

A May Day Message to American Labor

By the Socialist Workers Party

We are celebrating this May Day, 1951, amid one of the gravest political crises that has ever struck the American ruling class. This crisis, reaching its climax in the open conflict between the President of the United States and a leading general, is the direct result of the debacle of U.S. military intervention in Korea.

This is the most unpopular war in our history. The administration thrust the country into it without our consent. The American people do not support this war. They are bitterly opposed to it. They want it stopped — and right now.

The conscience of the decent people of this country — all those who work honestly for a living and have nothing to gain from war profiteering — cries out at the horrors U.S. imperialism has inflicted on the people of Korea. More than a million Korean civilians dead — a whole land gutted by U.S. bombs and shells.

And here, as well, the pitiful tears of mothers, fathers and wives flow for the 100,000 casualties already suffered in U.S. capitalism's bloody attempt to halt the march of the Asian Revolution, to reimpose imperialist fetters upon the peoples of the Far East, to deny them their right to that national freedom which our own forefathers won for us in the American Revolution.

International Solidarity

This — and nothing else — is the real issue in Korea. The colonial peoples are fighting for their liberty, for the right to run their own countries and determine their own destinies. And they are fighting with a courage and determination that only those imbued with the fire of liberty can display.

On this May Day, our hand of international workingclass brotherhood goes out to the fighters for freedom everywhere. We of the Socialist Workers Party declare our unshakable solidarity with the oppressed of all lands and races under the menacing shadow of U.S. imperialism.

This shadow is spread not only over Asia but over the advanced countries of Europe. There too Wall Street and its Washington agents are trying to prop up the tottering structure of an outworn capitalist system. In alliance with Old World imperialism and fascist dictators like Franco, U.S. capitalism is trying to remilitarize Western Europe in preparation for World War III and to hold back the tide of social revolution.

In vain! The workers of Europe will not tolerate the impositions of U.S. imperialism any more than the toilers of Asia. They are resisting stubbornly this new burden of armaments piled on their already overloaded backs.

Hail the Barcelona Workers

How inspiring is the recent general strike of the Barcelona workers and students! What hope their rising against the clerical-fascist Spanish regime brings to the peoples of Europe! And this awakening comes at the very moment Washington gives its blessings, its money and its arms to the Spanish people's bloody oppressor Franco.

We hail, too, the news from Germany of a new Independent Workers Party, composed mainly of workers who have broken from Stalinism, which has sounded a call for a genuine independent struggle for socialism. This new movement, which follows the break of the Yugoslav regime from Stalin, is one of many heartening signs that the European workers are coming to understand that the Communist Parties dominated by the Kremlin are not the representatives of Lenin and Trotsky's Russian Revolution and the cause of socialism. But for the Stalinist betrayals outworn capitalism in Europe would long since have been replaced by the socialist system.

Here in the United States — main citadel and arsenal of world capitalism — the people are stirring with resentment at the sacrifices imposed on them by the Korean war they did not want and do not support. They are wrathful at high prices, frozen wages, bigger taxes on small incomes, while the Big Business corporations openly display their voracity and greed in profiting from this war.

This conscienceless, arrogant capitalist ruling class — driven by its needs to find new fields to invest its vast capital surpluses and new markets abroad for the goods it cannot sell to underpaid workers at home — has set its sights on one target: conquest, domination and exploitation of the entire globe.

American Workers Awakening

It will not succeed. Its schemes have already received a rude setback at the hands of the revolutionary masses of the Far East. And they are going to meet an even more formidable roadblock in the shape of the American workingclass itself.

The American workers are powerfully organized, experienced in battle and determined to defend their rights and living standards. The labor crisis that broke forth when the labor leaders walked out of all government posts was a reflection of profound economic and political grievances. Underlying the workers' opposition to the government mobilization program and their refusal to accept reduced living standards is their opposition to the Korean war and the Big Business plans for all-out war.

Our most urgent message to American labor on this May Day is: Declare your political emancipation! Break with all capitalist politics and build your own party! Show the world that against this America of the billionaire exploiters who want to "liberate" humanity with atomic bombs, there stands another America — the real America — of the workers and working farmers, the white collar slaves and the oppressed Negro people. Armed with its own party, this America of the laboring millions can strike mortal blows at imperialism, its wars and its profiteering and together with all oppressed mankind march forward to peace, plenty, security and freedom.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Special Feature
**Who Are
The Friends of
The Asian People?**
By
JAMES P. CANNON

An answer to Prof. Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell and other "Democratic Socialist" defenders of imperialism.

SEE PAGE THREE

Trenton Six 'Confessions' Ripped Apart

TRENTON, April 18 — The defense has won a partial victory in the second jim crow, frame-up trial of the Trenton Six for the murder of William Horner, 72 year old shop keeper, in 1948. The whole case against the six Negro men — Ralph Cooper, Collis English, McKinley Forest, John MacKenzie, James Thorpe and Horace Wilson — is based upon extorted "confessions." The six Negroes were picked at random by the police and subjected to days and nights of grilling, mental torture, drugs and false promises. After three weeks of argument by defense and prosecution on the admissibility of the statements, typed by the police and signed by five of the exhausted and terrified defendants, the judge ruled out three of these "confessions."

FORCED CONFESSIONS

In the course of the three week's of argument the defense partly succeeded in revealing the technique of the Trenton police in forcing the "confessions" in this case. By cross-examination of the state's own witnesses, defense lawyers exposed the illegal, anti-Negro methods used in the arrests and five days and four nights third degreeing of the six defendants. The most damaging admissions were drawn from county-employed Dr. Sullivan, a Negro physician, whom the prosecution had used for window dressing. Sullivan was called in by the police after the defendants had been broken and were prepared to go through the "signing ceremonies." Under defense probing he admitted that when he examined defendants MacKenzie and Cooper they were under the influence of drugs, and that James Thorpe declared his "confession" to be false, then

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Stop the War in Korea-- Bring GIs Home Now!



SWP Branches Launch 'Militant' Sales Contest

The Socialist Workers Party has launched a ten-week national drive to increase the circulation of The Militant by sale of individual copies and subscriptions.

Filomena Goelman Polls Good Vote

Filomena Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-large in Oakland, received a total of 6,185 votes. This was nine percent of the total vote. Comrade Goelman ran third in a field of five candidates.

Comrade Goelman ran on an anti-war platform, stating early in her campaign, "As a workingclass anti-war candidate, I am opposed not only to Wall Street's intervention in Korea, but to its overall strategy which is dragging the country into World War III."

Called the "Big League Militant Circulation Campaign," the drive begins on April 22 with a coast-to-coast mobilization of Militant salesmen.

The drive will build up a real competitive spirit by offering prizes and honors for both individuals who pile up the most points in the campaign, and for branches which make the best showing.

THREE TOP AWARDS

There will be three top national awards for the top individual high scorer in each of three leagues: The Coover League, the Konikow League, and the Kujac League.

Champion top scorer in each league will be given a trip to New York with all expenses paid, will be a guest of honor at the National Militant Champions Banquet to be held on the East-coast shortly after the end of

the campaign, and one week's free summer vacation.

In addition, the leading branch in each of the three leagues will receive a pennant as Pennant-Winner in the race.

The high scorer of each branch, apart from the League champion, will receive an engraved scroll in recognition of his achievement.

It is expected that most of the local branches of the SWP will hold celebrations to honor their local champions, and will award local prizes.

In computing points for the contest, each 6-month subscription to The Militant will count for 26 points; each one year subscription will count for 52 points; each single copy sold will count for 1 point.

PILE UP POINTS

The object of the campaign is for comrades to pile up points; whether they do it by selling

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American People Want End To "Operation Slaughter" Against the Asian Masses

"Operation Slaughter" in Korea still rages in full fury. That is the stark reality as both war-mad cliques in the Truman-MacArthur dispute throw sand in the eyes of the American people about their respective schemes to bring "peace" in the Far East.

U.S. Casualties Over 100,000, Baldwin Reveals

Washington is concealing from the American people the true figures of U.S. casualties in Korea. The losses are almost double the misleading figures given out by the Defense Department.

The actual toll is "considerably more than 100,000," reveals Hansen W. Baldwin, the well-informed military analyst of the N. Y. Times.

"Our total battle casualties — now approximately 60,000 killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing since the Korean war started," wrote Baldwin on April 13, "probably would be swollen to considerably more than 100,000, if actual casualties such as motor accidents and plane crashes, frostbite, disease, etc., were included."

A GI who has had his feet frozen and amputated as a result of being exposed to sub-zero weather in an open fox-hole is not considered a "battle casualty" in the Army records.

Baldwin observes that "one hundred thousand total casualties in nine months of war is a sizable price to pay for a limited conflict in which no decision . . . is possible." If we accept General Omar Bradley's figures of 250,000 U.S. ground troops in Korea, Army casualties from all causes in nine months are at the frightful rate of more than one out of every three men.

Combined battle casualties of all UN forces were reported on March 31 as 228,941. The South Koreans have been hit hardest, with 168,652 casualties.

Every day U.S. explosives and napalm fire bombs slay more civilians — children, women, the aged and sick — to add to the toll of more than a million already "liberated" by violent death. Meanwhile, Lieut. Gen. Van Fleet, new 8th Army commander, blithely boasts: "The men in the foxholes welcome an enemy attack as offering the best opportunity for killing Chinese."

The men in the foxholes, however, would welcome only one thing — an order to withdraw from Korea as fast as possible. For they know the facts, concealed by Truman, MacArthur and Taft alike, about the appalling losses suffered by the American forces in "Operation Killer."

These casualties, according to Hansen W. Baldwin the well-informed military specialist of the N. Y. Times, are actually "considerably more than 100,000." (See detailed article on other part of this page.)

Neither side in the controversy over U.S. policy in the Far East proposes to withdraw the U.S. troops at once and to stop the war now, as the overwhelming majority of the American people have demanded for months. The crux of the dispute between Truman and MacArthur is merely the best way to "win" a war that this country should never have entered to begin with.

A GREAT TRAGEDY

The whole world is shocked and revolted by the way in which U.S. imperialism has been "liberating" Korea and its people, South and North. The fact that must sear itself into the conscience of the American people is that the rulers of this country, political and military, have been perpetrating one of the greatest atrocities in all history. That atrocity is going on now and neither Truman, nor MacArthur, nor Taft oppose it. They all glory in it.

"... Our beautiful country is being blackened by fire and soaked by blood," cries Yongjeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C., an organization which thrives by the grace of Washington and supports U.S. intervention. In the March 31 Voice of Korea, Kim says:

"Eighty percent of our homes and factories have been wiped out; our farms have become battle-grounds. Over a million of our civilian population have been killed in the fury of the war or have died of hunger and exposure. . . . Today hopeless, emaciated millions wander amid the ruins of our ravaged cities and along our battle-scarred roads and countryside. Where are they going? How can they sustain life? Reports reaching here tell of thousands being killed, the inhabitants of whole communities dying like insects. What crime have they committed? . . . unless the war ends soon Korea will be reduced to grave mounds, tree stumps and ruined homes."

Even those who have backed the U.S. military adventure in Korea are impelled to expressions of horror at its fruits. Thus, David Lawrence, editor of U.S. News and World-Report and widely-syndicated newspaper columnist, wrote recently:

CIVILIANS TRAPPED

"Tens of thousands of human beings are being killed by the most devastating fire power that

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Our Best Organizer--The Militant: V.R. Dunne

By Vincent R. Dunne

It was in a logging camp run by the Blackfoot Lumber Company, 25 miles almost straight up and north out of Bonner, Montana in the Blackfoot Mountains that I heard for the first time about May Day as the great holiday for the workers of the world. The Western Federation of Miners had organized the timber workers of Montana. That union had fought for and won better working conditions, higher pay, clean bunks and decent food for the lumber workers.

As a young lumberjack, who had worked several years in Minnesota lumber camps, which were always over-run with vermin and where workers had nothing to say about wages or conditions, I listened with attention and approval to the organizers and camp delegates. They passed out literature, which followed the theme: "Workers of the World Unite!" They spoke about and explained the class struggle and the coming workers' revolution. They always emphasized the importance of the printed word. I did not know the speakers then, but now I know that some of them were heroic men with the stamp of a Bill Haywood, a Gene Debs or a Vincent St. John on their credentials.

I also know that I became a

revolutionary fighter largely because of that experience. The organizers, speakers and literature agents of the Western Federation of Miners (at that time merged with the Industrial Workers of the World) never failed to impress upon the members the need to get subs for the revolutionary press. Seldom did I hear any of them speak to the camp meetings without urging everybody to sell and circulate pamphlets, books and other material about Socialism. They had tried to learn from Marx, Engels, Debs, De Leon and other leading socialist writers.

GREAT PROPAGANDISTS

With but a few exceptions, these organizers did not have the opportunity to know Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg who came to our attention later. I, and others of our generation, were more fortunate, by reason of our youth. They did not have the sure guide of the great Bolshevik revolution. They did have faith, however, and they did have courage and they were great propagandists in their day.

All of us in the Socialist Workers Party are privileged men and women. We have the possibility of learning from Lenin and Trotsky and other great leaders of the Russian Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky and their co-workers were

organizers of the Russian Revolution always devoted time (and what precious time!) to the revolutionary press.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

both theoreticians and men of action. Lenin and Trotsky as the outstanding leaders of October put the ideas of the masters, Marx and Engels into practice by organizing the greatest of all workers' revolutions in 1917.

It was from Lenin, I think, more than from any of the other great leaders that we learned how to appreciate and how to build and utilize the revolutionary press — as a party-builder. From the very first, Lenin stressed the role of the press. He said: "Our paper is our best organizer." The record shows that Trotsky and Lenin together as the leaders and

organizers of the Russian Revolution always devoted time (and what precious time!) to the revolutionary press.

Before, during and after the Russian Revolution, the Marxist press played a tremendous role. Since the degeneration of the great revolution of 1917 at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy who usurped the powers won by the Russian workers and farmers, Trotsky led the way. He showed the importance of founding and building a new Marxist press throughout the world which would hold firm to the line of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The main contribution of the American Trotskyists, in my opinion, was the founding of The Militant, the first issue of which appeared on Nov. 15, 1928, with the stirring headline: "For the Russian Opposition! Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!"

