutely under the control of the administration." He added for good measure "that their recommendations are what the administration demands that they make."

To forestall the possible discredit of MacArthur by the military chieftains, Taft seeks to discredit them in advance. That Taft is bold enough to deal blows to the prestige of the Brass Hats, so sacrosanct among the imperialists, is a tell-tale sign of the frenzy the Korean crisis has created among some capitalist circles in this country.

SHIFTS VIEWS

At the beginning of the Korean adventure, Taft sought to capitalize on the unpopularity of this war. He denounced Truman for usurpation of power and brought the "constitutional question" to the fore. Today, seeking to capitalize on what he believes is the popularity of MacArthur's position, Taft unceremoniously shunts this aside. (Besides, MacArthur has publicly endorsed as "sound" Truman's plunge into Korea.)

"There is, of course, no question," declared Taft at the beginning of his Senate speech, "that we are at war with Communist China, whether war is declared or is not declared. . . . The important issue is how we shall fight that war."

ENDORSES CHIANG

He then proceeded, point for point, to endorse what "may be called the MacArthur policy."

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Farm Monopolies Install Peonage, Senator Says

A handful of huge corporate farms interests in the South, the Southwest and on the West Coast are working might and main to reintroduce peonage in this country. These agricultural monopolists who so ruthlessly exploit several million native and foreign migratory workers now seek to assure themselves of a vast reserve of imported labor in order to further drive down agricultural working and living standards. They are pressing hard for such legislation as the Senate bill 984, sponsored by Sen. Ellender of Louisiana, a bill that would secure large-scale importation of Mexican workers.

These charges were flatly made on the Senate floor by Sen. Chavez of New Mexico, not a radical by any stretch of the imagination, but a hard-boiled supporter of the capitalist system.

CORPORATE FARMS

Over the past years these corporate farms have exploited the so-called wetbacks, or migrant workers from Mexico, who enter this country illegally by crossing the Rio Grande and who are then completely at the mercy of their employers. The number of these wetbacks is estimated at above a million. Last year alone, 500,000 of them were deported.

"People who are supposed to be outstanding citizens in their community have told me that they have the least trouble with a wetback. Certainly they do not have as much trouble with him as with a contract worker. They

can take care of a wetback. If he complains or rebels or gripes, he is reported to the Immigration Bureau. He is at a disadvantage," said Chavez.

The Ellender bill, he charged, would not "solve" the wetback problem. "There is no provision in the bill under which it would be possible to punish greed. There is a good deal of greed involved," he explained. On the contrary, large-scale importation of Mexican workers would simply add to the flow of illegal entrants, inasmuch as additional thousand would be reduced to the same illegal status upon the expiration of their contracts.

Chavez read into the Congressional Record (April 27, page 4595) a typical contract. "The contract is between a man named Bonifacio Ramirez Servin and the Fullerton Mutual Orange Association. Here we have the items. He was charged 10-percent deduction, \$3.25. Board \$5.25. Board \$10.50. Advance \$10. He received a check for a total of \$10. It is wrong that such a thing should be done in America."

When Sen. Ellender rose to challenge Chavez, claiming that this 1948 contract "has since been changed. They are now operating under a different contract," Sen. Chavez's rejoinder was: "Yes; the next time he may receive \$3.75 instead of \$3.50."

MISERABLE PAY

Chavez then went on to read into the record evidence where "farmers acknowledged to the

President's Commission on Migratory Labor last summer that they paid field hands as low as 15 cents an hour." Actually, pointed out Chavez, the wage amounted to "from 15 to 25 cents a day." And in many instances, no money is paid at all, not even the pittance mentioned, but "many receive food alone, while shelter is a hut, a thatch or the stars."

Commented Chavez: "The stars are the best. Nature provided that shelter. I have seen the huts, and in many instances the average American farmer would not furnish such habitations for his pigs, his horses, or his sheep."

Among the indescribable conditions, he cites are the following:

A health director of Florida county has testified: "This is an actual observation. A sanitarian reports 180 people living in 60 rooms, with only 1 toilet stool that works."

SHOCKING CONDITIONS

At Fort Collins, Colo., another doctor who is chairman of the Colorado Governor's Committee on Migrant Labor, testified about conditions in a large farm-labor camp which "was built and formerly operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but now is under the management of farm employers."

"I have never been as shocked," said this physician, "as when I entered the one-room shacks with old iron bedsteads and thin pads, with one shaded bulb, in which as

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Let American People Vote On Issue of War and Peace

Get U.S. Troops Out of Korea -- Recognize Govt. of New China!

A Letter to President Truman and the Members of the Congress

By James P. Cahnnon

Gentlemen:

My purpose in addressing you for the third time since the Korean war began is to present three concrete proposals on foreign policy as an alternative to the policies of the Truman administration on the one hand and MacArthur-Taft on the other.

Your differences are merely tactical. My differences with both sides in your so-called "Great Debate" are fundamental. You are preoccupied with the problem of how to conduct a war the American people do not want and never approved. I propose to end the war at once and let the American people themselves decide the life and death questions of foreign policy.

I submit the following three proposals: 1. Withdraw all American troops from Korea. 2. Recognize the Peiping government. 3. Let the people vote by referendum on the issue of war and peace.

I have opposed your Korean war from the start. Twice before in open letters I urged you to heed the peoples' will to stop the war and bring the American soldiers home. American troops have no business in Korea. They are being slaughtered by the tens of thousands for no good purpose. Every day they remain swells the casualties list and inflicts more grief upon parents, wives and children. Every day they remain intensifies the hatred of the Asian people for all things American. Again I urge you: Withdraw the U.S. troops from Korea.

