

U. S. Supreme Court Upholds Thought-Control

Dissenters Hold Smith 'Gag' Act Unconstitutional

By Joseph Andrews

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that in capitalist America as it prepares for World War III, the truth must be outlawed. The destructive system of imperialism can no longer stand the light of day.

The 6 to 2 decision of the Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act and the conviction of 11 leaders of the Communist Party (Stalinist) is the severest blow against civil liberties in modern American history.

Chief Justice Vinson based his decision upon a violent distortion of the "Clear and Present Danger" concept of the late Justices Holmes and Brandeis. According to this concept the constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression could be abrogated only if overt acts were involved threatening the imminent overthrow of the government.

MINORITY OPINION

The Vinson decision had nothing in common with this idea. Justice Douglas in a dissenting opinion, wrote, "Never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct."

Douglas commented further that the decision tends "to make freedom of speech turn not on what is said but on the intent with which it is said. Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. We then start probing men's minds for motives and purposes; they become entangled with the law, not for what they did, but for what they thought."

Thus, the American people are now faced with a "dangerous thoughts" law. The N. Y. Post in an attack on the decision stated June 5, "... now the court has given its blessing to heresy hunting. Henceforth men's minds

may be searched for 'intent' and for daydreams."

Critics and dissenters are no longer free in the U.S. The labor movement's right to criticize the policies of the government can be ruled a crime under the Smith Act. The right of Negro organizations to oppose jim crow in the armed forces can be termed illegal under this act.

The labor and liberal movement can no longer look to the government to protect civil liberties. The three arms of government are all in league against the rights of the people. The legislative arm (the Congress) passed the infamous gag law. The executive arm (Truman and the Department of Justice) is using it as a club against criticism. The judicial (the Supreme Court) has blessed the law.

UNIFIED FIGHT NEEDED

What is now necessary is a unified struggle to defend constitutional liberties. The lack of this up to now has strengthened the campaign of suppression.

The Stalinists supported the government's 1941 prosecution of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith Act, and thereby helped provide a precedent for their own prosecution.

The labor leadership, by failing to oppose the prosecution of the Communist Party, thereby helped to undermine the rights of labor and all Americans.

Only a united defense of civil liberties can stop the crushing of freedom.

American labor must take the lead, in alliance with liberal and minority organizations, in a campaign to wipe the Smith Act off the statute books.

REPEAL THE SMITH "GAG" ACT!

Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 24

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

'Not Our War,' Parents Tell Their Soldier Sons in Korea



People Must Not Trust Rumors of 'Cease Fire'

Once more the rumors are flying of a pending "cease-fire" in Korea. Similar "peace" rumors have been spread every few weeks since the disaster of MacArthur's "home-by-Christmas" offensive last November. The latest batch have been given added weight by UN Secretary General Trygve Lie's bid for a "cease-fire" agreement.

But the slaughter in Korea continues with undiminished savagery. The casualties are piling up every day. The U. S. generals boast of their "killer operations" and U. S. bombs and shells continue their deadly rain upon the Korean people and what's left of their homes.

Are the rumors true or false? Whatever is happening, whatever negotiations may

be going on are taking place behind closed doors. The people are kept in the dark. The decision is in the hands of a few rulers and their diplomatic agents, pursuing their own aims and ends, indifferent to the desires of the people.

One thing most of the American people do know: U.S. intervention in Korea was wrong from the start.

Take the testimony of Dr. Lindsley F. Kimball, national president of the USO, who complained on June 5 that "the folks back home" are responsible for the serious "morale problem" among the American troops in Korea. Their mothers, said Dr. Kimball, are writing them letters saying "this is just a political war, and you're not fighting for anything but the politicians."

What else should the American people think? They've just been given evidence by no less than the Secretary of State and the Chiefs of Staff that the so-called "unprovoked aggression" of New China's entry into the Korean war was actually the result of MacArthur's deliberate provocation when he drove American troops to the Manchurian border in alleged violation of Washington's orders. But why wasn't this fact made public last November? Why do they lie so brazenly to this day about China being the "aggressor"?

Can we trust the pin-striped diplomats and the arrogant generals to bring a speedy peace in Korea? Can we afford to wait on the outcome of their latest rumors?

There's one sure way to stop the war—the way the American people have been demanding all along. Get the U.S. troops out of Korea at once. Take the war-making powers out of the hands of a few top political and military brass. Let the people vote by national referendum on the issue of war and peace.

"HANDS OFF IRAN" IS PUBLIC DEMAND IN U.S.

The sentiment in this country is heavily in favor of Washington's keeping its hands off Iran. This has been confirmed by a Gallup poll released on June 6. "The U.S.,"

according to this poll, "should" follow a strictly "hands off" policy in the Iranian oil crisis is the opinion of American voters sufficiently well informed to know what the current trouble there is about."

PLOT DICTATORSHIP

Meanwhile, however, Washington continues to intervene both formally and behind the scenes against the Iranian people and in favor of the British imperialists. The plan of the Anglo-American combination in the Iranian crisis is beginning to shape up quite clearly. On the one hand, it is to stall indefinitely the transfer of the nationalized oil properties to the Iranian authorities. On the other, they are plotting to stage a governmental coup in Iran and install a "strong regime."

The vacillating Mossadegh re-

gime has shown inclinations to play along with this stalling game. The sop dangled before Mossadegh is substantial financial payments by the British who have been squeezing the Iranian government by cutting off all oil royalties and thus placing Tehran in a position where it cannot pay the salaries of the civil employees and its army personnel. Mossadegh's vacillating course has aroused bitter opposition in the country which is reflected by increasing criticism in the Iranian press of all shades of opinion. Mossadegh's predecessor was assassinated by Moslem nationalists for pursuing a similar policy.

The capital city of Teheran is now virtually an armed camp, being patrolled night and day

(Continued on Page 2)

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!

Militant Campaigner Hits Home Stretch

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

A lag was felt this week in The Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign. Some of the branches have been going at such strong pace that they felt the need for a breather apparently. But from our correspondence we judge that this will turn out to be the pause that refreshes and that the race down the home stretch will prove to be hotter than the opening of the contest.

Total subs to date amount to 1,168; sales of single copies, 17,055.

Sensation of the week was Chicago's showing. From bottom place in the Coover League, they've really moved ahead. Last week they gave Buffalo the horn. This week they signalled Los Angeles to move over. Can they keep that accelerator down to the floorboards until the campaign closes July 1?

In the Konikow League, Newark again took second place after giving it up for several weeks to Philadelphia. In the cellar department where Cleveland and Youngstown are battling it out, the steel town boys got left this week.

Akron nosed ahead of Pittsburgh for second place in the Kujac League but requires something of a spurt to overtake Oakland.

The Flint monopoly on top subgetters in the Konikow League was finally shattered. Belle of Boston captured second place and looks like a real threat for top honors. Dotty of Newark displaced another of the Flint contingent.

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

Trenton Six Jury Soon To Hear Last Arguments

By George Lavan

TRENTON, June 5.—The jim-crow, frame-up trial of the Trenton Six for the 1948 murder of a junk dealer arrived within sight of its end as the defense rested its case and the prosecution began its rebuttal yesterday. The rebuttal is expected to take about a week, motions and arguments another week. Should motions for acquittal of the six Negroes be refused, defense and prosecution will then proceed to the final speeches to the jury. It would thus appear that the jury will start its deliberations, on which

six lives depend, within two or three weeks.

The defense ended its damaging barrage against the state's frame-up last Friday with two direct hits. The 77th and last defense witness was Mrs. Virginia Barclay. This young woman then had the habit of looking out her window after her husband left for work, in order to wave goodbye to him when he reached the pavement. On the morning of Jan. 27, 1948 shortly before 11 a.m. she was waiting at the window for her husband to reach the ground floor. While he was still descending the stairs she saw three teen age Negro youths run from the Horner store to a blue-green, four-door, 1936 Plymouth sedan, in which a fourth youth was sitting. The car sped away. This was the murder car. On the basis of her account police immediately sent out the description of the men and the get-away car.

BLASTS TESTIMONY
The car Collis English drove and which the Trenton police

claiming was used in the murder is a black two-door 1938 Ford sedan. On the stand, Mrs. Barclay was asked to look at the six defendants and say whether any of them were the men she had seen running from the scene of the crime. The young white woman replied no, that all the defendants were much older than the men she had seen.

Proceeding Mrs. Barclay on the stand for the defense was the noted criminal psychologist and author Dr. Frederic Wertham, who recently was psychiatric consultant for the Kefauver Committee. He explained to the jury the frame of mind of members of the oppressed Negro race in the hands of white police and how such prisoners could be broken to the point where they would "confess" to anything the police desired. Wertham noted that the race pattern continued in the courtroom itself: "All the jury members are white, all the defendants are colored."

Prosecutor Volpe, who had a former head of the state mental

(Continued on page 4)

Next Week

Beginning a Series
On the Stalinist
Peace Campaign

By James P. Cannon

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores		Individual Scores	
Coover League	Points	Coover League	Points
New York	11,809	Paul	Twin Cities 2,727
Twin Cities	10,560	Mary	Chicago 1,705
Detroit	7,272	Don	Buffalo 1,658
Chicago	5,158	Pauline	Twin Cities 1,421
Los Angeles	5,091	Harry	Twin Cities 1,037
Buffalo	4,120	Marie H.	New York 977
San Francisco	2,886	Ernie D.	Detroit 973
Seattle	2,305	John	Los Angeles 790
Konikow League		John R.	Detroit 761
Flint	2,785	Jean	Twin Cities 674
Newark	1,382	Lucille	New York 670
Philadelphia	1,312	Winifred	Twin Cities 602
Boston	1,252	Chuck	Detroit 591
Milwaukee	724	Myron	New York 591
Cleveland	640	Clara K.	Seattle 557
Youngstown	572	Bill B.	Twin Cities 514
Kujac League		Artie	Detroit 494
Oakland	700	Ruth B.	Detroit 468
Akron	279	Konikow League	
Pittsburgh	274	Emmett	Flint 880
New Haven	178	Belle	Boston 640
St. Louis	169	Bill	Flint 556
West Virginia	130	Dotty	Newark 447
Toledo	104	Kujac League	
Allentown	39	Frank K.	Oakland 468

Killer-Cops -- The Terror That Stalks Our Streets

Terrorism disguised as "law and order" is stalking the streets of America's cities. Gangsters in uniform, armed with clubs and guns, are beating and murdering at will. Their chief victims are members of racial minorities—Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans. But no ordinary citizen, white or black, is safe.