The Militant — our Militant — has played an outstanding role in the organization of our party, Truth, the method of Marxism, will prevail. We were sure of that decades ago. We were sure of that when we launched The Militant. We have not changed our minds. We are sure of that today. The Militant is the weekly organ

of Trotskyism, that is, Marxism in our time. For 52 weeks in each year it is the voice of Marxism in America.

It is altogether fitting indeed that on this May Day our comrades and friends from Maine to California, from the Gulf of Mexico to the plains and the timber lands of the North are engaged in an all-out campaign to boost the circulation of The Militant.

SELL THE MILITANT!

Our comrades should think of each new sub to The Militant as a tribute to the working class heroes of the past whom we honor in our May Day meetings.

For a Socialist America — sell The Militant!

For a Labor Party — sell The Militant!

To strike a blow at jim crow — get a Militant sub!

To start a student on the right path — sell him a Militant!

To educate the young worker — put The Militant into his hands!

To help the harrassed housewife — give her Militant education!

To add strong fibre to the bonds of international solidarity — be a consistent sub-getter for The Militant!

Trotsky on May Day, 1916

The international working class suffers today, as it has for so many long years now, from a deep-going crisis of leadership.



TROTSKY

On looking back it becomes clear that the starting point of this critical condition dates back 37 years — to the outbreak of World War I, in August 1914.

The powerful Socialist movement then organized in the Second International proved utterly bankrupt. With the exception of a handful of internationalists, whose hard core consisted of the Russian Marxists headed by Lenin and Trotsky, the rest of the top leaders of the Second International capitulated to imperialism. This left the millions of rank and file Socialists leaderless, without policy, an easy prey for the militarists and the imperialists.

The reformation of world Socialism proved a more protracted and difficult task than had been foreseen by anyone. The crisis of working leadership was successfully resolved in only one country — and that was Russia, where the rule of landlords and capitalists was abolished by the October 1917 Revolution. But while it proved possible to politically mobilize and programatically arm the Russian working class, the world mobilization of revolutionary Socialists did not succeed at the time.

The Third (Communist) International, which came to replace the Second, was not afforded by history time enough to accomplish its task. After the first five glorious years (1919-1923) in Lenin's lifetime, the Communist International fell prey to the same fatal disease of revisionism, and opportunism that destroyed its predecessor. In place of "classic" reformism came Stalinism with its handwork of capitulation, treachery and betrayals.

Under new circumstances and conditions, the main task con-

fronting the revolutionary Socialists today falls into the general framework of the task that confronted the internationalists of the World War I epoch. It is highly instructive to learn how our great teachers oriented themselves in the very first stages of the crisis of leadership that still confronts the world working class. For this reason we reprint for the first time in English the main passages from a May Day article written by Leon Trotsky in 1916. Except for the conference by a tiny group of internationalists held in 1915 in the little Swiss village at Zimmerwald, the voice of revolutionary Marxism, appeared at the time to come. Hope seemed gone. And this is what Trotsky wrote.—Ed.

By Leon Trotsky

In a society where the very basis of life — which is the process of production — remains without planned organization, all social relations sweep, in the final analysis, over the heads of the people. It is precisely in this sense that the (First World) War came. It took place only as the extreme expression of the anarchy and irrationality of the whole capitalist system.

If at the outset, this war did enter into the conscious plans and calculations of the private property-owners as a "continuation of politics by other means," then in the course of last year, the consequences of this war have swept far above the heads of the propertied classes. And they, by the way, are in all countries represented in the seats of power by mediocrities and nonentities, as if to underscore all the more glaringly how spiritually impotent the bourgeois world is in the face of events, the greatest on record, to which it has itself given birth in its headlong, blind forward rush.

Of this society, based on anarchy, and whose destinies are slipping out of its own hands, the proletariat is a component part. The Socialist movement has, in theory, foreseen this war, and has forecast in the main its social consequences. But when the war

Haymarket Demonstration Scene



Reproduction of an old newspaper drawing of police attack on the Chicago Haymarket meeting on May 4, 1886, during the fight for the eight-hour day. A bomb, believed to have been thrown by a police provocateur, resulted in a number of deaths, for which eight labor leaders were framed up and four were murdered on the gallows.

broke out, it confronted the working masses not as a lawful historical event, not as a new political condition of the inimical capitalist society, but rather as a catastrophe that had descended from the outside upon the "nation" as a whole.

This temporary confusion of the masses in the face of the unexampled sanguinary explosion of capitalist anarchy has made the ruling classes brimful of self-confidence. But they gained self-confidence only from the moment when it became clear to them that the leading organizations of the world working class were utterly incapable of coping with the meaning and content of the unfolding events and had joined with the ruling classes almost automatically, as if involved were a fire or an earthquake, i.e., some natural, mechanical catastrophe. This "defensive" alliance with the capitalist state at a time when it was subjected to its supreme historical test, the product of its handwork, already comprised the greatest ideological and political self-abasement on record.

But this self-abasement, most glaringly evident in Germany where the questions of attitude toward capitalist society had been most clearly posed theoretically, this political self-prostration lacked an adequate ideological form in order that the Socialist proletariat should drain to the dregs its cup of degradation.

The publicists and theoreticians of the Second International have worked might and main to demean the thought of Socialism down to the level of its present political role. Last year's May Day represented the low point in this process of decadence, degradation and treachery. In all languages of Europe the social-patriotic press explained to the proletariat why May Day — the traditional day of protest against militarism — had, on that occasion, to become the day of its nationalist apothecis. And these preachments met with virtually no resistance.

The emancipation of the proletariat from the dominion of clerical-feudal and later of liberal-bourgeois superstitions and prejudices had taken place slowly, gradually. In the end, Socialism became everywhere for the working class the banner of its spiritual liberation and the herald of its physical emancipation. The loyalty which the working class had formerly bestowed on the Church and the "fatherland" became concentrated on its class organization, a loyalty illumined by class-consciousness.

But the bourgeois fatherland succeeded in making the class organization of the proletariat its ideological captive. And this has become revealed on a scale and in forms no one had expected.

After the national state had immobilized the proletariat spiritually as well as physically, the internationalist counter-mobilization has unquestionably taken place slower than many of us had hoped for, and, in any case, slower than we wish. The immediate reason for it is the savage strug-

gle for self-preservation that social-patriotism wages, relying on state coercion and utilizing all the resources of lies and deception.

But the basic reason is to be found in the depth of that crisis which must reach maturity in mass consciousness before it expresses itself in action. The proletariat can resolve the question of its attitude toward the events in no other way except through action — these events which started by breaking the spine of the Second International and which can end in breaking the foundations of bourgeois law and order.

For the Socialist parliamentarian or publicist the change of fronts frequently finds its expression in — and is limited by — a formal "hostility" to the war and in refusing to accept any responsibility for it. But for the class as a whole, conscious on how much stands and falls with

it, counter-mobilization means the task of revolutionary action.

Cognizance of this fact is what actually underlies the ideological war between the revolutionary internationalists and the social-patriotic allies of militarism. For a section of the top Socialist leadership pacifism means a withdrawal to the sidelines and watchful passivity. For the masses pacifism means a time for thinking things over, a stage on the road from slavish patriotism to internationalist action.

Counter-mobilization, which corresponds to the greatest of historical tasks, is taking place slower than we wish it. Nevertheless it is taking place so systematically and lawfully as to leave no room for skepticism. . . . We are growing stronger. Next year we shall be stronger than this year. The growth of our power will no longer be checked by anything or anybody.

Nashe Slovo, May 1, 1916.

STOP WAR IN KOREA -- BRING GIs HOME NOW!

(Continued from Page 1)

has been assembled anywhere since World War II. In intensity, the fire power is greater and the destruction of human life is larger per square mile of terrain than it ever has been before. . . . Napalm bombs dropped by our Air Forces are literally burning enemy soldiers alive. Thousands of civilians in the fighting areas are being caught in the trap as war goes on all around them. Weapons of death as bad as, if not worse than, a blast from an atomic bomb are taking an awful toll of human lives.

What is the end of this frightful carnage, whose chief victims are helpless Korean civilians who did not seek and never welcomed U.S. intervention? "Our announced policy is simply to kill and to kill and to kill," exclaimed Pennsylvania's Representative Hugh D. Scott, Jr., in the House. "Our announced policy does not include any clear program for the granting to the Koreans of a free, independent republic. Our announced program is simply to kill, and I submit that that is a program which is immoral, which is illogical, and which cries for an intelligent advancement of our foreign policy toward goals which the American people will understand and approve."

WHY ARE WE THERE?

But none of these supporters of U.S. intervention who thus bewail the atrocities in Korea offers any way to immediately end the war whose purpose is "to kill and to kill and to kill" and which is reducing Korea to "grave mounds, tree stumps and ruined homes."

Instead, each and all of them have their pet schemes to commit more American boys to the holocaust, to extend the war and the bombings.

Gen. Van Fleet may talk of the GIs "welcoming" a new Chinese offensive as "offering the best opportunity for killing Chinese," but the GIs themselves, in those letters that leak through the censorship, express themselves entirely differently. A typical GI letter "from a soldier in my district who is now fighting in Korea" was introduced into the Congressional Record by Rep.

John. B. Bennett of Michigan. It reads:

"Myself and a few thousand other GIs would like to know the answers to several questions. The biggest question at the present is, just why are we over here? The Army has tried to answer that for some time now, but I've yet to hear anyone say he's convinced we ought to be fighting. The Korean people certainly aren't glad to have us. I've seen that with my own eyes. You'll notice I said the people, and not the politicians. . . . It just about boils down to this: How is a man going to fight or give his all when he can't see anything worth while behind it? No one has satisfied us yet, so think twice before you try."

"No one has satisfied us yet" that there is "anything worth while" in Truman's "policy action" in Korea! This nameless GI is the authentic voice of the men who are doing the fighting and dying, as he is the voice of their folks back home. Not Truman with his program of "limited war" that has already cost the American people more than a hundred thousand casualties and not MacArthur who wants to engulf this country in an all-out war in Asia offer any answer to the question the GIs and their home folks are asking.

There can be only one foreign policy "the American people will understand and approve." That's to get the troops out of Korea and home as fast as possible and to end the war without delay. All the steam being blown off in Washington over Truman's dismissal of MacArthur clouds the real issue: The American people do not believe this is really a war; they are against it and want it stopped now with no further slaughter.

THEIR MORALS AND OURS

By Leon Trotsky

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The Voice of Haymarket Speaks to Us Today

By Frank Poole

Working people in the U.S. welcome holidays. Especially when they are paid holidays. Most holidays however are not of the people's own choosing but have been handed down by tradition or by the authorities. In the first category fall days that originally had a religious significance but are now occasions for merry making — Christmas, Thanksgiving, New Year's, etc. In the second category fall days commemorating some long past political or historical event — Washington's Birthday, Armistice Day, etc. While a few of these days still hold a significance in the struggle of the working people today — Fourth of July, Lincoln's Birthday, Labor Day — most official holidays mean nothing to the worker except a very welcome day off from toil.

There is one day — not a paid holiday, by a long shot — which is the class-conscious worker's day of solemn celebration. This day is unique in that it was made historic by the American working class and was then adopted by the labor and socialist movement of the whole world as a day of commemoration of past struggles and re-dedication for struggles still ahead.

EIGHT HOUR DAY

A trade union resolution of 1884 set May 1, 1886 as the date workers should demand the eight hour day. In the intervening period the labor movement was on the upswing. The year 1886 was to mark a new peak in union organization in this country. Established unions grew, unorganized workers formed new unions, the Knights of Labor experienced an influx of members. In all this the eight-hour day, in place of the ten, twelve and even fourteen-hour day then prevailing, was the most popular demand.

Chicago was the strongest and most militant labor center in the country. This was in no small measure due to the socialist and anarchist labor leaders there.

As May Day 1886 approached, labor militancy reached a high. Many workers jumped the gun and went out in advance of the date set. In Chicago, itself, a big lockout was in progress at the McCormick Harvester works. These lockouts were part of the capitalist's answer to the upsurge of the union movement.

Another part was the preparation of the greatest frame-up of the century and the launching of a witch hunt.

A tip off on the coming events and designated victims was contained in the May 1st editorial of the Chicago Mail: "There are two

dangerous ruffians at large in this city; two sneaking cowards are trying to create trouble. One of them is named Parsons; the other is named Spies. . . . Mark them for today! Keep them in view! Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. Make an example of them if trouble does occur!"

MURDER OF PICKETS

In every important industrial city in the country workers laid down tools and paraded on May 1, 1886 for the shorter work week. Many stayed out and won the eight-hour day either permanently or until the employers were later able to smash the unions. In Chicago alone 80,000 workers demonstrated. On May 3rd the Chicago demonstrators paraded around the McCormick Harvester plant in solidarity with the locked out workers. The police opened fire on the peaceful picketers, killing four and wounding many.

A protest meeting was called for May 4th in Haymarket Square. Beginning as a huge audience, the crowd melted away as it began to rain. While the last speaker was on the platform, closing the meeting, the police charged and at the same moment a bomb exploded. The police reformed their ranks and started firing into the crowd.

Who threw the bomb? History has not yet found, and perhaps never will, the guilty individual. The police, courts, capitalists, newspapers immediately started shouting that the labor leaders were guilty. That shouting continues to this day; and most capitalist historians, while admitting that the men who were hanged for the crime were beyond a doubt innocent, maintain that some "unknown" anarchist or socialist committed the crime. So much propaganda was put out about the "anarchists' guilt" that to this day the people outside the labor movement associate anarchism or radicalism with "bomb-throwing."

To a student of labor history, however, it appears most likely that a paid agent of the employers or the police threw the bomb. All those associated with the labor movement were hunted by the police. Not a scrap of evidence ever connected a labor man with the bomb. Pinkertons, company stooges and police hangers-on were never investigated. Certainly if the legal maxim of "who profits?" is applied to the crime the answer is given by history — the anti-union bosses, specifically the Chicago robber barons who were notorious for their scorn of law and life in the amassing of their fortunes.

Subsequent labor history has given examples of bosses' planting dynamite bombs in order to

launch a hysteria against the "bomb throwing" radicals heading a strike. One example of this was in the great IWW led textile strike of 1912 in Lawrence, Mass. Here the plot backfired and the bomb-planter, an intimate friend of Amos Wood, the textile king, whose plants were struck, committed suicide when the truth came to light. To this day, as the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee showed in its Detroit hearings, big corporations — Briggs Co. and Ford, to mention two — maintain known connections with the underworld. For a suitable payment a gangster of 1886 would throw a bomb as readily as his counterpart today will beat up local union members, shoot strikers or fire a shotgun at the president of the UAW-CIO.

