

Anti-War Mood Spurs Campaign For "Militant"

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

"This campaign proves what we have been saying but not quite believing; namely, the mood of the working people is changing from bewilderment and passivity to militancy and resentment." That is the conclusion reached by the Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party, moving into high gear in the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign after a slow start. The scoreboard this week confirms Seattle's optimistic conclusion. Total subscriptions now stand at 711; sales of single copies, 11,322.

With a score of 7,921 points, the Twin Cities still led the country. New York however, raising its score to 7,036, cut that lead down considerably. (Every paper sold counts one point; a \$1 six-months sub, 26 points; a \$2 one-year sub, 52 points.)

Detroit made a sensational advance from 2,518 points last week to 5,409 this week, pushing ahead of Los Angeles by a considerable margin.

Chicago, in Buffalo's dust up to now, put the accelerator down to the floor boards and changed this to its opposite.

Among the top individual scorers, Mary of Chicago ran up a score of 1,353 points in 10 days, challenging the national lead of Paul of the Twin Cities.

In the Konikow League, Boston relinquished the bottom part of the ladder to Youngstown and Cleveland; while Philadelphia recovered its earlier lead over Newark.

Among the top individual scorers in the Konikow League, it looks like Flint put up a "No Passing" sign; but the word is they are willing to move over for anyone close enough to give them the horn.

In the Kujac League the grand prize is still open to a subgetter with push and energy. Anybody want a trip to New York and week's vacation, expenses paid?

More about campaign in "Militant Army" on page 2.

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores

League	Points
Coover League	
Twin Cities	7,921
New York	7,036
Detroit	5,409
Los Angeles	3,753
Chicago	3,370
Buffalo	1,764
San Francisco	1,575
Seattle	1,212
Konikow League	
Flint	2,196
Philadelphia	1,195
Newark	1,067
Boston	648
Milwaukee	483
Cleveland	364
Youngstown	234
Kujac League	
Akron	214
Oakland	172
Pittsburgh	150
St. Louis	135
West Virginia	130
Toledo	104
New Haven	63
Allentown	39

Individual Scores

League	Points
Coover League	
Paul	2,007
Mary	1,353
Pauline	1,014
Don	962
Marie H.	941
Harry	741
John	676
Bill B.	480
Jean	469
Artie	468
Ernie D.	467
Frank	399
Fred R.	382
John R.	380
Winifred	377
Walt	364
Ruth B.	312
Jim W.	312
Konikow League	
Emmett	712
Marve	427
Bill	421
Sol	340
Kujac League	
Dave	107

TRENTON 6 DEFENDANTS NAIL PROSECUTION LIES

By George Lavan

TRENTON, May 22—Today the last of the Trenton Six stepped down from the witness stand, his story unshaken by cross-examination of the prosecution which is seeking to send the Negro defendants to

the date because of the attempted delivery of a C.O.D. package while he was present. The parcel postman who had that route in 1948 was on the stand today. By consulting his records he was able to fix the time of his attempted delivery between 11:30 and noon.

James Thorpe, whose arm had been amputated the preceding week, was around his neighborhood helping a friend repair a car. To this there are witnesses. More damaging to the prosecution is that none of those who saw the participants in the crime fleeing made any mention of a one-armed man, although Thorpe's amputation is a high one and his most conspicuous feature at first glance.

McKinley Forrest was working that morning cleaning chickens for the poultry firm of Kapsam and Weiner. He did not leave the premises till after the time the police have set for slaying. When he did leave it was on a short errand to the bank for his employer.

The last defendant, Forrest's nephew, John McKenzie told how he too was working in a slaughterhouse—several miles away from the store where William Horner was hit a fatal blow. Like all the

(Continued on page 4)

Ralph Cooper was at the house of his girl friend Melrose Diggs, as both she and her mother have testified. They were able to fix

THE MILITANT

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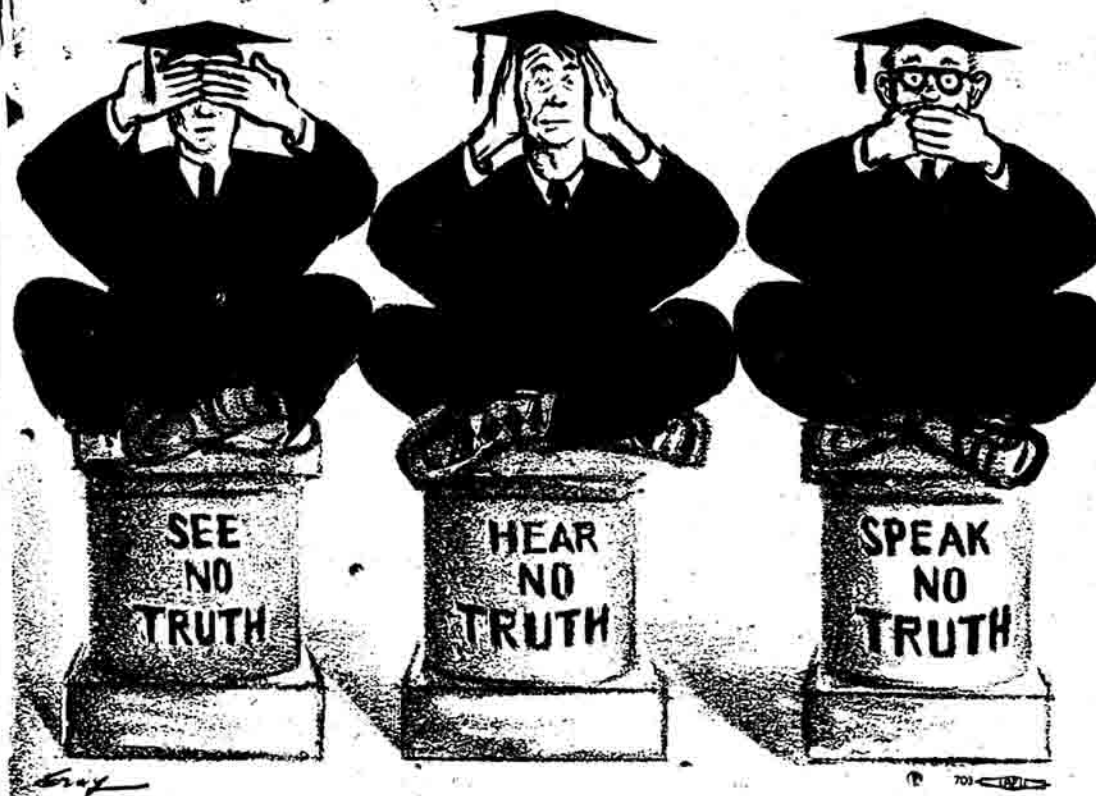
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PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Senator Urges 'Cease Fire,' Get All Troops Out of Korea

Perfect Students - Witch-Hunt Model



Witch-Hunt Fear Grips Colleges, Survey Shows

The intellectual atmosphere of American university campuses is dominated by "fear . . . uncertainty . . . frustration . . . hysteria" according to a study of thought-control at 72 colleges and universities by Kalman Seigel, in the N. Y. Times May 10 and 11.

Seigel quotes an article in the Yale University paper, The Daily News, which typifies the student attitude:

A STUDENT VIEW
"We cannot believe that the American people will indefinitely tolerate this control over youthful lives by looming up before them the spectre of the 'loyalty check.' We cannot believe that this virtual blockade of the marketplace of ideas can go on for a lifetime.

"And yet, despite hope, we see the sky growing darker, the night of thought-conformity closing in. We see college men growing more and more docile, more and more accepting the status quo, paralyzed by fear of their futures, radicalism snuffed out where it should flame the brightest."

Summing up the results of his survey, Seigel lists the following conclusions on the reaction of students, teachers and administrators to the witch-hunt:

"1. A reluctance to speak out on controversial issues in and out of class.

"2. A reluctance to handle currently unpopular concepts even in classroom work where they may be part of the study program.

"3. An unwillingness to join student political clubs.

"4. Neglect of humanitarian causes because they may be suspect in the minds of politically unsophisticated officials.

"5. An emphasis on lack of affiliations.

"6. An unusual amount of serious joking about this or that official investigating committee 'getting you.'

"7. A shying away, both physically and intellectually from any association with the words, 'liberal,' 'peace,' 'freedom,' and from classmates of a liberal stripe.

"8. A sharp turning inward to local college problems, to the exclusion of broader current questions."

FUTURES IN DANGER

At the City College of New York a student described the repression, holding that "students were unwilling to speak out, particularly in engineering, where,

he said, 'the wrong word at the wrong time might jeopardize their future.' He also explained that FBI agents were constantly "inquiring about students applying for government jobs."

Seigel states that "the current issue of one of the undergraduate papers (City College of N. Y.) explored another phase of the problem in this way: 'The willingness of instructors to express their own honest viewpoint has been slowly ebbing. Evidence in support of this statement cannot be given in black and white. It can only be felt in the classroom.'"

In New England's privately endowed colleges, Seigel says, "Amherst, Williams, Bowdoin, Smith, Wellesley — left-wing liberalism has been ebbing for some time.

PEACE AND FREEDOM

Dean Millicent C. McIntosh of Barnard "said she found some girls held that anything identified with peace, freedom of speech or negotiations to resolve differences

was suspected of communist influence. Girls are becoming afraid to advocate the humanitarian point of view," Dean McIntosh said, "because it has been associated with communism."

Seigel sums up the situation as a "subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech . . . attacking college campuses in many parts of the country, limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth."