From all over the country—New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles—comes the same story of police terror that has reached a peak of savage brutality in recent months. Hundreds have been beaten to a pulp; dozens have been shot dead in cold blood. In every instance, the victims have been unarmed and defenseless. In every case, the killer-cops have gone scot-free.

Within the past two years in New York City alone, the number of murders by police has risen to ten—and not one cop has been brought to trial. And for every murder there have been hundreds of beatings and tortures.

Two weeks ago three cops chased Edwin Gonzalez, a 17-year-old Puerto Rican, into a cellar doorway and deliberately pumped three bullets into the unarmed youth. A few days later a 26-year-old Negro father of three children, Henry Fields, Jr., was shot dead in broad daylight by a trigger-happy cop who "suspected" his victim of being a hit-run driver.

JOHN DERRICK

Last December all Harlem was aroused when two radio patrolmen halted John Derrick, 24-year-old Negro veteran, on a street and slaughtered him without warning. At a subsequent grand jury hearing, the public prosecutor withheld evidence and secured the release of the two killer-cops.

So flagrant have been the recent mad-dog assaults by New York police that in three cases during the past year the victims or surviving relatives have sued the city for damages and have been awarded a total of \$168,781.

Three other suits, for a total of \$550,000, are pending.

James Bruce Harris, 42-year-old taxi driver, was awarded \$58,500 after being beaten by a Harlem cop. Mrs. Lottie Newton, 22, widow of Herman Newton, was granted \$50,281 after her husband was killed during a traffic argument by a cop whose gun just "went off." John Harvey Brown, 31, factory worker and father of four, was awarded \$60,000 for permanent injuries received at the hands of two cops in Lower Manhattan.

The parents of John Derrick are suing the city of N. Y. for \$100,000. James E. Ellis, 26, is claiming \$200,000, charging police and other "law-enforcement" agents of the city with "assault, battery, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution." He and William Chandler, 20, were tortured into signing a "murder confession," held in prison for eight months and then released—for lack of evidence. Chandler died from the results of his mistreatment a month after his release. His mother, Mrs. Sybil Chandler,

has filed damage claims for \$250,000.

But money damages will not restore fathers to orphans, husbands to widows, sons to mourning mothers. And the cops have gone on killing—as the Gonzalez and Fields murders show.

DETROIT CASE

This lawless, blood-lusting terrorism of the New York police is duplicated by the cops in other cities. In Detroit, for instance, Charles Gordy, Sr., a Negro father, was recently convicted of first degree murder because he shot a cop in self-defense after police had invaded Gordy's home without a warrant, fired at him and manhandled his 14-year-old son.

The Trenton six murder case in Trenton, N.J., has become a classic example of police terrorism and frameup against Negroes. The six victims on trial were picked up at random, tortured for five days until five of them "confessed," although the defense has produced a mass of iron-clad evidence which proves

that none of them could have committed the crime charged.

These are just a few samples. So numerous and widespread are the cases of police atrocities that we cannot begin to record them. There are so many in all parts of the country, in fact, that we must conclude that this police terrorism is being unleashed as a deliberate policy of the capitalist political machines and public authorities.

REIGN OF TERROR

They are trying to throw the "fear of the law" into the populace. They want to cow and intimidate and terrorize those sectors of the people from which the greatest protest against evil conditions are likely to arise. They want every worker, every Negro, every poor man to tremble at the mere sight of a police uniform.

The public officials have carefully selected the police forces from elements who will carry out and enjoy this kind of brutal "work"—sadistic types, filled with reactionary poison, who get

a kick out of beating up a strike picket or torturing a helpless Negro.

These degenerate, brutal, killer-cops, while beating up and murdering innocent people, are giving protection to the big-time gangsters, the professional racketeers and criminals. The grand jury probes in New York, Philadelphia and other cities and the Kefauver Senate crime hearings have revealed the sinister tie-up of the police—and the public officials who select them—with the criminal underworld.

These gangster-cops are the most dangerous criminals in the land. Protected by their uniforms, they can get away with murder—and they do.

The atrocities of these killer-cops must be stopped. They call for the most vigorous mass protest and public demonstrations. The labor movement and the Negro people must join in an unremitting campaign to bring every murdering cop to justice. Rid America of these gangster-police!

Notebook of an Agitator

THE WRITER AND THE PEOPLE

John Brooks' novel, *The Big Wheel*, tears aside a curtain to reveal the methods by which a big news magazine selects and slants the news, and phonies up its presentations of culture, with the prior aim of molding public opinion in favor of the social system which exploits the many for the profit of a few. And *Present Day*, the magazine of Mr. Brooks' story, is only one wheel in the gigantic mechanism of the American press, all parts of which are coordinated to the same purpose.

In the United States of America the press is absolutely free. That's what the Constitution says. But there's a catch to it. All the instruments and agencies for the dissemination of news and opinion — the big magazines and newspapers, the motion picture companies and radio and television stations — are owned and controlled by a small minority of the rich and privileged and used to serve their special interests.

They differ in their methods and techniques. Some are crude and vulgar; others are slick and subtle. Sometimes they argue and quarrel over secondary issues. But on the main questions of social implication they all tell the same story and sing the same song. The world of capitalism is the best of all possible worlds, sacrosanct and unchangeable. Its true name is "Free Enterprise," the national poetic version of which is "The American Way of Life." This way of life has the unique distinction of being good for everybody, for the majority of the exploited as well as the minority of the exploiters.

FACTS ABOUT FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Of course, you are free to dissent if this contention violates your sense of logic and knowledge of the history and prehistory of man, or contradicts your personal interests as one of the exploited. You can even write an article to this effect if you want to. But you can't publish it in any of the monopolized publications which reach the millions. That's the gimmick in the formal, constitutional freedom of the press in the United States as of today. This kind of free press is 99% fraud. There is no honest, objective reporting of all the news. It is all one-sided. There is no real free play of opinion and controversy. No real freedom of choice.

In face of all the systematic misinformation and calculated demagoguery with which the people are bombarded by the monopolized press, how will they ever learn the truth and find the means to act on it in their own interest?

The struggle between the truth and the lie appears to be an unequal one at this stage of the game, and to some it may appear to be a hopeless struggle. But that is not really so. The truth has great allies. The falsifiers and distorters of social reality overlook one small detail: The reality does not therefore cease to be. Sooner or later the contradiction between the misrepresentations and the reality must lead to an explosion.

Inexorable economic laws, stronger than any specious propaganda, are working to push the masses of the people on the road to struggle for a social transformation as the condition for their own survival. Moreover, the instinctive striving of the great majority for cooperation and equality, inherent in the nature of the human race, as demonstrated in tens of thou-

sands of years of prehistoric society, is working powerfully to counteract, to negate and eventually to conquer the propaganda lie. The truth will break through. And the truth itself is revolutionary.

In their search for the truth and the road to emancipating action, the people will need the help of the writers who are to come from the younger generation of uncorrupted intellectuals. Let them serve the people and scorn all special privileges for themselves. Let them take for their own the affirmation of Whitman: "By God, I will not have anything for myself that others cannot have on even terms."

IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY

The writer, the artist and the scientist, the soldier and the revolutionist in this time — they should all be of one order, dedicated to the service of humanity. What need have they of softening luxuries and burdensome impediments?

I read somewhere that a famous scientist — I think it was Einstein — early in his life decided to reduce his personal requirements to the essentials — clothing for utility, plain food, one room to work in and one bed to sleep in, no foolish extravagances — so that his time would not be devoted and his life cluttered up with things and the pursuit of things he didn't need, and which might distract him from his scientific work or tempt him to abandon it for a better-paying occupation. I think it was a good decision.

Ours is a time of wars and revolutions, and we should not be alien to our time. Soldiers and revolutionists must travel light. And so, too, must the writers, the artists and writers, if they want to be free to employ their gifts to serve the people, and not to fool them and mislead them.

The world must be transformed. It would be unrealistic to deny the immensity of the task and to discount the heavy odds against us at the moment. But it would be absurd to abandon the battle on that account, for the stakes are great. They are nothing less than the survival and further progress of the human race. That justifies and even necessitates the struggle.

A LIFE WITH A PURPOSE

The hazards and penalties for the pioneers can be heavy, but the end in view is worth whatever it may cost. And even under such conditions the compensations of the struggle are not to be despised. They are the satisfaction of devoting one's life to an honest purpose; of identifying one's personal fate with the fate of the whole human family. Those who avow the nobility of this ideal, and serve it — their lives shall not be lived in vain.

The world is in agony, and the great majority of the people everywhere live in poverty, insecurity and fear, because of an outlived social system propped up by lies. The overthrow of this bankrupt system of capitalism is historically necessary and even overdue, and therefore inevitable.

By our efforts we will hasten the day. With our help the truth will knock out the lie, and bring freedom and equality to all the people in the socialist society of the future. That's what we believe, and that's what we're fighting for.

— J.P.C.

