

What the "Great Debate" Is Really About

An Editorial

The five-star generals Marshall and MacArthur have brushed aside the civilian politicians and become the leading spokesmen in the "great debate." This fact strikingly expresses the true character of the debate over U.S. foreign policy. That policy has passed beyond the stage of peaceful pretenses and solutions and is now concentrated upon how best to use military force to impose the will of imperialism.

The testimony of the top generals before the Senate joint committees has been accurately described by Walter Lippmann, newspaper columnist, as a public "council of war." The people of this country are being treated to the spectacle of two former chiefs of staff openly discussing where and when to plunge humanity into another catastrophic global conflict.

MacArthur brandishes the sword against Asia. To him the Pacific Ocean is an "American Lake." Marshall, sweeping aside his "plan" to "rebuild" Europe, treats the old continent solely as the main base of military operations he hopes can be "held." In tens of thousands of words these two warlords depict the world solely as a prospective atomic battleground.

Area of Agreement

What is most significant is not the tactical differences but the wide area of agreement between them on basic policy. Both the administration and the MacArthur-Taft supporters agree on the resort to military force as the major weapon of foreign policy. But they differ on where to concentrate their major military forces, and when to launch a global war.

They agree on the following perspective for Europe, as laid down by Marshall in his testimony: "We should make every effort to assist Western Europe in her defense" by the use of "ground troops, air troops and Navy troops."

For Asia, there is also basic general agreement. They have virtually shelved the Point 4 program of economic aid to Asia. Instead, MacArthur, Marshall and Truman agree upon the need to "blockade China," hold Formosa and continue the Korean war.

Above all, they have complete agreement on what is the main enemy to be destroyed. It is to uphold the system of capitalist exploitation against the efforts of hungry people everywhere to find enough food, clothing and shelter. This is nothing but "communism" in the eyes of the rich and powerful masters of America. A revealing exchange took place between Sen. Fullbright and MacArthur on this subject:

A Revealing Dialogue

Fullbright: You made a statement that the enemy is communism. What is your concept of communism? I mean is this the communism of Marx and Engels, or is it the communism as practised by the Kremlin?

MacArthur: Communism has many various factors. . .

Fullbright: I had not myself thought of our enemy as being communism; I thought of it primarily as being Russia.

MacArthur: That concept, Senator, I disagree with completely. If you think that communism is limited to Russia I would disagree with you completely and absolutely.

MacArthur here makes clear that what he is fighting against is any government and any ideology opposed to capitalism. And he wants to fight the anti-capitalist forces arms in hand wherever they appear.

This view is also held by Marshall, proponent of Truman-Acheson's policy of "containing communism."

Marshall stated, "For the last five years our policy has been to curb communist aggression. . . helping our allies to meet the challenges in Iran, Greece, Turkey, Trieste, Berlin and Indo-China, and finally in Korea." He said that all Western Europe would have "gone communist" after the war if Washington had not intervened with money and arms.

"Liberation" by War

These two statements give away the real purpose of U.S. strategy.

This pattern of "liberation through extermination," now being carried out in Korea, may tomorrow be extended to China and the rest of the world, as MacArthur advocates and Truman threatens.

But Korea has likewise shown the difficulties of such a counter-revolutionary venture. The failure of superior U.S. arms to win a decisive victory in Korea is due to the dynamic power of peoples striving for great progressive social aims. A war against the insurgent Asian peoples, a war to impose capitalism upon a Europe in revolt, or to restore capitalism to the Soviet zone, or a combination of all these, is far too big a task even for the enormous resources of American capitalism.

There is an element of unreality and even madness in these desperate men. Blinded and frustrated by their difficulties, these defenders of an outlived system are nevertheless determined to push through to the end. MacArthur even wants to "go it alone." Truman-Marshall want to try to rally a few questionable "allies."

The military and political spokesmen agree that the U.S. faces a decade of wars and threats of wars. Military actions already begun and those planned for the future have no foreseeable solution or termination.

The growing opposition to the Korean war, the distrust of the Truman administration, and the apprehension expressed on all sides, indicate that the American people are beginning to understand there is something seriously wrong with their government and its policies.

It becomes more and more obvious, as this "great debate" proceeds, that this doomed capitalist system and its representatives are the main enemy of world peace and of the interests of the American people.

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Gag People on War Issue, M'Arthur and Truman Agree

Truman Uses 'Peace' Hoax To Push War

In his May 7 speech, intended to keynote the administration's rebuttal of MacArthur, President Truman once again assumed the pose of an apostle of peace as against MacArthur as the reckless inciter of war.

MacArthur, it will be recalled, likewise did not fail to paint up his policy as the best guarantee of peace — through a speedy and victorious termination of the Korean war.

That was not so, Truman assured. MacArthur's course could only spread the war. His own policy, Truman swore, was on the contrary "based on an effort to attain peace. Every action we have taken had this aim in view."

"We must . . . try," he said, "to prevent atomic war from coming. That's what I have been working for ever since I became President. That's what our foreign policy is all about."

A DECEPTION

This is the most barefaced attempt on record to deceive the American people — in the name of "preserving peace." They had been duped twice before. First, in the days of World War I when Woodrow Wilson gained re-election on the plank that he had "kept us out of war." And the second time, by Franklin D. Roosevelt and his pledges "again and again and again" of how he "hated war" and how he would never send American soldiers to die on foreign battlefields.