THE WITCH HUNT

The capitalists of 1886 pushed the witch hunt to extremes. Union smashing was the order of the day for the police. The labor leaders, Albert Parsons, and August Spies, previously indicated by Chicago newspapers as victims, were tried for first degree murder along with six other radical labor men. The trial was a travesty on justice. In the absence of proof, "advocacy" of social change and "guilt by association" were used by a prejudiced judge. Five defendants gave their lives for the labor movement. Three were imprisoned until an Illinois governor's revulsion at the legal lynchings brought about their pardons.

The main demand of the May Day movement triumphed despite the terrible witch-hunting and red-baiting unleashed by the employers in the 1880s. The eight hour day was won despite the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs. The workers' movement may be set back or halted temporarily but it cannot be destroyed by any trickery or terrorism of the ruling class.

This May Day sees a world in which the imperialists are brandishing the atom bomb. It sees sham celebrations of May Day in countries where Stalinism — the opposite of everything May Day stands for — keeps the workers down by naked force. Despite this, the workers of the imperialist countries, the aroused colonial masses and the persecuted masses of the Kremlin-controlled countries will win the ultimate victory.

In antiquity May Day's significance was the end of the long, barren period of winter and the rebirth of the earth in a welcome springtime. This is fitting for the day on which the struggle for a workers world is yearly pledged. The long winter of dying capitalism will be replaced by the glorious springtime of a new workers' earth.

SWP LAUNCHES CONTEST FOR 'MILITANT' SALES

(Continued from Page 1)

subs, or individual copies of the paper is up to the individual. The main thing is to get the maximum number of points. The campaign will conclude Sunday, July 1.

Already many local branches of the SWP have increased their bundle orders of The Militant as they prepare to get under way with the campaign.

The Leagues will be divided up as follows among the branches of the SWP:

1. Coover League
New York Minneapolis
Chicago St. Paul
Los Angeles Seattle
Detroit Buffalo

Bankers Urges U.S. Tax Low Incomes

James Shelton, president of the American Bankers Association, said on April 16 that the government should "look to persons earning under \$6,000 a year" for tax increases.

"The most wholesome thing for the welfare of our country," he said, "would be for citizens of modest means to learn through taxation what the costs of their government really are."

2. Konikow League
Boston Flint
Newark Milwaukee
Philadelphia Youngstown
Cleveland

3. Kujac League
New Haven Akron
Allentown Toledo
Pittsburgh St. Louis
West Virginia Oakland

The leagues have been named after Oscar Coover, Paul Kujac and Antoinette Konikow, comrades who during their lives so well symbolized the rank and file workers who are going to spark-plug this campaign.

With workers all over the country showing a growing interest in the political questions of the day, the campaign is expected to meet with a good response. The large votes given to SWP candidates in Los Angeles and Oakland, California serves warning to the rest of the country to watch out for the West Coast sub-getters. They seem to have built up a real following out there.

The Buffalo branch of the SWP has launched its campaign by ordering 5,000 copies of The Militant's May Day issue.

The Militant will run a weekly box score of the campaign results, as well as personal reports of campaigners' experiences as they get workers' reaction to our press.

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.

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Socialist Workers Party May Day Celebrations

NEW YORK

Tues., May 1, 8 P.M.
at HOTEL CAPITOL
8th Ave. & 51st St.

Chairman:
JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary SWP

Speaker:
JOSEPH HANSEN
Former Candidate for
U. S. Senate

"Why Truman Fired MacArthur — The Crisis of U. S. Foreign Policy"

Dramatic Presentation
"March of American Labor"
Workers Songs By
MILITANT CHORUS
Donation 50 cents

CHICAGO

Sat., April 28, 7 P.M.
at NEW HEADQUARTERS
734 S. Wabash

BANQUET JUBILEE
Speaker:
FARRELL DOBBS
Chairman SWP

"Socialism Marches Forward"
M. C. ARNE SWABECK
International Smorgasbord
(all the food you can eat!)
Donation \$1.25

BUFFALO

Sat., May 5, 8 P.M.
at 629 Main St.

Prominent Speakers
"The War Drive and the
Tasks of American Labor"
Admission Free

NEWARK

Friday, May 4, 8 P.M.
at 423 Springfield Ave.

Speaker:
JOSEPH HANSEN
"Why Truman Fired MacArthur — The Crisis of U. S. Foreign Policy"

Refreshments — Dancing

PHILADELPHIA

Tues., May 1, 8 P.M.
at 1303 W. Girard Ave.

Speaker:
ART SHARON
"Salute to the Spanish
Working Class"

Admission Free

MILWAUKEE

Sunday, April 29
2:30 P.M.
at 917 N. Third St., 3rd floor

Speakers and Social
Admission Free

SEATTLE

Tues., May 1, 8 P.M.
at FRYE HOTEL
3rd and Yesler

Speakers:
JOHN BLACK
"May Day 1951"

MELBA BAKER
"May Day 1886"

Dramatic Readings — Music
Donation 35 cents
Unemployed Free

BOSTON

Sat., May 5, 8 P.M.
at 30 Stuart Street

Speaker:
DAVID WEISS
"Is America Heading Toward
War or Peace?"

SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND

Sat., April 28
at 1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor

SMORGASBORD DINNER
6 - 8 P. M.
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Famous Film Classic
"Mother"

at 9 P.M.
Donation \$1.50 for both
Dancing and Refreshments

TWIN CITIES

Tues., May 1, 8 P.M.
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VINCENT R. DUNNE
SWP Labor Secretary

"May Day and the Militants"
First celebration in redecorated,
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MEETING AND SOCIAL
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Unemployed Free
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Militant Readers Invited

Who Are the Friends of the Asian People?

A letter to 'Janata,' organ of the Socialist Party of India, in reply to "democratic socialist" agents of American imperialism.

By James P. Cannon

April 14, 1951

To the Editors of Janata:

You have invited your readers to discuss the appeal "To Our Friends in Asia" by James T. Farrell, Norman Thomas, Sidney Hook, A. Philip Randolph, Upton Sinclair and others calling themselves "democratic socialists," published in Feb. 11 Janata.

I submit the following contribution to the discussion in the name of American revolutionary socialists who regard the struggle for a Socialist America and the struggle of the Asian masses for independence as a common struggle against a common enemy. A friendship founded on common aims and interests is firmly based and has no need of hypocrisy and deception.

On the other hand, those who invite you to join them in supporting the foreign policy of the United States, the mightiest capitalist government in the world, are false friends and evil advisors. These "socialist" salesmen for U.S. imperialism do not speak either for the real interests of the American people or for the cause of democracy and socialism in Asia.

Their letter in essence only restates arguments culled from the standard propaganda of the bourgeois politicians and press — with an added spice of "theory." But there is no more socialism in their "theory" than in their arguments. For these people theory is a device to smother facts with words.

"The development of American capitalism has not led to imperialism; it does not fulfill Lenin's theory of imperialism," say the signers of the Open Letter. They blandly deny "that American capitalism depends on imperialist expansion for its very life." The whole world knows differently. It knows that American foreign policy is based on the economics of imperialism and is applied everywhere accordingly. That is why America today is so hated and feared by peoples everywhere.

The economic "proof" they offer to exculpate American capitalism of any taint of imperialism is worth quoting if only to reveal its absurdity:

"The U.S. had a great internal free trade market and such enormous natural resources that today she is an exporter of raw materials as well as of manufactured goods. The economic facts of life in America were and are very different from the facts in Europe which led Lenin to formulate his theory of imperialism."

ON U.S. IMPERIALISM

The differences in "the economic facts of life" between America and Europe prior to the First World War are precisely the driving force making the United States the most aggressive and rapacious imperialist power ever known. The fact that America is an "exporter of raw materials" — mainly wheat and cotton, sometimes coal — changes nothing fundamental, for such exports are not the determining feature of American economy. Contrary to the impression the writers would create, Lenin knew about such features of the economy of imperialist countries and did not discount them but showed their subordinate role. England, for example, was an exporter of coal in the hey-day of its empire.

The "great internal market," which indeed existed — and still exists — has long ago proven too narrow to absorb either the surplus capital or the products of expanding capitalist production in the United States. The annual surplus of manufactured goods cries out imperiously for disposal through foreign outlets at any cost, including war. Surplus capital annually accumulated from the exploitation of the American workers and the plunder of half the world has piled up to such staggering amounts as to make the older imperialist countries of Europe in Lenin's time appear paupers by comparison. America now monopolizes the bulk of the surplus capital of the entire world! This likewise demands foreign fields of investment at any cost, including war.

Lenin, it is true, described the export of capital as the typical feature of monopoly capitalism (imperialism) rather than the export of goods which was the typical feature of the old capitalism of free competition. But his theory did not separate the export of capital and the export of goods into water-tight compartments and exclude any combination of the two; in fact they were always combined. He even called attention to the fact — Lenin's theory of imperialism is no capricious invention but a generalization from established facts — that in some cases "the export of capital abroad becomes a means for encouraging the export of commodities." This is doubly true in the case of America.

The problem of American capitalism is even multiplied and raised to unbearable tensions because it is stifling in the unprecedented overproduction of both capital and goods which must be disposed of by exportation or war; more precisely, by war as a means of imposing the political conditions (i.e., suppressing proletarian and colonial revolution) necessary for the profitable and safe export of surplus capital and goods.

So immediate and acute is this problem that U.S. economy would be plunged into a devastating crisis right now were it not for the temporary relief afforded by the loans and gifts doled out to prop up the shaky capitalist structures in other countries, and by the military expenditures. The authors of the letter to Janata seek to prove the disinterested benevolence of America by reference to the \$36,500,000,000 spent by the U.S. government since the war in other countries. With mock seriousness they describe this money as "spent on relief and rehabilitation in Europe and Asia." But the real masters of America, who don't bother to read the specious and hypocritical explanations of their "socialist" servitors, frankly spoke of these expenditures in their economic journals as a temporary means of moderating the economic tension in the United States, and supported them on that ground.

The same motivation applies to the \$75 billion budget for military expenditures, in preparation for war. The rulers of the country, in approving these huge appropriations, are not in the least governed by humanitarian considerations for starving people or by "deep concern for world peace" — as these "socialist" apologists represent — but by the imperative needs of American economy to find temporary relief by disposal of surpluses while preparing for its ultimate program of world conquest by means of war. These are the real "economic facts of life" driving American capitalism on the road of imperialism and war.

Of course, the burning problem created by this unprecedented surplus of capital and goods, which determines the imperialist character of American capitalism and drives it so madly on the road of war, could be moderated, and even solved, if the surpluses were used to raise the living standards of the American workers and to give free, fraternal help to the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have been so long condemned to backwardness and hunger by imperialist exploiters. But, as Lenin remarked in his book on Imperialism, "if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism."

U.S. DICTATOR-PUPPETS

The arguments by the signers of the letter in Janata, in support of the practical policy of American imperialism, are as false and worthless as their attempt to deny its real nature on theoretical grounds. With a nonchalant disregard of facts which are well known to most people, they represent the makers of American foreign policy as defenders of democracy, freedom and peace. To extend freedom, Washington needs Dictator Salazar of Portugal in its Atlantic alliance and is grooming Franco, the Nazi generals and industrialists, and the Japanese imperialists to join it. Washington has put forward Bao-Dai, "the Emperor of the Night Clubs" in Indo-China, Syngman Rhee in Korea, and Chiang Kai-shek as shining representatives of its democratic government. And to keep these puppets in power, the Pentagon enforces Negro discrimination in its "democratic" army.

The United States has taken the lead in the arms race, these individuals say, "to protect peace by military strength." Every imperialist power always tries to mask its aggressive intentions and predatory aims by avowing that its deepest concern is to maintain peace. The American imperialists are no different. They, too, pose as partisans of peace. But their real objective is to extend their



JAMES P. CANNON

domination throughout the world, by peaceful penetration and pressure where they can, and by forceful means where they must. That is why they are constructing the greatest military machine and stockpiling atom bombs. That is why American troops are in Korea today.

The American people are opposed to the American intervention in Korea. This is the most unpopular war in all American history. Truman has not yet ventured to convert his "police action" into an officially declared war. This "democrat" never even asked the American people for its consent to this war. These "democratic socialists" back him up, and that is a good measure of their democracy and their socialism.

Their "Appeal to Friends in Asia" makes no specific reference to Washington's crimes against China. Nothing about the Boxer indemnities and extraterritorial privileges. Nothing about the financial and military aid to save the reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. Nothing about the persistent refusal to recognize the new regime in China or about MacArthur's attempts to spread the war onto the Chinese mainland.

IMPERIALIST POLICY

The American protectors of Chiang and subsidizers of the French imperialists in Indo-China are not deterred by considerations of "peace" or "democracy" from extending their aggressions in Asia. They are held back only by fears of getting bogged down

in China, like Japanese imperialism before them; of risking new defeats; and by the need to concentrate their military preparations in the main theater of operations in Western Europe.

The authors of the letter to Janata make much of the circumstance that, unlike the older imperialists, the United States has not directly annexed large territories or has only a few small colonies like Puerto Rico. But imperialism is not limited to outright seizures of lands belonging to other peoples. An imperialist giant like the United States which commands most of the world's wealth, economic and military might has more varied and many-sided ways of subjugating, controlling and exploiting smaller and weaker countries. Nehru hit the nail on the head when he spoke of "controlism" as the new form of colonialism.

The United States imperialists can give or withhold credits, goods, and machinery; they can buy up natural resources; bribe and coerce officials and public opinion. They can, as India is learning to its sorrow and our shame, dangle food over a famine-stricken country with the brutal object of influencing its foreign policy and extorting other concessions. Only after these methods fail, does it have to resort to direct invasion as in Korea.

Above all, these apologists for imperialism have nothing to say about the predominance of the big banks and monopolies in American economic and political life. They falsely contend that this monopoly-ridden capitalism does not "depend on imperialist expansion for its very life."

What do the past 30 years show? The economic necessities of U.S. capitalism, bound up with the Allied camp, dictated its entry into the First World War. American capitalism never fully recuperated from the effects of the 1929-1933 depression and overcame them only through the Second World War. Thanks to its capture of the world markets and colossal productive capacities, alongside the ruin and poverty elsewhere, America's magnates enjoyed a big but brief boom from 1945 to 1949.