Thus, the weight of fear and prejudice, produced by the government campaign to suppress criticism, is stifling the intellectual freedom of 2,500,000 students.

But Seigel points out that on many campuses students and teachers are fighting back. "At a number of . . . colleges students reported that the pressures toward conformity, which many felt had filtered through college walls from the community at large, made them 'mad' and more articulate, and had stimulated increased free expression."

BUT WANTS DECISION LEFT TO UN NOT TO A VOTE OF THE U.S. PEOPLE

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado Democrat, on May 17 proposed a resolution aimed at making it the "sense of the Senate that the UN call upon all nations and all groups now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective at 4 a.m. (Korean time) June 25, 1951."

The resolution further calls upon the UN to arrange that "UN forces retire to points south and the opposing forces retire to points north of the 38th parallel, and that before Dec. 31, 1951 . . . all non-Korean persons, military and non-military . . . shall depart from North and South Korea."

TRUMAN BACKS BRITISH IN IRAN OIL ROBBERY

By John G. Wright

An international crisis, the gravest since Korea, is swiftly building up to the point of explosion in Iran. The British government, defending the interests of British imperialism, continues to "reject"

the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. by the Iranian parliament and keeps threatening military intervention. London's threats have been backed by the U.S. State Department, which up to a few days ago cynically assumed the role of a "neutral."

Washington's intervention in behalf of the British oil monopolists has resulted only in aggravating an already acute situation. The anti-imperialist moods of the Iranian masses are now at fever pitch.

SPREADING REVOLUTION

Underlying the Iranian developments is the spread of the colonial revolution from the Far East to the Middle East. It is this revolutionary upheaval that has led to the nationalization of the foreign-owned oil trust by the Majlis, the Iranian parliament, composed largely of conservative native politicians.

The same mass ferment lies behind the flat rejection by the Iranian government of the U.S. note backing up Britain. Iranian Foreign Minister Bagher Kazemi charged Washington with meddling in Iran's internal affairs.

Sevid Kashani, leader of the powerful Moslem movement, warned both Britain and the U.S. of a "jihad" — that is, a "holy war" if any attempt is made to land foreign troops. Even the conservative Tehran daily Keyhan protested Washington's support of Britain as follows:

"What does the free world mean to us when we cannot have its support in our fight for independence and political freedom? If we cannot gain our freedom in a world where people's freedoms are respected, what is the good of joining this world."

The press comment in other papers was much sharper in tone.

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This Is the Kind of Foreign Policy The American People Really Want

1. Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!
2. Withdraw all American troops from Korea!
3. Recognize the government of New China!
4. Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!

Nationalize the Meat Trust!

An Editorial

The American people are threatened with a meat famine — yet there's no meat shortage. Our health and welfare are in danger from lack of meat — yet millions of beef cattle are ready for the market. Two weeks ago the stockyards in Chicago, Kansas City and other meat packing centers were teeming. But last week the newspapers featured pictures of these same stockyards — suddenly empty.

Overnight the cattle disappeared as if wiped out by a plague. And they were wiped out by a plague — though not one caused by germs or viruses. They were stricken by a deadlier organism — capitalist greed.

Start to Withhold Meat

Just four big meat packing corporations control 90 per cent of the country's meat supply. Their profits all along have been fabulous. They hiked meat prices to the highest on record. These meat prices soared at double the rate of the rises on all other foods.

But that's not high enough for the meat trust. The meat monopolists declare: "Pay more! Pay all we demand — or else!" Or else they'll cut off the supply of meat. They've started to do it, too.

Their pretext for this monopoly-imposed meat famine is the alleged "price control" regulations issued by the Truman administration. These regulations actually RAISE meat prices. They permit 10 to 15 per cent HIGHER prices on the cheaper cuts of beef — the cuts the workers

are accustomed to buy. But the mere label "price control" on this fraud was enough to inflame the meat profiteers. They have threatened a meat famine — and are carrying out their threat.

They did it before in 1946, and Truman capitulated miserably to their demands. The meat barons don't fear the government. It's THEIR government. It will send national guards against striking meat packing workers whose wages are so low they can't afford to buy meat, as in 1948. But it won't touch meat profits.

If this government meat business, it could stop the meat famine as fast as it was started — and it could cut prices and raise packinghouse wages at the same time. All it requires is to take the control of the meat supply and processing out of the hands of the monopolists.

Nationalize Meat Industry

The answer to their threat of meat-starvation for the American people is: Nationalize the meat industry under the control of the workers in the industry!

Do the profits and "property rights" of a handful of multi-millionaires stand above the most elementary needs of the people for adequate food? Are a few greedy profit-hogs to condemn millions to meat-hunger or to be robbed blind by monopoly-fixed high prices?

Stop this terrible blackmail and robbery! Smash the criminal meat trust! Demand that the government take over and operate the meat industry under workers control.

The Johnson resolution, immediately referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations without discussion, would not bind the Senate or the UN to take any action. It would merely record "the sense" of the Senate that it wishes to end the Korean slaughter.

The Democratic senator, long a firm administration supporter, was no doubt prompted by three main motives:

1. His desire to build his political fences by appealing to the widespread opposition to the Korean war.
2. His desire to get U.S. imperialism out of its difficulties in the Korean war, which Johnson describes as a "hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness."
3. His fear, as a supporter of the administration's war program which seeks to concentrate U.S. power in Europe as the main base of operations in World War III, that the U.S. will be forced to commit itself to all-out war in Asia if the Korean war goes on.

In spite of the innocuous character of the Johnson resolution, it was buried in the back pages of the capitalist press, which feared it would serve to further arouse the anti-war sentiments of the people.

Despite the fact that the resolution is only a weak gesture, the Stalinists are giving it their unequalled support. They make no mention of the fact that the resolution if passed by the Senate would still leave the question of peace in the hands of the imperialist-dominated UN.

The Johnson proposal would make it possible for the UN to negotiate a "peace" without the participation of the new government of China, an ignoring the right of the Korean people to decide their own fate. It is significant that Pravda, Stalin's mouthpiece, hailed the Johnson proposal in a front page story. Any attempt to resolve the Korean conflict without the full participation of China would be in the form of a deal between the U.S. and the Kremlin — a repetition of the sell-out of the European revolution by Stalin during his wartime alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill.

Johnson's resolution states that the "American people have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan, 'Asia for the Asian' if it were applied to Asia." But he does not call for the full recognition of revolutionary China, the most important nation on the Asian continent. Nor was Johnson's voice raised against the embargo of China recently voted by the UN.

Sowing illusions that Johnson's resolution can bring peace plays into the hands of the imperialists.

The first step in the direction of peace would be to take the powers to make war and establish peace out of the hands of the president and Congress, and to let the American people vote on the question in a national referendum.

What is needed to end the Korean war is the mobilization of the American people behind the slogans:

- Stop the Korea war now!
- Bring the GIs home at once!
- Recognize the new government of China!
- Let the people vote on war and peace!

Notebook of an Agitator

THE MEN WHO MOLD PEOPLE'S MINDS

In last week's review of *The Big Wheel* by John Brooks (Pocket Books, 25c) I dealt with the author's exposition of the techniques used by Present Day, a national news and picture magazine, in mangling the news and dishing out phony culture for the disorientation and befuddlement of the masses. The trick, in short, is to start out with a predetermined aim to mold people's minds to acceptance and support of the status quo and then to slant the news to serve the design.

But *The Big Wheel* does more than describe the mechanics of this devious enterprise. It is a novel and its major theme is people. The author introduces us to the literary craftsmen who work on the assembly line of this misinformation factory, and lets them speak for themselves about the motivations which bind them to their grimy trade. The dialogue reveals their philosophy of life — if you want to call it that.

They are all conventionally educated men, presumably instructed in the basic precept of the Christian doctrine that it's a sin to tell a lie, and the more cogent Yankee supplement that honesty is the best policy from a practical standpoint. But in their case the instruction didn't take. The world-weary cynics on *Present Day* are convinced that the lie runs faster than the truth, and pays better too.

THE RELIGIOUS EDITOR'S STANDARDS

There was Sturtevant Smith, an all-around journalist who could fill most any post, who was stuck with the job of religious editor. He didn't like it and tried to get transferred, but it was no go; you can't pick your spots on *Present Day*. "I've asked them a hundred times. I've cajoled and I've threatened and I've flatly refused. It's no use. Burnside says I'm good at the religious page."

What made him good for this particular job, in the view of Burnside, a sub-editor who liked to badger his underlings, was perhaps the minor circumstance that Smith didn't believe in the religion which *Present Day* heartily recommended to its readers. "His basic assumptions on politics and morality seemed to be at variance with the magazine's." In fact, as he said, he was an agnostic.

Nevertheless he worried over his job and did the best he could. "If he started a piece thinking that he agreed with the magazine, he would change his mind while working on it. The next week the magazine might change its mind, and decide to do another piece. . . In that case Sturtevant would change his mind too."

Why the hell didn't he quit such a disagreeable and degrading job? "How can I tell you, I need ten thousand a year to keep the apartment! Besides, where could I go from here? This is the top, Dick. . . All I could do would be to get some grubby job in newspapers for half the dough I get now." That was the trouble with Sturtevant Smith; he needed — or thought he needed — the extra dough.

"His choice seemed to be between a duplex in the East Eighties with his soul in chains, and a tiny place — say five or six rooms — in some outlandish neighborhood like Riverside Drive, with his soul free. Was his soul worth the difference?" This is an interesting speculation, which as far as I know, has not arisen before in literature.