The Way to Peace

The way to peace in Asia is neither to wage a "limited war," as you are now doing, nor to expand it by bombing Chinese cities and killing the civilian population. The way to peace in Asia is to get out of Asia and let the peoples of Asia run their own affairs. The aroused millions of China have thrown out the corrupt dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, despite all the billions you gave to help him. Cut off all support to the discredited Chiang Kai-shek and recognize the new Chinese government.

The flood of letters to Washington and other expressions of public opinion in the past few months have clearly shown that the people have developed a profound mistrust and suspicion — I might even say, a resentment and hostility — toward you who are in power.

Their mistrust is sharpened by the obvious lack of confidence you have in each other. You, Mr. President, have cashered MacArthur, the very general assigned to lead your Korean "police action." He, in turn, has all but called you a traitor. You, gentlemen of the Congress, charge each other with political miramy and corruption. Your most influential Senate Republican, Mr. Taft, has just voiced complete distrust of the highest military authorities, the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Will of the People

Your lack of trust in each other is reason enough by itself for the people to place no trust in any of you. But there is another reason: You have never trusted the people. You did not ask their consent last June when you sent American troops into Korea, and you have not bothered to consult them since. You have brushed aside their pleas to stop the war and bring the troops home.

Your policies, moreover, have proved you are unfit and unworthy to act in the name of the people on the all-important question of war and peace. Your deeds brand you as betrayers of the hopes of mankind. You have "liberated" the Korean people by bombing and burning their homeland. The victims of your atrocities are already numbered in millions.

All this is against the will of the American people. I challenge you to put it to the test. Submit the question of foreign policy to the people. Let the people themselves decide!

I repeat my three proposals:

1. Withdraw all American troops from Korea.
2. Recognize the government of New China.
3. Let the issue of war and peace be voted on in a national referendum of the entire American people!

"Liberated"



This little Korean girl helping to push a heavily-laden wagon of household goods is one of ten million refugees "liberated" by U.S. "scorched earth" methods of warfare.

SUPREME COURT ISSUES "SUBVERSIVES" RULES

The Supreme Court by a 5-to-3 vote on April 30 denounced the blacklisting of three organizations as subversive as "arbitrary" and "unauthorized" and ruled that the Attorney-General had exceeded

his authority in designating them as "Communist" without a hearing or presentation of evidence. The three organizations were the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, and the International Workers Order.

This decision does not hold that Truman's loyalty purge is unconstitutional but condemns the procedures used in establishing it and gives blacklisted organizations the "right" to a court trial of the government charges against them. Such trials for political beliefs have always been considered violations of the First Amendment of the Constitution.

The five justices who ruled that the Department of Justice acted illegally in listing organizations without any hearing gave stinging rebukes to Attorney General Tom Clark, now one of their colleagues on the Supreme Court. Justice Black in his opinion said: "The Executive has no constitutional authority, with or without a hearing, officially to prepare and publish the lists challenged by petitioners. In the first place, the system adopted effectively punishes many organizations and their members merely because of their political beliefs and utterances and to this extent smacks of a most evil type of censorship. This cannot be reconciled with the First Amendment as I interpret it. . . ."

TYRANNICAL PRACTISES

"I cannot believe the authors of the Constitution, who outlawed the bill of attainder, inadvertently endowed the executive with power to engage in the tyrannical practices that had made the bill an odious institution.

"In this day," Black continued, "when prejudice, hate and fear are constantly invoked to justify the irresponsible smears and persecutions of persons even faintly suspected of entertaining unpopular views, it may be futile to suggest that the cause of internal security would be fostered, not hurt, by faithful adherence to our constitutional guarantees of individual liberty."

RUDIMENTARY JUSTICE

Justice Douglas wrote that an organization branded by the Attorney General is "maimed and crippled. The injury is real, immediate and incalculable. . . . Although no charge nowadays is more serious, there are no standards to determine what the designation 'subversive' means. These flexible standards, which

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30 to 1 Against War on China, AFL Poll Shows

Opposition to a U.S. attack on China reached 30 to 1 in a radio poll by Frank Edwards who conducts the AFL news broadcast over WOR-Mutual.

The newscaster reported on his Monday night, April 30, program that he had received 96,000 letters in response to his appeal for audience views on the question of U.S. participation in an invasion of the Chinese mainland.

In the first 64,000 letters received, Edwards said, the opposition to war on China ran 7 1/2 to 1, but jumped to 30 to 1 after Republican Senator Cain called for a declaration of war on China.

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Jim Crow in Korea -- The Full Report

The Korean war is no bed of roses for any American GI's. But the horror and misery of the war are multiplied for the Negro troops who must not only suffer the tortures of modern battle, but the abuse, victimization and terror imposed by the white-supremacist officers corps.

This is the picture painted by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in his "Report on Korea," which is subtitled "The Shameful Story of the Courts Martial of Negro GI's." This report is the result of Marshall's personal survey of conditions in Korea.

ARMY ALWAYS JIM CROW

In his report Marshall compares the experience of Negro GI's in Korea with jim crow in the U.S. armed forces in the past. "What has happened in Korea is an old, old story — as old as jim crow in the armed services. It is a story of the sacrifice of Negro troops upon the altar of segregation.

"The pattern is little varied from war to war. First come reports from the front of some heroic deed done by Negro soldiers, an achievement to indicate the courage with which these men are facing the enemy and their ability to take the toughest kind of fighting.

"And then suddenly the reports change . . . the tales we begin to hear are of incompetency, failure and cowardice — accounts which would make it appear that Negroes are not capable of combat duty and should be restricted to labor battalions.