Then the threatening immediate prospect of a new economic crisis impelled Washington into its present large-scale arms program. The American people, of course, would rather have houses than atom bombs. But the monopolist government decrees otherwise. One compelling economic reason will be found in the recent report of the Securities Exchange Commission that the working capital of American corporations alone rose from 51 billion dollars in 1939 to almost 80 billions in 1950. This glut of accumulated capital can find profitable outlets only in military production and investments abroad.

But American capitalism finds its economic penetration of other countries blocked by the rising movements for national independence throughout the former colonies, by the Asian revolutions, and by the territories controlled by the Soviet Union. All these areas have to be pried open for free entrance of American capital, goods, and domination. That is the economic compulsion behind U.S. foreign policy, its arms program, and its projected global anti-Asian and anti-Soviet war.

FALSE ALTERNATIVE

These people tell you, the victims of imperialism, that "the outstanding conflict in the world today is between democracy, with all its human and capitalist imperfections, and totalitarian despotism." What a miserable self-exposure for self-styled "socialists" to come forward as defenders of capitalism instead of organizers of the struggle to abolish this outworn system responsible for the backwardness, poverty, misery and other major evils in the colonies. The outstanding "conflict" in the world today is between the forces upholding capitalism and the forces aspiring and working for so-

cialism. The whole fate of humanity hinges upon the outcome of this class struggle.

It is the greatest of lies to assert, as these people do, that the American ruling class stands on the side of democracy, peace and freedom in this conflict. The Asian people know only too well that U.S. imperialism is the powerhouse and mainstay of capitalist counter-revolution on a global scale. And far from promoting democracy or independence for the colonies, the witchhunting monopolists, labor-haters and race-fanatics are instituting measures to clamp a militarized-police regime in our own country.

These people urge you to see the main enemy of mankind in Stalin's "communism." It is true that Stalinism has wiped out the socialist democracy of Lenin and Trotsky's time, erected a monstrous totalitarian dictatorship over the Russian people and extended it over Eastern Europe. The Kremlin's policies represent the gravest danger to the progress of the socialist and labor movements throughout the world — and have to be fought on that account, as we have fought them for more than twenty years.

But it is false to say, as these people do, that the Soviet Union has reverted to capitalism. Despite Stalin's crimes against the socialist revolution, the nationalized property there makes the Soviet Union an essentially different economy from any capitalist imperialism.

It is no more possible to fight for socialism under the leadership and policies of Stalinism than it is to fight for democracy side by side with the American imperialists. But it is a far different matter to dismiss every social movement which is temporarily headed or influenced by Communist parties as being nothing more than a puppet and tool of Moscow, and to refuse support to the struggles of the insurgent masses on that account. The fact, for example, that Peiping is now in alliance with Moscow does not justify refusal to support the just struggle of the Chinese people for independence from the imperialists and against the attempts to restore the American puppet, Chiang Kai-shek. And what is more, any support accorded the criminal actions of the American imperialists performs the greatest of services to the Kremlin and can only strengthen its hold upon the workers' movement in other countries.

TRUE SOCIALIST PROGRAM

We of the Socialist Workers Party believe that the duty of all true friends of Asia and all genuine socialists in America is not to solicit support for this imperialist aggression among its victims in Asia, but to expose and denounce these crimes right here in the United States.

With this in mind in July 1949 and again on December 4, 1950, I addressed an open letter to the President and Congress denouncing the American intervention in Korea and demanding that they withdraw all American troops and let the peoples of Asia alone decide their own fate. These slogans are meeting with ever greater response among American labor and from the American people.

We hope you will publish this reply so the people of India may know there are socialists in America who oppose Washington's foreign policy, who remain true to the principles of the international class struggle for socialism, and who are fighting side by side with the Asian people against all their would-be enslavers.

Fraternally,

JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party

Hook-Thomas Defense of U. S. Imperialism

Under the title, "To Our Friends in Asia" the document we print below appeared in Janata Feb. 11, the weekly publication of the Socialist Party of India. Full text follows:

We, the undersigned, although connected with different political groups or parties in the U. N., are democratic socialists by conviction. As such, we believe that we can render a service to multitudes of people in many lands, who are not communists, but, nevertheless, regard the struggle between the U.S. on the one hand and the Soviet bloc on the other as a power conflict; in ideological terms as a conflict between capitalism and communism.

It is not our intention to discuss war in Korea and the crisis in the Far East comprehensively. We wish to testify that, in the minds of the American people, our intervention in Korea is support of the UN and its beginning of world law against military aggression in no way was a drive for imperialist profit or power. On the best terms, the Korean war could only mean loss of American money and far more tragically of American lives. In no sense did the American government act in the interest of American capitalism. World peace and an understanding of its problems are unnecessarily complicated by the honest but mistaken opinion which we have so often heard to the effect that American imperialism may at the moment be less objectionable in its methods than Soviet imperialism, but that imperialism is imperialism, and true lovers of peace and freedom should stand clear of both forms of it.

"UNDENIABLE FAULTS"

This theory may seem plausible in the light of the history of imperialism and the obvious and undeniable faults of our imperfect American democracy. Yet it is, we submit, incorrect and dangerously incorrect in the light of the facts.

The outstanding conflict today is between democracy, with all its human and capitalist imperfections, and totalitarian despotism. Stalin's communism is such despotism inspired with ruthless zeal for universal power over the bodies, minds and souls of men. American capitalism is still capitalism with capitalism's faults, but it is subject to far more restraints by democratic government under which a free labour movement flourishes than is generally recognised abroad.

As a matter of fact, Americans, as far back as the administration of the very conservative Republican president, Calvin Coolidge, began to discover that imperialism, including dollar diplomacy backed by the U.S. Marines, didn't pay. Coolidge's Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, who had been a member of the famous banking House of Morgan, reversed the policy of aggressive support of American investments.

A few years later, when Mexico

Moreover, Russian Communism is also in reality a form of capitalism, a police state capitalism, a betrayal of socialism. Under it, all the power of former owning classes has been taken by a police state.

Communism has re-established chattel slavery on a vast scale in its concentration camps. It has reduced the so-called free workers to a status of serfs to a dictatorship which has deprived them and their unions of all true freedom. The Soviet Union is steadily creating new class divisions and new forms of the exploitation of the masses.

The development of American capitalism has not led to imperialism; it does not fulfil Lenin's theory of imperialism as the inevitable last stage of capitalism. The greatest bloc in the way of greater and more fraternal American cooperation in a world-wide war against want is born out of an imperialist drive for profit but of the old isolationism. The Marshall Plan was not a project of capitalists who see in it a necessary condition of the survival of their system. On the contrary, the most reactionary capitalist groups, like the National Association of Manufacturers and the interests for which the powerful Chicago Tribune speaks, were luke-warm or hostile to the plan.

The Republican Party leaders who most vigorously champion capitalism today do not seek imperial expansion through forced investments, but are generally opposed to any great extension of the American economic aid abroad.

All socialists must agree, of course, that the highest and best prospect for America is to be found in a prosperous and co-operative family of nations. That is very different than the contention that American capitalism depends on imperialist expansion for its very life.

U.S. CAPITALISM

As a matter of fact, Americans, as far back as the administration of the very conservative Republican president, Calvin Coolidge, began to discover that imperialism, including dollar diplomacy backed by the U.S. Marines, didn't pay. Coolidge's Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, who had been a member of the famous banking House of Morgan, reversed the policy of aggressive support of American investments.

A few years later, when Mexico

confiscated all American oil holdings, the American government and people, despite their concern for oil reserves, neither applied nor threatened aggressive action, military or political.

After World War II, when by constitutional means, the little Republic of Panama chose a government opposed to the continued use of airfields in its territory by the American air force, the U.S. immediately withdrew its force to other bases. This, despite its responsibility for the defence of the Panama Canal, is a matter of great strategic importance.

These facts alone are so completely contrary to the old imperialist pattern as to disprove the applicability of Lenin's theory of inevitable imperialism to American practice.

American action following World War II in Europe and Asia confirmed that proof. Our great fault was excessive appeasement of Stalin. No aggressive and imperialist nation possessed of America's strength at the end of World War II would have disbanded its forces so rapidly or made the extraordinary concessions our government made to Stalin. We who have been critical of much that our government did and left undone remind you of the simple truth that at no time in the peace settlements did America seek economic advantage or demand imperialist concessions in return for economic aid.

"A MATTER OF RECORD"

It is true that in granting the Philippines full independence the U.S. government attached to its treaty certain conditions giving special privileges to American investors in the islands. To those provisions, the undersigned were strongly opposed. Yet it is a matter of historic fact that there was no rush at all of private capital to the islands and that the American government has now offered, not the collection of any sort of tribute from the islands, but aid to them, conditions on reforms, one of which is better distribution of land.

It is a matter of record that the U.S. government has spent on relief and rehabilitation in Europe and Asia since the war \$36,500,000,000. This great sum has not all been as wisely spent as it should be, and the U.S. has sorely lagged in working out adequate plans for co-operative war against poverty.

But this expenditure, for which

no economic or political concessions were exacted, is completely out of line with the Leninist theory of imperialism. Nor is it like European practice prior to World War I, which gave rise to this theory and to the similar position of the English economist, Hobson.

By contrast, consider Stalin's communist imperialism and what it has meant to the nations of Eastern Europe and even to this erstwhile disciple, Tito of Yugoslavia. Stalin, absolute dictator of the mighty Soviet Union and international head of the communist movement, has won since the war 5,239,000 square miles of territory populated by 582,411,000 people. In this enormous expansion, communist imperialism, notably in China, unquestionably won much popular support as against the crimes and blunders of its opponent. But it is already evident that it can only hold its power over this vast territory by despotic police power.

"NEW" PATTERN

The failure of American capitalist development to conform with the older imperialist pattern was due to many causes which we ourselves might differ in appraising. We would, however, agree on one economic explanation which is of great significance.

Countries like Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Germany, were in their home territories limited in extent and lacked a great many of the natural resources necessary for capitalist development. They were thus far more strongly impelled than the U.S. to seek in industrially backward regions sources of supply of raw material and opportunities for profitable investment.

The U.S. had a great internal free trade market and such enormous natural resources that today she is an exporter of raw materials as well as of manufactured goods. The economic facts of life in America were and are very different from the facts in Europe which led Lenin to formulate his theory of imperialism.

With all its faults, American democracy has proved its deep concern for world peace. It is today grimly resolved to protect peace by military strength, but in their hearts Americans deeply desire what President Truman has called "fool-proof" disarmament, accepted by all nations and carried out under supervision of a strengthened UN.

Unquestionably, the American people are ready to use large

sums for co-operative war against want throughout the world, especially if this war can be substituted for the present terribly expensive race in arms.

It is true that in the U.S. where free speech is protected and practised, voices have been heard demanding an utterly irresponsible and indefensible use of the atomic bomb or of something called preventive war. They do not speak for the American government or people. Even so, their outrageous proposals are born of fear of the onward march of communist imperialism rather than from desire to build an American empire.

There is always the risk in the possession of such power as America has and must not build up in a military sense. Lovers of peace and freedom throughout the world will better help us in America to avert danger by a more accurate understanding of the nature of American opposition to communist imperialism. That opposition has

been definitely in the interest of freedom and of the UN, not of an imperialism of our own. The understanding and cooperation of our friends in all lands will help to keep it so. The cause of peace and freedom is not confined by national boundaries.

(Signed)

Daniel Bell
Lewis Corey
James T. Farrell
J. B. S. Hardman
Pryns Hopkins
Sol Levitas
Reinhold Niebuhr
Clarence Senior
Tucker P. Smith
Norman Thomas
William Bohn
August Claessens
Harry Fleischman
Sidney Hook
Harry W. Laidler
Aaron Levenstein
A. Philip Randolph
Upton Sinclair
Mark Starr

MARXISM AND SCIENCE

By Leon Trotsky

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Foreword to the English Edition

This speech was delivered in 1925, at a time when the author still firmly hoped that Soviet Democracy would overcome the tendencies towards bureaucratism, and create exceptionally favourable conditions for the development of scientific thought. Because of a combination of historical causes this hope has not yet materialized. On the contrary, the Soviet State in the intervening thirteen years has fallen victim to the complete bureaucratic ossification and has assumed a totalitarian character equally baneful to the development of science and art. Through the cruel irony of history, genuine Marxism has become the most proscribed of all doctrines in the Soviet Union. In the field of social science, shackled Soviet thought has not only failed to utter a single new word but, on the contrary, has sunk to the depths of pathetic scholasticism. The totalitarian regime likewise exercises a disastrous influence upon the development of the natural sciences. Nevertheless the views developed in this speech retain their validity in the section, too, which deals with the inter-relation between the social regime and scientific thought. However, they should be placed not against the background of the present Soviet State, a product of degeneration and disintegration, but rather taken in the light of that socialist state which will arise from the future victorious struggle of the international working class.

LEON TROTSKY

Coyoacan, Mexico,
April 18, 1938

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Truman, MacArthur Both for War

By John G. Wright

Amid the fanfares of Gen. MacArthur's noisy and elaborately staged return to this country and amid the increasingly bitter debate between the Democrats and the Republicans, both sides, despite their disagreements, are working together might and main to stamper the American people into believing that the most fateful of choices is now before them. The choice between Truman and MacArthur is offered them as the choice between war and peace. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Truman and his entire administration are as irrevocably committed to war as is MacArthur. Although each side now tries to assume the pose of guardians of peace and accuses the other of being the "war party," the actual differences between them are purely tactical in character.

If MacArthur favors extending war immediately to the Asian mainland, then Truman and the Pentagon chiefs want to wage it, at an opportune time, on the European continent, opposing all commitments in Asia as politically and militarily suicidal.

MacArthur argues that if Asia is lost to American imperialism, then Europe is indefensible. He is reported by Columnist Stewart Alsop to have declared in a statement shortly prior to his dismissal by Truman that "Formosa is more important to the defense of the U.S. than France."

WANT TO HOLD EUROPE

Truman, the Chiefs of Staff and the decisive section of the American capitalists are convinced, on the contrary, that unless they hold Europe, there is no chance whatever of subjugating Asia, let alone holding on to Formosa.

This conflict is aggravated not so much by the sharply divergent estimates, as by the blind alley in which the American imperialists find themselves. They must hold on to both Asia and Europe, but all-out military commitments on both of these vast theaters are beyond the powers of even the American capitalist colossus. Hence the imperative necessity to choose between Asia and Europe. Their disagreement occurs under circumstances where each side is able to effectively demolish the arguments of the opposing side.