But at least their deceptions were perpetrated when this country was actually at peace. Truman is seeking to do it at a time when he and his associates are engaged in prosecuting a large-scale war thousands of miles away from American shores.

Gen. Marshall, who solidly backs the administration line, established beyond question in his testimony before the Senate Committee that MacArthur flouted orders from his superiors, that is, was guilty of usurping power. But this strict disciplinarian had not a word to say about the even more flagrant usurpation of power by his Commander-in-Chief Truman who ordered the Korean "police action" without even consulting Congress and who has been prosecuting this war against the desires and will of the people.

The Republicans, Taft and others who for demagogic reasons had previously raised this issue, have now also dropped it without a word of explanation. MacArthur has underwritten the Korean adventure and this apparently

(Continued on page 3)

Back on the Old Job



Shift in Popular Mood Spurs "Militant" Sales

By Joseph Hansen

"The political climate has changed." This observation by Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1948 elections, is the first general conclusion that can be drawn from the current campaign of the Socialist Workers Party branches to increase the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly The Militant.

During the height of the Truman witch-hunt, workers felt in-

timidated. Sales of socialist literature became more difficult in the reactionary atmosphere. Now things are changing.

Workers are irritated by mounting prices and taxes, worried over the growing danger of atomic war and outraged at Truman's insistence on continuing the slaughter in Korea. People are getting angry. They are beginning to think that it's time to do a little housecleaning in Washington. There's increased willingness to

listen to the program of socialism.

"It has been very easy indeed to obtain renewals to The Militant in the Twin Cities even from workers who declined to renew their subscriptions a few months ago," says Grace Carlson. "We have observed that workers want The Militant's true analysis of today's earth-shaking events." And that goes for subgetters elsewhere too.

This is the basic explanation for the impressive results already registered in the "Big League Militant Circulation Campaign." (See scorecard page two.) Some of the branches, off to a slow start, will quickly feel the new wind in their sails once they get going.

Readers of The Militant can help in this campaign. Each copy of The Militant you sell scores a point; a six-months sub wins 26 points, one-year 52 points. The high scorer in each of the three leagues in which the branches are divided wins a trip to New York with all expenses paid, one week's free summer vacation and will be guest of honor at the National Militant Champions Banquet to be held on the East Coast shortly after the end of the campaign.

Socialism offers the only road to enduring peace and boundless progress. Help build the circulation of The Militant!

U. S. Casualties Double Official Figures, Marshall Says - In Private

War Secretary Marshall said he was "disturbed" at the effect on morale of the GIs of MacArthur's "views which accentuate the casualties they are suffering." Marshall's objection to discussion of U.S. casualties in Korea was voiced after MacArthur demagogically spoke of the "slaughter" of American soldiers in his demand for all-out war on China to "save lives."

Marshall himself, however, thought it proper to "accentuate the casualties" — but at a private gathering of businessmen in Washington when he was trying to sell them on the need for a Universal Military Training program.

At this gathering, reports Robert S. Allen in the May 6 N. Y. Post, Marshall revealed that the figure of 65,000 "battle" casualties issued by his own Department of Defense is less than half of the total U.S. losses in Korea.

Marshall told the businessmen: "Men who need replacement because of illness, principally pneumonia and frost-bite, far exceed the number of combat casualties. A man who has suffered pneumonia or frost-bite should not under any circumstances be returned to battle."

Remember Willie McGee -- Keep on Fighting!

By Art Preis

They lynched Willie McGee at last down in Mississippi last week. It took the ruling class six years — but they lynched him in the end. They usually do it quicker and use a rope or the burning stake. This time they had to use the electric chair and make it "nice and legal."

Willie McGee's skin was black. That made him a dead man from the moment a white woman said he had "raped" her. It happened, she said, while her husband was sleeping in the next room and while one of her children was asleep in her bed and another in the same room.

HIS VERSION OF CASE

Another version of the case, given by Willie McGee and

others, was that he had been having relations for some time with the white woman, that he finally decided to break it off and she then made up the accusation against him.

But no white women would ever have voluntary relations with a Negro, according to the white-supremacists' theory of "pure white womanhood." So anytime a white woman says "rape" about a Negro — that finishes him. They got an all-white jury and a white judge together, convicted Willie McGee in record time and sentenced him to death.

But the case was so weak and the frameup so raw that the white rulers of Mississippi had a hard time making their lynching appear "strictly legal." Willie McGee got legal aid and publicity from the Stalinist-controlled Civil

Rights Congress and he made a fight of it.

LYNCHING LEGALIZED

It was appealed for review four times to the U.S. Supreme Court. And four times, the justices, like Pontius Pilate, "washed their hands" of it and refused to review it. Twice the Mississippi higher courts were forced to concede technical flaws in the trials and convictions and sent it back for retrial. The third time they ruled that all the legal wrinkles had been ironed out — the lynching was OK.

Willie McGee's murder took place inside the court room where the judge had pronounced sentence. The state provides a portable electric chair for such occasions. But only Negroes have ever died in it for the crime of

rape — no white man has ever suffered the death penalty for that offense, although plenty have been convicted of the same crime. A black man will die in it even if he is merely falsely accused.