Karl Westwood

(Editor's note: Karl Westwood was a veteran English Marxist leader, long active as a leader of the left wing of the British Labor Party. His death is a loss to the socialists of all lands. He was a firm opponent of the British and American intervention in colonial lands. The following tribute to his memory was written by his friend and comrade, Bill Doran, vice chairman of the Egham Labor Party, is reprinted from *Socialist Outlook*, publication of the "Socialist Fellowship" of the Labor Party left wing.)

By Bill Doran

Although Karl Westwood was only 39 when he died, he had spent twenty-five years in the labor movement. When most of his contemporaries were enjoying adolescence, he had thrown himself into the fight. The General Strike of 1926 was his baptism and from then onwards he was for the workers of all nations, color or creed.

He was a founder member of the Labor League of Youth and many present day M.P.s were his

companions. Had Karl been less sincere about his socialist principles, there is no doubt that he would be in Westminster today. He would never separate himself from the rank and file, and here in lay his strength and appeal. Even when he served in the Marine Commandos during the last war, he would not accept any promotion but preferred to stay with his comrades.

BEGAN AT AGE OF 15

From the age of 15 when he was a Labor Party secretary, he did all the jobs that the movement asked of him. For all that he was Richmond's Parliamentary candidate in 1950 (and incidentally he polled more labor votes than had ever been polled there before) he would do anything that anyone asked of him. If you wanted an election address mapped out, a question answered, a doubt settled—Karl would do it no matter how busy he was.

He had been organizer for the National Council of Labor Colleges for the past two years and during that time had made innum-

erable contacts over the whole of the South of England. He lectured on an average of eight classes a week and attended many a week-end school. Last summer he took a school in Yorkshire for a fortnight and had been asked to do the same this coming summer.

When the "Socialist Fellowship" (the left-wing organization in the Labor Party) was started, Karl joined, realizing that the labor movement needed a real socialist program. He believed that this would stimulate the slowly developing left wing in the party. This indeed proved to be so and several conferences held in London and elsewhere showed that the rank and file of the party were indeed seeking to form a socialist policy from their own experiences.

LED CAMPAIGN

When the London conference set up the Campaign Committee for the calling of an Emergency Conference of the Labor Party, Karl was appointed secretary. Under his lead, the campaign developed very well. No doubt, had he lived, he would have had to face heavy attacks from the right wing, but he was well equipped with natural talents to deal with these. His real strength lay in his workingclass approach to problems. He was a Marxist and therefore essentially internationalist. For him the slogan of "Workers of the World, Unite" was no idle one.

All his thoughts, works and deeds were based upon the facts that only the actions of the International Working Class can solve the problems posed by capitalism and insoluble under capitalism. Many people accepted the logic of his arguments, but lacked the spirit to carry them out—the road to socialism is not an easy one and only the strongest hearts are capable of leading the workers along it.

Let us raise the banner of internationalism high in our movement—this will be the finest tribute we can pay to the memory of a gallant comrade, a staunch friend, a leader of men—Karl Westwood.

Elections in Italy Embarrass Washington

By Charles Hanley

Reports in the American press have tended to misrepresent the May 27-28 municipal elections in North Italy as a defeat for the "left." These reports have emphasized that the Communist Party, in bloc with the pro-Stalinist Nenni Socialists, has lost control of many municipal governments it had won in 1946. They play down or omit the fact that the Stalinist bloc has actually increased its popular vote over 1946, while Premier de Gasperi's Christian Democratic (Catholic) Party has suffered a sharp decline in voting strength.

The Christian Democrats in coalition with several other rightist parties were able to unseat the Stalinists in many localities only through rigged election laws passed before the elections. These were so designed as to deny the Stalinist bloc its true proportional representation.

EMBARRASSES WASHINGTON

The election results are extremely embarrassing to the American press and the ruling circles in Washington. It is difficult for them to account for the increase in Stalinist strength and the decline in the Christian Democratic popular vote. Washington has poured hundreds of millions of dollars of Marshall Plan aid into Italy to prop up the capitalist regime. De Gasperi's party, moreover is sponsored by the Vatican and the Italian Catholic hierarchy threatened ex-communication to those who voted Communist.

It is especially hard to represent the results of this election as demonstrating any growth of enthusiasm in Italy for the North Atlantic Military Alliance. The opposite is true.

Edmund Stevens, chief of the Christian Science Monitor's Mediterranean New Bureau, wrote a notably accurate report of the election results. He revealed on May 29 that although the Stalinists "lost control of many municipalities won in 1946, an analysis of returns so far reveals no substantial Communist loss against the 1946 parliamentary election figures."

LOSSES OF THE RIGHT

"The ruling Christian Democrats," the Christian Science Monitor report said, "almost everywhere suffered considerable losses in favor of other center and right-wing parties. A notable case is Milan where Christian Democratic voting strength was cut more than a third. . . . In Bologna . . . they polled only 54,430, a loss of almost 30,000. By comparison, the Communist bloc actually increased its showing by 5,000 over 1946."

The Christian Democratic vote in all the communities dropped to 41.1 per cent from 49.3 per cent in 1946. The pro-Stalinist bloc received 36.3 per cent compared to 34.6 per cent in 1946.

SICILY ELECTIONS

Elections were also held in Sicily, on June 3. Here the results revealed even more clearly the actual political trends. Sicily was considered overwhelmingly

rightist. But the Christian Democrats, the previously dominant party, totalled only 31.2 per cent of the votes. The People's Front (Communist-Nenni Socialist bloc) vote increased from 20.9 per cent of the total in 1946 to 30.2 per cent last week. The Christian Democrats will have only the same number of seats (30) in the regional Parliament as the Stalinists.

The Italian capitalist and landowning classes and the Vatican took no consolation from the election results. *Osservatore Romano*, official Vatican organ, on June 1 admitted: "The undeniable conclusion must be drawn that social communism has maintained substantially and essentially its own political positions or it may even have eventually improved them." This virtually conceded that the Vatican's intervention in the elections was a failure.

Osservatore Romano attributes this failure to the fact that the vast American aid "cannot have improved the low standard of living of the majority and thus cannot have rendered harmless those programs (of the left-wing parties) which, with the mirages they produce and the economic demagoguery they contain, are exploiting the dissatisfaction of the poor."

MISERABLE CONDITIONS

The Stalinist bloc has been able to hold its own and gain a little because the great majority of Italian workers continue to vote Communist as a protest against their miserable living conditions and because they know the Chris-

tian Democratic Party represents a reactionary capitalist force which is working hand-in-glove with U.S. imperialism to lead them down the road to another and catastrophic war.

At the same time, the elections revealed another significant development—a trend toward Neo-Fascism. Disappointed with both the Christian Democrats and Stalinists, a desperate minority among the lower middle class is going over to a new fascist-like movement. Hence the four per cent of the vote given in North Italy to the Italian Social Movement (MSI) and the 12.8 per cent pop-

ular vote the MSI secured in Sicily.

If there existed a mass revolutionary socialist movement in Italy, it could win the majority of the people, for it would also attract the lower middle class and poor peasants who otherwise may turn in despair to Neo-Fascism. It is the big task of the Italian Trotskyists to spread the idea of a revolutionary movement independent of both Washington and Moscow. Italian radicalism is very much alive. But it cannot be victorious without regrouping under a new and better leadership.

FRENCH PARTY ASKS FOR WORKERS-FARMERS GOVT.

The Internationalist Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International, is running lists of candidates in two important districts of Paris in the national elections to be held June 17. The key slogan of their campaign, as reported in *La Verite*, is "Vote Labor! For a Workers and Peasants Government!"

"The parties of Big Business are conducting their campaign under the sign of preparation for war, dictatorship and misery," writes *La Verite*. "The most open form of anti-labor politics is expressed by de Gaulle's party. De Gaulle declared in a recent speech that he is ready to strangle the trade unions, if he is given the means. All the other capitalist parties, including those led by Reynaud, Bidault, Pieven, Herriot and Daladier, differ from de Gaulle's organization only by their greater prudence, inspired by fear of the workers' reactions."

CLASS AGAINST CLASS

There is only one course for the French workers to take in the elections. That is to vote "class against class, worker against bourgeois." This means no ballot for any capitalist party candidates or for the lists of the Socialist or Communist parties where their campaigns are joined with capitalist candidates. Workers who follow the So-

cialist and Communist parties will naturally support the parties of their choice and the French Trotskyists call upon workers to vote for these parties wherever they run these parties and there are no Trotskyist candidates. In districts where the Internationalist Communist Party will enter candidates, it urges workers of all opinions to support them, for the following reasons:

RECORD OF PCI

"The PCI is the only working class party which campaigned for the general strike when the Socialist Jules Moch repressed the strike and the Stalinist Frachon slandered the supporters of the general strike in 1947-48 and during the 1951 strike.

"The PCI is the only working class party which has unconditionally fought for a genuine united front of all labor while the SP and CP leaders do not hesitate to sacrifice the basic interests of the working class for the sake of Washington's or Moscow's policies.

"The PCI is the only working class party which struggles under the banner of the international proletarian revolution."

"HANDS OFF IRAN" IS DEMANDED BY AMERICAN PUBLIC, POLL SHOWS

(Continued from Page 1)

by reinforced police and military detachments. The nationalized southern oil fields are under martial law. The Iranian police are in the meantime "uncovering" plots to "assassinate Premier Mossadegh."

SETTING FOR COUP

This is a typical setting in the Near East for a governmental coup. The type of "model government" London, with the aid of Washington, is conspiring to install in Iran has been approvingly sketched out by the columnist Walter Lippmann. "The model for a government," he wrote, "that can govern effectively in an Asian country like Iran . . . is a government of which the great prototype was that of Kemal Turkey." Lippmann cannot find words laudatory enough in praise of such a government. It is "authoritative and patriotic, strong and centralized."