"Soon after the war broke out in Korea last June 25," the NAACP report states, "we were able to observe a repetition of the consistent pattern. As the early 'police action' settled down into a grim, costly and protracted war, we had the feeling that this was the point where we had come in. First there was the account of the initial American success in the Korean campaign—a triumph won by the 24th Infantry, which arrived in Korea on July 12 and two days later was thrust into the forefront of the fighting. . . ."

"Remember the story of the battle of Bloody Peak? The 24th Infantry (an all Negro regiment) fought up and down the mountainside. . . . For days the fighting continued. Casualty rates were unbelievable. . . . This feat was widely hailed in the American press and on the radio. . . . And then it happened again. Such popular applause could not be tolerated. Something had to be done to disabuse the public mind of the impression that Negro troops were doing the major part of the fighting overseas. There was a ready-made device for this purpose, the court martial."

Marshall reports on a whole series of court martial of Negro troops, beginning with that of Lieut. Leon A. Gilbert, one of the few Negro officers of the 24th infantry. He was arrested in September 1950, and in a summary court-martial was convicted

and sentenced to death. Intervention by the NAACP succeeded in reducing this sentence to 20 years.

Immediately after the Gilbert case, Marshall reports, "there began to appear reports of a large number of court-martial cases involving Negroes — cases in which Negroes were tried and convicted of cowardice, of misbehavior in the presence of the enemy, of failure to perform their assigned duties. Thirty-six of these convicted men had appealed to the NAACP for assistance."

At first the application of Thurgood Marshall to go to Japan was flatly rejected by MacArthur, (Continued on page 3)

STOP LEGAL LYNCHING OF MCGEE, SWP DEMANDS OF GOV. WRIGHT



WILLIE MCGEE

NEW YORK, May 1 — At a mass meeting held to celebrate May Day, the Socialist Workers Party tonight unanimously endorsed a resolution demanding an immediate pardon for Willie McGee, young Mississippi Negro doomed to die May 8 in the electric chair. The resolution, which was sent to Gov. Wright of Mississippi, is printed below:

Whereas: Willie McGee is scheduled to die in the electric chair May 8 for an alleged crime which it has not been proved he committed, and

Whereas: He was convicted by a lily-white jury on no evidence other than a so-called "con-

cession" extorted from him under duress of the anti-Negro police of Jim Crow Mississippi, therefore be it

Resolved: That this meeting demand that Willie McGee, victim of white supremacist lynch law, be given a full and complete pardon and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

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Further News of May Day Meetings on Page 4

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British Socialists Urge Emergency Party Parley

The Socialist Outlook and Socialist Fellowship, speaking for the Left Wing of the British Labor Party, have issued a statement to the rank and file opposing general elections before an emergency Labor Party Conference is convened to decide on a new policy.

Placing the responsibility for the current political crisis squarely on the shoulders of "the Right Wing, with Mr. Attlee, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Shawcross, Mr. Gaitskell and all their supporters in high places," the statement explains that Aneurin Bevan's resignation "was forced upon him by the government's determination to proceed with a rearmament policy which means the inevitable lowering of working class living standards and the undermining of the Social Services."



ATLEE

The statement then goes on to point out: "The great majority of working people do not want war. Labor has the right to speak for this great majority. We must declare that we wish to live in peace with all the peoples, that we have no desire to occupy foreign territory, nor to draw tribute from other lands. If, moreover, we match our declarations with DEEDS — the withdrawal of all British troops from Korea and all the colonies, the breaking of all alliances with

capitalist powers, and proceed to do what the workers in the Far East are trying to do — finish off this hated system of private enterprise — then, and only then, can we rightfully call upon the workers to sacrifice in the interests of defence."

At three anti-war conferences recently held in London, Manchester and Birmingham under the auspices of the Socialist Fellowship, "over 450 delegates from 32 Divisional Labor parties, 12 Trades Councils and more than 100 trade union organizations voted — AND ONLY 10" votes were cast for the "government's present policy."

These representative gatherings, the statement emphasizes, show "the real feelings and desires of the Labor Movement. With courage, with determination it can now mobilize itself, defeat the arrogant Right Wing, secure a decisive victory for the Left and — because of that — completely and utterly defeat Britain's chief war mongers, the Tory Party."

The statement concludes with the following slogans:
 "Defend Working Class Living Standards!"
 "Defend the Health Services!"
 "Organize the Left Wing!"
 "Demand An Emergency Conference of the Labor Party!"

The People Must Know the Truth

The Senate hearings on the administration's Far East policy and the circumstances leading to the dismissal of Gen. MacArthur are to be held behind closed doors. The public is to be permitted to know only that information which the administration and the MacArthurites choose to let out, or decide "unofficially" to leak to the press for partisan advantages of their own.

It was never the intention of either side to air the issues openly. Nor it is now. When the hearings were originally projected the Democrats and the Republicans alike on the Senate committee decided to keep them secret. If the Republicans are now shouting for open hearings, it is mere demagoguery in order to reap political capital at the expense of an embarrassed administration.

with having arrogated to himself powers he had no right whatever to exercise. Removal from high office is indeed a slight punishment for such brazen usurpation. The least the public is entitled to know is the full extent of MacArthur's "insubordination."

Closed or secret hearings preclude any possibility of this.

There remains the issue of policy. Who needs secrecy in this connection and why? MacArthur has already aired his position. More than this, he has publicly asserted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are in accord with his views of extending the war to China. Not only has this not been denied officially by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but public steps have since been taken that tend not to refute but rather to confirm MacArthur's contention.

Two major issues are involved in these hearings. First is the usurpation of powers and second, the issue of Far Eastern policy.

It is a patent fraud to pretend that "military security" is in any way involved in either of these issues. On the other hand, who has a more vital stake or has a greater right than the people to learn the truth, and the whole truth, about two such vital matters as these?