But MacArthur and his swash-buckling crew are laboring under an obvious disadvantage. Their demands to immediately extend the war in Asia, especially in an open alliance with the corrupt and bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek, flies in the face of the tremendous unpopularity of the Korean war at home and abroad. In addition, it is bitterly opposed by Washington's Atlantic Pact allies, Britain and France in particular.

FAKE "PEACE" LINE

The policy of a "limited war," on the other hand, still leaves room for the demagogic pretense that it leads to peace. That is Truman's line. It was picked up by General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who declared: "Our policy is to avoid war and to promote peace." This will be doubtless echoed and re-echoed in the forthcoming speeches by Defense Secretary Marshall, Secretary of State Acheson and other prominent administration figures.

It was only a few days ago that the very same individuals were busy promoting the biggest of recent war scares. Speaker Rayburn rose in the House to declare how immediate was the danger of World War III with the enemy mobilizing vast forces "here, there and everywhere." Truman, when queried by the reporters, solemnly assured that he knew Rayburn to be a "truthful" man and that these remarks were in no way intended to help jam the draft, the universal military training and similar trifles through a recalcitrant Congress.

Secretary of Defense Marshall hastened to back up Rayburn's "warning." And for good measure he issued an interview to the weekly U.S. News, April 13, in which he said that "the best we can hope for, as I see it, is a prolonged tension rather than an all-out war. What we hope and pray for the present time," he continued, "is that, as between the two, it might be a prolonged tension, rather than war... but that's the best hope at present."

YEARS OF TENSION

"Ten years of tension" was the minimum term set by Gen. Marshall for this "best hope."

With a cynicism that even a Hitler might envy, these same people are now shouting at the top of their voices how anxious they are to "avoid war and to promote peace."

The pro-MacArthur Republicans, although at a greater disadvantage, refuse to out-

shouted. David Lawrence, widely syndicated columnist and editor of U.S. News declared:

"A false issue is now being trumped up. It is an argument being advanced by the President that MacArthur wants to bring on a large-scale war and that Mr. Truman wants peace... For Gen. MacArthur is sincerely convinced that the proposals he has championed mean peace." And then Lawrence goes on to argue that it is administration policy that "will bring on a third world war with all its horrible consequences."

TAFT SAYS HIS PIECE

Backing up MacArthur, Sen. Taft has resorted to the very same subterfuge. In a recent public address he denounced Truman for following a policy which did not reduce the prospect of world war but "makes a larger war more likely in the future."

On the other hand, Truman himself and other administration spokesmen broadly hint that many of the measures advocated by MacArthur like bombing of Manchurian bases or using Chiang's troops may yet be used.



Three of a Kind



MacArthur, Truman and Taft — they don't agree on military policy, but they're all for continuing the slaughter in Korea.



Administration Sen. Sparkman of Ala. told a television audience on Apr. 15: "There is a very definite place in the scheme of things for the use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, but it is not here yet."

BRADLEY SEES NO END

In his Apr. 17 speech Gen. Bradley explained his opposition to bombing Manchurian air bases on the tactical ground that

Chinese "air intervention has not been a factor" in the land action nor "any serious threat to our Air Force." He implied, just as did Truman, that a contrary decision would be made if found necessary to carry out "the assigned military task in Korea" to which as he himself previously stated "there is no early end in sight."

Such open fakery cannot long continue before even the most

gullible followers of either side start asking themselves many pertinent questions. Both sides in this debate are thus incurring an ever graver risk of self-exposure and further loss of public confidence.

The most responsible capitalist dailies are alarmed by this rather than by the bitterness of the disputants. The editors of the N. Y. Times have publicly appealed to MacArthur to render

"one final service," and that is "do whatever he can to heal the split which he has unwittingly caused and to help unite the nation in the crusade for peace..."

PLEA FOR UNITY

In the same issue columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick adds her plea that MacArthur seize "a golden opportunity," and instead of adding "to the confusion and uncertainty" announce that "nothing mattered so much as American unity."

For its part, the Republican N. Y. Herald-Tribune warns the Republican party it will "exceed" the permissible limits "if the party adopts Gen. MacArthur as its spokesman on foreign affairs, follows after him blindly, and tries to elevate him into a political force."

It remains to be seen how much success attends these efforts to conciliate or "limit" the debate. We go to press before MacArthur has addressed the joint session of Congress. But irrespective of whether he adds more fuel to the raging debate or pursues a more cautious course, the only effective choice before the American people — as against both Truman and MacArthur — is to intervene themselves. Let the issue of war and peace be decided by a NATIONAL REFERENDUM!

The New Party--A Report from Germany

By M. Blanchard

The Founding Congress of the Independent Workers Party of Germany took place on March 24 and 25 in the ancient city of Worms. This Congress represents a turning point in the condition of the German working class and its consequences are bound to be felt in the labor movement throughout Europe.

The defeat Hitler inflicted upon the German working class in 1933, thanks to the criminal policies of the reformist and Stalinist leaderships, changed the outlook of the entire international working class. The present reawakening of the German working class can completely reverse the social scene on the old continent. It can shift the center of gravity in the working-class struggle to the country with the greatest number of industrial workers on the old continent.

Obviously, we are only at the beginning of this development. However, it is only logical that the establishment of a class party of the proletariat should parallel the reawakening of the class as a whole. The traditional workers' parties have largely exhausted their credit among the German masses; the experienced militants have not forgiven these parties their responsibility for the 1933 defeat. The younger generation is not at all attracted toward these machines which serve one or the other of the occupying powers.

So long as the working class remained scattered and passive, it did not at all participate in the life of these organizations, leaving them to the functionaries. As soon as the workers became reactivated, they demanded a new party corresponding to their own interests and aspirations. If the Independent Workers' Party remains to this day a very modest organization, it is because the German working class has taken only its first steps on the road of open struggle.

It was only a few days ago that the very same individuals were busy promoting the biggest of recent war scares. Speaker Rayburn rose in the House to declare how immediate was the danger of World War III with the enemy mobilizing vast forces "here, there and everywhere." Truman, when queried by the reporters, solemnly assured that he knew Rayburn to be a "truthful" man and that these remarks were in no way intended to help jam the draft, the universal military training and similar trifles through a recalcitrant Congress.

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Workers Party, then the immediate cause is the accentuation of the crisis within Stalinism which has been developing since 1949. About 50 of the delegates present, as well as numerous fraternal delegates and invited guests, were recently expelled members of the German Communist Party. This points up the possibilities for extensive growth that the new party has among the circles of the Communist workers. It also explains the fury of the Stalinist bureaucrats who spared no efforts to prevent or break up the organization of this Congress. After covering the walls in Worms with slanderous inscriptions, they threatened the delegates with a "general mobilization" of the Stalinist youth of the entire Worms region — a plan which was not carried out and for good reason! As a last resort they tried to introduce about 20 strong-arm men into the hall, but these were quickly ejected by the delegates. The attempt to use a provocateur among the delegates to the Congress, also failed. The delegates got rid of him no less quickly. After these incidents the Congress assembled peacefully and discussed all the questions on the

agenda in perfect order, despite the frequently heated debates which followed.

DIVERGENT VIEWS

The political opinions confronting each other in the Congress discussions are still very divergent. The Independent Workers Party, at the moment of its formation, appears like a big melting pot into which many old errors and new illusions have been poured. Alongside many delegates expressing the class point of view corresponding to the principles of revolutionary Marxism are others who speak for revisionist and confused ideas. Important differences divide the rank and file militants and the leaders of the Independent Workers Party on such questions as: the character and activities of the Soviet Union and of Stalinism; the perspectives and historical meaning of the colonial revolutions, and especially of the Chinese revolution.

All this is no more than the normal reflection of the initial stage in the recovery of class consciousness which the German proletariat is now passing through.

Iran Oil Workers Fight Against Imperialists for Nationalization

By Charles Hanley

March 1951 has been one of the most eventful months Iran (Persia) has witnessed in recent years: Under popular pressure, the Parliament, on March 15-17, voted the nationalization of that country's oil industry whose annual output of crude oil amounts to about 32 million tons (6 percent of the world's oil supply).

Iran's oil wells and the big refinery of Abadan, on the Persian Gulf, are owned by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., controlled by the British government which has held 53 percent of its stock since 1914. Iranian oil is of vital importance to the British empire's military operations — and Britain wants to get it cheap.

When Iranian Premier, General Haji Razmara, opposed nationalization demands, trying to protect the foreign imperialists' interests, he was assassinated on March 7 by a member of the nationalist Fadyan movement. Other assassination attempts directed against opponents of oil industry nationalization were announced; and after the killing of former Education Minister Zangeneh martial law was proclaimed in Tehran, the capital, for two months by new Premier Hussein Ala.

The nationalization bill will not be valid before it is signed by Shah (Emperor) Reza Pahlavi. Britain immediately protested the alleged violation of the treaty existing between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Iranian government and sent several warships to the Persian Gulf in order to intimidate the aroused Iranian people.

Friends of imperialism pretend Iran will be unable to efficiently run the industry, while the present status allows the government

to share part of the Anglo-Iranian's profits without any risk and thereby, they say, benefits the population. Shortly before Premier Razmara's death, Anglo-Iranian manager E. G. D. Northcroft even offered Iran a 50 percent share in profits, as he wished to strengthen anti-nationalization feelings in cabinet circles and to save the company's position.

A POOR COUNTRY

It is true that payments from the Anglo-Iranian cover one third of the Iranian budget. Yet Iran is a very poor country and needs a greater income from its most important natural treasure — oil. The people do not want millions of oil profits to go abroad while Iran has to face a serious financial crisis. The state is on the verge of bankruptcy and resorting to inflationary measures.

In the oil regions the Anglo-Iranian Company is particularly unpopular because of the wage reductions it recently ordered. A big strike movement developed in Abadan, Agha Tari and Bandar Mahshur. Riots occurred and two Britons were slain. (April 12.) The government dispatched troops and tanks to the port city of Abadan. Martial law was introduced there as well as in the two other oil cities.

SIGNIFICANT STRUGGLE

In Isfahan (214 miles south of Tehran) police and unemployed workers clashed "when the workers tried to storm the offices of the Governor General to protest against their dismissal from jobs in a spinning factory." (A.P. — March 28.) It is significant that the struggle against the foreign imperialists is coupled with a social movement against the Iranian bourgeoisie.

The latter are maneuvering. Premier Ala declared that Britain has "not taken notice of the legitimate rights of Iran" in oil dealings since 1901, that the Iranian government, deals with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company which, so far, has not made any declaration, but not with the British government. Insofar as the oil question is concerned, the Iranian Parliament has approved the principle of nationalization and a special commission is studying means of carrying out that principle: "The Iranian government has no other duty except to wait for the result of the commission's study." Ala's carefully worded note apparently left the door open for a transactional solution while maintaining and stressing Iran's sovereignty rights.

The situation is complicated. Eight of the oil commission's fifteen members belong to the "National Front" which is connected with the Fadyan Islam movement whose leader also participates in the National Front direction. (Some reports from London say he is the main leader of the National Front.) The National Front opposes any compromise with the British oil interests. So does the "Tudeh" party which is accused of being pro-Stalinist and has been made responsible for unrest near the Soviet border.

The National Front does not trust Hussein Ala. The deputies walked out of a special meeting of the Parliament, thus removing temporarily chances of a vote of confidence in the Cabinet. On the other hand, the government had 23 (or more) members of Fadyan Islam arrested in Tehran for plotting to shoot Premier Ala. A state of unrest prevails, and Anglo-Iranian Oil shares lost

almost one fifth of their value at the London Stock Exchange... To American imperialism this appears a good occasion to indirectly replace British influence in another Near Eastern country. A British-American oil conference has opened in Washington. Most of the Iranian papers demand "that the United States keep out of the affair which they say concerns only Iran and the British company." (A.P., April 10.) However, the conference began by issuing a statement urging Iranian co-operation with the United States and Britain in working out a solution. But Iran was not invited to the conference and on April 16 officially came out against American meddling in its internal affairs, stressing the fact that nationalization will not stop sale of oil to Britain.

Washington is aimed at either preventing nationalization or else advocating a compromise proposal which might include recognition of the nationalization bill, but oblige Iran to pay a sizeable compensation to Great Britain. (According to the N. Y. Herald Tribune's London correspondent, such a compromise proposal was discussed in London between American Assistant Secretary of State G. C. McGhee and British Foreign Secretary H. Morrison.) As the Iranian government has no fund for compensation purposes and sorely lacks money, it would then become completely dependent on American loans for this purpose — with the U.S. subsequently more and more dominating Iran's economic life.

But the Iranian masses can be expected to resist any form of imperialist interference, whatever their government may do. Their awakening is part of the Asian peoples' struggle for independence following on World War II.

Ceylon Party Seeks Workers -- Farmers Govt.

In June 1950 the two parties in Ceylon adhering to the Fourth International decided to merge. In February 1951 the congress of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, the

unified organization, was held. The work of this Congress centered on the political situation in Ceylon. The resolution on this question begins with the observation that the government of the bourgeois UNP party, which in 1940 benefited from the "independence" obtained by Ceylon within the British Commonwealth, has lost much of its influence on the masses. "Not only the workers and peasants, but also a section of the middle class, clearly wants an end to the UNP government."

GOVERNMENT OF RICH

There are several reasons for this: Living conditions have worsened, food and rent have increased, unemployment is spreading, the black market is in full swing. Ever since it replaced the authorities of British imperialism, the UNP government has shown by its laws and repressions that it represents the big landowners and the employers. In addition to all this, the corruption of the government administration has widened. And finally, even on the level of "independence," the UNP government has shown by its foreign policy that it remains an instrument of imperialism.

"At this moment," states the resolution, "the UNP has not yet decided upon the grand lines of its policy and has been forced into various temporary maneuvers, using all the weapons at its disposal to cope with the pressure of the masses. The indecision of the government is partially reflected in the public differences and quarrels which threaten the unity of the ruling party. The chief question posed by the situation and the policy of the government toward the masses is the following: Will the government succeed in gaining time to consolidate itself and elaborate its plans, or will the masses seize the initiative and shake the foundations of UNP power before the latter can finish its preparations?"