"One might hope and pray," said Lippmann that such a government can be made "legitimately by the Shah," in any case, "it could certainly count upon the friendship of the United States."

This "great prototype" of Kemal Turkey is nothing else but a naked personal dictatorship. Mustafa Kemal Pasha installed it in Turkey following World War I. Wielding unbounded power, he ruthlessly suppressed all political opposition and on the pretext of a conspiracy against his life arrested his opponents, most

of whom he then proceeded to execute, in the summer of 1926. This is the kind of "model government" that the "democratic" Mr. Lippmann is now "hoping and praying" for in public, while the "democrats" in London and Washington are conspiring in strict secrecy to realize in life.

Washington's intervention in behalf of the British imperialists has led to a wave of demonstrations in Iran demanding "Kick the British and American Imperialists Out!" Confirming this rising tide of anti-American sentiment, Parker La Moore, Scripps-Howard staff writer, reported:

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

"Middle Eastern diplomats in Washington warn that we can expect more of this sort of thing if the U.S. continues to underestimate the potency of the nationalistic feeling now rampant in that area. The notes the State Department sent to the Iranian government," continued this reporter, "only served to infuriate the Iranian public without helping the British, these diplomats contend. In fact, our intervention may have made bad matters worse."

When diplomats in Washington express themselves in such unmistakable terms, it is not hard to imagine what the actual state of affairs is in Iran itself. The issues in the Iranian crisis are plain beyond dispute. The Iranians demand an end to colonialism which has degraded them

to the lowest living and working conditions in the whole world. The British are adamant. They seek to negotiate a new "contract" which will leave things much as they were under the old one, with the British ruthlessly pillaging the oil resources of Iran and paying only a pittance in return.

OIL FOR WEST

As we have already reported the nationalization of Iranian oil will not deprive either Britain or the rest of Western Europe of a single gallon of oil. It assures the previous purchasers of priority at prevailing world prices. If the Iranian nationalization decree is to be criticized, it is on the grounds that it gives the imperialists much more than they are entitled to, even on the basis of their own "legality."

The British have no right whatever to dictate to the Iranian people of how they may dispose of their own natural wealth and resources. The British imposed their nefarious "contract" on Iran by fraud and violence in the first instance. The Truman administration has not even a "legal" pretext for interfering in the situation.

An aroused public opinion in this country should throw its full weight in support of the Iranian people. Let them decide how they wish to dispose of their own natural resources. No interference whatever with their inalienable right to determine their own destinies. Hands Off Iran!

"The Jewish Question" A Marxist Interpretation

What They Thought of the Book in France:

"One of the most beautiful examples of history explained with the aid of historical materialism." — *Repertoire de la Documentation Politique, Economique et Sociale*.

"The truly historic importance of this work obliges us, in the interest of the discussion which is bound to be excited, to analyze it in detail." (In contrast to the ordinary approach) "one appreciates the immense contribution toward scientific clarification which the work of A. Leon represents." — *Theo Bernard in Revue Internationale*.

"A. Leon . . . provides us with an altogether remarkable handling of the problem." — G. S. in *Force Ouvriere*.

"He left a book which proves his worth as a Marxist analyst. Rejecting any idealist explanation of the preservation of Judaism, he demonstrates that it survived because 'Above all the Jews constitute historically a social group with a specific economic function. They are a class, or more precisely, a people-class.' This affirmation is based on a documented study of the entire history of the Jews. . . . It is of such importance in our times that no militant can dispense with reading the book of A. Leon." — *Jean Marcel in Front Ouvrier*.

ONLY \$1

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

It's not often you get cheering from someone who gets passed in a strenuous race, but that's what came out of the Twin Cities when they heard the news that New York had taken the lead in the Big League Militant Campaign.

They know what New York had to do to catch-up and outstrip. And they understand what the gain in readers and circulation of *The Militant* in the New York area means to the struggle for a socialist America.

Besides, the Twin Cities aren't exactly coasting in that second place. As a matter of fact they were just waiting for that competition to really test their mettle. Now with the home stretch opening up they'll show what they can do. But let Winifred of St. Paul take over: "We received the wonderful news of New York's success today, and we're very pleased with the wonderful spirit New York has shown. It's wonderful! Not that we intend, here in the Twin Cities, to let you walk off with the honors there in New York. You can expect some heavy work here in the next week."

And P.S. of Minneapolis adds: "With only a few weeks left the comrades are really going all out, as you can see from the spurt the Twin Cities have put on this week. When we think that our score means that over 10,000 copies of *The Militant* will be in the hands of workers in this area, we know *THE MILITANT* IS THE WINNER!"

Note from Chicago to New York: "Understand the New York Committee raised their pledge to 3,000 points. We call them and raise it one!" (Bert Deck.)

Note from New York to Chicago: "They seem to be saying, in what appears to be poker vernacular, with which we're not too familiar, that the Chicago Committee will beat the New York Committee by a thousand points. If that's so, we'll just call the bet." (Harry Ring.)

Philadelphia took a week out from the circulation campaign to collect signatures to put Clyde Turner on the ballot as Socialist Workers candidate for City Council. However, they couldn't resist. They found they could sell Militants while going from house

to house for signatures. Now they hope to start really rolling up those points.

In the *Militant* Campaigner put out by Los Angeles the comrades noticed how near Chicago was getting: "We are in fourth place but Chicago is a mere 400 points behind us. We will have to put on some additional steam to stay in the running." All we will say is that Chicago and the Twin Cities have sure demonstrated one thing about campaigns—the best time to put the steam on is as early as possible, then when you need a pick-up those jet boosters really have an effect. But that last grueling stretch to the finish line is what really counts. If Los Angeles opens up everything, they've still got a fighting chance.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 628 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3-960.

CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND—Cronin Home, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.

DETROIT—4108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-6 P.M. Phone TY 7-6307.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street, Phone 22495.

LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANcelsus 9-4653.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.

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

NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—118 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7832.

BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 658 Howard Ave. Open every Thurs., 8 P.M. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm. 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1933, or call TEdmopolis 2-3735.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

PITTSBURGH—For information, write P.O. Box 382.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-0410.

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

TOLEDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1502.

YOUNGSTOWN—214 E. Federal St. Call 5-1779.

Your First Issue?

If this is the first time you have ever read *The Militant*, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read *The Militant* regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six month subscription or \$2 for a full year to *The Militant*, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Name

Street

City

State Zone

Subscriptions: \$3 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year. \$2 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1979.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7660
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Single Orders (5 or more copies): 30 each in U.S., 40 each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XV - No. 24

Monday, June 11, 1951

What Imperialists Fight For

Washington's biggest lie is its claim that this country is warring in Korea and preparing to fight everywhere else in order to halt "aggression" and "totalitarianism." There is but one reason for U. S. intervention in Korea and preparations for still greater war: To defend the capitalist private profit system.

What the rulers of America feared above all else when the civil war began in Korea was the North Korean threat to the capitalist-landlord rule represented by the Syngman Rhee regime and the North Korean program for the division of the land among the poor peasants and the nationalization of industries.

American imperialism is most sensitive to whatever threatens capitalist rule, profits and privileges anywhere, and particularly where foreign investments of the monopolists are concerned. It reacts like a man sitting on a hot stove whenever there is a move in any country to nationalize industries and property.

The real aims of American imperialism were revealed nakedly in the case of Iran when that country's capitalist government voted to nationalize the Iranian oil

industry which British capitalists had managed to grab. This was not a matter of "communist aggression." It was simply an act by a sovereign government to retain possession of the valuable resources of its own country. But Washington has intervened with threats and pressure to halt the nationalization.

Now we have another illuminating example of what U. S. capitalist foreign policy is based upon. That is the reaction to the announcement of the new Indonesian Government that it intends to institute widespread nationalizations. On June 4, a few days after this announcement, the N.Y. Times published a scarcely-veiled threat to Indonesia not to carry out its plans.

These plans, says the Times, which speaks for the most powerful section of American Big Business, are "not reassuring" and "offer the possibility of further tension in the critical area of Southeast Asia." It warns that "it would be wise for the Indonesian Government to move slowly."

Touch capitalist interest anywhere in the world and you have given Wall Street a "causa belli"—a cause for war.

Their Lies About Formosa

The American people are being told by both the MacArthurites and the administration that Formosa is absolutely vital for "U. S. defense," that to safeguard peace it is necessary to safeguard Formosa, that under no circumstances can Formosa be "given up," etc. Not so long ago, for almost two years—from October 1948 to June 1950—the American people and the whole world were told just the reverse. This is proved irrefutably by an official state department document, a "policy information paper" on Formosa issued in Dec. 23, 1949 and read into the minutes of the Senate hearings on the MacArthur ouster over the bitter protest of Secretary of State Acheson.

This highly revealing and hitherto secret document sets down the previous official policy on Formosa. It denies that the U. S. has or will assume any "responsibilities or obligations, actual or moral" in connection with Formosa and brands as "false" that "the U. S. is responsible for or committed in any way to act to save Formosa." It flatly denies that Formosa has any "special military significance."

"Formosa, politically, geographically and strategically, is part of China in no way specially distinguished or important. . . . Politically and militarily it is a strictly Chinese responsibility," emphasizes this document.

The only "insistent demand" that U.S. take "military action" in connection with Formosa, this document takes note, has come from "a few sources" but, it is hastily added "it has not assumed significant proportions."