Truman removed MacArthur on grounds of insubordination. In plain language, MacArthur stands charged

We refer here to the sending of the large military mission to Formosa and the pressure being brought on Washington's Atlantic Pact allies to agree to the bombing of Manchurian bases. These moves differ only in tempo from MacArthur's avowed policy of extending the war against China.

A veil of secrecy over the hearings may well provide a cover for further war moves.

Since Korea the American people have been subjected to one hoax after another, with the scheduled hearings bidding to become the most brazen hoax of all.

defeat the Tories in our own ranks."

The statement then goes on to point out: "The great majority of working people do not want war. Labor has the right to speak for this great majority. We must declare that we wish to live in peace with all the peoples, that we have no desire to occupy foreign territory, nor to draw tribute from other lands. If, moreover, we match our declarations with DEEDS — the withdrawal of all British troops from Korea and all the colonies, the breaking of all alliances with

Victims of Capitalist Insanity

There are 7,000,000 mentally ill persons in the United States. This is the considered estimate of Oren Root, president of the National Association for Mental Health. Illness of such dimensions has commonly been recognized as an epidemic.

Five percent of the human minds in this country have already broken down, unable to withstand the social pressures generated by the system in which we are forced to live, especially the insecurity and fear.

Root and his associates propose as the best cure — bigger and better mental institutions. The tragic victims of modern capitalist society can be thus rehabilitated in order to be harnessed in one capacity or another to the war machine now preparing the world atomic conflict.

It is true that the mental institutions in this country are inadequate and provide only a small fraction of the facilities needed to treat the mentally ill; it is also true that what institutions there are in many instances are poorly staffed and guilty of maltreatment of inmates.

Every breath men draw, each heart beat, not only here but all over the earth, is contaminated with the universal dread of U.S. imperialism which threatens to plunge humanity into World War III. Living in the very center of this global disturbance, the peoples of the U.S. are naturally fearful for their sons, for their homes, for their very lives. And suspense does not relieve but lends terror to these constant pressures of insecurity and hopelessness.

Such is the world which has emerged from Roosevelt's World War II, which was to establish among the other "Four Freedoms" — freedom from fear.

The mental health experts deplore the spreading insanity that has maimed and removed so many people from active life. The association deplores the situation because it constitutes "a tragic loss of manpower."

But the spreading mental crack-up cannot be coped with by a mere amelioration of these conditions.

Tuberculosis, we all know, cannot be stopped until the diet and living conditions of underpaid workers are corrected. This applies with an even greater force to mental breakdown which cannot be prevented so long as human beings are deprived of a healthful and stable and sane environment in which to live.

The capitalist system, long outlived and now defended by the greedy handful of power-mad monopolists, is destroying mankind's most cherished possession — the human brain.

Until this system is replaced by a sane, rational socialist society, based on the collective cooperation of the peoples, removing all threats of war, there will be no cure for this epidemic of insanity.

Barth Statement On Subversive List and the SWP

"One of the organizations placed on the ('subversive') list by Tom Clark when he was Attorney General is the Socialist Workers Party. This is a bitterly anti-Stalin splinter group reflecting the Trotskyist deviation from what is now orthodox communism. It is a legal political party which polled about thirteen thousand votes in the 1948 national election. It advocates production for use, socialization of all industry, and creation of a workers' and farmers' government. It resolutely denies that it seeks to achieve these ends by violence or any other unconstitutional means.

"But, somewhat ironically, the Attorney General classified the Socialist Workers Party not only as 'subversive' but also as 'Communist' and as an organization which seeks 'to alter the form of government in the United States by unconstitutional means.' Thus membership in it entails mandatory dismissal from the government service under the terms of Section 9-A of the Hatch Act. One result of this ruling was that James Kutcher, a clerk in the Newark branch office of the Veterans Administration, lost his job in 1948 and was officially declared disloyal to the United States.

"In 1943 James Kutcher, as a private first class in the Army of the United States, lost both his legs in the Battle of San Pietro in Italy. He has never made any attempt to conceal his membership in the Socialist Workers Party; he merely denies that he personally, or the party to which he belongs, advocates the violent overthrow of the government. The Attorney General's ruling makes him, therefore, the victim of a dual arbitrariness. The organization to which he belongs has been arbitrarily held to advocate what it denies advocating. And this advocacy was imputed to Mr. Kutcher through the mere fact of his membership — an assumption of guilt by association which the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case denounced as invalid and repugnant to American law. This arbitrariness, moreover, has

TAFT JOINS M'ARTHUR, WANTS WAR ON CHINA

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Like MacArthur, Taft painted up Chiang Kai-shek. Like MacArthur, Taft wants Manchuria bombed and "logistic support" for raids on the China mainland by Chiang's troops. The only point on which Taft expressed "some doubt" was on a "complete American blockade of China." It might be "wiser" he suggested to let Chiang do it, who "was conducting a fairly good blockade until we stopped him." Taft favors the "release of our Nationalist forces and a release of the Nationalist Navy" to resume the blockade immediately and then let a "committee" decide "whether it would be wise for the United States to undertake a general blockade."

When Sen. McMahon (Dem. of Conn.) charged Taft with seeking to expand the war with China, Sen. Taft blandly denied it. "I believe that by such principles (i.e. MacArthur's 'principles') we may reasonably hope to end the war in Korea," Taft said.

What is most ironical in the situation is that Taft has tor-

pedoed his previous "policy of reconciliation" precisely at the moment when the administration has moved a long way toward satisfying the demands of the China Lobby, the pro-Chiang and "Fight It Out in Asia" crew.