Faust sold his soul to the devil, and that was considered a mistake, but here is a man — and he typifies many — who sold his soul to a God he didn't believe in. The difference, if any, is not clear to me.

THE ART CRITIC'S PRICE

There was Herb Katzman, whose department was "critical work, art, music and literature." He was an outspoken fellow of exceptional ability who regarded journalistic integrity as a lot of nonsense. As Herb saw it, his connection with *Present Day* was a business transaction, pure and simple. He tailored his writings and critical judgments to fit *Present Day*'s requirements, and they paid him handsomely for his services, and that's all there was to it. No pretensions.

"You know," he said, "that I dislike the magazine's standards from here to Thursday and back again. . . But let me tell you some of the things I like about it. I like the place it lets me live, and lets my wife live, outside town. I

like the meals it lets me buy people in restaurants, the drinks in bars. . . So they own my talent. Well, Dick, listen to this: I'm proud and lucky to have sold my talent at so high a figure."

But, for all that, Katzman was a queer duck who drew the line at a certain point. He wouldn't pretend to believe in the work he was doing. This got him into trouble with Masterson, the editor-in-chief, who insisted that his staff men must be convinced and have faith in their mission to mold people's minds in the *Present Day* pattern. Katzman's quixotic scruple, which prompted him to insist on his right to recommend a religious book he didn't believe in and said so, eventually cost him his job.

The book in question "was a thin little tract, brought out by an obscure publisher, giving a mystical interpretation of the modern world with special reference to recent political events. The chief point in it was that anything goes in the holy war to the death against the forces of Russian materialism. The author, to cap the climax, had a leftist past — had, in fact, or so the dust cover proclaimed, once been a prominent and active member of the Communist Party."

This was right down *Present Day*'s alley. Masterson was delighted with the recommendation, for he was deeply convinced, that in furtherance of the American way of life, the people, especially those who are shy of material things, need religion and plenty of it. "Let's do an illustrated review," he said. "Pictures of the devil as interpreted by various ages, that sort of thing. And excerpts from the book, boxed off in heavy type. We'll really get our weight behind it."

Katzman's discovery and recommendation of the religious tract which hit the boss man's fancy so hard might have meant a feather in his cap and — more important from his point of view — a bonus in his pay envelope, if he had only had sense enough to keep his mouth shut and let the ex-radical's spiritual revelations work their own mysterious way. But no, he had to pop off. "Candidly," he had said, "I think it stinks to the skies. It makes me actively ill." That did it!

THE RIGHT TO BE A HYPOCRITE

Masterson, the man with a mission to mold people's minds, had no room on the staff of *Present Day* for a man who could recommend a book he didn't believe in but still hold out for his right to say, "it stinks. It makes me ill." Herb Katzman was fired forthwith. This action stirred up a mild revolt among the minor mind molders on the staff — as ridiculous a revolution as ever could be imagined, which brings this remarkable novel to its climax.

A number of the staff writers drew up and signed a petition protesting against the firing of Katzman "because he expressed an opinion indicating that he had submitted to the magazine material in which he does not personally believe." Masterson, the anachronistic romanticist who demanded sincerity from the news-twisting and culture-faking technicians on the staff, blew up over their demand for the right to write what they didn't believe.

"Could they really insist on their right to be whores?" he asked, indignantly. They did, and they were quite stubborn about it, for it was a matter of principle with them. "What were they trying to do," said their spokesman, "is force you to lower the moral standards you require of your staff?"

After somewhat of a ruction, and the intervention of the Board of Directors, Masterson, whose impractical insistence on belief in falsehood caused the trouble, resigned. He was replaced by Jack Johns, who didn't believe in anything himself and didn't give a damn whether others did or not, as long as they kept quiet about it. A tacit compromise was arrived at, and everything remained substantially as before. The staff members won "the right to be whores," but in practice thereafter they kept their private opinions to themselves.

The revolution ended in a draw, and *Present Day* just keeps rolling along.

—J.P.C.

Next week: What Is a Man Profited?

Ceylon Socialists' Aims

(Following is a section of the program of action adopted by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, revolutionary socialist party of Ceylon, contending for a majority of the Ceylonese parliament in this year's elections.)

The Party takes part in every real struggle of the masses, however limited the objectives for the

moment (e.g. the defense of democratic rights, against wage cuts, etc.). But its propaganda and agitation will give these day to day struggles their real (i.e. revolutionary) perspective, and bring home to the masses the necessity to end colonial subjection and the capitalist order itself, if their most elementary

demands are to be effectively realized.

For this purpose the party advances the following program of transitional demands:

1. Cancellation of all agreements made by the Ceylon capitalists with the British imperialists, which serve to maintain semi-colonial subjection. Withdrawal from the Commonwealth and the setting up of a republic. Removal of British armed forces.

2. Full employment. Distribution of available work, among all workers. Sliding scale of working hours without reduction of wages. Public works under trade union control to absorb unemployed.

3. Decent living standards. A guaranteed minimum according to the real cost of living with wages increasing according to the rising prices.

4. Freezing of foreign assets. Prohibition of export of dividends.
5. Nationalization of key industries and public utilities without compensation and their operation under workers' control.

6. Income tax of 100% over a fixed ceiling.
7. Confiscation of all lands owned by absentee landlords, and their transfer to working peasants.

8. Inspection of books of all capitalist concerns by trade unions.

On Way to Death



Sentenced to death by the corrupt U.S.-dominated Philippine government for aiding Hukbalahap peasant revolutionists, 24-year-old Luminada Calonge (r.) smiles and raises fist in salute as she leaves Manila courthouse. She is handcuffed to 17-year-old Josefina Adelan, who got 10-year prison term.

TRUMAN BACKS IMPERIALIST THEFT OF IRAN OIL BY BRITISH EMPIRE

(Continued from Page 1)

On Tuesday May 22 a huge mass demonstration was held in Teheran. The bitter anti-British and anti-American feelings of the demonstrators were admitted even in the brief and tendentious cables to the capitalist press in this country. One speaker was cheered when he accused Washington of a "stab in the back of the Iranian nation."

ROARS OF APPROVAL

Another speaker, a spokesman for the Moslem movement, brought roars of approval verging on "frenzy," according to the Associated Press, when he declared: "All loyal Moslems will throw the British bandits into the Persian Gulf if they do not leave the country."

VATICAN'S INTERVENTION IN ITALIAN ELECTIONS

By Charles Hanley

The Catholic Church is openly intervening in the coming municipal elections in Italy, directing Catholics to vote against the Communist Party (Stalinist). Cardinal

Schuster of Milan, a former fascist, writes in a Catholic newspaper that the elections "will decide whether Italy will remain free and Catholic or whether it will be grouped among the states which are satellites of the Soviet Union." He states further, "Thus the issue assumes a religious aspect."

Cardinal della Costa of Florence warned: "Here, then, is the clear and grave duty to vote according to our Christian conscience. . . Whoever abstains from voting or who votes for individuals who oppose Christian faith and morals, automatically . . . makes himself guilty of a sin much greater than missing mass on Sunday or not making the Easter duty. . . "And in Genoa where many followers of the Church voted for the CP in 1948, the Bishop announced that every Catholic supporting communism will be denied religious marriage and burial. No threat is spared to induce Catholics into obedience to the Vatican's political dictates.

On those occasions the Church insisted on its "non-political" character and "neutrality." . . . The cardinals of Italy and France praised Mussolini and Petain — until the bourgeoisie switched its support to "democratic" politicians. Where was their "Christian conscience" in the days of dictatorship?

DEFENDS RULING CLASS

The Church always defends the ruling classes. Its defense of the ruling class is highly political.

New York Harlem Rally For Trenton Six

The growth of Northern Jim Crow. Hear an eyewitness description of lynch law at work in New Jersey

Speaker: GEORGE LAVAN
"THE MILITANT" REPORTER
AT TRENTON SIX TRIAL
Sat., June 2, 8 PM
Cor. 7th Ave. & 125th Street
Auspices
Socialist Workers Party

Threats Made to Expand War to Chinese Mainland

By Tom Conlan

While attacking MacArthur for his policy of extending the Korean hostilities to the Chinese mainland, the Truman administration has recently taken long strides in this same direction.

Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, stated on May 19 that under no circumstances would the U.S. recognize the Peiping regime, which he labelled "a colonial Russian government" and not at all "the government of China." Rusk then added that Chiang Kai-shek's government was the one recognized by the U.S. as "authentically" representing the people of China, and broadly hinted "tremendous" support for Chiang in future attempts to invade the Chinese mainland and to overthrow the "puppet" Mao regime.

John Foster Dulles, the chief administration figure now negotiating the peace treaty with Japan, strongly backed Rusk.

The N. Y. Times welcomed this

"change in American policy toward China" and commented that "these speeches (of Rusk and Dulles) go far beyond the policies of mere non-recognition of the Chinese Communist regime."

Sen. Sparkman (Democrat of Alabama), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Far Eastern affairs, promptly announced that Chiang's troops would be deployed "primarily behind the Communist lines in South China" when "the time and place are right."

In the course of Gen. Bradley's testimony before the Senate committee, Sen. Smith remarked that it was contemplated to assist Chiang in effecting a beach-head on the Chinese mainland "which I understand from Dean Rusk's speech the other day," explained Sen. Smith, "we were inclined to approve of." Gen. Bradley, while disclaiming knowledge of Rusk's statement, did not enter a flat denial. Instead he suggested that there were "small islands off the coast (of China and still held by Chiang) which can be used for such purposes."

According to some "congressional sources," reports Charles Lacey, Scripps-Howard Washington correspondent, "We've been doing a lot of things we just can't talk about now."