Willie McGee went to his death without flinching. Outside a mob of 500 whites were gathered. At news of his death, they gave the Rebel yell of the old Confederate slavocracy. And that as the right lynch atmosphere — even though they burned Willie McGee "strictly legal."

WILLIE'S LETTER

Willie McGee knew why he died. The day before they murdered him he wrote his wife: "They are planning here to kill me and I don't know if you and the people will be able to save me. If I

have to die I want you to say goodbye to my mother and the children and all the people who know it is wrong to kill a man because of his color.

"You know I am innocent. Tell the people again and again I never did commit this crime. Tell them the real reason they are going to take my life is to keep the Negro down in the South. They can't do this if you and the children keep on fighting. Never forget to tell them why they killed their daddy. I know you won't fail me. Tell the people to keep on fighting."

Keep on fighting! The last words of a brave man. Keep on fighting against the damnable jim-crow system that keeps 15 million Negro Americans down, South and North. Remember Willie McGee!

General Calls Popular Vote On War and Peace 'Soviet' Method of 'Pure Democracy'

One thing MacArthur agrees on with Truman: He's against submitting the life and death question of war and peace to the American people. He made that plain in his

General Admits Mass Slaughter of Korean Civilians

Gen. MacArthur has publicly confirmed, in part, the disclosures that the Militant has been making since last August about the mass slaughter of civilians in Korea as a result of "strategic" bombing and "scorched earth" methods of warfare by the U.S. forces. In his May 3 testimony at the Senate hearings, MacArthur called the Korean war a "terrific and savage conflict, the most savage I have ever fought in."

He admitted: "The war in (South) Korea has already almost destroyed that nation of 20,000,000 people. I have never seen such devastation. I have seen, I guess, as much blood and disaster as any living man, and it just curdled my stomach, the last time I was there. After I looked at that wreckage and those thousands of women and children and everything, I vomited."

OVER MILLION CASUALTIES

The battle casualties of both sides in Korea, he further admitted, "today have probably passed the million-man mark." He put the U.S. losses at 65,000 and that of the South Korean army at 140,000. "Our losses, on our side, are a quarter of a million men. I am not talking of the civilian population who must have lost many, many, many times that."

He added in subsequent testimony that "the total battle casualties, which does not, of course, include civilian casualties, would approximate a million men. The civilian casualties were horrible beyond description. I wouldn't be able to estimate them; but the probabilities are that they were more than the military casualties."

On the very day MacArthur began his testimony, Ben C. Limb, South Korean representative to the UN, told a press conference that the actual number of Korean civilians killed, wounded or missing are "from two to three million."

(See Page 2 for article on "Who Is Responsible for the Korean Atrocity.")

His opposition to giving the people the deciding voice was stated in an exchange with Senator McMahon, administration spokesman, who was trying to pin the general down on his breach of military discipline in publicly opposing the policies of his Commander-in-Chief, Truman.

MacArthur had heatedly retorted: "I do not believe the implications of your question, that any segment of American society shall be gagged" and "I do not believe in the gag rule." But a few moments later, the following exchange between MacArthur and McMahon completely exposed the "democratic" pretenses of both.

MACARTHUR "DEMOCRACY"

"Q. — General, I hope I am a democrat, with a small 'D' as well as a large one, but I wonder if the logical extension of your last observation does not mean that we should take a national poll or referendum on how we should conduct the strategy of defending America. You do not wish to be put in that position, General, do you?"

"A. — Not at all, Senator."

MacArthur then elaborated: "If you mean that I . . . would accept a Soviet method of placing every issue that comes up before a vote of every member of the citizenship, I would of course not agree. There is a great difference between pure democracy and a republican form of representative government. The latter is what we're operating under."

To MacArthur, submitting the grave issue of peace and war to the people is a "Soviet method" and he's against "pure democracy."

AVOIDS QUESTION

At one point, MacArthur pretended ignorance when asked his views on involving the country in war without approval of Congress, let alone the consent of the people. "Is it your view, general . . . that we can become formally involved in a war without exercising the constitutional process of a declaration of war by the Congress?" asked Senator Morse. MacArthur replied: "We actually did. Whether that is legal or Constitutional would be quite over my head."

Morse further asked: "You do not quarrel with the right or power of the President of the United States to make the decision that he made sending us back into Korea (after withdrawal of U.S. troops in 1949)?" The general answered: "I wouldn't challenge any action that the President of the United States might take, sir."

At one point in his testimony, MacArthur asserted: "I believe that the great tragedy of the world today is that we have not been able to establish the mechanics to carry out the will of the common people that war shall be non-existent."

But what better mechanics to establish the will of the people could there be than letting them vote through a national referendum on the issue of war and peace? That's the last thing MacArthur wants, however, because he's for all-out war on China and he knows the people are dead-set against such a course — just as Truman opposes a referendum because he also knows the people want the war stopped now and the troops withdrawn from Korea at once.

Millions of Korean Civilians Slaughtered -- Who Is Guilty?

Branches Pile Up Points In Circulation Campaign

By Joseph Keller

It is no exaggeration to call the slaughter of civilians and destruction of homes in Korea the greatest atrocity of human history. Never before has a people suffered so frightful a toll in so short a time.

MacArthur admits that civilian losses just in South Korea — he did not speak of North Korea burned to a crisp by U.S. bombings — are “many, many, many times” his estimate of a quarter million U.S.-U.N. troop casualties.