"The President and the Joint Chiefs (of Staff) have actually gone," lament the editors of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, "farther already in the directions advocated by MacArthur than most people seem to realize. . . . The real difference between the administration and the MacArthurites are not basic differences of policy, but disagreements over what is possible and practicable under the existing circumstances."

How true this is will be discovered by increasing layers of the American people as the Truman-MacArthur "debate" unfolds. Both Truman and MacArthur are acting to spread the war, and not peacefully end it. Their sole disagreements are over when, where and how this country can be plunged most easily and effectively into all-out war.

Witch-Hunt In Review

By Fred Hart

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN by Alan Barth, Viking, 1951, 253 pp., \$3.

WITCH HUNT: The Revival of Heresy, by Carey McWilliams, Little, Brown, 1950, 361 pp., \$3.50.

SECURITY, LOYALTY AND SCIENCE by Walter Gellhorn, Cornell University Press, 1950, 300 pp., \$3.

ORDEAL BY SLANDER by Owen Lattimore, Bantam, 1950, 198 pp., 25c.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION by Jerome Davis, Philosophical Library, 1950, 259 pp., \$3.

The assaults on civil liberties initiated by Truman's "loyalty" purge in 1947 have had literary by-products as well as far-reaching political and social consequences. The last two or three years have seen the appearance of a growing shelf of books, including some novels, devoted to various aspects of the current witch hunt. One of the first and best of these was the study, *Loyalty Among Government Em-*

ployees by Thomas I. Emerson and David M. Helfeld (Yale Law Journal, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1948), which was previously reviewed in this paper. The books listed above are of interest and use because they report some of the outstanding civil liberties cases since 1948 and call attention to the mounting threats against democratic rights in this country.

Barth, who is an editorial writer for the liberal Washington Post, has closely followed the development of the witch hunt in its birth place, the capital. The best part of his book is the one dealing with Truman's "loyalty" purge program.

McWilliams, the well-known liberal journalist and lecturer, attempts to relate the present trends in the U.S. to previous inquisitions in European and American history. But the more valuable chapters of *Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy* are concerned with attacks on academic freedom, especially the case at the University of Washington, over which so many liberals and Social Democrats showed their true colors.

The work by Gellhorn, professor of law at Columbia University, covers a narrower range, dealing primarily with the stultifying effects of the government purge on scientific research. Lattimore, widely publicized

target of Senator McCarthy, relates his own account of the charges, hearing and plot against him and reprints the main portions of his testimony and counter-attack before the Tydings Committee last year.

The book by Davis, who was at one time president of the AFL American Federation of Teachers, has little to recommend it beyond the author's good intentions. It is poorly organized, indifferently written and adds little to the total picture, with the exception perhaps of the account of his libel suit against the *Saturday Evening Post* for an article accusing him of being a "communist wrecker of American labor."

All of these books stress the dangers arising out of the witch hunt and address appeals to the government, or the people, or both) to combat these dangers. They recognize a relation between the cold war and the undermining of civil liberties, but none of them undertakes an analysis of the really basic question — the connection between the attacks on democratic rights and the decay of the capitalist system, which results in the growing inability of the ruling class to tolerate any independent political activities by the working people. A fully scientific study of the source and meaning of the witch hunt still remains to be published.

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Report on Jim Crow in Korea

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Morgan, who was court-martialed for alleged violation of the 75th Article of War, and sentenced to ten years at hard labor. "Although he was able to prove he was in an Army hospital during the period when he was charged with not being on duty," Marshall reports, "his conviction was upheld by headquarters of the 25th Division."

Another case involved the men of the 159th Field Artillery. "They were in a river bed on a peaceful, calm night," Marshall reports, "so quiet that practically all of the officers (white) had left the post and gone to town. Then, of a sudden, all hell broke loose. The encampment had been located by the enemy, who at 12:15 a.m. began dropping death-dealing mortar shells on the post.

"In the midst of the chaos the captain in charge gave the order to close station and move out. . . . The men moved out and kept moving. As a result of the confusion . . . fourteen Negro artillerymen disappeared that night.

"All but two were back the next morning. Meanwhile, the battery had moved position. Charges were filed against them and an investigation made. The commanding officer, stating that because there was so much confusion no one knew what was happening, told the men to forget about it. They went back to their assigned tasks.

"Later two of the men were brought up on charges and court-martialed. Three of their fellow soldiers, who testified for them at the trial, were themselves court-martialed. During the trials the captain who gave the order gave three different versions of what happened that night. Five men were convicted and the captain was promoted to major. Three of

The Negro Struggle NEGROES GLAD TO SEE MacARTHUR FIRED

By J. Blake

The firing of General MacArthur was hailed on two counts by Negro Americans: first because he was the responsible head of the jim crow army in the Far East; and second, because he represented the most outspoken advocates of extending the unpopular Korean war to all Asia.

At the same time, however, the more discerning writers in the Negro press are not letting President Truman off the hook of responsibility for both the war and discrimination because of his action in dismissing MacArthur; nor are these writers as confused as most of the white press about the significance of the demonstrations for MacArthur since his return to America.

The Los Angeles Tribune, in an editorial printed April 14th, summed up the reaction: "Douglas MacArthur, as commander of the U.S. Army in the Far East, is responsible for the situation which has existed with respect to Negroes among his troops, mass court martials, segregation. . . . So, who around here is going to waste any tears on. . . commanding general Douglas MacArthur?"

The Cleveland Call chose to express its opposition to the war by editorializing on April 20th in favor of Truman as against MacArthur: "Most Americans see eye to eye with Truman in desiring to end the Korean war as soon as possible and to avoid further military conflicts. . . . we do not want prolonged war no matter how glamorous a general leads our armies."