These moves have caused considerable stir and apprehension among Washington's allies and in reply to diplomatic requests for clarification, the State Department, through its press officer M. J. McDermott, issued a lengthy and equivocal statement denying there was any change in administration views or policy toward China. Rusk's speech was simply a "re-statement" and implied no "involvement in the Chinese Civil War," said the State Department. This is obviously untrue.

"Mr. Dean Rusk, speaking for the State Department, made a pronouncement which, if it is a serious statement of policy, means that the war must go on indefinitely and interminably," concluded columnist Walter Lippmann who then went on to say: "For it is impossible to reconcile a policy of limited war with a policy which commits us to the overthrow of the Chinese Communist government. The overthrow of the enemy government is the objective not of a limited but of a total war. Such an objective excludes a negotiated settlement in Korea and is just another way of announcing that our terms are once again un-

conditional surrender." This is in the main correct.

In Lippmann's opinion the administration is working itself "into a fantastic predicament."

But the fact remains that the administration has been moving to extend the war with China, for some time now. In testifying before the Senate Committee Bradley, speaking for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, blandly conceded that militarily the differences of opinion with MacArthur "might eventually come down to a simple question of timing."

The moves of the administration have been increasingly aggressive. Rusk's public statement was preceded by Washington's ruthlessly forcing through the U.N. General Assembly a resolution placing an "arms embargo" on all shipments to China. It was carried by a vote of 45 to 0. The Yugoslav delegation which had previously shamelessly abstained on openly anti-Chinese resolutions, this time shamelessly voted in favor, marking a further shift to the right in Yugoslav foreign policy. Among the abstainers were the decisive Asian nations in the Near and Far East: India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt and Syria. The Soviet bloc refused to "participate in the voting."

An economic blockade under the loose formula of "arms shipments" — is an aggressive war measure. Congress immediately rushed to add to the pressure that U.S. imperialism can bring to bear on recalcitrant allies by voting unanimously to bar all economic or financial aid to nations permitting export of "strategic materials or commodities" to the Soviet Union, its East European satellites, North Korea and China. These "strategic materials" just about cover all the important exports.

At the same time, in connection with the negotiations for the Japanese treaty, the U.S. State Department has officially notified the Kremlin that it sharply distinguishes between the China of Chiang and the China of Mao, recognizing only the former. In other words, diplomatically putting forth the same basic position enunciated by Rusk.

The evidence is piling up that step by step the Truman administration is doing precisely what it has been accusing MacArthur of wanting to do. It is heading toward an expanded war in Asia, and a renewal of its intervention in the Chinese civil war through Chiang Kai-shek.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York is now setting its sights on that 885 point lead of the Twin Cities in the Big League.

"Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign." "Our campaign spirit is at a very high pitch," says Cathy Dee, Literature Agent of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. "Each additional batch of points which closes the gap between the Twin Cities and New York is hailed with enthusiasm."

"In addition, the warm response our Militant sales people receive helps us to keep on plugging. Workers who read a copy welcome us when we return. For example, one reader who was in the Marines for eight years said, 'This is what I've been looking for.' An elderly Negro woman remarked, 'The paper is wonderful. I want my children to read it too.' We really have high hopes of overtaking the Twin Cities lead."

Meanwhile Detroit made an astonishing spurt forward. It wasn't jet propulsion, just the growing appreciation of how a sub for *The Militant* helps bring us closer to the world of enduring peace which socialism offers.

"Enthusiasm in the branch is very high," Literature Agent Shirley Mason writes. "Everyone is plugging for Detroit to win but at the same time competition is very keen between the teams and individual comrades. So far results have been very good."

Sensation of the week was the score rolled up by Mary of Chicago. "We've throwing a 'sleeper' to you," writes Bert Deck. "Mary started to work on the campaign about 10 days ago and last Friday night turned in 1,353 points! Mary has the same secret shared by all the other top scorers in the country: Work, work, work. Most of her subs are in her own

neighborhood. She sells house to house, on the Elevated, by telephone. Rumor has it her bags are packed in readiness for a trip to New York which she is contemplating sometime in July."

The Chicago comrades hand a bouquet to H. Smith who is selling subscriptions in his shop. "This work has already turned in two requests for membership in the Socialist Workers Party, thus confirming the correctness of the slogan, 'The Militant is our best organizer.'"

Bert concludes: "We got off to a slow start in this campaign but participation has been picking up considerably. All the comrades who have pitched in are convinced that the paper can be sold. All report a response quite different from the last campaign."

Note to New York: When Chicago's Local Executive Committee heard that New York's Committee had pledged 2,500 points personally, they felt they couldn't be outdone. They pledged 3,000 points to be delivered by June 30.

Another note to New York: (From Literature Agent Winifred Nelson of St. Paul.) "Incidentally give New York a pat on the back from all of us. They have done a wonderful job this week in raising their score. Keep it up, New York! We knew you could do it!"

And Literature Agent P. S. of Minneapolis writes: "The subs are still coming in good and we are glad of that, but we are just as glad to see the way the other branches are stepping out. All the branches can get subs, never for a moment did we doubt that. Just a little time and effort pays off."

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"Peace Scare" and U.S. Capitalism

A farmer in a small town in Ohio is quoted in the N. Y. Times by feature writer Frederic Fox on the question of peace. He says:

"The generals don't want the war to end. Business would go broke without it. Roosevelt pulled the same trick to get us out of the last depression."

This farmer knows the score.

Strange phrases are now creeping into the American press as common usage: "peace scare," "threat of peace," and "peace danger." The U.S. capitalist class fears peace more than the atom bomb. Whenever there is the slightest hint of a peaceful settlement of the Korea war, the stock market slumps.

Business Week said, May 19, "Victory in Korea would cause a letdown. Wall Street believes it would cause a sharp market break." You can imagine what would happen if it was rumored around that there was to be "all-out peace!"

Arms production serves not only to combat the peoples of the world who are striving for freedom and independence; it serves also to keep alive the sick U.S. capitalist economy.

A Billion a Week

The U.S. military budget is already between one quarter and one third of the total national production. Over a billion dollars a week is being spent for war. It is being stepped up every day.

This is not new. Since 1938 military production has taken up the slack between purchasing

power and the tremendous capacity of this country to produce goods. Under Roosevelt unemployment continued until a gigantic war production program gradually put the jobless to work and brought about the artificial prosperity of World War II.

After World War II there was only a short lapse in military production; once the people had used up their savings buying cars and fridges which they could not get during the war, unemployment began to grow. In order to prevent the collapse of the economy, Wall street needs an armaments program to pump blood into the steel mills, rubber plants, auto, electrical and other basic industries.

Surplus Piles Up

The simple fact is that under the profit system the people do not get enough in wages and salaries to buy back what they produce. Surpluses of goods pile up as a result. Some is sold abroad. But today the world market has collapsed, with the European capitalist countries on the verge of bankruptcy, and large sections of the world cut off from capitalist trade and exploitation.

Under capitalism there is no chance for peace. To keep the profits rolling in, more and more of the productive capacity must be turned to war.

That is what one Ohio farmer has learned. But he is not the only one. This is the lesson more and more Americans are learning. The capitalist system cannot live in peace.

aside of "25% of the current net income from the oil operations in the National Bank of Iran, or any other bank chosen by both parties, to meet the claims of the Company." But even these sweeping concessions, are unacceptable to the British imperialists who are entitled to no concessions whatever and who now stand exposed before the whole world in their naked greed and brutality.

They are guilty of economic aggression against the Iranian people whom they have ruthlessly exploited for so many decades. They threaten Iran with military aggression. Rather than yield their lush profits, they are ready to ravage Iran and incur the risk of precipitating general war in the Near East. And in all this they are receiving the support of the Truman administration.

If any people deserve help in combatting aggression it is the Iranian people now under the combined assault of British and American imperialists.

The natural resources of Iran in all justice belong to the Iranian people. It is unquestionably their privilege, and the duty of their government to take back the oil fields which the British have expropriated from the rightful owners.

The American people have no interest in defending the interference of the British oil pirates in the affairs of the Iranian nation. The British have no more right to exploit Iran today than they had to dominate America before 1776.

Are the Workers Becoming "Capitalists"?

By Joseph Keller

A major chore of capitalism's journalists — those "mind molders" of whom J.P.C. writes so devastatingly in his "Notebook of an Agitator" — is to convince America's 60 million wage slaves that it's not true that 60 multi-millionaire and billionaire families own and run this country.

Thus, Fortune magazine — one of the Henry Luce publications which include Time and Life — recently devoted a whole issue to an attempt to prove that "Wall Street today exerts only a fraction of the power it once wielded." "It is not the capitalists who are using the people," Fortune states, "but the people who are using the capitalists." In fact, according to the Fortune mind molders, America has achieved a "new type" of capitalism in which "capital has become not the master of society, but its servant."

A propaganda drive has been launched through all channels of public misinformation to hammer into people's minds the Luce thesis that American capitalism isn't capitalism any more but something else by the same name.

In the last couple of weeks editors, feature writers, financial commentators and other mind-molding specialists of the Big Business press have been proclaiming the fact that one of the world's greatest monopolies has just acquired its millionth stockholder. Here, they claim, is tangible proof of their thesis that "it is not the capitalists who are using the people, but the people who are using the capitalists."

A MILLION STOCKHOLDERS

The American Telephone and Telephone Company — an eleven billion dollar absolute monopoly of the U.S. communications system — claimed the distinction of being the first corporation to have a million stockholders when Brady Denton, an auto salesman in Saginaw, Mich. took \$1078 of his bank savings to buy seven shares of AT&T for himself and wife.