Ben C. Limb, U.N. representative of Syngman Rhee’s South Korean regime, gives the cost of “liberation” to the Korean populace more precisely. He reported on May 3 in New York that “from two to three million Korean civilians had been killed or wounded or were missing.”

REFUGEES ALSO VICTIMS

His figures do not include untold numbers who have been driven from their homes and have died on the roadways of freezing, disease and starvation. We get a faint idea of that toll from the report of Douglas Fairbanks, head of American Relief for Korea, who said on April 26 that “refugees numbering approximately 10,000,000 . . . are wander-

ing back and forth through the countryside with the tide of war.”

Who is guilty of this atrocity? Rhee’s murderous U.S.-controlled puppet regime is anxious to put the guilt on the North Koreans and Chinese. Limb accused the “Communists” of a “preconceived plan . . . to destroy the people of South Korea as a nation.”

MASSACRE OF VILLAGE

This accusation coincides, not surprisingly, with the latest reports of massacres of South Koreans by Syngman Rhee’s troops and police. Thus, George Barrett, Korea correspondent of the N. Y. Times, on April 10 disclosed the “top-secret” facts about the extermination of the entire population of the South Korean village of Shim-Um Mium, numbering 1,400 children, women and men, after food-foraging raids by guerrillas made “some police and Army authorities . . . suspect that the villagers were ‘Communist sympathizers.’”

More recently, in the May 6 N. Y. Times, Barrett described the experiences of a South Korean refugee family — the Paks — who fled their farm home last January. His account of their ex-

periences gives evidence of where part of the guilt lies. When the North Koreans arrived last July, Barrett was told, “whatever fears the Paks and their neighbors did have quickly vanished. The Communists were disciplined; they paid for any rice they needed, they reappropriated land to give the tiller more . . . and word got around fast that it was only the rich who were going to suffer.”

The only complaints the Paks had were that their taxes were increased and that when North Korean authorities learned the head of the family, Pak Sung Won, “had sold rice and vegetables to South Korean military units. . . Communist ‘delegates’ advised him each time to watch his step and to start showing more loyalty to the people’s government.”

Barrett reports that “it was true that many of the Government notices on village bulletin boards warning of Communist cruelties had not been borne out. The young girls . . . were not carried off by the North Korean army or raped; the Paks had no personal knowledge of any killings or tortures among their neighbors; the houses were not destroyed.”

Who then drove the Paks from their home? When the Chinese army in January crossed the border, “two members of the Greater Korea Youth Corps banged suddenly on the farmhouse door. The South Korean army, they informed the Paks, had ordered ‘all loyal elements’ to be out of the Suwon area by three o’clock in the morning. The Paks, they informed the Paks, would kill the men and rape the women and carry away the young girls.”

“And if the Paks had any doubts about the wisdom of fleeing, the young men went on, they might bear in mind that the Communists were probably pretty sore now after the campaign of executions carried on by Syngman Rhee when South Korea retook Seoul.”

But the “clinger,” says Barrett, was the phrase “all loyal elements.” Rhee’s fascist Youth Corps members “warned the Paks that the Government would some day track down all those who had chosen to remain behind when the United Nations armies withdrew.”

ing of refugees who MAY include North Koreans in the anonymous white clothing of the Korean countryside, or who MAY be screening an enemy march upon our positions, or who MAY be carrying broken-down rifles or ammunition clips or walkie-talkies parts in their packs and under their trousers or skirts.”

On Jan. 19, 1951, the Voice of Korea, organ of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, wrote: “Never before has an entire nation been bombarded, strafed and burned so thoroughly in such a short space of time. Practically everything is a military objective. Lonely farmhouses are being destroyed, lest they give the enemy comfort and concealment. Millions of Koreans — men, women and children — are refugees, harassed, cold and hungry. Many die, others are killed as they flee. . . .”

The Militant has published scores of similar documentary testimonials of what U.S. explosives and jelled gasoline (napalm bombs) have done to Korea and the Koreans. We published on Jan. 29 a full page devoted to nothing but verbatim quotations like the report of Charles Moore, United Press correspondent, who asked, “How much more ‘liberation’ can the people of Korea stand?” and testified “most of the destruction was done by the Americans while ‘the Chinese have avoided destructive assaults.’”

MacArthur claims he “vomited” the last time he was in Korea at the sight of thousands of dead women and children. If true, was it disgust, pity or — conscience?



MacARTHUR

Subscriptions to The Militant are coming in with every mail, and bundle orders from Socialist Workers Party branches are increasing steadily as The Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign enters its fourth week. Subscriptions to date total 343, and more than 5,000 single copies of the paper have been sold.

The Twin Cities are pushing ahead with no indication so far that they intend to slow down for a minute in the pace they have set since the beginning of the campaign. In response to the question, how the Twin Cities achieved a score of nearly 5,000 points, Literature Agent Winifred of St. Paul writes:

“The answer is so obvious to us. Work, work, and more work. We have been out selling Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and again this Sunday. It is done by no magical formula — it is plugging, pounding the pavements, knocking on doors. Our leading salesman, Paul, works daily in his shop selling The Militant, single copies and subscriptions. He sets himself a goal of a sub a day, and so far he has done quite well. And his work is not alone the result of the daily plugging he does now, although that is important — it is the result of the 6 years of pushing of The Militant he has done in his shop. Things like that pay off.”