Anti-War Sentiments

Columnist Joseph C. Carpenter, in the St. Louis American, was more explicit in his analysis of the reaction to the Truman-MacArthur debate as an expression of the anti-war sentiments of the people: "The American public. . . are sick and tired of war and all that it has brought in its wake. Hardly had one terribly destructive war ended than another began — a great many people think, against the express will and purpose of the large mass of the American public. . . . It is my belief. . . that all of these unparalleled demonstrations (for MacArthur) are psychologically the way the American public is letting off steam, and paradoxically enough, in reverse they are reacting against President Harry S. Truman. . . . The same thing would have happened had a Republican been in the White House."

Even the Pittsburgh Courier, whose editorial line is not customarily pro-Truman, approved the removal of MacArthur, but on grounds different from those cited by Truman. The Courier points out that the President issued an executive order to the armed forces in 1948 to end all discrimination because of race and color, and that this directive should be as binding as others issued to MacArthur.

How About the Rest

"If it is right to remove General MacArthur for disobedience, as charged," says the Courier, "how can it be right to permit other Army officers to disobey another Presidential directive even more flagrantly?" — "How About Ousting Some Others?" is the title of the editorial.

The St. Louis American makes the same point in an editorial on April 19th: "Now that President Truman has shown that he is not afraid to exercise his position as Commander-in-chief of the military forces of the United States, all he has to do is to tighten up on those Generals and top brass who have failed to carry out his directive to eliminate jimcrow from the armed services and declare a new Fair Employment edict for the national emergency."

Break With Capitalist Parties

But all the clever arguments and editorials which utilize the Truman-MacArthur controversy to press the case against segregation without proposing a sharp break with both capitalist parties express but poorly the much more profound understanding of the Negro mass that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have attempted or are going to attempt any fundamental change to eliminate the second-class status of Negroes.

When spokesmen come forward who are not afraid to state this truth unequivocally, who are prepared to lead an uncompromising struggle for full equality for Negroes in America — despite the fact that they would be giving up chances of jobs with the State Department or the "Black Cabinet" in Washington — then will the voice of the Negro masses really be heard, and then will genuine gains be made.

Deadline for Militant

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

THEIR MORALS AND OURS
By Leon Trotsky
64 pages 25 cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3
Latest Catalogue on Request

By Tom Conlan

The army is running up against unexpected difficulties. Draft boards, it turns out, find it hard to tell the hale and the hearty from the sick and physically disabled.

Men with chronic mastoids, hernia cases, deformed backs and feet and other disabilities have been inducted into the army.

Two of the men, announced the Senators, "had feet so deformed as to make the investigators cringe." Twelve men were found with "bad, readily identifiable hernias"; two others had deformed backs and five suffered from chronic mastoids.

The army officials announced that they are "aware of the situation" and "taking steps to correct any further recurrence."

Under proper "supervision" and "orientation,"

the draft boards and their physical examiners will henceforth doubtless have their burdens eased considerably. But meanwhile it has turned out that draftees who enter the army healthy and then suddenly fall ill likewise run into unforeseen complications.

A case in point is that of Stanley Amborski, age 21, inducted early in April and sent to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. Recruit Stanley began feeling poorly and kept writing to his family that he was nevertheless being assigned to duty.

On Saturday, April 28, his father "John Amborski, his wife Estelle and their four other children drove to the camp" from Illinois in order to see for themselves, reported the United Press on April 30.

That same night recruit Amborski was admitted to the Great Lakes Hospital, Great Lakes, Ill. He was being fed intravenously and the family doctor's diagnosis was peritonitis.

Letter From Korea

We reprint below excerpts from letters written by British Lance-Corporal Bill Tyler, who, after he had written these thoughts, was killed in action in Korea.

Dear Harry, Our brigade, largely composed of reservists — fully shares the opposition to the war that you are experiencing at home.

The Commanding officer of our battalion recently gave us his views on the war — and he was loudly heckled from all quarters of the paraded battalion!

I must be apparent to most people by now that America is playing an extremely fishy game out here in Korea. British lives are being lost to further American ambitions in the Far East.

I am convinced that Korea is the biggest frame-up in modern history and the thought of it is

driving me frantic. The defeat suffered by the UN forces was deliberately engineered by the Yanks. But fortunately I believe the people at home are also growing suspicious.

We must finish with capitalist war blocs such as the Atlantic Pact and Western Union. The problem is extremely urgent and I am impatient to get home.

I have a vast and intimate experience of war and the misery it brings in its train. And I can honestly say that I have never seen such misery as is now being experienced by the Korean people.

The other day I gazed down at the body of a little girl lying in the snow and I thought of my Christine and it broke my heart. I don't think I shall be happy again until we have removed the fear of war from the world.

Your fraternally Bill Tyler

Revenge Witness Seeks To Burn Trenton Six

By George Lavan

TRENTON, May 2 — The prosecution has reached a new low in its jim crow, frame-up attempt to convict six Negro men for the 1948 murder of William Horner, aged junk store proprietor.

This unnaturally vengeful man is motivated by enmity against his whole family and his son, in particular, as well as hatred for another defendant, Ralph Cooper, whom he regards as his personal enemy.

CRIMINAL CAREER

George English might have stepped out of the pages of a case book on abnormal psychology. His present pathological lying is merely an extension of criminal career obviously psychoneurotic in origin.

Old man English also asserts that his son, Collis, helped frame him on a moral charge involving a minor. It is further known that George English has bitterly hated his family for years and that he swore he would get revenge on his son for not fixing bail at the time of his last arrest.

to hurt his family he had denied his marriage to Mrs. Emma English and parentage some of his children. The defense confronted him with a family Bible inscribed "Property of George English," listing the marriage date and the birth dates of the children.