The first thing AT&T did with the money of Mr. and Mrs. Brady Denton was to publish huge ads in the country's leading newspapers boasting of its new status as the first million-stockholder corporation and inviting other small investors to follow the Dentons' example.

A big ceremony was held at the AT&T headquarters in New York City, where the Denton family, at AT&T's expense, were presented with their new stock certificates by Leroy A. Wilson himself, AT&T president. Later they were invited to visit the New York Stock Exchange and were welcomed by its retiring chairman, Robert P. Boyland. He delivered a speech in which he said, "The Dentons are capitalists," and expressed the hope that stock investors would increase "until ownership of our production is spread throughout the land." One big daily financial editor proclaimed that the occasion "highlights the fact that our big corporations are not owned by a few bloated plutocrats."

Now, like all half-truths, this conceals a big gimmick. The gimmick is that while AT&T has a lot of stockholders, the vast majority of them, individually and collectively, own damn little of AT&T.

OWNED BY TOP 30

There are 29 million outstanding shares of AT&T. A total of about 1,160,000 shares — worth nearly \$200 million, are owned by just 30 top shareholders — an average of almost \$6 million worth of stock each.

Last year, AT&T paid \$9 dividends per share, so each of the 30 top shareholders raked in a third of a million dollars dividends. Naturally, they don't have to do any work for a living. But Mr. Denton, when he collects his \$63 on his seven new shares of stock, is still going to have to go out and sell his labor power for wages in order to get the groceries every week to feed his

family. He's a "capitalist" who still remains a wage slave.

AT&T has 200,000 wage slaves who also are "capitalists" in the sense that they own one or two shares of AT&T stock. They constitute a fifth of all AT&T's shareholders. Most of them bought the stocks before they were unionized when the company let it be known that it was not only desirable but advisable for its miserably paid and overworked employees to kick in from their "savings" for a "share" in "ownership."

HAVE TO STRIKE

These 200,000 wage-slave "owners," however, control less stock than the 30 top owners. Instead of being able to vote themselves better wages and working conditions and improved pensions, they have had to strike repeatedly just to get union recognition and a wage-increase pittance out of AT&T's stupendous profits. Right now some sections of these AT&T "capitalists" are preparing to take a strike vote.

In fact, these "capitalists" are highly indignant about the company's propaganda. Joseph A. Beirne, president of their union, the CIO Communications Workers of America, pointed out that the publicity about the millionth shareholder is a "shallow and cheap device to fool the public."

He cited the company's own figures to show that "7.5 per cent of the stockholders own over half of the outstanding shares."

"Conversely," he added, "the remaining 92.5 per cent of the shareholders combined don't even have majority control of the company. The 7.5 per cent minority are majority owners in this eleven-billion-dollar enterprise. These facts are not disclosed in the company's press release."

The whole truth, therefore, is that AT&T, despite the number of individual stockholders, is actually owned, controlled and managed by a handful of big stockholders who, in most cases, are also controllers of numerous

other industrial corporations, banks, railroads, insurance companies, etc. AT&T's Board of Directors is controlled by the House of Morgan. They also own corporations like Western Electric which makes telephone equipment used exclusively by AT&T. AT&T's big stockholders see to it that AT&T pays fantastic prices — which are passed on to the telephone users — to Western Electric. They thus clean up huge profits from Western Electric — about whose stock "dispersal" we hear very little.

JUST A COME-ON

The retiring head of the New York Stock Exchange, citing the AT&T example, claimed he wants "ownership of our production . . . spread throughout the land." This, of course, is a come-on for small investors to put their meager savings in stocks of companies controlled by the few big stockholders who take most of the profits.

But the fact that the capitalists have to give the impression that they are not "really" capitalists, that they favor "dispersal" of ownership, that they want everyone to be a "capitalist" too, shows that they are very conscious of the growing sentiment of the people against control of our economy by a handful of ruthless profiteers.

We can agree that "ownership of our production" should be spread throughout the land. But not by the AT&T method of selling stocks at high prices to small investors that leaves real ownership and control in the hands of the billionaires. There is

a simpler, more effective and fool-proof method — socialism.

The only way to "disperse" ownership is to make all of society the owner of the means of production and distribution. Under socialism nobody will have to lay out a dime for stocks. Everyone will be an "owner" equally.

Production will be planned, organized and operated nationally as one unified system. There will be no profits and dividends, to be sure, because no one will be an owner in the sense of having so many shares entitling him to so much profit per share at the end of each year. You won't be able to buy and sell and speculate.

But the Mr. and Mrs. Dentons, to compensate them for the few dollars they are permitted to get in dividends on the few shares of stock they are able to buy under capitalism, will get an immeasurably higher standard of living for themselves and their families.

A non-profit socialist economy will eliminate destructive wars, depressions and inflation, and the tremendous gulf between rich and poor. Production for the use of the people will replace production for the profits of a few.

Instead of a few fantastically rich stockholders running our productive and distributive machine for their own sole profit and benefit, the workers will democratically control and manage industry. They won't be "capitalists" like they are today when their labor is exploited by a few private owners. In fact, there won't be any capitalists at all. But there will be happy, healthy, secure producers working together harmoniously for the mutual benefit of all society.

The Negro Struggle

Civil Rights And Socialism

By J. Blake

A young GI in Harlem last week asked a Militant salesman a very good question:

"Everybody except Southerners talks about civil rights for Negroes," he said. "Truman, the Republicans, the Communists and you socialists. We know Truman is full of hot air. He didn't even set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee like we had during World War II. We know the Republicans didn't do any better when they were in power. Why should we believe you socialists would do any different once you get in power?"

That is a serious question. Many new readers of the Militant probably have the same question in their minds. Partly, they know the answer. They know from experience why civil rights for Negroes is just talk in the mouths of Democrats and Republicans. These politicians in the White House and in Congress are capitalist politicians. They believe, and they preach, that the capitalist system is the best possible system and they pledge to defend it against all others.

Under capitalism employers own and control the factories, the mines, the land, the ships and railroads — and workers have to work for one employer or another to live. This system, everyone knows from experience, means continuous wars and depressions, rich and poor, and industry run for profit or not at all.

But the majority of the people are workers, not capitalists. And if this majority acted in its own interest as a class, it could change the system so that industry would operate to produce the things people need and want, with no capitalists, with no profit and special privileges for the few at the expense of everybody else.

Capitalists Keep People Divided

Because they know that, the capitalists do everything they can to keep the majority divided. That's the only way they can continue to run things. And one of the best ways they have to keep working people divided is on the basis of color, national origin, religion and sex.

To grant full civil rights to Negroes — equality with other wage slaves — would mean giving up one of their most important means of keeping the working class divided, of making sure that capitalist profits are not threatened.

Why should politicians put in office by parties controlled by capitalists, financed by capitalists, and operated in the interests of capitalists, help unite the working class by granting full civil rights to 15,000,000 Negroes?

Socialists, on the other hand, have only one reason for existence as a political movement — they are against the capitalist system as injurious to the majority of the people. They want to see it replaced with a system of production and a society that will take all the wonderful inventions and discoveries of mankind and operate them in the interest of mankind to wipe out poverty, war, and all unnecessary suffering.

The Outlook of Socialism

Socialists have examined the problems of our present society in the same scientific way that a scientist in the field of medicine examines a disease. Just as any scientist tries to discover the cause of a disease, and cure it by getting rid of the cause, socialists have examined our society and found the cause of its sickness to be the ownership and control of the means of production by capitalists on a profit basis. That is why the aim of socialists is to get rid of the sickness by taking ownership out of the hands of capitalists and putting it into the hands of society as a whole, so that the welfare of mankind, and not profit, is the motive of production.

But socialists do not expect this basic change from capitalism to socialism to take place until the working people take matters into their own hands. To do that, workers must be united, not divided. All workers, regardless of creed, color, sex, or any other differences, must act together in their class interest if they are to deal with the capitalist class that wants to keep things as they are because they profit by it.

That is why lasting gains in civil rights legislation will not be made until the workers and farmers unite to put a government of their own in power. Only such a government, responsible to the vast majority of the people, is bound to wipe out all barriers to full civil rights for all.

Discrimination and denial of civil rights to part of the working class pays for capitalists; but there is no profit in it in a socialist society.

Hands Off Iran!

The lies which the American people are now being fed in connection with the Iranian crisis are as fraudulent and outrageous as those connected with the Korean atrocity.

The British, for example are claiming that their oil supply is in danger of being cut off, and this is being echoed in all the capitalist papers in this country. Under the nationalization measure, passed by the Iranian government weeks ago because of tremendous mass pressure, the British stand to lose not their oil supply but only the fantastic profits of the Anglo-Iranian oil monopoly. Their oil supply is guaranteed by the Iranian law which went into effect on May 2.

Article 7 of this law reads: "All those who bought oil from the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. can buy at an annual rate corresponding to the rate of their purchases from the beginning of 1948 to March 20, 1951; the price paid will be current international price. If there should be any surplus, priority will be given to these purchasers, provided the bidding and other conditions of sale are equal."

The British can thus get all the oil they have bought previously and are in addition granted priority in the event of any surplus. But they insist on grabbing Iran's oil, as before, for a pittance.