“And our other high scorers, Jean and Bill, the husband and wife team who are in close competition daily — they have no magical formula either. Bill is at the university and does a good deal of selling there by himself, with other comrades who come out to help, and in a campus bookstore which he has got to display and sell our paper. Jean sells in her shop to girls she has worked with and gained the respect of, in the past few years. Besides that, she goes out after work in neighborhoods and sells the paper.”

“And here the value of continued work in a neighborhood shows itself. We now have 51 workers who are taking The Militant on a local delivery basis — paid in advance — so that’s

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores		Individual Scores	
Coover League	Points	Coover League	Points
Twin Cities	4926	Paul	Twin Cities 1197
New York	2720	Pauline	Twin Cities 594
Buffalo	1634	Harry	Twin Cities 498
Los Angeles	1174	Marie H.	New York 413
Detroit	1167	Walt	Twin Cities 364
Chicago	468	Bill B.	Twin Cities 352
Seattle	311	Jean	Twin Cities 287
San Francisco	302	John	Los Angeles 218
		Winifred	Twin Cities 216
		Frank	Chicago 214
Konikow League		Konikow League	
Flint	1402	Emmet	Flint 450
Philadelphia	810	Sol	Flint 340
Newark	696	Marve	Flint 242
Milwaukee	370	Doty	Newark 237
Youngstown	234	Bill	Flint 185
Cleveland	156	Fred	Flint 137
Boston	41	H.	Philadelphia 78
Kujac League		Kujac League	
West Virginia	130	Svenson	Akron 107
Akron	124	Frank K.	Oakland 12
St. Louis	83		
Oakland	68		
Pittsburgh	52		
New Haven	41		

Spanish Workers Strike Again at Bloody Franco

New fires of working-class rebellion continue to flare up in Spain despite desperate attempts of fascist dictator Franco to smother them before they burst into a nation-wide conflagration. The fourth great strike since the Barcelona upsurge of March 10 hit Franco’s rotten and tottering regime again last week. This time it was a general walkout of 30,000 industrial workers that paralyzed the city of Pamplona, capital of the Province of Navarre, in the Basque country.

The meager reports that have appeared in the American newspapers indicate that the government authorities are reacting with greater measures of violence and that the workers are resisting with ever more militancy, audacity and solidarity.

MADRID “DISORDERS”

While the Pamplona workers were facing the guns of the Civil Guards, the Associated Press on May 8 reported that “in Madrid there were reliable reports that troops had been sent to Bilbao in preparation for possible disorders there.”

Bilbao is the center of the heavy industry area of Northern Spain where 500,000 workers went

on a two-day “folded arms” strike on April 23 and 24. In Madrid itself, capital of Spain and seat of Franco’s government, leaflets have been distributed calling for the general strike on May 22. The government closed down about 70 textile plants in the Manresa area in hopes of preventing the spread of a strike of tens of thousands of workers that had been maintained for several weeks.

HIGH LIVING COSTS

As in all the previous strike struggles, the Pamplona action was begun in protest against the high cost of living which has reduced Spain’s low-paid workers and lower-middle class close to starvation, while Spain’s capitalists, landowners, church hierarchy, military and government officials are living in ostentatious luxury from the proceeds of the black market, profiteering, graft and high taxes on the poor.

The strike got under way Monday afternoon, May 7, when a group of workers’ wives marched on the palace of the provincial governor and demanded that ration officials be hanged. They protested that eggs, with an official ceiling price of 12 pesetas (30 cents), were selling at 17 pesetas (43 cents) a dozen. The women broke into black-market stores and smashed the eggs.

During the evening of the second day of the strike, May 8, demonstrators forced the closing of the few shops and cafes that had remained open. Police injured many with night sticks and fired tommy-guns over the demonstrators’ heads. The next day, when strikers marched on the governor’s palace, the police fired point-blank into the paraders, killing one and seriously wounding five.

STRIKE CONTINUES

But the workers remained united and defiant. At this writing, it is reported that their strike is continuing. They ignored an ultimatum of Gov. Luis Valero Bermejo to return to work by 2 P.M. on May 9 or suffer “grave sanctions” — which usually means dismissals, mass imprisonments and even death in fascist Spain.

The scope and solidarity of the strike have made the threats ineffective. Flying squads of strikers answered the governor by going from plant to plant and calling out additional workers in the area.

As the Spanish workers, after twelve years of hunger, repression, torture and death under fascism, begin their heroic struggle to smash their bloody oppressors, the U.S. capitalist government in Washington is moving to bolster Franco’s regime and the rule of the Spanish capitalists.

On May 8, the first full day of the Pamplona strike, United States Ambassador Stanton Griffis, speaking in Barcelona, revealed that Washington and Madrid are entering into new negotiations to establish a treaty on “trade, friendship and navigation.” According to him, among the few remaining obstacles to the deal is the objection of U.S. capitalists to the 25 per cent limitation on the amount of foreign capital which may be invested in any Spanish enterprise.

Even while Washington’s newest fascist ally is faced with the threat of a proletarian revolutionary overthrow, U.S. imperialism cannot resist the opportunity to squeeze profitable advantages from its desperate friend.