The resolution concludes that "the principal task of the Party lies in preparing the masses and especially the working class for the removal of the UNP regime and the setting-up of a Workers' and Peasants' Samasamaja Government. Such a government alone can cope with the fundamental problems confronting the masses of Ceylon as a result of the abolition of capitalism and the construction of socialism in cooperation with the international working class."

AGAINST STALINISM

The party condemns such Stalinist slogans as "National Front," "People's Front" and their variations, which aim to "replace the pro-imperialist UNP by another capitalist government 'friendly' to the USSR, and not to break the power of the capitalist state"; and warns that because of "their political immaturity the broad masses may become the victims of these illusions spread by the Stalinists."

The slogan "Workers' and Peasants' Samasamaja Government," designed to parry the Stalinist maneuvers and to oppose the masses to the UNP government, "is not," declares the resolution, "a government composed not only of the LSSP but also of any other organization wishing to join it in forming a workers' and peasants' anti-capitalist government with a definite program." The LSSP is not at all opposed to a united front with the Ceylon CP or any other workers' organization on

concrete issues. It opposes only "joint" action with the CP on its program of substituting one capitalist government for another.

The LSSP advances the following program and is ready to co-operate with any workers' organization toward its realization:

1) Genuine independence from imperialism. For workers democracy. Break all constitutional ties with imperialism. Abolish all unequal treaties. Establish an independent republic with a democratic constitution guaranteeing full political rights to the workers and allowing them to participate fully and freely in the government. Do away with the whole capitalist administrative apparatus. Form mass organizations in all fields to defend the interest of the masses against their enemies. Arm the people. Defend all minority rights. Develop local government. Use national tongues in the administration. Give the 18-year olds the right to vote.

2) Independence from the power politics of the two great power blocs. Independent foreign policy, based on opposition to imperialism in all its forms. No capitulation to the power politics of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Defense of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia, as workers states, against all imperialist attacks. Solidarity with the proletarians of all countries. Fraternal association with and support of the nationalist movements of South-east Asia and other colonial countries.

AGAINST BIG CAPITAL

3) Abolition of big capital. Immediate establishment of workers' control in all industrial establishments and enterprises. Complete freedom for the trade unions. Nationalization of large industries and plantations. Confiscation of imperialist possessions in Ceylon, including banks.

4) Suppression of rural poverty. Hand over to the peasants all land worked by them. Guaranteed agricultural prices. Free seed and fertilizers for the peasants. Support of agricultural co-operatives. New agricultural enterprises under mass control. End to partial and total rural unemployment through the development of industry.

5) Tax the rich and not the poor. Graduated taxation on incomes above 500 rupees a month, reaching 100 percent for incomes above 2,000 rupees a month. Abolition of all taxes on foods and primary necessities.

6) Increase in the living standards of the workers. Full employment and a 40-hour week. Escalator scale of wages with a guaranteed minimum plus 100 percent increase to cover price rises since 1939. Strict control over the prices of all necessities, including food, clothing, rents, etc., through mass organizations. National housing program. National insurance covering old age, sickness, unemployment. Free education. Adequate medical and sanitary services.

7) A plan for national development. Overall development of the national economy based on socialist planning.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party will develop this program in detail on the occasion of the coming elections. It will fight to gain a parliamentary majority, while emphasizing that a parliamentary majority can result in a workers' and peasants' government only if the masses, by their own action, assure the realization of all legislation.

NEW HAVEN

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— HOW TO END WAR —

— HOW TO WIN PEACE —

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Monday, April 23, 1951

Truman's "Limited War"

To the MacArthur policy of extending the Korean hostilities to the Chinese main land and thereby precipitating a general war in Asia, Truman has counterposed what he claims to be an alternative policy, one intended to "prevent the outbreak of World War III." Truman's formula for Korea is now that of a "limited war."

There has been a "limited war" in Korea for the last nine months. Militarily it has brought no solution; nor can it lead to one.

When MacArthur announced on March 7 that the situation in Korea was a "military stalemate," he was expressing not alone his personal conclusion but the sober estimate of the chiefs in the Pentagon. MacArthur's way out of this stalemate is to spread the war. Truman and his chiefs of staff have turned thumbs down on this proposal, purely out of tactical considerations.

They are not prepared for this military adventure of committing all the available forces in Asia, at a time when their own plans call for concentration on Western Europe as the main arena for their projected all-out war.

Truman's pretended "solution" is to prolong the stalemate indefinitely. There is not a single responsible military authority in Washington who believes that this can be done.

Separate and apart from the obvious possibility of a counter-offensive by Pei-

ping, there are the prohibitive costs and repercussions of the continuation of the military hostilities under the present conditions.

These are summed up quite accurately by Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times, whose views frequently echo the prevailing Pentagon opinion.

"Indefinite continuation of the present limited war in Korea," he wrote on April 17, is excluded "as a practical possibility" on two grounds.

First: "The morale of our troops and of the South Koreans is bound to deteriorate."

Second: "Public opinion in this country will not tolerate indefinitely a toll of casualties with no end in sight."

These are not at all forecasts but rather cautious statements concerning the existing state of affairs. For both the problem of morale and the mass revulsion against the Korean adventure are already acute.

"It is sad but true that no good solution is now possible in Korea," writes the informed columnist Walter Lippmann.

In short, Truman's "limited war" is a deliberate deception, as phony as his original claim that nothing more than a "police action" was involved in Korea.

Stop the Korean war now!
Demand a referendum on the question of war or peace!

Canpaigning for Socialist Truth

The American working people, as the peoples throughout the world, are living today through the most critical and decisive time in world history. If ever fearless and incorruptible spokesmen of truth were needed, it is in these fateful days. If ever the American people have been misled, misinformed and lied to, it is right now.

The capitalist dailies, the radio, television, the pulpit and all the other vehicles of communication and public information are combined into a single vast lie-machine whose immediate purpose is to break down the overwhelming anti-war sentiment which has spread since the outbreak of "Operation Killer" in Korea.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign, launched April 22 to spread the subscriptions and sales of *The Militant* coincides with the unparalleled operations of this capitalist propaganda lie-machine.

This lie-machine speaks not for the interests of the people, as does *The Militant*, but irrevocably against them. It does not express the wishes of the people, as does *The Militant*, but is the tool of a handful of billionaires, determined to convert our country into a "garrison state" in their mad headlong rush into World War III.

They fear the truth and for good reasons. *The Militant* tells the truth — the Socialist truth — which alone can save the people. It is an outspoken opponent of imperialist war. It has consistently demanded that Truman stop the Korean war, bring the GI's back home and that a national referendum be held on the issue of peace and war.

The Militant is the unwavering partisan of the working people, of the underpaid and the overworked, of the disinherited and the oppressed. It fights for the rights of racial minorities, for the preservation of civil rights and for the full socialist program of emancipation from the utterly decayed capitalist system.

The voice of truth, the genuine message of Socialism is what the American workers need so imperatively and are searching for. Only *The Militant* fills this want and need. That is why we are confident that this sales campaign will prove a smashing success.

This campaign will be conducted in the spirit of socialist competition. The campaigners will compete for the fine prizes to the high scorers. But the biggest spur is their knowledge that every copy of *The Militant* and each new subscription they sell is a powerful blow for the cause of human emancipation, the cause of Socialism.

The re-entry of the labor leaders into the Big Business-controlled mobilization program — on a new committee, the National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy, Charles E. Wilson, chairman — has borne its first fruit. This fruit is not to the taste of Murray, Green, Reuther and Meany — United Labor's representatives on the board. It is a contemptuous rejection by Big Business of a compromise on labor disputes ardently pushed by the labor leaders.

The attempted compromise was on the jurisdiction of the Wage Stabilization Board, out of which the labor leaders marched in protest last February. Jurisdiction was but one of the points in dispute between labor and capital members on that late, unlamented board. Other vital points on which the Big Business representatives in the board were adamant included the level of the wage freeze and acceptance of escalator clauses.

Anger over the wage freeze, the price freeze or lack of freeze, the heavy taxation of low incomes and light taxation of high incomes, lack of rent control, the looting of the treasury by Big Business, and the restriction of labor representatives to advisory committees (where their advice was hardly listened to) while corporation heads got all the policy-making posts, led to the walkout of all labor representatives from the mobilization program and the calling of a Conference of Labor in Washington. At that conference AFL and CIO officers from state and city union bodies heard the top labor leadership tell hair-raising stories of the complete Big Business control of the mobilization program and vow to stay out of the mobilization program until drastic changes had been made.

THE NEW BOARD

Despite brave words spoken there and repeated in thousands of articles and broadcasts the labor leaders quietly accepted four more "advisory" posts on the recently set up National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy. This board has 17 members of which four are from organized labor. A sub-committee of this board — four from labor, four from Big Business — was set up. In the subcommittee the labor representatives pushed their program to empower the Wage Stabilization Board to settle not only wage disputes, but allied disputes such as those on seniority, grievances, union shop, etc. The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce (both represented on the subcommittee) violently oppose this. They want the Wage Stabilization Board to have one function — that of freezing wages. They figure that after a no-strike pledge has been coaxed out of the labor leaders, industry need not make any concessions on seniority, grievances, union shop, etc. Should unions try to enforce such demands by strikes the government would intervene with Taft-Hartley injunctions. The compromise pushed by the

labor leaders and rejected by Big Business was as follows:



Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers, and Philip Murray, President of the CIO and United Steel Workers, who are representing the CIO on the new National Advisory Mobilization Board set up by Truman.

1) Reconstitution of the Wage Stabilization Board with 18 members six from labor, six from industry and six from the "public."

2) This board to take up non-wage disputes when both parties to the disputes jointly agreed to submit them to the board. In these cases the board's ruling would be binding.

3) If the President certified non-wage disputes to the board, it would make a report to the President and recommendations to the parties to the dispute.

A POOR COMPROMISE

How little the labor movement would get out of such a compromise, which permits a board where labor is outnumbered two-to-one to make binding decisions only in cases where the employer voluntarily came before the board, is obvious. But even this was rejected by Big Business after the labor leaders had been led to believe it was accepted.

It is apparent that Wall Street and its representatives in government, headed by C. E. Wilson, intend not to concede an inch to the persuasion, maneuvering or

politicizing of the labor leaders. They will not concede to labor on this issue of the WSB's jurisdiction because they do not intend to give the unions any guarantee of stability in the present war-preparation period or during war itself.

The current Defense Production Act, under whose terms the "government within the government" of C. E. Wilson was set up, soon expires. Walter Reuther demanded at the Conference of Labor that labor was not just pressing a grievance, "but wanted a whole new contract" when the next Defense Production Act was written. It is now evident that Congress will merely amend the old act or write a new one more unfavorable to labor.

Little real pressure has been brought to bear upon Truman or Congress to push for a better mobilization law. Reuther took the heat off Truman by talking down a resolution for the formation of a labor party at the recent UAW-CIO convention. The shame-faced return of the United Labor Policy Committee to another "advisory" board headed by Charles E. Wilson does nothing to force a better deal for labor.

ARMY BIG BRASS BACKS NEGRO SEGREGATION

The capitalist press has featured the defeat in the House of Representatives of an amendment by the Southern Bourbon bloc that would legalize segregation in the armed force. What they omitted to report is that the Southern Jim Crowists brought out in the course of the House debate that segregation has always been, as it still is, the policy of the military and that top military leaders are strongly in favor of segregation.

On April 12 Rankin of Miss. got up on the House floor to demonstratively ask Winstead, also of Miss., the following rhetorical question: "Mr. Rankin: This merely gives the military the right to do what they have been doing in all the wars we have gone through; is that not correct?" "Mr. Winstead: Yes. And I say this is American; it is democratic."

BRADLEY FOR SEGREGATION

Winstead then went on to quote the opinions of top military leaders. Last year, he pointed out, "Gen. Omar Bradley, who was then Army Chief of Staff, told newsmen in a conference at Fort Knox that he 'favored segregation of white and Negro units in the lower level of the Army.' Testifying before 'the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces,' Bradley defended segregation on the grounds that its abolition would 'jeopardize national security, on the one hand,' and that it offers 'several advantages to the Negro soldier in this arrangement.'"

The same views were aired by Major General Dahlquist, member of the General Staff of the Army, who testified before the same committee that "the very separation of these people into units has been the thing that has given the Negro far greater opportunity than I think any business or any profession in the United States can point to." (It just shows what "opportunities" are offered under Jim Crow in civilian life if militarists are able to point with pride to the record under Army Jim Crow.)

And as the clincher, Mr. Winstead cited Kenneth C. Royall, the then Secretary of the Army who backed up segregation as follows: "We must remember that in close personal relationships such as exist in the Army unit, that in civilian life voluntary segregation is the normal thing. And this is true even in those localities where no type of segregation is required by law." All of the above is from the Congressional Record, April 12, pages 3843, 3864.

"Within these statements by top military leaders lies the crux of our proposal," summed up Winstead of Miss. And he was not mistaking his case, either. The top brass continue to practice Jim Crow.

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THE DILEMMA OF AMERICAN YOUTH

By Joseph Andrews

In the state of New York a death penalty has been proposed for those who peddle narcotics to high school youth. This, the capitalist politicians hope, will halt the alarming increase of dope addicts among teen-agers.

Magazines and dailies are filled with articles "deploring" the wave of crime among teen-agers and even among children of 8 or 9 years. In the big cities gangs of youth fight bloody gun battles on the streets. The FBI reports that in 1950 "youth under 21 figured in 28.9 percent of the robberies, burglaries, larcenies, auto thefts, embezzlements, frauds, forgeries, counterfeitings, receiving of stolen property and arson."

J. Edgar Hoover proposes to increase the size of the FBI to cope with this "crime wave." Others suggest better recreational facilities, or more "indoctrination" in the schools. But none get to the root of the problem. Strapping a few heroin salesmen into the electric chair will not destroy the mood of frustration and hopelessness which today takes such a tragic toll of American youth. Nor will prison terms in "houses of correction" eliminate juvenile "delinquency." Police measures cannot restore to the youth their dreams, ideals, ambitions and aspirations.

How the Youth Feel

An 18-year old youth who wrote a letter to the Detroit Free Press last month comes closer to the root of the problem than all these "psychologists" and "authorities" put together. He says:

"Whenever I pick up a paper and turn to the editorial page, I almost invariably read an editorial regarding the 18-year-old draft. I've read letters from frustrated mothers or worried veterans, but never have I read a letter from an 18-year old. On behalf of the teen-agers of the country, I would like to present their side of the story.