The cry of "expropriation" raised by these pillagers of Iran's oil fields is just as false. The Iranian law even provides for the setting

WHY GIs DON'T FALL FOR SLOGAN OF "DEMOCRACY" IN KOREA WAR

By Art Preis

Last week the Militant reviewed Benjamin Fine's series of articles on GI morale in the N. Y. Times. He interviewed some 5,000 draftees in Army camps in six states and found that "morale of many of the nation's service men is poor" and "they don't know why they are in uniform." He complained that the Army's Troop Information and Education Program has failed to answer effectively the men's "whys" about U.S. intervention in Korea, the necessity for the draft, etc.

According to Fine, it is chiefly the methods and techniques of the Army propaganda program that are at fault. We pointed out, however, that the Army brass can hardly be expected to answer the

men's "whys" when the best propaganda experts of school, church, radio, television and press have failed to answer satisfactorily the questions of the youth before they get into the Army. And if a majority of the American people are hostile to the Korean intervention, why should the GIs hold any different attitude?

MEANING A DEMOCRACY

One point Fine raised again and again is the attitude of the GIs toward the argument that they are in the Army to defend "democracy." He complained that "they do not know the meaning of democracy and so cannot appreciate the duties entailed in keeping the United States a free land."

He admitted that "democracy is plainly on the minds of the men," but claimed "they need guidance to understand its meaning." He explained, "They don't know why they have been asked to give up part of their freedom. In short, they don't know the meaning of democracy."

Fine found it "heartbreaking" and felt "frustrated" to hear what the men had to say about this "democracy" that means "to give up part of their freedoms." He quotes them: "Democracy means getting killed so that other countries can get rich"; "Democracy means giving up everything and getting nothing back"; "Democracy means living like pigs for two years."

In short, "democracy" has lost its magic as a catch-phrase for the youth of America. The objective for which two generations of young men fought and died in two world wars — or for which they thought they were fighting and dying — has ceased to have meaning or reality for them. As one soldier put it to Fine, it's "just a bunch of propaganda."

A FRAUD AND A SNARE

Not that these youth don't believe in democratic methods — the right of the people to freely decide the issues of their lives. They just don't believe in the "democracy" they've witnessed and experienced in this country. They don't see anything democratic about the way Truman dragged this country into the Korean war without consultation of Congress, let alone consent of the people. They don't see how two wars for "democracy" brought any more democracy. They don't see how a war run by the big profiteering monopolies and the crooked, grafting capitalist politicians in Washington will bring democracy. They don't see how fascist and despotic allies like Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Franco of Spain, signify a struggle for democracy.

In short, they view the slogan of "democracy" in the mouths of imperialist propagandists as a fraud and a snare. Fine is wrong when he says they don't know the meaning of democracy. They know it so well that they can spot the phoney kind they are being asked to sacrifice their lives for. And even their briefest experience with the "democracy" of the Army brass merely confirms their original opinions.

(Continued next week)

Role of the Stalinists in Scottsboro Case

By Albert Parker

The main task of the Scottsboro defense movement was to win freedom for the nine young Negro victims of Jim Crow frameup. But there was more to it than that. The job was not only to free the Scottsboro boys but to do it in such a way as to strike a blow against the Jim Crow system that would discourage it from attempting other frameups of the same kind.

Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, the pastor who served as chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee and wrote the newest book about the Scottsboro case, They Shall Be Free, never understood that, and still doesn't. For him, it is "a success story" simply because 15 years after the SDC was formed the last victim was let out of prison. He delivers a little sermon at the end of his book on the need to continue the fight for Negro equality, and undoubtedly he means it. This sermon would sound less hollow if its author had not persistently confined the Scottsboro movement to the narrowest of aims and if he had not sabotaged the policies of mass action which alone could achieve the two-fold task of the Scottsboro fight.

Under the leadership of the Stalinist-controlled International Labor Defense, plenty of blunders and crimes were committed in the Scottsboro movement during the first period of the case (1931-36).

For one thing, the Stalinists excluded all other organizations from participation in the leadership of the movement; for another, they brought in the opportunist criminal lawyer, Samuel Liebowitz, and allowed him to gradually take things over although his only interest in the case was to promote his own prestige as a smart lawyer. But with all these defects, the movement, in this first stage, was run on a class struggle basis, with the main emphasis laid on mobilizing the masses in this country and abroad to come to defense of the Scottsboro boys.

THE "PEOPLE'S FRONT" LINE

At the end of 1935, however, the Stalinists, acting in accord with the new People's Front line of class collaboration in the interests of a Washington-Moscow alliance, turned the case over to the new Scottsboro Defense Committee. This committee included Walter White of the NAACP, Roger Baldwin of the ACLU, Robert Minor of the ILD and Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy. It significantly did not contain a single representative of the organized labor movement. Chalmers was chairman of the organization, and he more or less determined its policy.

Chalmers did not approve of the methods followed in the past. To him, mass action meant only "protests . . . invective . . . and

calculated insults directed toward the Southern population." Trying to justify this attitude, he says: "I do not, of course, mean to minimize the importance of the masses and their effect on public opinion. The murmur of the crowd is mighty indeed. But perhaps it is too mighty to affect the subtle situation in which we, at this time, were involved. No, we could not call upon public opinion to come to our aid. One can, it is true, spotlight injustice from without and to some extent delay its progress. But outside interference can also calcify prejudice and halt justice in its tracks. We could not afford the luxury of agitation. . . ."

A DEAL WITH AUTHORITY

Since the corrupt Southern authorities denounced "the murmur of the crowd" as "outside interference," Chalmers (and the committee he headed) decided they wanted no more intervention by the masses. But the only alternative to that was — some kind of deal with the Alabama authorities. And that was what they decided to rely on. Chalmers' policy, as he phrases it, was "based on the expectation that people would be decent and live up to their honorable intentions." By "people" in this case he means not "the crowd" but those same Alabama authorities who had already indicated their intentions by four years of frenzied efforts to murder the Scottsboro boys.

To carry out this policy, Chalmers went to Alabama and rounded up a number of conservative elements who were disturbed by the effect of the case on Alabama prestige and were willing to form an Alabama Scottsboro Committee which would concentrate on persuading the state authorities that it was to their own interests not to go through with a legal lynching. Chalmers gave them a promise that "Communist propaganda" (by which he meant mass action and protest) "can be held up during the conduct of the case."

Chalmers then went back to the SDC in New York and told them about this new arrangement, through which he intended to do most of his work on the case. "With the exception of Bob Minor (the Stalinist member of the committee), who had lived in Alabama and knew the Southerners who had helped to form the new Committee, all were highly skeptical. But they agreed to go along."

The fourth Scottsboro trial was held in January 1936, a few weeks after the SDC was formed. For the first time, Heywood Patterson was sentenced to 75 years in prison instead of to death. This was not a "victory," as Liebowitz claimed, but it made the Alabama authorities afraid that the tide was turning against them, and Special Prosecutor Knight made an offer to Chalmers that the boys would be freed if they would

"Dynamic Animal Magnetism"

By Theodore Kovalesky

Jimmy stopped dead in his tracks as we entered Emil's place after work. "Man! What do you call that?" he exclaimed.

We looked. There, leaning on the bar was our friend Sam, holding a glass of beer in both hands, with Emil himself helping him to lift it to his lips. Sam was not drunk. His face was white, not red. And we noticed that his clothes hung even more loosely than usual.

"Sam!" I said. "What goes on?"

"Man, have you lost weight!" Slim said. "You look like living death."

Sam slowly turned his head. "Who's living?"

"What happened to you, Sam?" we asked, helping him to a chair.

"I took the Chester Prometheus course," Sam told us.

"You what?"

"One evening," Sam sighed, "I am sitting in my chair reading a wild west magazine when I see a Chester Prometheus ad. 'I was a 72 pound weakling, it says, and there is a picture of a 72 pound weakling in a baggy bathing suit, being choked with one hand by a 200 pound monster. There is a beautiful girl, whose bathing suit is not baggy at all, and she is looking with love at the monster. The 72 pound weakling, I find, is none other than Chester Prometheus himself before he discovers the system of Dynamic Animal Magnetism, by which he Builds Men. One of you please help me lift this glass of beer.'"

Jimmy gave Sam a hoist, and he went on in a hollow voice.

"I discover that Chester Prometheus applies Dynamic Animal Magnetism and becomes a 250 pound monster, and now he himself can choke 72 pound weaklings with one hand; and not only that, he will make anybody a 250 pound monster. So I say, 'That's for me,' and I send away for the course."

"Over at Wilson's, I'm running a lot of big work on my lathe, so I get plenty of free time while the machine is running. I stand in front of my lathe, and I squirm and pull on my arms and push my legs and shove my head with my hands and work all my muscles like Chester Prometheus tells me, and in a couple of weeks (although everybody thinks I am crazy) I begin to get strong. In three months I am powerful like a bull."

"One day my foreman sees me putting a four hundred pound piece of bar stock in the chuck

by hand. He tells me, 'Sam, you're magnificent!' I smile modestly. He says, 'Sam, do me a favor. The crane is not working, so move a couple of tons of steel for me. Such a superman could do it easy.'"

"I am proud, so I do like he says, only it is not a couple of tons, but forty tons. In the meantime none of my clothes fit me any more, but my foreman is sympathetic. He lets me work sixteen hours every day instead of eight so I can buy more clothes. Also they do not fix the crane, so for sixteen hours every day while my own machine is cutting I am running up and down the department carrying tons of steel while my foreman is praising me and saying, 'Such a superman! You can do more work than that. Put these four bars of eight-inch stock on top of that pile you're carrying. Oh, what magnificent strength!'"

"Finally I discover he has fired the crane man and six laborers, and I'm doing all their work plus running my own machine. When I put up a kick, he says, 'Sam, we know what you can do. Why should we pay you for less? So get to work.'"