Book Review

Two Views on Titoism

By Milton Matthews

Balkan Caesar, By Leigh White, Scribners, 1951, 240 pages, \$2.75

Tito and Goliath, By Hamilton Fish Armstrong, MacMillan, 1951, 312 pages, \$3.50

The "literature" on Yugoslavia is piling up. We must use quotation marks because so much of it is shoddy, undocumented, stuff. Responding to the serious interest of the American people in the phenomenon of the small Balkan state that accomplished its social revolution and broke with the Kremlin, profit hungry publishers have opened their immense presses to every correspondent who spent a night under a table in a Belgrade bar. You can learn about Tito's alleged love life from this trash, not much else.

However there have been a few books published that merit closer attention. Fundamentally united in opposing the changed property relations and the social aspirations of the Yugoslav workers and peasants, the authors of such books on Yugoslavia have a tactical difference in their approach to the subject. In this they reflect the uncertainty and lack of confidence that exists among their imperialist masters who are face to face with defeat on the world arena. Politicians, journalists and generals are rushing into the breach with tactics designed to meet the insoluble crisis.

First there is the position that would overlook at this time the fact that Yugoslavia remains dedicated to a socialist future and has withdrawn its land area from imperialist exploitation. This school of imperialists would deal with the Yugoslavs, hoping to use the strength and solidarity of the people as an expendable pawn in their coming war with the Soviet Union. This position is best expressed in the book *Tito and Goliath* by Hamilton Fish Armstrong.

In opposition is the viewpoint that condemns traffic with any non-capitalist state in the belief that " . . . a communist victory, whether of the Stalinist, Titoist or Maoist variety will spell our ruin more surely than any atomic bomb." This quote is from the recently published book *Balkan Caesar* by Leigh White, for the past 14 years a correspondent for leading U.S. newspaper and radio chains.

White's position, unambiguous and without sugar-coating, mirrors the real class interests of the Wall Street oligarchs. It should provide workers with a clear picture of who are the real aggressors in the world today.

The war against communism is on, White states, and the U.S. should move first against the weakest of her opponents, Yugoslavia. He supports the plan of the British rightist, F. A. Voigt, to invade Albania. Then he writes

"once established on the Danube the West will have regained the position it lost when it backed Tito and deserted Mikhailovich, a position of such strategic significance that, if held and used properly, it could bring about the restoration of much or all of Southeast Europe to the European community." In any dealing with Yugoslavia now, White counsels for the extortion of "spiritual concessions." He clearly shows in his book that by this he means for the Yugoslavs to give up their socialist prospect.

"Balkan Caesar" consists of an embittered historical review of the rise to power of the present Yugoslav centrist leadership. The author wholly omits any reference to the vital role played by the mass upsurge, by the Proletarian Brigades, etc., in molding the wartime leadership and influencing the historic break with Stalin.

Again in a chapter attacking Tito's dictatorship, White devotes one lone sentence to describe the lot of the Yugoslav masses under the pre-war semi-fascist monarchial regimes. He suppresses all mention of the important domestic reforms that have taken place in Yugoslavia since the split with the Cominform; not a word about the laws on workers management of factories, the decrees against bureaucraticism, the new judicial set-up, etc.

Stalinists Help Tighten Noose On Own Necks

The Stalinists themselves share blame for the heavy blow struck at the rights of the American people by the Supreme Court decision in the case of the 11 Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act.

They hailed the prosecution, conviction and imprisonment of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO truckdrivers under the very Smith Act of 1940 that the Stalinists later — and correctly — charged was a violation of the Bill of Rights when applied to themselves.

They aggressively opposed and tried actively to sabotage the campaign of the Civil Rights Defense Committee that won the support of unions representing five million members to the defense of the 18 Trotskyists imprisoned in 1944 under the Smith Act.

Even as the noose of this infamous witch-hunt law was closing around their own throats in the Foley Square prosecution of 1949, the Stalinists continued to oppose civil rights for Trotskyists and all other working-class opponents of Stalinism. In organizations under their control, the Stalinists rejected resolutions and motions of support for the campaign to secure the restoration of civil rights to the Trotskyists who were the first victims of the Smith Act. They likewise refuse to support the fight of the legless World War II veteran, James Kutcher, who was fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Although the defense of civil rights for all labor is involved in their case, the Stalinists' position on civil rights for their political opponents in the labor movement helped to alienate many labor and liberal leaders and organizations from their defense. By thus discouraging widespread popular support for their case, the Stalinists made it that much easier for the government to prosecute them successfully under the Smith Act and for the Supreme Court to uphold the Act.

The attitude of the Stalinists toward the Smith Act imprisonment of the Trotskyists is represented by this typical sample from the Daily Worker, in a June 6, 1944, editorial attacking union leaders who supported the campaign for pardon of the Trotskyists:

"Those informed of what the Trotskyites are doing would no more associate their names with their defense than they would go on behalf of the seditionists now on trial in Washington. Why are Baldanzi (George Baldanzi, Vice President of the CIO Textile Workers' Union) and the rest lending their names in support of these snakes in the service of the enemy? Labor has complained only because more of their kind . . . were not put behind bars."

As late as August 14, 1949, when the 11 Stalinists leaders were on trial under an identical

OKs Smith Act



U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Vinson who wrote the majority opinion which up-held the Smith "Gag" Act and legalizes thought-control in the United States.

section of the Smith Act used to convict the Trotskyists, the Worker published a lengthy "letter" to liberals trying to show that the two cases are "not parallel" and to "equate" them would "damage" the case of the 11 Stalinists. It was OK to jail the Trotskyists because, it lied, they were "charged" with "overt acts" and "sedition." Of course, the 18 Trotskyists were convicted of "advocating and teaching" the ideas of Marxism and Leninism.

Led by well-known Stalinists hacks, the Stalinist-sponsored Conference for Civil and Human Rights held in New York City on June 25, 1949, and their Bill of Rights Conference on July 16, 1949, voted down resolutions and amendments to resolutions calling for support of the civil rights of the Minneapolis 18 and James Kutcher.

This outraged labor and liberal sentiment and provided a pretext for many to refuse to support the Stalinist case of the 11. Thus, the Stalinists helped pave the way for their own convictions at Foley Square and undermined genuine united front struggle against the Smith Act.

SWP Flays Supreme Court Ruling, Asks Repeal of Smith 'Gag' Act

NEW YORK, June 4.—James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the first working class leaders imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act in 1941, today issued the following statement:

"The Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith 'Gag' Act in the conviction of the 11 CP leaders is a deadly blow at the heart of the civil liberties of the American people. The Socialist Workers Party opposed this undemocratic law from the first and sought to alert and mobilize public opinion against it. The Stalinist leaders followed a different course. They approved the application of the Smith Act in the Minneapolis trial of 1941 by the Roosevelt administration against the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders who were its first victims. Now they themselves are being imprisoned under it. Nevertheless, we opposed their persecution and continue to do so."

"The Supreme Court action should serve as a lesson, not only to the Communist Party, but to their opponents in labor and liberal circles, that there is only one way to combat reactionary attacks upon the rights of the American people. That is by united resistance to unjust laws, regardless of political differences. We intend to continue our 10-year campaign to remove this instrument of oppression from the statute books."

A RARE ARTICLE BY LEON TROTSKY IN LATEST ISSUE OF THE "F.I."

By Joseph Hansen

When the editors of *Fourth International* make up an issue of the magazine, they put the most timely stuff in the front; then work back toward the "Arsenal of Marxism" where they print rare and precious material from the vast archives of socialist thought.

Many readers, I suppose, follow this convenient and logical lay-out when they settle down for an evening's reading. However, ever since I became interested in the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, I've read it in whatever order struck my fancy. It's part of the pleasure I get out of browsing through the only real Marxist contributions in America to the discussion on the big social, economic and political issues of our time.

Take the May-June issue, for instance, which just came off the press. There on the cover is notice of the first English translation of an article by Leon Trotsky on the author of the great novel, *War and Peace*.

Trotsky's occasional writings on art and artists are justly famed. They reveal how deeply and clearly this genius of revolutionary socialism saw into the human heart, saw character and personality shaped by the titanic

forces of the class struggle. A new article by Trotsky in this field is a rare treat. So I started reading "Tolstoy, Poet and Rebel" which is the piece published this month in the back of *Fourth International* in the "Arsenal of Marxism."

I enjoyed that article. Even though it was written way back in 1908 on Tolstoy's eightieth birthday, it's still fresh and timely. It tells about capitalism coming to Russia, how it broke up ancient ways of living, and how all this was reflected in the mind and emotions of a great artist.

Anyone acquainted with the basic discoveries of psychoanalysis will appreciate Trotsky's sureness of touch, particularly in bringing out the unconscious sources of Tolstoy's artistry.

I don't want to imply that the article is ponderous and impossible for anyone without a college background. Not at all. These things are just some of the extras. Actually, like nearly everything from Trotsky's gifted pen, it's a work of art itself, cut and shaped so that these ideas display all their natural warmth and fire. I found it as absorbing as first-rate fiction.

If you're interested in the relation between art and society or the problem of finding the

FIRST USE OF SMITH ACT AGAINST LABOR WAS IN MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL

The first convictions under the Smith "Gag" Law of 1940, under which the 11 Stalinist leaders have been railroaded, were those of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in Dec. 1941. Among those convicted were James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman, and V. R. Dunne, Labor Secretary.

Commenting on the conviction, *The Nation*, a liberal weekly, declared, "The prosecution and conviction are challenges to every believer in civil liberties. They are an example of the very thing the Bill of Rights sought to make impossible—the imprisonment of men not for what they did, but for what they thought and said."

Virtually every labor and liberal organization in the country, including the AFL, CIO and the American Civil Liberties Union, which participated in the defense of the 18, had attacked the Smith Act as a violation of the Bill of Rights.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to defend the 18, appealed the conviction to the Supreme Court three times; and each time the court refused to review the constitutionality of the Smith Act. Thereby they avoided committing themselves on the law, waiting almost ten years to make a ruling.