Examination of the cellar from which English claims to have seen and heard Cooper planning the murder shows that it would be physically impossible to see and hear as the witness claims.

Attempts to find out why English was released from prison almost two years before he was eligible for parole were unsuccessful.

Similar attempts to find out if the prosecution had arranged for a larceny charge against him, understood to be still pending, to be dropped also brought no clarification.

"CONFESSION" READ

Today Judge Smalley also ruled against the defense by permitting the reading of Ralph Cooper's "confession." This is the first time the jury has heard any of the "confessions" forced from five of the six defendants by police after days of grilling, terror and drugging.

Judge Smalley refused to admit into evidence three "confessions" typed by the police and then signed by the worn-down prisoners. One of those ruled out — on evidence drugs were used — was Cooper's. The "confession" of Cooper read today was a handwritten document. It was composed in the presence of Chief Detective Naples who admits that from time to time he helped Cooper word it.

On cross-examination today English contradicted and reversed his earlier testimony. Attempting

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SWP in N.Y. Holds Spirited May 1st Rally

NEW YORK — Between 250 and 300 friends and comrades of the Socialist Workers Party attended a May Day meeting held last night at the Hotel Capitol.

The meeting commenced with a dramatic presentation, "The March of Labor," honoring the martyrs of the working class, starting with the Haymarket meeting, and ending with the 18 Trotskyists sentenced to prison during World War II.

Speakers, besides Hansen, were a representative from the International Socialist Youth, Ethel Pedersen, who discussed the socialist world to come; Gladys Barker, SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1950, who pulled no punches in saying what problems faced the Negro people today.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, chairman of the meeting, presented three resolutions which were unanimously adopted.

The first was a call on Congress to send grain immediately to the starving people of India; The second protested U.S. aid to Franco. The third was a plea for the life of Willie McGee, sentenced to die May 8. A fine chorus sang revolutionary songs, including two in Chinese.

Chicago SWP in New Headquarters Honors May Day

CHICAGO, April 29 — Socialism in Chicago "marched forward" last night as well over 100 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party gathered for the double celebration of May Day and the opening of the new party headquarters.

Enthusiasm for the gains made by the Chicago Local in the past period was well in evidence. The spirit of the occasion was typified by the rousing standing ovation given to Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the SWP, as he rose to make the main address of the evening.

"If you see people around you with a smile in their eyes," began Comrade Dobbs, "the reason is that this jubilee was 'built by hand.' It was made possible by the efforts of comrades and friends who worked, not because they had to, but because they wanted to. And that's the kind of party we are building."

The speaker emphasized "that the confidence of the Socialist Workers Party has a sound base in the profoundly revolutionary events which are now transpiring in the world. . . . and although today, we are in the vanguard, tomorrow will witness the fusing of our program and leadership with the mighty power of the American working class."

PARTY BUILDING

A well rounded program was presided over by the veteran socialist leader, Arne Swabek. An excellent Smorgasbord was enjoyed by an audience which included a goodly number of Negro workers, students, and contacts made during the recent election campaign. Over \$250 was raised, during the course of evening, to further party building activities.

Several subscriptions to the Militant and a selection of pamphlets were sold to the many newcomers.

Two young sympathizers requested membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

As one old-time sympathizer of the party remarked, "It's wonderful, in times like these, to see something like this!"

U.S. Labor Leaders Crawl Back Into All Washington War Agencies

SUPREME COURT ISSUES "SUBVERSIVES" RULES

(Continued from Page 1)

vary with the mood or political philosophy of the prosecutor, are weapons which can be made as sharp or blunt as the occasion requires. . . . The rudiments of justice, as we know it, call for notice and hearing — an opportunity to appear and to rebut the charge."

By a 4-to-4 tie-vote in another closely linked decision the Supreme Court upheld the dismissal of Dorothy Bailey from her government job on charges that she belonged to the Communist Party — which she denied. This decision tends to strengthen the government's hand in carrying through its loyalty purge even though it contradicted the court ruling in the cases of the three blacklisted organizations. The two rulings were so flagrantly inconsistent that Justice Jackson said: "This is justice turned bottom-side up."

The court in effect held that it is illegal to brand an organization disloyal without a trial but all right to stigmatize a government worker as disloyal and dismiss her from employment without a fair and full hearing.

UNKNOWN WITNESS

Justice Douglas indignantly assailed the Loyalty Board for accepting secret evidence withheld from her against Miss Bailey from an FBI informant whose identity the board did not even know. "The critical evidence may be the word of an unknown witness who is 'a paragon of veracity, a knave, or the village idiot.' He did not 'see how the validity of this dragnet system of loyalty trials can be sustained' and called the system an 'excellent illustration of how dangerous a departure from our constitutional standards can be.'"

Although these divergent deci-

Purge Victim



JAMES KUTCHER

sions do not abolish the loyalty program, they cast considerable doubt on its legality. The confusion and uneasiness within the Supreme Court itself, caught between the demand of the administration to uphold the loyalty purge and its clearly unconstitutional character, was manifested by the fact that six different opinions were written by the justices on the improper procedures of the entire program.

KUTCHER CASE

These circumstances add importance to the appeal of the legless veteran James Kutcher now before the federal district court in Washington. Kutcher, who was fired from his job for admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, is directly challenging the constitutionality of the Attorney General's list and the loyalty purge based upon it. It should be far more difficult for the Supreme Court to avoid taking a definite stand on the legality of his discharge than in the Bailey case.

Hansen Speaks In Youngstown On World Crisis

YOUNGSTOWN—An audience predominantly made up of steelworkers, turned out April 27 to hear Joseph Hansen speak on "America and the World Crisis." The entire speech was followed with intense interest as Hansen cited the bestial atrocities in Korea, the vicious and fascist allies of the American imperialists and the perversion of Democracy.