"In the few and far between times of peace my generation has known, we are regarded as no-good trouble-makers. The places we go to so we can be with our friends are marked as 'hangouts.' We drive cars and we're labeled as 'crazy hot-rod drivers.'

"Now I realize that all of the older people don't hold grudges against the teen-agers, but this country is full of those that do. City Councils are forever passing laws concerning curfew laws for teen-age drivers. Papers frequently write and publish editorials concerning teen-age 'beer parties' or 'gang wars.' These are only a few of the countless 'criticisms' that are dished out to the country's younger set.

"However, when the peace ends and the wars begin the story changes. Suddenly the wild teen-ager becomes a glorious hero. When the 18-year-old draft goes into effect, the 'little gangsters' will be carted off to some basic training camp, given a minimum of education in the 'ways and means of war' and then shipped to some distant battle-field to fight for something that to them seems small and insignificant.

"We'll fight if we're drafted. We'll shoot and kill or be killed. We'll learn to march by the bodies of our dead buddies and when it's all over with, some of us will come back hardened by the tragedy of war.

"And all the while the 'men' in Washington are saying, 'Well, we can draft enough guys from here to take Hill 1158 and enough here to take town X.' Yet, when you ask them why and to what end, they simply say, 'There's a war on — or didn't you know?'"

(Signed) TOM SPARROW

Young Tom's poignant and honest lines speak for all the youth. The fact is that American youth faced by a future of long military service and the horror of war, in a cause in which they do not believe, are being destroyed by uncertainty and harrowing lack of hope.

Life Magazine April 15 issue carries a survey of opinion among teen-agers in Lorain, Ohio. One 16 year-old asked the Life reporter, 'We will be going right into service. What kind of future can we have?' Another asks "What are we fighting for?"

Youth live in the future. Their study is for tomorrow. Their dreams are of tomorrow. So are their plans. But their tomorrow is torn from them by a capitalist society which has no use for them except as cannon-fodder in World War III. This is drawn to its logical conclusion by Gen. Marshall who holds out a "future" of permanent mobilization.

The Future Under Capitalism

A young doctor will serve his apprenticeship on the field of battle; a young scientist will turn his knowledge to the creation of weapons of destruction; a young engineer will build the tools of war; and all the young men and women who want to make their futures each in his own way, will have their plans made for them by the Pentagon. Study must wait; hopes must wait; love must wait. Everything is to be sacrificed for the imperialist war plans.

Not only does capitalism in its final stage of decay, turn the industrial machine to production of destructive instruments rather than to goods for the benefit of the people, not only does it use the tremendous talent and genius of science for mass murder rather than for the harnessing of nature for mankind's freedom and well-being, but it takes the greatest resource of society — the youth — robs it of its chance to build and create, and makes of it the prime tool of war.

That is all capitalism has to offer the youth. It confronts them as an enemy.

Is it any wonder then that this insecurity of the youth manifests itself in acts of violence or irresponsibility?

When a youth loses his hopes and dreams for the future he loses everything. The young "delinquent" robbed of this birthright is not the criminal; it is the society which stripped the youth of a chance to think, plan, work, dream and build his life that is the criminal.

Youth and the Socialist Future

But the young Tom Sparrows are wrong if they think there is no hope. It is Tom's generation which has before it the greatest vision of all. And it is not just a dream. That is the work of eliminating the system which frustrates humanity, perverts its knowledge and skills, misuses its tools in an effort to perpetuate its rule by plunder.

The bitterness of the U.S. youth is only the first stage in their development. Today they see that capitalism offers them no future. They will discover that to save their tomorrows a new social and economic system must be created.

The capitalist system measures all things by the dollar. It produces things for use only to the extent that they can be marketed at a profit. When it can't sell at a profit, it seeks new markets to exploit. This means that the youth it can't use in production, must be used for conquest; and when peoples in Asia or elsewhere protest against foreign exploitation, young Tom and his friends will be told to shoot to kill. They will be told to burn and destroy, and to sacrifice themselves in the process.

To struggle against militarism and war requires a fight against the system which produces them. There is no other way.

Revolutionary socialists place all their hopes in the youth. The fight for a socialist world requires the qualities of youth: incorruptible service to ideals, selflessness, honesty and courage. The alternative to capitalist war and destruction of culture and civilization is socialism.

The tremendous capacity to produce goods, which creates wars under capitalism, will solve the economic problems of humanity under socialism; no longer will men and women have as their primary problem the need to find food and shelter. While under capitalism wars are fought between human beings for the enrichment of a few, under socialism the only wars will be those fought by all against disease, ignorance, want; men and women will not cease to struggle; they will struggle not against one another, but unitedly to build a higher culture and to conquer the remaining mysteries of nature.

That is the inspiring vista of the future; it is a cause worth fighting for! It is the hope of the youth!

A Fearless, Honest Novel of Army Life

FROM HERE TO ETERNITY by James Jones. Scribners, 1951, 858 pp. \$4.50.

Reviewed by Harry Frankel

Since the close of World War II, two novels have been published in the tradition of the great critical work of dissection of the German Army done by Arnold Zweig after the First World War. The first of these was Norman Mailer's novel, "The Naked and the Dead," while the second is now before us.

From Here to Eternity is a novel of the Regular Army set in a Hawaiian Army post just before Pearl Harbor. Through the eyes of its two chief characters, Private Robert E. Lee Prewitt, and First Sgt. Milton Anthony Warden, it focuses upon the routine life of an Army post: the feuds and pettinesses of barracks life, the peculiar un-private loneliness of the soldier, the comradeship in deprivation, in revelry, and in bitterness. The narrative is concerned with one man's, personal revolt against the Army. Pvt. Prewitt is the rebel, and Sgt. Warden a sympathetic onlooker. With Prewitt, we feel the petty vengeance of the company officers and non-coms, we glimpse the brutalities of the Post Stockade, and finally see him go AWOL after an act of violence against a superior. This act, the murder of "Fatso," the sadistic sergeant of the Post Stockade, is preceded by a

significant discussion between Prewitt and Pvt. John Malloy. Malloy was a Wobblie in his youth, and still worships the memory of the Wobblies, but has abandoned militant socialist industrial unionism for the "religion" of passive resistance. The young private listens to him sympathetically, but then, in a symbolic turn in the plot, shows how far the youth of America is from passive resistance by going ahead with his plans to destroy the vicious tormentor of stockade prisoners.

SOCIAL PROTEST

This is a novel in the great tradition of social protest. The cry of the underdog rings out from every page; the hard boiled style merely emphasizes it. In this book the uncorrupted spirit of American youth casts about in bitter agony, in protest against the unreasonable suffering and degradation of humanity, and cries out for an answer, a clue to man's destiny on earth.

The author works out a homemade "politics" for his central figure. His thinking, deprived for the present of any scientific guiding line, revolves around the fight for the "underdog."

"And if the capitalists were the top dog in America," he says, "and the proletariat the underdog, then he believed in fighting for the proletariat against the capitalists. This too-ingrained-to-be-forgotten philosophy of life

of his had led him, a Southerner, to believe in fighting for the Negroes against the whites everywhere, because the Negroes were nowhere the top dog, at least yet.

"It was, he realized, a very flighty philosophy, a chameleon philosophy always changing its color. You were a Communist one day, and the next day you were an anti-Communist. But then, this was a very flighty age, a chameleon age in which the chameleon lived perpetually upon a bright Scotch plaid.

"I would say that politically, you are a sort of super arch-revolutionary, the kind that made the Revolution in Russia and that the Communists are killing now.

"But you better not tell that to anybody unless you have to. Prewitt. They'll put you in the nut ward. Because here in America, he thought, everybody fights to become top dog, and then to stay top dog."

PART OF SOCIETY

This spirit of protest and rejection of the ideas and "ethics" of a dying capitalist society is particularly noteworthy in this novel because here it is accomplished in and through the United States Army. Thus this book, like The Naked and the Dead, serves notice upon the capitalists that their holy of holies, the tin-hatted, chin-strapped, khaki-clad, bayonet-bearing, sacrosanct armed forces are part of the social

organism, and, as such, are subject to the impact of developing social struggles.

The publication of this novel has undoubtedly caused renewed anguish of spirit to the editors of Life magazine who complained bitterly some years back about the tone of the new and popular novels. They called upon young writers to present the "bright side" of things. They hope for artists who will present just such a dazzling and specious picture of American life as they offer in the pages of Life. Such a hope, besides being vain and foolish, is in addition corrupt and degraded.

A young writer who is honest can never be the hypocritical Pharisee they want to make him. He sees the truth and must speak it. That is the source of his power as an artist. There are many novels written each year by the sanctimonious Pollyannas, the apologists. But these are the tenth raters. They can achieve no lasting merit because they lack the vision of truth and the torch of courage. The finest technical skill can never redeem the work that lacks these.

YOUNG ARTISTS

Some of the great literary stylists of our epoch, men possessing fabulous technical skill, have shown how pitiful pure empty "style" can be. The young artists who are filled with fearless honesty bid to surpass, and in many cases have already surpass-

A May Day Parable

By Theodore Kovalesky

There was once a mountain, ice-bound, snow-bound in winter. Its rocky crags were frozen deep in rigid, unyielding ice and swept with wind and snow. The slopes were buried deep, the gullies filled in, the pathways blocked with heavy snow. And then there came the miracle of change. A fragment of snow thickened, grew heavy, and became water. More and still more grew fluid, became rivulets and streams and torrents and swept away all that resisted, leaping and plunging in a thousand cataracts, drifting and floating in spray.

Again the tempo changed. The torrents quieted. The wand of nature touched the earth, and it grew green with grass and spotted with the colors of the mountain flowers. The rocky tor glowed with the warmth of the sun.

First, the grim rigidity of winter; then the motion and violence of the cleansing flood; and finally the calm triumph of spring emerging into summer. But tell me, show me if you can. Where was that first drop of water?

Sound dinned at his ears and grew soundless in its intensity, became only a small buzzing inside his head, a vibration that lived alone in a deafened world. He swung the sledge high above his head, smashing in rhythmic cadence at the wedges clamping the goose-neck pipe together.

It was done. He dropped the hammer. The first helper dropped his, and together they walked slowly from the furnace jacket. He saw the blower signal to the hot-blastman, saw him turn the windlass, and felt the pressure sag from his ears. And then, but for the almost forgotten pounding of the engine-pumped air, the blast furnace was still.

He sprawled on a bench, dampening it with his sweat-soaked clothing. He breathed heavily, thinking of nothing for a moment. Then he smiled, remembering.

This was the day. This was his day, the First of May, the day of the workers. He thought of his friends and comrades, forgetting the sweat that coursed in itching rills down his back, darkening the coarse wood bench he sat on.

The steel mill recedes as we pass. There are the furnaces and the open hearths and the coke

ovens and mills. There are the thousands that work in it, and there, a speck of humanity in the center of the multitude, there is our friend, one ordinary man. Look, still he smiles, his eyes looking past us, into tomorrow's socialist spring.

Jose Gonzales is young. His smile flashes white, and his eyes and hair are jet black. Jose is a great man with the girls, but right now he isn't thinking about girls. His hands deep in the loose pockets of his overalls, he is walking home from work with his shop-mate.

"Eh, Pedro," he says, "What day is this? You know?" Pedro grunts, "Tuesday."

"Tuesday, Pedro! Where are your brains?" Jose lowers his voice and leans toward his friend. "It's May the First, the day of the workers." Pedro looks furtively around. No one spies. The Barcelona street holds only a few dirty-faced children.

Pedro draws a breath. "May Day! Ah. . . pretty soon now. . . that pig, Franco. . . " Pedro flashes his teeth in a grin, and, making a scraping sound deep in his throat. They stand for a moment grinning at each other. Then, hands in pockets, they trudge along toward home.

Willie Riggs stands still a moment in the Alabama field to wipe the sweat from his black, glistening forehead. Willie never had much schooling or got very far from home. He doesn't know it's May Day, or even what May Day stands for. But keep your eye on Willie Riggs.

In a Dutch sanatorium a revolutionist is recovering from tuberculosis. On May Day he thinks, "Soon I shall rejoin my comrades and resume the struggle." In Germany they wear the scars of Hitler's concentration camps. Time moves on (even under the ice-cap time continues to move and move), and the day approaches when these scars shall be chevrons in the army of the workers. In the Orient life is convulsing, life is pressing hard to burst from the shell that restrains it, and it will not be restrained. In France and Italy, in the very heart of the Soviet Union, in China and India and the United States time moves ever onward underneath the rigid crust of authority.

Capitalist Lunaey

By Tom Conlan

The other day a man, identified as Paul Snow, age 34 of Biddeford, Maine, presented himself at the State House at Columbus, Ohio. He said he was a visiting Republican state senator from Maine. Invited to address both the Ohio House and Senate he promptly gave the Democratic minority a severe tongue lashing. Among other things he blamed them and the Truman administration for the failure of Maine potatoes to mash easily.

The august legislators listened, the Democrat minority squirming, the Republican majority solemnly applauding. From the legislative sessions, the visitor went to sit in on a session of the senate taxation committee. The next day he was apprehended while on an inspection tour of the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster.

It turned out that he had escaped earlier in the week from the veterans' mental hospital at Chillicothe, Ohio.

It is furthest from our thought to come to the defense of the red-faced legislators in Ohio. But the fact is that their error is quite understandable. It is not easy these days, listening to the talk in our local, state or federal legislatures, to distinguish off-hand between those who are in complete possession of their senses and those who are not.

For example, the very same papers that tried to jocularly dismiss the Ohio episode, carried reports to the effect that the Wall Street stock-

market has happily recovered from its recent "peace jitters." In a rational society, any one viewing the prospect of peace as a calamity would be considered as the likeliest of candidates for a straitjacket. But not in the world ruled by the Wall Street financiers to whom war and war preparations are the very breath of life.

Or take another example; the militarists and the witch-hunters, with the Truman administration at the head, are destroying democratic rights and elementary civil liberties in this country at a faster pace than any on record.

We are swiftly becoming a nation in uniform — the hallmark of totalitarianism. Hollywood is in uniform and its latest hero apparently is — a stoopjockey. Science and the scientists are being regimented. The flower of our nation is being laced into a uniform, with a "permanent prospect" of remaining in it. A "draft" is projected for American working men and women. Thought-control, imposed by law, is becoming more and more prevalent.

And all this is being done in the name of "safeguarding democracy" against totalitarianism!