The prosecution of the 18, which came just before U.S. entry into World War II, was primarily aimed as a blow against opposition to imperialist war. The Socialist Workers Party was the only organization which had taken a firm stand against Roosevelt's war plans.

The government also indicted leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, who had broken with the AFL Teamsters in order to establish a democratic union free of the domination of Dictator Daniel Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters. Thus, the prosecution of the 18 violated both the fundamental free speech and civil liberties of the SWP, and also the right of workers to join the union of their own choosing.

Although the 18 were indicted under two laws, first, under the Alien and Sedition Act of 1861, which makes it a crime actually to conspire to forcibly overthrow the government, and second, under the Smith "Gag" Act, which outlaws the mere "advocacy" of socialist ideas. The defendants were acquitted on the first count, since no overt acts could be proved. They were convicted under the Smith Act for their ideas alone.

Irving Abramson, then president of the New Jersey CIO Council, and now head of the National CIO Community Services Committee, commenting on the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear the case, stated, "My disagreement with their ideas forms the very basis of my strong conviction that their right to express those beliefs ought to be strongly safeguarded. This principle, I believe, is the very rock

upon which our democracy stands. . . . I would like to add my strong protest against the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to hear a case where the elements of freedom of speech are involved."

Introduced as evidence by the prosecution were 150 exhibits which included pamphlets and articles written by the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the best known works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Thus the government attempted to put the great emancipating ideas of Marxism behind bars, to outlaw socialist ideas and the right to speak out for those ideas.

But since the conviction of the 18, socialism has spread further than ever before. The ruling of the Supreme Court that the Smith "Gag" Act is constitutional will also fail to prevent the liberating ideas of socialism from reaching the heads and the hearts of the oppressed masses.

The Negro Struggle

NAACP Parley And the Issue Of Political Action

By J. Blake

A major problem for consideration of the delegates to the 42nd convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when they meet in Atlanta the last week of this month, is what to do next in the struggle for fair employment practices legislation.

The basic question is political action. The record on FEPC since the last convention on both national and state levels is one of failure. Of the 17 or so states in which bills against discrimination in employment were introduced, only one, Colorado, is reported to have passed such a measure. In the important industrial states of Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio the bills were killed — in most cases in committees that refused even to report them out for consideration of the legislature.

In California, typically, the bill was defeated in committee by a 15 to 3 vote after vigorous opposition by spokesmen for the Los Angeles Merchants and Manufacturers Association and the San Francisco Employers Council.

On a national level the record of failure is better known. Despite conferences in Washington initiated by the NAACP, lobbying, visits to Truman and other administration heads by the most respectable Negro leaders, and innumerable letters to Congressmen, the record of the 82nd Congress on FEPC and civil rights legislation generally is such a complete zero that Walter White has labeled it a "wilful sit-down strike against civil rights."

As for the President, the NAACP stated editorially in the April issue of *Crisis*:

"To Negro voters it begins to appear that Mr. Truman is turning his back on his previous pledges. Nor can the President escape responsibility for the failure of congressional Democrats to take the ball. Negro voters are going to hold Mr. Truman and Congress to strict accountability on this issue."

The question is: What will the NAACP convention do about it? Repeat the ineffective reprimands of the Boston convention of last year? Or take the defeatist line of the Pittsburgh Courier editorial of May 19 that since "favorable action can scarcely be expected" on job discrimination, it "might prove more fruitful" to concentrate on abolition of segregation and discrimination in interstate transportation, the national health program, education and housing?

NAACP delegates who mean business in the fight for equal job opportunities for Negroes do not have to accept either of those alternatives. There is an effective way to fight for FEPC and for jobs, and that is through independent political action. Not the kind of "political action" the NAACP has been carrying on. Not a lot of fancy footwork between the Democrats and Republicans. Threatening the Democrats with the Republicans and vice versa gets the struggle nowhere. That capitalist parties are old hands at that game: They don't fall for bluffs by leaders without a real mass force behind them.

There's just one thing that makes capitalist politicians sit up and take notice — a strong political force. The only partial gains made for Negro political representation this year were in a number of localities where a concentrated Negro population threw its weight behind Negro candidates. In municipal elections last month, for example, six Negroes won councilmanic seats: Charleston, W. Va., elected three; Nashville, Tenn., one, the first in 40 years; Greensboro, N.C., one, the first Negro ever elected there; and Fayetteville, N.C., re-elected one.

But obviously, on a national scale Negroes are a minority and do not, by themselves, constitute a political force strong enough to unseat "General Jim Crow," to borrow a phrase from the Kansas City Call.

The answer to the problem is not hard to see. The Negro people need an ally, one who faces the same enemies in Congress and the White House, one who needs the Negro masses as much as they need him. Such an ally exists. It is the American labor movement. The AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions like the United Mine Workers have taken the same kind of beating in politics as the NAACP — because they have followed the same incorrect political-action policies as the NAACP.

The need, as every worker, black or white, knows in his bones, is for an independent labor party, an organization of the majority of the people in this country (now voting and acting like minorities) that will be able to tell the Democrats and Republicans where to get off and won't be bluffing.

This is no news to Negroes. Commenting on the defeat of the California FEPC bill this year, the California Eagle of May 17 said what all Negroes know:

"Labor unions, to their credit, stood fast on the issue and both AFL and CIO urged passage of the bills. That would seem to indicate that minority groups will have to look to labor as chief allies in this fight. A combination of this kind ought to be able to enlist the assistance of the many thousands of men and women of goodwill who recognize in FEPC a means for advancement of democracy."

The 42nd annual convention of the NAACP can do more than recognize these facts. It can be a truly historic convention by having the courage, the boldness and the audacity to demonstrate social leadership in calling on the American labor movement to join with the Negro people in breaking definitively with the Democratic and Republican parties and starting the organization of a powerful labor party.

(Next week: The NAACP Convention and the GI's)

The Vatican and Labor -- II "Affinity With Fascism"

By Joseph Keller

Only in a non-Catholic country like the U.S., where most workers have little knowledge of the Vatican's policies, could union leaders like Philip Murray and James Carey of the CIO get away with the public praise of the Papal encyclicals on labor.

The predominantly Catholic working-class of France, for instance, has rejected for 60 years the injunctions of Pope Leo XIII's "Rerum Novarum" to have nothing to do with socialist ideas and class struggle and to belong only to Catholic unions controlled by the priest-caste.

Most Italian workers, almost all born Catholics, would hoot at Murray's words, reborn in the May 21 CIO News, that the workers of America and the world "owe a debt to the memory of the two great Popes" whose encyclicals on labor were celebrated last month. They would be incensed particularly at praise for Pope Pius XI's "Quadragesimo Anno" which endorsed the program of Mussolini's "corporate units."

The noted British Catholic, Christopher Dawson, who was named one of the "forty contemporary immortals" in the Gallery of Living Catholic Authors, said of the encyclicals hailed by Murray and Carey:

"... There seems to be no doubt that the Catholic social ideas set forth in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI have far more affinity with those of fascism than with those of either liberalism or socialism. In the same way, it is clear that Catholicism is by no means hostile to the authoritarian ideal of the state. Against the liberal doctrines of the divine rights of majorities and the unrestricted freedom of opinion, the Church has always maintained the principles of authority and hierarchy and high conception of the prerogatives of the state. . . . (Religion and the Modern State, p. 134, Sheed and Ward, 1935.)

Leo XIII, in his famous encyclical, decreed as "God's Truth" that "the inviolability of private property" must be "our first and most fundamental principle" and ordained that all existing classes must remain fixed like those of feudalism under the medieval church-state. "Let it be laid down. . . that humanity must remain as it is. . . . There naturally exist among mankind numerous differences. . . and unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality of condition." Such inequality "must accompany man so long as life lasts." Therefore, rich and poor do not form classes "intended by nature to live at war with one another. . . ."

The "non-class" propaganda of American capitalism would have us believe that "everyone" in this country has a chance to better himself and rise above the class into which he was born. The Catholic doctrine upholds the feudal concept of hereditary class position, that everyone is born to a fixed, "natural" class and must remain in his class. This is the doctrine that capitalism itself openly espouses when it institutes fascism.

When people like Murray and Carey refer to Leo XIII's encyclical as "a bold demand for justice, charity and decency in economic affairs" (CIO News, May 21), they usually mean the section where the Pope conceded that workers are entitled to a "just wage." Leo XIII said further that "wages ought not to be insufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage-earner." Thus, "just" wage is only what is required to

keep a worker alive and fit enough to return to work the next day — provided he is "frugal" (doesn't spend a cent on recreation, education or comforts) and is "well-behaved" (doesn't belong to militant unions and fight to keep the employers from making a "just" profit.)

This is nothing but the "fair wage — fair profit" doctrine of the present-day National Association of Manufacturers and Chamber of Commerce as put in religious dress 60 years ago.

The essence of the Vatican's labor policy was expressed in Pius XI's encyclical. This dictated that Catholic workers, in order to fight legitimate unions, should form Catholic unions. If, however, "it (is) impossible for Catholics to form Catholic unions. . . they seem to have no choice but to enroll themselves in neutral unions. . . . But "side by side with these unions, there should always be associations zealously engaged in imbuing and forming their members in the teaching of religion and morality so that they in turn may be able to permeate the unions with that good spirit which should direct them in all their activities."

In short, where workers prefer "neutral" — that is, independent — unions, Catholics are supposed to set up bodies like the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists to "bore from within" the labor movement, bring it under Catholic control and "permeate" it with clerical ideology.