"If," he contended, "this is the type of democracy America is exporting, it is certainly a weird and strange variety — surely it can have nothing in common with the democratic ideals held by the leaders of the American Revolution."

FALSE SLOGAN

Hansen's conclusion that the American imperialists were seeking not to make the world safe for democracy but to insure the safety and return on the capitalists' investments, seemed to be also the conclusion of the audience. This was evidenced by the nature of the questions following the speech, nearly all of which sought information on the nature of Stalinism, what the position of Stalinism is in the Korean war, and what kind of a deal Stalin is trying to make and why the change in the Yugoslav foreign policy.

As proof of the great interest in learning the socialist solution to the world crisis, five subscriptions to the Militant were sold.

DETROIT TRANSPORT STRIKERS HOLD FIRM, MAYOR TRIES STRIKEBREAKING

DETROIT — A strike of bus and street-car operators which began April 21, centered around a demand for an eight and one-half cent an hour wage increase, is one of the finest examples of labor solidarity seen in this city for many years.

When the city administration had shown a contemptuous disregard for the demands of the union, officials of Division 26, Bus and Streetcar Operators, AFL, called the strike, which had already been authorized by a membership meeting.

The strike was 100% effective from the very start. Every attempt by city officials to break the union has thus far met with complete failure.

THE RED HERRING

Two days before the strike, the Detroit News featured a story reporting a "Red Plot to Hurt City's Defense Effort With DSR Shutdown." This smear had no effect on the operators.

Detroit Mayor Cobo had instructed the city "subversive" squad to investigate the union leaders, seeking to establish their past connection with radical organizations, in an attempt to divert attention from the real issues of the strike. This was a complete flop.

On April 25 Cobo, dubbed "Little Caesar" by the workers, invoked the Hutchinson act, which forbids strikes by city workers in Michigan, and fired all but a handful of the 3,800 DSR operators.

The transportation workers met this drastic action with scorn. The

Big Business Still Controls Entire Government Machine

The United Labor Policy Committee has returned to Truman's war mobilization boards without winning one major change in the anti-labor set-up which two and a half months ago precipitated labor's walkout.

When they voted April 30 to surrender their fight against Big Business domination in Washington, the labor leaders gave as their reason the "changed attitude in Washington."

At the same time they were obliged to admit that "the cards are still stacked against the consuming public."

Only three days before this cowardly retreat, William Green, AFL president, and James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, speaking at a New York labor rally, agreed that the war mobilization program is being operated "by and for Big Business" and that the prime cause for inflation is the "obscene accumulation of enormous profits."

LABOR'S DEMANDS

At this rally the ULPC stated as its demands: 1. Legislation that would effectively avoid runaway prices. 2. Correct ineffective rent controls. 3. Direct tax burdens to higher income groups. 4. Allow small business a real share in fulfilling rearmament contracts. 5. Grant organized labor genuine participation in government policy-making.

These were the demands of the labor leaders as of April 27. Three days later they went back to the government agencies to serve as "window dressing" without a single one of these demands having been met.

WILSON STILL BOSS

To underline the fact that labor made no gains and solved nothing by this retreat, Charles E. Wilson still remains as the dictatorial anti-labor head of the mobilization program, and the Wage Stabilization Board, newly constituted, is headed by George Taylor, World War II chairman of the War Labor Board, and author of the vicious "Little Steel Formula."

By returning to the Wage Stabilization Board the labor leaders have agreed to take responsibility for the government program which aims to freeze wages while the cost of living rises uncontrolled.

They now have to deal with over 800 wage cases pending before the WSB.

NO LEADERSHIP

This capitulation will temporarily discourage the American workers, and deepen their mood of apathy. The strong stand taken by the top union officers at the time of their break with the administration, tended to arouse the rank and file and set the stage for the independent political action of labor.

But since the leaders stopped short of such a step, the rank and file workers are left without a perspective. They will continue to feel the effects of inflation, to suffer a reduction in their living standards, to see profits un-restricted and Big Business reaping the benefits of war preparations.

Without a strongly organized left wing in the unions, this discontented state of mind of the members is unexpressed. But the conditions which brought about the break between the labor leaders and the administration, will in the near future give strong impetus to the development of a leftwing within the union movement.

BACK IMPERIALISM

The labor leadership is committed to the imperialist war plans of American capitalism. That is the real reason they have surrendered without any basic concessions. U.S. Capitalism, gearing its economy for all-out war, must of necessity hammer down the workers' living standards.

To fight against the consequences of militarization requires a fight against the whole political program of capitalism, both its foreign and domestic policy. The "peace" between Truman and the labor leaders may be only a shortlived one. Another crisis may break out soon. But the problems which the workers confront require more than the maneuvers of Philip Murray and Wm. Green; they require a full break with capitalist politics, the organization of labor's own party, and a struggle against the imperialist war plans which are incompatible with the well being of the American people.

Hoffa, warned that "his union would move immediately should efforts be made to hire new drivers to break (the DSR) strike."

Frank Martell, President of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, called a meeting of representatives of 250 AFL unions, to "Place solidly behind the members of the street car men's union the full support of every AFL union and member."

However, it should be pointed out that these same union officers who are now correctly aiding the operator's strike, not so long ago joined with strikebreaking Mayor Cobo in his attempts to smash the union of sanitation workers, the United Public Workers, Independent. Their actions at that time helped to keep alive the infamous Hutchinson act, which is now being turned against the operators.

Should this strike of streetcar and bus operators be successful, and there is every sign that it will, it will deal a heavy blow against the anti-labor Hutchinson law, and against the anti-union administration of Mayor Cobo.

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