MILLIONS FOR FRANCO

Washington has already earmarked \$62 million for Franco, much of which has already been sent him. The U.S. capitalist politicians are promising Franco more, including not only money but arms to shoot down the anti-fascist workers. At the time of the Barcelona strike, Griffis had disclosed that Washington and Madrid were preparing a military alliance.

The workers of Spain, through their underground organizations, are holding out their arms in appeal to American workers to back them in their struggle for freedom. American labor is duty-bound to give the Spanish workers every measure of moral and material support. Demand of Washington: “Not a gun, not a cent for bloody Franco!”

Unauthorized Portrait of the General -- Part III

MacArthur’s Record in the Philippines

By Frank Poole

MacArthur’s career has been intimately tied up with the Philippine Islands — through his father, one of the conquerors of the islands, and through his own army service there as a lieutenant “pacifying” the natives until his days as commanding general in World War II. It is believed by many that he has another tie there, namely a financial one.

There is no public data available on the size of MacArthur’s fortune. It has been said that he is one of the wealthiest men in the Philippines. Drew Pearson has stated that MacArthur was associated with Andreas Soriano, “the wealthiest man in the Philippines,” and his lawyer, Courtney Whitney, in mining ventures. It is worth noting that upon the outbreak of war with Japan MacArthur commissioned Whitney a general, in charge of the Philippine division of general headquarters. Soriano, owner of banks and mines, was given a commission as colonel and put on the general’s staff. Whitney has ever since been MacArthur’s right hand man. Today he is a major general and his chief’s military secretary. During the occupation of Japan he was known as MacArthur’s “Secretary of State.”

MILLIONAIRE FASCIST

Millionaire Soriano was well known, before MacArthur gave him a commission, as an admirer of Spanish fascism. During the Spanish civil war he raised huge sums of money for Franco and the Falange. Franco decorated him and made him honorary Spanish consul in Manila.

Another Franco admirer and one of the inner circle of MacArthur aides is Major General Charles A. Willoughby, a Manila business man, who till Truman’s removal of his chief, was head of G-2 — military intelligence — in Tokyo.

When the Philippines were taken from the Japanese a bitter struggle for power took place. Throughout the countryside the resistance movement — the Huk-balahaps — expected agrarian reform as the reward for their long guerrilla struggle against the Japanese occupiers and the collaborationist landlords. In the

spring of 1945 President Sergio Osmena returned to Manila from wartime exile. U.S. State Department policy was half-heartedly for backing Osmena, leader of the moderate faction of the Nationalista Party, or the presidentialism backing him was that his program of token reforms would draw the support of the Stalinist-led Huk movement, thus neutralizing the danger of agrarian revolution.

The dominant section of Filipino capitalists and landlords, which had been collaborationist, would tolerate no reforms. These ultra-reactionaries were headed by a semi-fascist, former minister in the Japanese puppet regime, Manuel Roxas. Roxas was Soriano’s political protege.

MacArthur decided the outcome of the post-war political struggle in the Philippines. He used the army against the Huk movement and did all sorts of favors for Roxas which assured his victory in the fraudulent and violent elections of April 1946. The war that MacArthur started against the Huk movement was continued by Roxas and is still raging today.

JAPANESE “DEMOCRACY”

A certain amount of “democratization” has taken place in Japan although this process has slowed down noticeably in the past few years. Is whatever “democratization” that occurred MacArthur’s doing? Most emphatically not! The General has acted as a brake on the “democratization” and his role has been to slow it down and limit it as much as possible. The great driving force behind the changes in Japan has been the Japanese people.

These millions — living in an industrial country, were ruled by a repressive and in many ways medieval regime. Before the war they had been controlled by the army and the omnipresent police. The military defeat of Japanese imperialism and the smashing of the repressive apparatus gave the workers a chance to organize. A tremendous ferment swept Japan. Huge industrial unions were organized overnight; women organized and fought the ancient

codes that had kept them in a sub-human position; radical parties sprang up.

Fear of a revolutionary situation in Japan had been the reason for Anglo-U.S. imperialism’s decision to keep the Mikado on the throne. MacArthur was 100 per cent behind this policy. As head of the occupation he wasn’t rash enough to try to forbid unions; instead he tried to check their growth and strength by forbidding strikes. In August 1946 he prohibited “strikes, walkouts or other work stoppages which are inimical to the objectives of the military occupation.” At the same time he banned “noisy, disorderly demonstrations” and threatened to put them down with U.S. troops. When a general strike call was issued by the unions against his will, MacArthur tried to overawe the strikers by great U.S. military maneuvers the preceding day. The fact that the unions went ahead despite intimidation and won a victory shows who is responsible for “democratizing” Japan.

DICTATORSHIP IN JAPAN

In 1948 protests including those of the British Labor regime and Australia were made to Washington about the new Public Service Law in Japan which stripped government and state industry workers of all collective bargaining rights. Washington suggested some very limited changes. Even this MacArthur refused to do.

Although the MacArthur-imposed constitution embodies the traditional political rights of the U.S. and British constitutions, it is the General, himself, who has violated these rights. By decree MacArthur closed down all communist newspapers in Japan, no change of the constitution, which “guarantees” a free press, was even considered necessary. The kind of newspapers which meet with his approval can probably be guessed from the warm greetings he has sent to Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, William Randolph Hearst and Westbrook Pegler.