But Pius XI's approval of even Catholic unions was intended only for countries where the workers were strong enough to maintain "neutral" unions. His basic program was to "abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests" through the "corporate state" — that is, fascism. Therefore, the chief point of his 1931 encyclical was:

"Within recent times, as all are aware, a special syndical and corporate organization has been inaugurated (in Italy) which, in view of the subject of the present encyclical, demands of us (the Pope) some mention and opportune comment. The corporations are composed of representatives of unions of workmen and employers of the same trade or profession, and as true and genuine organs and institutions of the state they direct and coordinate the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. If the contending parties cannot come to an agreement, public authority intervenes."

"Little reflection is required to perceive the advantage of the institutions thus summarily described: peaceful collaboration of the classes, repression of Socialist organizations and effort, the moderating influence of a special ministry."

The "special syndical and corporate organizations" which the Pope put up as a model were, of course, the "corporations" set up by Mussolini; the "unions" were the government-controlled industry councils run by the fascist labor bosses. The "advantage" was the defense of capitalist profits through the ruthless suppression of independent unionism.

When CIO Secretary-Treasurer Carey said that "I believe that the programs of our great labor organizations on this continent reflect the teachings of the papal encyclicals," including the one cited above, he slandered every genuine union, including the CIO, as fascist — or rather, he tried to equate the fascist program of the Vatican to the anti-fascist, pro-labor program of the CIO.

The Price War

By Tom Conlan

Last week the huge department store monopoly known as Macy's announced a series of price cuts. Macy's chief competitors, Gimbels in Manhattan and Abraham & Straus in Brooklyn immediately followed suit. By the end of the week the "price war" had become citywide and from all indications is spreading to other parts of the country.

While the big city department stores have been catching the headlines, by far more serious general price cuts have also been announced by the mail order house of Sears & Roebuck.

The catch-phrase "price war" is new but the device is an old one. It is the moth-eaten "loss leader" dodge whereby customers are attracted by selling one item or more at cost and sometimes even at a loss. In the process merchandise which has piled up on the shelves and in the warehouses, is unloaded.

How much merchandise has piled up in the hands of the retailers, from the biggest to the small fry, no one really knows. Conservative estimates are that retail inventories are one-third and more above "normal." This is as large, if not larger, as they would be in expectation of boom sales, such as in the pre-Christmas season. It now turns out that by far the biggest "panic buyers" since Korea have been the profit-mad merchants, who loaded up in expectation of the kill, speculating on widespread shortages that would result from the stepped up militarization program and the Korean hostilities.

The retailers are not the only ones who are loaded. So are the wholesalers; so are the manufacturers. "Manufacturers' inventories are up, too — 29 percent more than a year ago. They're going to want to move goods, also," reports a Scripps-Howard survey.

The overall picture is that for every two items, a year ago, there are three items today clamor-

ing for outlets, or overhanging the market. In other words, instead of the eagerly awaited shortages, there is the unexpected threat of glut all along the line.

At the same time, the volume of sales has been disappointing. Since the beginning of the year, retail trade has been running only slightly ahead of last year's figures; and the first quarter of last year saw retail sales dip to danger levels. It took Korea to bring them up, and after a brief spurge, they then started sinking again. The whopping price increases coupled with the vast speculative buying of the manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers tended to obscure the actual drop in physical volume of goods sold over the counters.

But that drop has been steadily making itself felt. The abnormally swollen inventories tended to grow even larger. For in the meantime, mass purchasing power had been savagely slashed by soaring prices and ruthless taxation. The switch-over to war production, enormous as it has been, proved insufficient to bridge this gap between dwindling mass purchasing power and a flow of consumer goods at approximately the same levels as prior to the militarization program.

Having waited for a year for shortages to develop, the profiteers now see no prospect of shortages until, at the earliest, by fall. The existing top-heavy inventories — with supplies ample for several months ahead — make this almost a certainty.

To crown it all there is the "peace scare" which has been causing jitters in the stock and commodity markets in recent weeks. And so, finding themselves loaded to the rafters, one section of the monopoly profiteers have decided to play it safe and to unload as much as they can, at "bargain" prices, in most cases still appreciably above those before Korea.

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP OPENS

The facilities of Mountain Spring Camp will be fully open for the summer vacation season on June 15th. However, the management is pleased to announce that a reduced rate will be in effect until July 1. Thus, workers and their families who wish to come during June, may enjoy all the best in a accommodations, educational and recreational activities for a daily rate of \$5.50 for cabins, and \$5.00 for dormitory, instead of \$6.50 and \$6.00.

Children under 12 years will be charged \$3.50 per day instead of \$4.00. Besides the Children's Camp, with its own new building and planned activities, Mountain Spring Camp offers a varied program for adults. The educational program, for those who like to learn on their vacation, will be under the able direction of Myra Tanner Weiss. Mrs. Weiss will also be recreational director, and in addition to campfires, athletic tournaments, etc., will introduce Western style square dancing, which is almost as much fun to watch as to participate in.

OUTDOOR DANCING

One of the most unusual and enjoyable features of the camp which will be repeated this summer is outdoor dancing on the terrace under the stars.

However, no special finery are needed at Mountain Spring Camp. Guests may wear what they please. They may loaf in shorts or dungarees, or dress up a bit if they prefer.

In spite of the increased cost of food, the high standards of

quality and quantity will be maintained. The meals are prepared by an expert cook in a modern, sanitary kitchen. The big, airy dining hall looks out over the grassy hillside to the surrounding mountains.

Readers of the Militant and their friends are cordially invited to visit the camp for short or long stays. Special discounts are offered for stays of over four weeks. The camp is non-sectarian and interracial. For further information and for reservations, write to: Mountain Spring Camp, RD No. 1, Washington, N. J. Or, telephone Washington 1352.

Chicago BARN DANCE
Saturday PM, June 16
734 South Wabash Avenue
Folk Singing : Folk Dancing
Sponsored by the SWP

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1951

NUMBER 24

San Francisco City Officials Kill FEP Bill

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28. — The two-year sham battle of the Board of Supervisors for a city Fair Employment Practices ordinance ended today. By a six to five vote the Supervisors killed the whittled-down version that was finally brought up for a vote.

By dragging the measure out the Supervisors had hoped to dissipate interest in the ordinance. This is an old political trick, but in this case it did not work. Negroes and other minority groups packed the City Hall Chambers at every hearing and intently followed each step. Before the final vote those who opposed the measure had to come out with some plain words.

When the question first came up in 1949, Mayor Robinson, acting with a show of impartiality, appointed a citizens committee to investigate whether the ordinance was necessary. Eleven hearings were held that lasted over a period of months. Employer spokesmen all declared that "they did not discriminate," that San Francisco was well known for its liberalism and that an ordinance was not necessary. They were answered every time by the Negroes themselves who gave incident after incident proving how widespread discrimination really was. Their testimony was backed by conclusive statistics.

"VOLUNTARY" PLAN

The Mayor's Committee finally concluded that an FEP ordinance was needed and the measure was shunted to a Supervisors subcommittee which after more delays concluded that an ordinance "was not necessary at this time." Instead they recommended a "voluntary" plan which would gradually educate the employers away from discriminatory practices. Like "educating" a culture to become a vegetarian. The "voluntary" plan was adopted. This was now January 1950.

The past year showed no measurable change in discrimination and so, being an election year, FEP was raised again. Once more the employers testified against an FEP ordinance. Why? Almon Roth, president of the Employers Council, repeated the old formula. The "voluntary" plan was now working well, he claimed, and then delivered his big point. "Passage of this measure would make San Francisco a Mecca for minority peoples." Besides, he added, the measure was supported by Communist and subversive groups.

At this point Supervisor Marvin Lewis, who has tried to make political capital by sponsoring the ordinance, rose to defend it. "I am a Republican, and I want you to know that the Republican Party has an FEP plank in its platform."

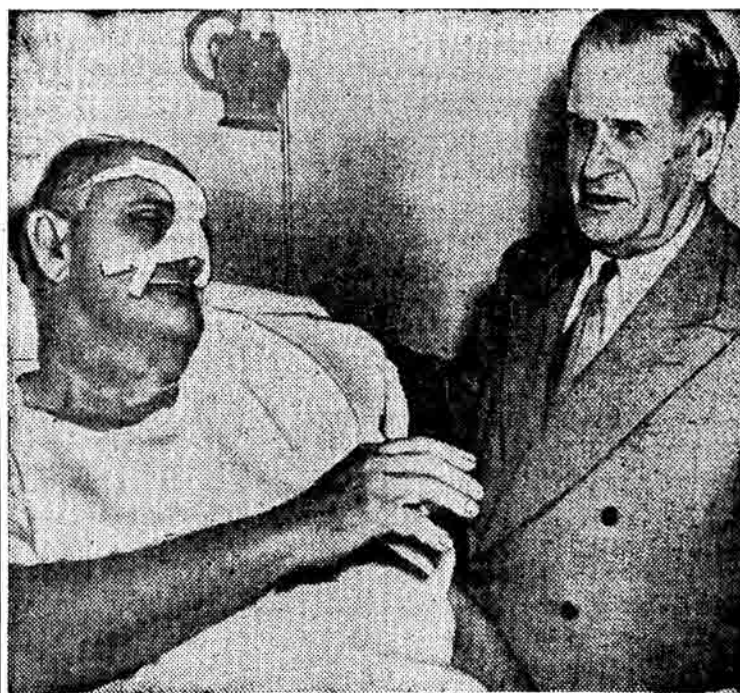
Roth retorted that he was a Republican too and was aware that FEP was part of the Republican platform. "But," he added, "that is purely political bait."

SWP STATEMENT

The Socialist Workers Party participated in every stage of the

N.Y. SWP Call for United Action To Avenge Cop-murder of Negro

Pennsy Wreck Probe



Union engineer Francis B. Yentzer, 61, gives his version of the wreck of the Pennsylvania Railroad corporation's Red Arrow passenger train to William J. Patterson of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yentzer, shown here in his hospital bed in Bryn Mawr, Pa., was one of 62 injured in this latest murder-for-profit wreck on a Pennsy line. Eight were killed.