"The next week he tells me sixteen hours is not enough: I have to work twenty-four. Also a superman like me should be ashamed just carrying two and a half tons of steel at a time: I should carry three."

"So for the next three weeks I am working twenty-four hours a day, and my foreman has worked it up to four tons at a time. Then one day I fall flat on my face with the steel on top of me."

"When I get out of the hospital my clothes are too big, and I can't get more clothes, because I have no more job. But finally my foreman takes me back, only I get my pay cut in half since I no longer can carry anything bigger than an ounce of aluminum."

"I got it figured," Sam concluded. "When I was so busy carrying steel I didn't get a chance to do my Dynamic Animal Magnetism exercises, so that's why I got weak and lost my weight. So now, help me lift my beer glass. When it gets half empty I can do it by myself."

"How much do you weigh now, Sam?" asked Slim.

"Seventy-two pounds," Sam answered. And then, with a crafty gleam in his eye he added, "Just to be on the safe side, I hope to lose about five more pounds before I go back to work Monday."

The Cop and the Kid

By Marie Hahn

It was an early spring night in the East Bronx. Three boys had just left a tavern where they had stopped for a few beers and pinball game. They'd need those beers to pick up their drooping spirits. Just the night before they had dropped their second basketball game to a rival team. Next time, they said — next time we'll click! It was the most important thing in the world to these 18-year-olds.

The whole team had stayed at the boys' club practicing until 12 o'clock, sharpening up their team work, polishing their plays. Now, after practice, they separated to go their different ways. Jimmie walked alone down the one dimly-lit block to his tenement home. He was deep in thought, when a harsh voice reached out to him from the darkened street ahead.

"Okay, punk, let's see your registration." Damn cops, thought Jimmie as he reached for his back pocket. A moment of panic caught him as he felt around for the card case, and remembered leaving it on his dresser. In a moment his mind went back over the past few months — months filled with incidents of police brutality. He thought of Hank who had been in the hospital for weeks, whose parents had been warned against pressing charges. "The Bull," (the kids' name for an especially brutal cop) had said that Hank was drunk and disorderly, and should charges be pressed he threatened to take action to railroad the kid.

Jimmie tried to keep his voice steady, tried to forget the picture of Hank lying in a hospital bed. "Gee," he said, "I guess I must've left it home, but if you want to come with me I can

show it to you." The cop emerged from the shadows, grey light playing on his shield, and his big fist tightening on his night stick.

"Oh, a wise guy, huh," and the stick came down. Jimmie threw away his fear and caution, and charged into the cop. The cop pulled his gun, and dragged the boy to the nearby station, to the dreaded back room.

At five a. m., having found nothing against him, they took him home to his widowed mother's flat. By that time, Jimmie was one stretch of black and blue, and a little hysterical. "Go ahead, tell my mother what I did, tell her why you worked me over, go ahead, if you can. Tell her!" he cried over and over again. The frightened woman was told, "Your kid's been drunk and disorderly. He got in a fight. You better take care of him."

But the matter did not end there. The widowed woman was related to a member in good standing of the Tammany machine. There was hell to pay when she reported the beating. It didn't get as far as the press, of course, but the cops at the station received strict orders to lay off the Irish kids of the neighborhood. It is safer for them to walk the streets of East Bronx.

Jimmie didn't get to play in that week's game; he was in the hospital. His team won anyway, and that made him pretty happy. "The Bull" and his fellow cops have also adjusted to the situation. There's a large Puerto Rican community nearby, and the best part of it is, if anything happens, they can always say, "Well, the guy was talking spic, and how the hell could we know he wasn't a mugger or something?"

TRENTON SIX DEFENDANTS REFUTE CHARGES WITH IRON-CLAD ALIBIS

(Continued from Page 1)

others he was seen by witnesses at his place of work.

40 TO 50 WITNESSES

Now that all the defendants have testified and the prosecution has failed to shake their stories the trial will move into another stage. It is expected that the defense will produce between 40 and 50 witnesses to substantiate the innocence of the six defendants and to disprove the crude frame-up and forced "confessions" upon which the state bases its case.

More details on the Trenton police's methods of extorting "confessions" came out in the testimony of James McKenzie today. He told how a turnkey at the police station offered him a cigarette and then got a package for him. After smoking four or five of these he "blacked out" and remained so for days. It was in this period that the "confessions" were secured by the

police. Three of the "confessions" were thrown out of evidence by the court earlier in the trial when it was shown that police had administered drugs to the defendants.

A Trenton lawyer was put on the stand, in this, the first night session of the trial. He told how he, another lawyer and the defendant's brother were the first visitors to see McKinley Forrest after his arrest and days and nights of grilling. Forrest came out of the cell "dazed and confused and couldn't even recognize his own brother . . . he muttered and mumbled. . . I couldn't understand anything he was saying. . . He was very dirty and though the cell was dark I had the very definite impression that it was dirty," the attorney testified.

AFRAID OF DOPE

He further told that when he offered the prisoner a cigarette from a pack in his pocket, Forrest "looked at it very suspiciously, rolled it in his hands and didn't want to smoke it." Similarly, when they got him a glass of water he acted pretty much the same; "smelled it before he drank it."

The defense asserts that the men were doped by doctored cigarettes and sodium amytal in drinking water while the police were breaking them to the point of "confessing" to anything.

The evening session ended on a strident note as Judge Smalley abruptly broke in on an argument of that veteran civil

liberties defender, Arthur Garfield Hays. Hays said, "the admissions whether voluntary or forced depend largely upon the psychology of the prisoner. What he knew of the police, what stories he had heard about the police, about the history of his race and the police is highly pertinent. It explains the psychology of the defendant in the hands of the police."

When Hays pointed out that all courts allowed such testimony the Judge demanded what New Jersey court had ever done so. After a sarcastic remark to Hays the judge declared court adjourned. The tone of the exchange was reminiscent of the trials in the deep south where "outsiders" from the north are resented and what is precedent in federal courts and other state courts is resented when it conflicts with local legal backwardness.

TURN THE TIDE

New subs, renewals, single sales, street sales, house-to-house work — the friendliness of the people — all of this is very gratifying for us now. The word SOCIALISM becomes a magic entrance into people's minds. Some hesitate a little, but a friendly talk can do wonders to turn the tide in our direction.

Workers in the shop are buying papers for their friends and giving me names of other people to see for subs. I have been calling back on other friends and getting new contacts. I sold a subscription tonight to a neighbor in the back yard. I have Militants in my pockets at all times, because I know that every worker I meet is a possible subscriber.

Turndowns? Of course. Dejected? Of course not. The next fellow might be a prospective socialist. I can't let him wait forever!

If we really believe in the Socialist Workers Party and its program, if we really want to build towards a socialist society — NOW IS THE TIME TO SELL THE MILITANT!

Mountain Spring's CHILDREN'S CAMP

JULY 1st — to — SEPTEMBER 2nd

For boys and girls between the ages of Six and Ten

Rates: \$30 per week—\$216 for whole season—9 weeks \$108 for four weeks

The capacity of the Children's Camp is limited so make reservations or write for information now.

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

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5th ANNUAL
DECORATION DAY
OUTING
Wed., May 30, 2 PM
PARKERS FARMS
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Children over 2 - 35 cents

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, MAY 28, 1951

NUMBER 22

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP OFFERS NEW FACILITIES

On June 15, Mountain Spring Camp will open its summer season. Vacationers visiting this workers' summer resort will find many improvements over last year.

Work is now under way to insure top-notch swimming throughout the season. Part of this work is the drilling of a deep well and the installation of a pump house which will keep the water up to the brim of the swimming pond no matter how dry the summer may prove. In addition to this, work is to be started on a new dock and a water crib for children.

Pre-season visitors to the camp have already been pleasantly surprised by the fine road which has recently been put in from the county road into the camp. This private road is especially enjoyed by those who remember the rocks and bumps of former years.

As a result of the hurricane late last fall, which was especially severe up on the mountain top where the camp is located, the management had to speed up by several years its plans for replacing the tent-cabins with regular cabins. These little bungalows have shutters running the length of each wall which may be opened to obtain four way ventilation to say nothing of a beautiful vista of the surrounding countryside. These cabins are screened and have electric lights conveniently placed for reading in bed.

In addition to the small cabins, there are two new large cabins each suitable for housing a family of four. Situated on the edge of the woods, near the lily pond, they are far enough away from the main house to be quiet in the evenings.

These cabins are available for

"Militant" Drive's Top Scorer Tells How He Does It

By Paul

Twin Cities
National Top Scorer

In Big League Militant Campaign
Let's get out and sell The Militant!

We can hurl a challenge at the witch-hunters, at the faint hearts, at the skeptics, at the people who always say, "Socialism is a good thing but how are you ever going to convince these 'dumb' workers?" We can show them in our Militant campaign that these workers are now looking for a way out of this war-struck, bloody world.

After four weeks of the Big League Militant Campaign, I am firmly convinced that now is the time to get out and sell our newspaper! Experiences during this period have proved to me that conditions have changed in our favor more than we realized.

families wishing to reserve them in advance for the entire season. However, as there are only two, it is advisable to make reservations immediately.

NEW CHILDREN'S CAMP

The Children's Camp will open up its third season in a new building, situated on a hillside away from the adult camp. There are dormitories for nine boys and nine girls, with a counselor's room in between.