Another instance of MacArthur violating his “own” constitution for Japan is found in his attempts to rebuild the Japanese

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High Court Ruling and Kutcher Case

The Supreme Court ruled last week that the government had exceeded its authority in listing organizations as "subversive" without giving them "some kind of hearing." Truman's Attorney-General undoubtedly disregarded all due process of law and principles of justice in setting up his political blacklist without hearing, notification or presentation of evidence.

But a more important issue is at stake than this matter of correct judicial procedure. That is the question whether the government has any right to proscribe organizations and thereby punish individuals as disloyal solely because of their political views or associations. This the high court failed to rule upon.

However, in his comments on the cases Justice Black went straight to the heart of the matter. He stated that the President had acted illegally in publishing the loyalty purge blacklist whether or not the organizations had been granted a hearing before or after their inclusion. His remarks are worth reprinting.

"The executive has no constitutional authority, with or without a hearing, officially to prepare and publish the lists challenged by petitioners. In the first place, the system adopted effectively punishes many organizations and their members merely because of their political beliefs and utterances, and to this extent smacks of a most evil type of censorship. This cannot be reconciled with the First Amendment as I interpret it."

Black pointed out that "governmental blacklists possess almost every quality of bills of attainder, the use of which was from the beginning forbidden to both state and national governments. . . I cannot believe that the authors of the Constitution, who outlawed the bill of attainder, inadvertently endowed the executive with power to engage in the same tyrannical practices that had made the bill such an odious institution."

And he concluded: "Since prejudice manifests itself in much the same way in every age and country and since what has happened before can happen again, it surely should not be amiss to call attention to what has occurred when dominant governmental groups have been left free to give uncontrolled rein to their prejudices against unorthodox minorities."

Following the Supreme Court decision there will be a tendency among certain liberals to believe that all the demands of justice will be fulfilled if hearings are given blacklisted organizations. This is not so. In fact, the ultra-reactionary McCarran Act provides such "kangaroo court" hearings.

As Justice Black says, the administration blacklist is unconstitutional, and undemocratic, no matter how it is operated. This fundamental issue will be presented squarely to the court in the appeal of the legless veteran James Kutcher, the most celebrated victim of Truman's loyalty purge.

By Tom Conlan

The Truman administration has at bottom exactly the same attitude and policy toward Chiang Kai-shek as does MacArthur. Every one of the steps since Korea actually undertaken in relation to Chiang by MacArthur — from the demonstrative personal visit to Formosa to the various missions sent there — have been made with the consultation and approval of the administration. This has been completely confirmed by the testimony of Gen. Marshall and of the dismissed General.

There has never been any dispute whatever over Formosa. From the first, testified Gen. Marshall, Secretary of Defense, it has been "a firm decision of this government that under no circumstances was Formosa to come under the control of a Communist-dominated or Communist government."

BOTH BACK CHIANG

There have never been any differences over the need to support Chiang Kai-shek. MacArthur said: "The basic reason for the support that might be rendered to him (Chiang) is because . . . the interests of the U.S.A. coincide with anyone who is opposed to Communism." Gen. Marshall, like Truman, subscribes to this with both hands.

There is no difference whatever about extending the economic blockade against China. The Chiefs of Staff, testified Gen. Marshall, have underwritten this action "by formal document, which I (Marshall) concurred in and put a vigorous endorsement on in doing so, that the economic blockade be intensified. . . . MacArthur would impose such a blockade at once. Marshall and the Pentagon Chiefs agree with the administration in holding off until the Atlantic Pact allies are forced into going along."

As for using Chiang's troops, this was contemplated from the beginning not merely by MacArthur but also by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As far back as July and August 1950, Marshall disclosed, plans to raid China's mainland by means of Chiang's troops, were under serious consideration and study. And mind you, this was months before Peiping's intervention in Korea!

MILITARY MISSION

A mission of 37 officers was sent from MacArthur's headquarters in order to report. This move was rejected at the time. Why? "Because of the small result we would get from incursions of that (Chiang's) force on the mainland," testified Marshall.

It was MacArthur who concurred in this decision and who also advised against the use of Chiang's troops in Korea because of their military weakness and unreliability. In November 1950, MacArthur changed his views, but his superiors in the Pentagon have not.

Marshall openly stated that the administration's present stand



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

against bombing Manchurian bases and, implicitly, of other Chinese centers is a tactical one and may be reversed — "tomorrow." Exactly the same thing applies to the use of Chiang's troops. They are now being actually prepared for it. That is one of the main tasks of the large military delegation of 800 — MacArthur's own board had recommended only "about 500 officers and men" — that has officially been sent to Formosa.

WHY STALINISTS OPPOSE GERMAN LABOR'S GAINS

By Fred Hart

The conquest by the West German workers of an equal say in management ("co-determination") of the Ruhr steel and coal industries is viewed with considerable anxiety and undisguised hostility by the American and European capitalists. And that is easily understandable. Every gain by the workers is bitterly resented by the capitalists because to them it represents a blow. They are naturally most sensitive to blows that shake in the slightest degree their positions in the most sacred of precincts — that of management of industry.

The other day a new hostile voice has been added to the opponents of "co-determination." It is none other than that of the American Stalinists. The Daily Worker, April 30, under the cover of its so-called "Labor Research Association" has trained its guns editorially on "co-determination." This will appear surprising only to those who do not understand the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism.