The Ohio legislators have a good alibi, even if they are not likely to use it. Throughout the country the atmosphere today is such that irrationality appears as the height of logic. And insanity tends to lend eloquence to all the supporters of this crazy capitalist system.

Case of the Legless Vet--Victim of Witch-Hunters

The mills of the law are grinding very slowly for James Kutcher, the famous legless veteran who became a national symbol of the injustice of Truman's witchhunt against government workers. Jimmy lost both legs at the battle of San Pietro in Italy in 1943 and was fired by the Loyalty Board from his job as a clerk in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration solely because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

For the past two and half years he has been carrying on a courageous fight against the entire loyalty purge. Hundreds of leading civil liberties and labor organizations in the country have backed his campaign for reinstatement.

"What's the present status of your case?" we asked Jimmy. "In February 1950 my attorneys filed a suit in the Federal District Court in Washington challenging the loyalty program. They want an injunction to compel the Veterans Administration to restore my job. The appeal has been held up in the court since then."

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MAIN ISSUES

"What, briefly, are the main issues in your own case?"

"There are two kinds of issues. On the purely legal side, there are the important constitutional questions. My suit challenges the entire loyalty purge as unconstitutional and contrary to proper judicial procedure. It enables a single political appointee, the Attorney General, to proscribe hundreds of associations of American citizens at his own dictate. For example, Tom Clark put the Socialist Workers Party on his blacklist without any evidence whatsoever and without a hearing. Then he said I was 'disloyal' and couldn't keep my government job simply because I belonged to that party. That's 'guilt by association' which is considered repugnant to all principles of American law.

"Did the Army ask what party you belonged to when they drafted you?"

"No," Kutcher replied. "And neither did the German mortar crew who fired the shell that hit me — or the surgeons who amputated my legs."

"One of the worst things about the loyalty purge," he continued, "is that it takes freedom of speech and freedom of political affiliation away from the federal workers. There are over two millions



JAMES KUTCHER

in this country. Thousands have already been victimized, and many others terrorized by this witchhunt. I believe I'm fighting for their rights as well as my own."

"Aren't you a little discouraged at all this delay?" we inquired. "Well, I had to serve over four years and a half in the Army during the last war. I saw a lot of fighting — and went through a lot of waiting. And I'm more than willing to do as much in my own civil rights fight now. I'm sure it's for a better cause in any event."

Cost-of-Living Index Hit by CIO

The new Department of Labor cost-of-living index, which the Bureau of Labor Statistics says "has been adjusted to incorporate improvements to make it a more accurate measure of current price movements" is a complete fraud. At the very time when the average worker's family is spending more and more of its weekly income on food as a result of skyrocketing food prices, the index gives greater weight to family purchases of consumer durables.

PLAYS DOWN FOOD COST

That is, it computes the cost-of-living on the basis of prices of commodities which workers' families are no longer able to purchase. By giving greater weight to durable goods, such as cars and fridges and furniture, and less to food products, the index distorts the true cost-of-living picture.

Organized labor has already protested this new index, pointing out that if it had been used as a yardstick last year, it would have shown far less of an increase in living costs than the old system showed.

On the old basis the increase for the month of December, 1950, was 3.2 percentage points. Under the new system an increase in living costs of only 2.7 percent would have been shown, according to CIO research director Stanley Ruttenberg.

Deadline for Militant

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



NATALIA TROTSKY

Trotsky's Widow Recovering After Auto Accident

MEXICO CITY, April 15 — Natalia Trotsky was injured last night in an automobile accident. This morning she was pronounced out of danger and is resting quietly. She suffered a slight concussion, severe facial bruises, several cuts about her mouth and left cheek from flying glass and a tongue injury.

The accident occurred as the widow of the martyred Leon Trotsky was returning from an evening visit with friends. An automobile driven by a youth entered the main avenue from a blind side street at a velocity estimated by police at more than 50 miles an hour. He struck the car in which Natalia Trotsky was riding directly opposite her position in the back seat, throwing her violently against the side of the car and showering her with shattered glass.

She lost consciousness as the car spun around 180 degrees from the impact and did not fully recover until several hours later. Friends riding with her suffered only slight bruises and cuts. Both cars were badly wrecked. The youth, who admitted he was at fault, was shaken but unhurt.

Natalia was rushed by ambulance to a hospital where she was given emergency treatment and later taken to a private sanatorium where she received further treatment and was placed under medical observation. No internal injuries were ascertainable.

Everything possible has been done for her and the doctors expect her recovery to be rapid. Since her husband was murdered in August 1940 by an agent of Stalin's secret police, the widow of the famed co-founder of the Soviet Union has lived in seclusion in Coacacan, a suburb of Mexico City.

She is the last known living representative of the revolutionary generation of Lenin and Trotsky that was liquidated by Stalin. In the great blood purges of the Thirties all her relatives save a grandson perished or vanished in the concentration camps of Stalin's secret police, the GPU.

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Buffalo SWP Organizes Fight for Willie McGee

Socialist Workers Party Opposes City Sales Tax

BUFFALO — Under a headline reading "Socialists Rap Common Council" the Buffalo Courier-Express April 16 carried the following news item: "The Democratic majority of the Common Council was castigated for its budget proposals yesterday by the executive committee of the local Socialist Workers Party, which accused them of trying to 'outdo their Republican colleagues in reactionary, anti-labor politics.'"

"In a resolution the SWP singled out for attack the Council's adoption of the new job classification system for city workers, condemning it as a 'hodge-podge and smokescreen which — deprives the vast majority of city workers of their long overdue pay increases.'"

AGAINST SALES TAX

The SWP was the first among all political groups in Buffalo to call for a substantial raise in pay for sorely underpaid city workers, but as long ago as 1949, the SWP vigorously campaigned against the 1 percent Erie County sales tax.

To favor the enactment of a sales tax as a means of paying city employees is to rob Peter in order to pay Paul. Such a tax allows Big Business to go scot free, deriving tax income almost wholly from among the poorest section of the working people," the SWP stated, demanding a referendum vote on the question.

But County Attorney Lehr ruled a referendum vote was illegal, and the 1% sales tax was enacted. When the present wage demands of civil service employees were pending, the politicians used them as a cover for a campaign for a 2 percent sales tax drive.

The Buffalo Federation of Labor swung behind the enactment of a 2 percent sales tax, and the CIO, while opposing the

Hansen Attacks War Program at L. A. Meetings

LOS ANGELES—Joseph Hansen, on a coast-to-coast tour for the Socialist Workers Party, speaking on "U.S. and the World Crisis" completed a successful series of meetings here last week.

On Friday, April 6, Comrade Hansen spoke at a large gathering of workers meeting in the SWP headquarters here. The audience was extremely interested in the anti-war speech and analysis of the crisis which began with the Korean war, delivered by Comrade Hansen. Many new friends of the party attended the meeting, and purchased copies of SWP literature.

On Sunday night, Hansen spoke at a co-operative housing project near the University of California in Los Angeles. Here the reception to his speech was very fine, and workers present also bought SWP pamphlets and copies of *The Militant*.

Hansen's meetings here were marked by an especially high spirit, since they came right after the highly successful campaign of Myra Tanner Weiss, in which she received 18,569 votes, a new record for the party in this area. She ran for the Board of Education.

HANSEN TOUR SCHEDULE

Sunday	Apr. 22	Detroit
Monday	23	"
Tuesday	24	Flint
Wednesday	25	Detroit
Thursday	26	Youngstown
Friday	27	"
Saturday	28	Pittsburgh
Sunday	29	"
Tuesday	May 1	New York
		(May Day)
Friday	4	Newark
Sunday	6	Baltimore
Saturday	12	Phila.

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Lynch-Law Victim



WILLIE MCGEE

tax in words, offered no real opposition to it. Only the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce, which was able to pose as the defender of the peoples' pocket books because it was against the sales tax increase for business reasons, managed to scotch the tax hike.

A TAX ON BUSINESS

The Socialist Workers Party calls for a 1 percent business tax on all corporations doing business in the city. In addition the SWP proposes a 2 percent state transit tax, revenue from which could pay for increases in wages for city workers.

The record of the Democratic and Republican Parties in this area, in whom city workers had placed their trust, points up the need for a genuine independent labor party which would represent the workers' interests.

The Buffalo SWP is tirelessly pointing out to the workers of the area that only by independent political action and reliance upon their own independent strength can the workers' cause be served.

Meetings, Leaflets, Petitions Seek to Save Life of Negro

BUFFALO — A throng of Buffalo workers, white and colored, defied last Friday's rainy weather to hear the Socialist Workers Party protest the legal lynching of Willie McGee, Mississippi Negro.

This open air meeting was part of the nation-wide campaign to save Willie McGee. During the week, friends of the party went up and down William Street, through the Willert Park, Clinton Street projects with petitions to the Gov. of Mississippi for a stay of execution and a new trial for McGee. They secured two thousand five hundred signers, with practically nobody refusing, and everybody aware of the case and up in arms about it.

The night before the meeting, the campaigners again went out with leaflets advertising the meeting. They covered the whole immediate neighborhood and plastered leaflets on store windows as well. They towed a trailer up and down William Street covered with large signs saying "SAVE WILLIE MCGEE. COME TO THE OPEN MEETING TONIGHT."

They set up red truck flares at the meeting corner. Several people passed out leaflets, sold Militants, and secured more names for the petition for a new trial. Workers from Bethlehem Steel and other nearby plants attended the meeting and commended the party for its stand. And as an indirect result of the meeting some of the union bodies there have acted favorably on the case.

The Buffalo Evening News, which has scores of columns for red-baiting, and reserves its front page headlines for attacks on alleged Trotskyists, found only two column-inches and devoted only the following small paragraph to this event:

"The Buffalo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) held a rally Friday night at William and Bennett Sts. to oppose the execution of Willie McGee. McGee is scheduled to die in Mississippi next Friday for criminal assault. The Trotskyists wired Gov. Fielding Wright demanding a stay of execution and a new trial."

Trenton 6 'Confessions' Torn to Shreds in Trial

(Continued from Page 1) weakened and signed stating he knew he would get a light sentence if he did so. Throughout the trial the defense has charged that the police used drugs to make the prisoners pliable enough to "confess."

Judge Smalley's ruling, throwing out three of the "confessions," was only a partial victory for the defense. The ruling was on the narrow interpretation that there was no direct evidence of the druging of MacKenzie and Cooper and of promises to Thorpe. In addition to Cooper's typewritten "confession," which the judge ruled invalid, there is a handwritten "confession" by Cooper. Since there is no witness that Cooper was drugged at the time he wrote this the judge has admitted it into evidence.

There is no question in the mind of an unbiased observer that all the confessions—those thrown out and those admitted into evidence — are cut from the same cloth. They were all obtained by the same police, by the same teams of detectives working in rotation on the prisoners, they all tell the same story. Proof that three of them are false condemns the whole lot.

This jury has fourteen members — two extra in case any jurors get sick or die during the long trial. If all last till the end, the extras will be eliminated by drawing lots. The jury is all white. Eight are women and six are men.

The main effort of the defense still is to prove — this time to the jury — that the "confessions" are fabrications of the police, forced upon the defendants. This is necessary because the police so worded the "confessions" that one of them is enough to hang all six defendants.

On Monday the prosecution started presenting its witnesses. Most of these are the same that it put on the stand during the lengthy argument before the jury. Despite the fact that these witnesses are mainly cops and detectives, with years of ex-

perience in testifying, and now have their stories (gone over with the prosecutor many times, told at the first trial, told again in the argument, and now told for a third time) down pat, so that proceedings often sound like the hundredth rehearsal of a play, the defense in cross examination has already brought out telling points.

Testimony of the policemen, Liebfuhs and Ammann, who picked up Collis English, first of the Trenton Six, for a motor violation on Feb. 6, 1948, revealed that after a couple of questions about the automobile, they accused him of the murder of the aged second-hand dealer. Asked by defense lawyer Pellettieri why, without any reason for suspicion, he had accused English of being involved in the murder, Patrolman Ammann replied, "Well, there was quite a number of hold-ups and the Horner case seemed to be uppermost in my mind." The real reason for the change of a motor violation into a charge of murder was, of course, English's color. The Trenton newspapers were at that time engaged in building circulation by shouting about an alleged "crime wave." At that time Horner was killed, supposedly by Negroes. The papers were hounding the police department for results to fill that "empty electric chair." The police and its special "Crime-Crusher" squad were out to find six Negroes to fill that "empty electric chair." Any six would do! Collis English, a small, slight veteran, suffering from malaria and a rheumatic heart, was simply unfortunate enough to cross the path of the Trenton police during the hunt for Negro scapegoats. The judge has ruled out all defense efforts to show the anti-Negro campaign waged by newspapers and police in 1948.

Hulking, 191-pound cop Liebfuhs also revealed under cross examination that "except for 15 or 20 minutes" he was with English for the first 18 hours he was held by the police. During this time English was not allowed to get any sleep. Nonetheless the terrified youth steadfastly denied any part in the Horner murder under high-pressure grilling by "not more than five" policemen.

At today's session there was a heated exchange between defense and prosecution. Questions of defense attorney Pellettieri were stymied when police witnesses referred to Chief of County Detective Naples, who had been in charge of the arrests and the preparation of the prisoners to "confess." Attempts to establish Naples' role were prevented by prosecution objections, upheld by the bench. At this point Pellettieri protested, declaring: "If these officers are going to hide behind Chief Naples we want to know if we are going to get a chance to cross-examine Chief Naples."

Chief Naples and Lieut. Stanley, both key figures in the case, have not been called upon by the state to testify although the defense has persistently demanded their presence. Earlier in the case the defense stated that the Trenton Six could not have a fair trial unless the state called these witnesses. The state claims they are unavailable because of ill health.

Pellettieri continued, "Chief Naples is supposed to be ill. But he was here in the courtroom a few minutes ago." Prosecutor Volpe attempted to answer Pellettieri by saying that the state would call those witnesses it wanted and in the order it deemed best, that he would not tell whether he would call these policemen. After all, he said, the state would like to know if the defense was going to put the defendants on the stand but it wouldn't ask that any more than the defense should ask about Naples or Stanley.

To this the defense replied: "We can tell you right now that we are going to call the defendants." The prosecution's bluff was called, but it didn't put up. Prosecutor Volpe uttered not a word about the state's calling Chief Naples or Lieut. Stanley to the stand.