Although children may come to the camp at any time with their parents, supervision by counselors and the facilities of the Children's Camp are only for those enrolled in it. Children are taken care of 24 hours a day by trained counselors. Activities include playground, supervised swimming, ball games, hikes, weenie roasts, camp fire singing, trips to local points of interest, arts and crafts, and many other features. The Children's Camp is for youngsters from six to ten years of age. The season opens July 1 and closes Sept. 2.

RATES ARE REASONABLE

Rates for Mountain Spring Camp are as follows: For adults, in private cabins, \$40.00 per week, \$6.50 per day; in dormitories, \$37.50 per week, \$6.00 per day; children under 12 (with parents), \$25.00 per week, \$4.00 per day; Children's Camp, \$30.00 per wk. There is a discount on the above rates of 10 percent for four weeks or more, 20 percent for eight weeks or more. Rates include delicious meals.

Readers of the Militant regard less of race, creed or color are cordially invited to spend their vacations at the camp. Working people wishing to enjoy their vacations in a friendly, informal atmosphere, with swimming, recreation and educational activities should send in their reservations as soon as possible. Write to Mountain Spring Camp, RD #1, Washington, N. J. for literature on the camp, or call Washington 1352.

Blasts Mayor



Emil Mazey, CIO auto union's secretary-treasurer, hit Mayor Cobo's strikebreaking in Detroit transit walkout at CIO-AFL rally.

Corporations Grab Billions Through Tax Amortizations

While Congress is preparing another "soak-the-poor" tax bill to pay for the capitalists' war program, it is permitting billions of dollars in tax rebates to be paid to the big corporations which are cleaning up spectacular profits on war orders.

Under existing tax amortization provisions of the Defense Production Administration, the monopoly corporations are being granted huge tax write-offs for plant expansions to handle war contracts.

The Joint Congressional Committee on Defense Production is supposed to be investigating these tax hand-outs, but since it began its probe the amount of tax amortizations has more than doubled. By May 5 the total was more than \$5 billion.

Among the new tax amortizations are \$37 million for the Aluminum Corporation of America; \$26 million, New York Central Railroad; \$12 million, Libby-Owens Ford Glass Company; and \$15 million, National Container Corporation.

CIO-AFL Rally Behind Detroit Transport Strike

By David Lands

DETROIT, May 18 — In the fifth week of the transportation workers strike here, the CIO and AFL held an inspiring joint demonstration of labor solidarity, pledging support to the hard-pressed bus and streetcar operators.

A crowd of 1200 unionists, both AFL and CIO representatives from central bodies and local unions, heard leaders vow to back the strikers against the city-owned transportation system until victory is won.

The employer-dominated city administration, headed by strikebreaker Mayor Cobo, had shown they were determined to break the strike, by means of court injunctions and the use of strikebreakers.

Every militant and aggressive proposal for solidarity against Cobo's anti-union administration was cheered to the rafters at the joint rally.

The following program was unanimously adopted:

1. A joint request by the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor and the Wayne County CIO Council to the City Council to order a public hearing on the strike issues.
2. Joint action of the AFL and CIO to prevent any application of the Hutchinson Act in the present strike until the state law, which bans strikes by government employees, was tested in court. It was confidently predicted that this law would be declared unconstitutional.

3. A joint AFL-CIO strike newspaper to publicize the union's side of the strike.

4. To serve notice on Mayor Cobo and the DSR that the AFL and CIO will not tolerate strikebreaking.

5. To build up a defense fund to support the DSR strikers, through the joint efforts of the AFL and CIO.

6. To pledge full support to the strikers.

Speakers at the meeting included Walter Stanley, business agent of the AFL Carmen's Union, who gave details of the fight for a cost-of-living wage raise and retention of hard-won contract conditions. Robert Stack, representing the International Union pledged support.

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, got a rousing reception when he stated that injunctions won't run busses. He described the early struggle of the UAW against the union-busting injunctions. Mazey hailed the meeting as a practical demonstration of labor unity in Detroit, and a good omen for organic unity. He defended the principle of cost-of-living escalator wage increases, stating:

"DSR employees deserve the same treatment as UAW members." Mazey condemned Cobo as the same type of dictator as Franco in Spain, who was trying to crush strikes started in protest against streetcar fare raises. "Detroit is a union town," he said, "and it is asinine for anyone to assume strikebreaking will be tolerated here, with the AFL and CIO standing shoulder to shoulder."

Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, promised that DSR vehicles would move "only when operated by members of division 26, working under union conditions."

Martel defended public ownership of the transportation system, but the big defect, he stated, was the lack of labor management and domination of the DSR by the wealthy classes.

Spain -- The Revolt Grows

Spain's insurgent working class last week demonstrated against the bloody Franco dictatorship in his political capital — Madrid. The action took the form of a boycott of public transportation. Workers demonstratively walked to work — thousands of them arriving late, of course. Street cars and buses ran empty.

Francisco concentrated huge forces of troops and Civil Guards in Madrid. He feared a general strike like the vast shutdowns that have hit one industrial area after another during the past two months. More than a million workers have participated in protest general strikes in the Barcelona, Bilbao-San Sebastian and Pamplona areas, while textile workers in Manresa heroically defied the authorities for weeks.

90% HEED CALL
Reuters, the British news agency, reported that 90 per cent of Madrid's 400,000 workers heeded the call for the transport boycott. Most of the rest of the population also joined the demonstration. The same dispatch reports that "many workers in the Basque country went on strike" — at the Elbar arms plants and in Alda, Palencia and Elgoibar.

This growing struggle — the beginning of a revolutionary tide that threatens to sweep the rotten dictatorship away — is being waged against starvation conditions. The Spanish workers have always suffered abysmal poverty. Since Franco took power, however, prices have risen twice as fast as wages.

WASHINGTON SUPPORT
In addition to the Army and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, Franco's greatest support now comes from Washington. U.S. imperialism has rushed to bolster Franco with money and arms, as well as diplomatic recognition.

Stanton Griffiths, U.S. ambassador to Spain and Wall Street banker, did criticize the Franco government a few weeks ago. In his speech before the American Chamber of Commerce at Barcelona, Griffiths complained about the Franco regime requiring visas of American tourists, putting investments into industry rather than agriculture, placing certain industries under government reg-

ulation and limiting investments of foreign capital to not more than 25 per cent.

THAT'S ALL THIS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN RULING CLASS COULD FIND WRONG WITH THE BESTIAL FASCIST DICTATORSHIP OF FRANCO!

The Spanish people, however, have a different view. The Nation magazine of May 5 published portions of private letters from Spain which describe some of the things Griffiths — and his Washington colleagues — overlook. Here are excerpts of these letters telling what the Spanish people are thinking — and doing:

March 3
It would be hard exaggerate the misery here. It used to be the lower civil servants, the small shopkeepers, and the workers who went to bed hungry six days in the week. Now nine people out of ten that you talk to curse the powers that be.

March 11
The situation is becoming alarming for that pig (Franco). Even here (Navarre, where clericalism is dominant) there is a lot of anti-Franco agitation. . . . Dozens of persons were arrested and some were brutally beaten up. But the police were so afraid of a popular uprising that they turned loose many of the men they arrested. . . . Now trouble is breaking out again. One has the feeling that something will crack.

March 14
The Barcelona strike was a formidable one, and the most extraordinary thing about it was the way the people you thought were for Franco sang the praises of the students and strikers. They weren't afraid any more to say what they thought. It was hard to restrain our impatience. People who had been in hiding for months, sleeping here, there, or anywhere, came out on the street to hear the news. Now we wonder what those Americans think who believed so strongly in Franco and were willing to give him all the money he wanted to maintain his hated rule. The United States is not popular here. The other day in Madrid the students greeted the ambassador (Stanton Griffiths) with whistles and cat-calls. Was that in your papers?

But now that there has been a strike and the workers have seen

March 25
They say in Barcelona that the new Governor General, Felipe Acedo, an ardent Falangist, is offering peace to the workers. If he is, he can't feel very secure! The alternatives open to the government are to execute dozens of people in order to terrorize the population or to show "Christian generosity." If it chooses the first course, hatred of Franco will mount; if it doesn't, people will lose fear of the government and the strikes will have been successful.

April 13
Now radio and press have gone crazy about Mac Arthur and say that Truman is a Mason of the worst kind. They said that before when Truman refused them the loan, but later they discovered that he was a great man. The Franco people view a world war as their only chance of salvation. It is idiotic of them, for who would fight against the Russians to defend Franco? I myself heard army officers say this.

April 20
But now that there has been a strike and the workers have seen that the authorities did not dare to hit back hard, there will be other strikes. . . . What makes it worse for the government is that the workers' new courage is contagious. They are growing stronger and the government is growing weaker.

April 24
This strike has spread through practically the entire Basque country and is so vigorous and inspiring that there are no words to describe it. The governors in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa threatened strikers with the most formidable reprisals, but the workers in Bilbao and San Sebastian did not pay the least attention to them. . . . The workers say, "This is our hour and nobody is going to succeed in frightening us."

France: Spanish Frontier, April 24

Just back from across the border. It is really wonderful. They have doubled the vigilance all through the mountains and on the International Bridge, but even in the faces of the soldiers on guard one can see the joy over the revolt of the workers.

"THE JEWISH QUESTION" A Marxist Interpretation

By A. Leon

Leon died in the Auschwitz gas chambers at the age of 26, but the book he left behind is one of the finest products of the underground resistance movement against the Nazis.

"Leon's approach is that of the orthodox Marxist. . . . His analysis. . . is refreshingly lucid and sensible, and it offers us the opportunity to examine a solid statement of the materialistic interpretation of the Jewish question." — Oscar Handlin in the magazine Commentary.

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