This is the fifth horrible accident involving Pennsy trains since Feb. 1950. Four previous wrecks, all due to lack of automatic safety devices and unsafe practices, took a toll of 248 passengers and crew members killed and more than a thousand seriously injured.

hearings making its proposals for a serious fight against discrimination. In its final statement to the Board of Supervisors it said "In 1949 we criticized the draft FEP ordinance as being too weak. This was the view that was also taken by all representatives of the Negro organizations that testified. The proposed draft placed enforcement in the hands of a Commission appointed by the Mayor and approved by the Board. No direct control over it by minority organizations was made. We likewise criticized the involved processes of investigation, hearings and litigation that would drag cases of discrimination on from month to month."

"If you recognize that discrimination is deeply rooted in the economic and social life of the country, you must then conclude that strong steps must be taken to eliminate it. An ordinance which provides only mild powers of supervision and enforcement will not be much more effective than the 'voluntary' plan. Only those who are directly affected by discrimination, and have the burning determination to eliminate it, can carry out the job effectively. Therefore the Socialist Workers Party had called for an ordinance which places the powers of supervision and enforcement in the hands of elected representatives of the Negroes and other minorities of the city."

"Pass a strong Fair Employment Practices ordinance now! Put it in the hands of minority representatives for supervision and enforcement."

TRENTON SIX CASE DRAWS TO CLOSE AS JURY HEARS FINAL ARGUMENTS

(Continued from page 1)

hospital at his elbow as a coach, was badly worried when he challenged Wertham's opinion that the police "produced and almost dictated" the "confessions." "Is it your opinion that these 'confessions' were not produced by the free minds of the defendants but were produced by the Police Department?" asked the prosecutor. "Yes, I think so," replied Wertham. "It is your opinion that the police deliberately planned these 'confessions' to implicate these individuals?" was the next question. "No, I don't think it was done deliberately but very haphazardly," was the jolting reply. The reference was to the crudeness of the frame-up. The police held no particular animus against the six Negroes they had rounded up, any six would serve the ends of the Police Department, as long as they were Negroes.

The rebuttal witnesses of the prosecution have been for the most part policemen and detectives who participated in the day-and-night grilling of the defendants until the "confessions" had been extorted. The members of this dreary police parade all chant the same tune: "the de-

fendants all 'confessed' voluntarily, they were not subjected to any psychological terror, no drugs were administered to them, they weren't threatened."

THE PROSECUTOR

The prosecutor reads off a long list of questions, incorporating details the prisoners gave on the stand about their long period of incommunicado arrest, and then asks: "Is that true?" The invariable, droning answer of the cop or detective on the stand is, "No," or "Absolutely not."

One non-police witness that the prosecutor put on the stand was the photographer of the Trenton Times, local newspaper that is for electrocution of the six defendants. While the prisoners were still held incommunicado this photographer was allowed to take pictures of them. Defense attorneys were especially vehement against allowing this witness who had been allowed to photograph the prisoners while they were being unconstitutionally detained and when their families and lawyers were denied the right to see them. After looking up the law on the subject Judge Smalley made the witness step down.

Another non-police witness was

TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, THE CIO COUNCIL, AFL, AND ALL LABOR, LIBERAL, and MINORITY GROUPS:

The wanton slaughter of innocent people by killer-cops in New York City must be stopped. On May 26, Henry Fields, Jr., 27-year-old Negro, father of four children, was slain in cold blood by Patrolman Sam Applebaum. This wilful killing is now being investigated by the Kings County Grand Jury in Brooklyn, Judge Samuel Leibovitz presiding.

Will this trigger-happy cop be brought to justice? Or will he, like all the others who have been terrorizing the Negroes and other racial minorities, be whitewashed?

We call upon all these organizations to summon a city-wide conference for the purpose of launching a determined campaign against police-brutality.

We propose that such a conference take steps to mobilize a huge, mass demonstration at City Hall, so that every single citizen in New York, and all public officials will know that the people have had enough.

This mass demonstration should demand:

1. INDICT AND PROSECUTE PATROLMAN APPLEBAUM FOR MURDER!

2. FULL INDEMNIFICATION OF HENRY FIELDS WIDOW!

3. PUT AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY!

New York Local Socialist Workers Party June 7, 1951.

J. Herbert Brown, farmer from Robbinsville, the community outside Trenton where defendant Horace Wilson lives. Brown testified that he had seen Wilson with other defendants long before their arrest. This would contradict defense testimony that these men met for the first time after the Horner murder or in the police station.

Brown did not testify at the first trial of the Trenton Six and police claim to have "found" him for the first time two weeks ago. Acting on information from the community where Brown lives, defense attorney Pelletieri demanded of him: "How much are you being paid to come to court?" The prosecution objected and the judge ruled that the witness need not answer the embarrassing question.

For a Socialist Future Join the Militant Sales Drive

True History of the Scottsboro Case

By Albert Parker

There are two reasons why we have devoted so much space to the illuminating details about the Scottsboro case recorded in Allan K. Chalmers' book, *They Shall Be Free*. First, because the Scottsboro story is an important part of the history of the United States during the last two decades. Second, because it provides fundamental lessons for the present and the future, when we are plagued with witch hunts and "loyalty" purges as well as "Scottsboro cases" in both the North and South.

The basic lesson of the Scottsboro case, as we have shown in three previous articles, is that grave damage results from entrusting the control of labor and Negro defense cases to groups and individuals whose commitment to the methods of "conciliation" is of greater concern to them than the welfare of the people they are supposed to be defending. And the damage is twofold — injuring the prospects of freeing victims of ruling class injustice, and undermining the mass movements of struggle that are indispensable for the progress of the working people and their allies.

It may be said in Chalmers' defense that he didn't know any better, that he really believed the way to fight against a jim crow frameup was by collaborating with and depending on the per-

petrators of that frameup. That is possible. Almost anything is possible with a man who writes proudly about his sordid deals with racist politicians at the same time that he fills the job of professor of "Applied Christianity" at a Boston college.

THOSE RESPONSIBLE

But if Chalmers didn't know any better, what about the other members of the SDC who appointed him chairman, let him determine the policy that destroyed the flourishing Scottsboro mass movement, and then went along with that policy to the end? Maybelle and Norman Thomas and Walter White and Roger Baldwin can be "excused" on the ground of ignorance too, although we deny it. (Thomas, it is worth noting, was at the height of his flirtation with "radicalism" at the same time that he was participating in the worst sellouts of the SDC.)

And what about the Communist Party? Thomas, White and the others at least do not pretend to be advocates of class struggle; within limits, on this question anyhow, they practice what they preach, even if what they preach is rotten and false. The Stalinists, on the other hand, know how to preach militancy when it serves the interests of the Kremlin, as it does today. But as they proved in the Scottsboro case, their practices are every bit as reactionary and class-col-

laborationist as those of the reformists (when that serves the interests of the Kremlin). No matter what they say, this is what they did:

They turned the Scottsboro case over to a group which they knew was going to turn thumbs down on all policies in any way associated with mass action and protest. They claimed they were doing it in the interests of a "united front" when actually it was intended to conciliate Roosevelt in the hope of promoting a Washington-Moscow alliance. If they really had been interested in a united front, they would not have completely excluded the organized labor movement from the leadership of the Scottsboro Defense Committee.

When the SDC was formed, the Stalinists agreed not to make any public criticism of its policies. Never once, during all the sellouts and betrayals engineered by the committee, did they come out into the open and tell the workers the truth and call on them to exert pressure to reverse the committee's false policies. And when The Militant discovered some of these truths and published them, the Stalinists denied everything and accused us of trying to sabotage the Scottsboro fight.

When Chalmers worked out an agreement to transfer the real direction of the defense movement into the hands of a group

of Alabama conservatives, the other members of the SDC were dubious at first. But Robert Minor, the Stalinist member, sided with Chalmers on this question and thus helped him to put over the transfer.

When the Alabama authorities made their first offer to free some of the defendants if the others would plead guilty to charges of "assault" they had not committed, the Stalinist member like the other members of the SDC agreed not to "offer any opposition" to this contemptible capitulation.

After the committee was doubled-crossed that deal by the Alabama authorities, and after it was doubled-crossed again on the subsequent deal Chalmers reached with Governor Graves, the SDC policy was revealed in all its bankruptcy. "It would not have surprised me in the least if I had lost the Committee's confidence," Chalmers writes. "In fact, I offered, at that point, to have them repudiate me. Bob Minor wrote on the stationery of the Communist Party — the only such stationery I had ever seen or perhaps ever shall see — expressing his confidence in what I had done and would still do, ending, 'I like fighters.'"

No matter what the Stalinists say, that is what they did. And they would do the same thing over and over again today if they thought it would help the inter-

ests of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin.

No wonder that they are so silent about the true history of the Scottsboro case beginning with 1936. No wonder they still have hesitated to review the book by Chalmers that contains so many devastating facts about their role in the case. Veteran liars though they are, even they do not find it easy to publish a criticism of a policy that they themselves endorsed and covered up for more than 15 years.

Since the above was written, the June issue of the Stalinist magazine, *Masses and Mainstream*, has appeared with a review of Chalmers' book. It deliberately omits any discussion of the series of betrayals committed by the Scottsboro Defense Committee, which was the main aspect of Chalmers' book; in fact, its only reference to them is the statement that Chalmers "attempts . . . to overplay the role of top level negotiations, particularly with Southern politicians of the Bourbon variety." By its shameful silence on this question it confirms everything we have written about the role of the Stalinists in the Scottsboro case, and serves notice that the Stalinists will repeat this same role in other cases when it serves the interests of Kremlin policy.