Up till now they have chosen to keep quiet about this victory of the German workers. A partial victory, to be sure, but a victory nonetheless. Suddenly the Daily Worker has decided to attack it.

STALINISTS AGREE WITH NAM

This is embarrassing on two counts. First, it is a ticklish job to try to convince even their own followers that a victory is a defeat. While past masters at palming off defeats for victories, the Stalinists are far from expert at performing the opposite feat. In the second place, it is embarrassing because the American monopolists, especially through the National Association of Manufacturers, have also loudly attacked co-determination, and, in fact, tried in vain to bar the passage of this law through the Bonn Parliament. How explain this solidarity in views of the Daily Worker with the NAM?

This particular difficulty is overcome in a typical Stalinist fashion by pretending that the American monopolists are simply drooling at the mouth for co-determination. Even the "monopoly press" in this country, the N. Y. Times and the Herald-Tribune, discovers the Daily Worker, have actually been "enthusiastically booming" and writing "approvingly" about co-determination. The Stalinists are experts at fabricating lies out of thin air. But this one is so transparent that it should give pause to the most glib of their followers.

The monopolists, including their press, are not boosting co-determination when they in passing refer to it as a "revolutionary step." This is their traditional way of attacking all progressive measures — an attack from the right.

FAKE ARGUMENT

The Stalinists, for their part, have no choice except to make it appear that they are attacking co-determination from the "left." The gist of their "criticism" is

MacArthur has been working might and main to whitewash Chiang. MacArthur has denounced as "slander" and "gossip" the publicly known facts about the corruption, venality and brutality of this regime. In his testimony before the Senate committee he lauded Chiang's regime as "comparing favorably with many of the democracies of the world."

A "LIBERAL" BUTCHER

"There isn't any question," he added with a straight face, "that he (Chiang) is trying to follow the line of liberalism in government."

The administration, embarrassed particularly by its own partial admissions in the White Paper on China of a few years ago, cannot conveniently do this as yet. But here, too, the differences are simply tactical. "I believe," said MacArthur, "that everyone opposed to Communism has a sense of respect for the Generalissimo in the Far East." The administration believes it, too.

Chiang is MacArthur's "great symbol against Communism." In addition to the puppet ex-emperor Bao Dai in Indo-China and Syngman Rhee in Korea, what other "great symbol" is there for the administration in the Far East?

that co-determination does not go far enough. It falls short of nationalization. Therefore they shout, it is only a nefarious "new scheme" by the capitalists. But this does not at all follow.

Every partial victory gained by the workers falls short of the ultimate socialist goal, let alone nationalizations. But these concessions wrested from the capitalists are not converted thereby into new capitalist "schemes."

The Stalinists give themselves away by inadvertently admitting that co-determination was a concession to the German workers. They even try to take credit for it by ascribing it to the influence of "the steadily improving position of the workers in Eastern Germany." The situation in West Germany was such, write these liars, that it "forced some sort of concession to the West German working class" and "co-determination" was considered the cheapest way out by the German employers and Adenauer.

"Some sort of concession" — that means the German workers did score a gain! "Cheapest way out by the German employers" — that means the capitalists did pay a price! What other content is there to any partial labor victory?

The question naturally arises: Why are these tricksters and betrayers crawling out of their skins to so brazenly attack a partial victory of the German workers?

EAST GERMAN WORKERS

Because this gain made in Western Germany, while it falls short of nationalization, happens to represent a terrible danger also to the Stalinist bureaucracy. The workers in East Germany cannot but start asking themselves: If our brothers in capitalism Germany gain a say about management, partial and inadequate though it may be, why can't we, too, have a voice in managing industry under the "new democracy" in our own sector?

The situation is just as acute in the rest of the Soviet "buffer zone." The workers in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and elsewhere can easily become infected with the same ideas. As for the Soviet Union, which is fraudulently claimed to be passing from "socialism to communism," there, too, the West German experience threatens alarming repercussions.

The irony is that as regards concessions the capitalists happen to be more favorably placed than the Stalinist bureaucracy. In a dire pinch, the capitalists can make concessions to the workers, with the hope of regaining the lost ground at the first favorable opportunity. The Stalinist bureaucracy, which plays no independent role in the productive process but is simply a parasite upon it, faces the prospect of its own downfall the moment it is compelled to make any serious concession to the workers.

The victory gained by the German workers through co-determination is thus proving to be a blow not only to the capitalists but to the Stalinists as well. This does not detract but only adds to its importance.

The Negro Struggle

Why We Should Back the NAACP Membership Drive

By J. Blake

The annual membership drive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now in progress, should be supported by every friend of the Negro struggle for full equality in America.

The Militant has been the most consistent critic of the leadership of the Association and their policies. But our criticism has always aimed at making the NAACP a more effective organization, more representative of the Negro masses, more powerful in combatting the evils of economic, social and political discrimination.

Unlike the Stalinists and the fair weather liberal friends, and even some of the careerist leaders of the Association, we never subordinate the Negro struggle to opportunistic considerations — not during World War II, not since the Korean conflict, not in any election campaigns and not in the future any more than in the past.

Moreover, we never lie to the Negro masses, nor apologize for the weaknesses and false policies of the leadership of the NAACP. And in spite of that leadership, we always advocate support of every struggle the organization undertakes on behalf of the Negro masses.

For all of these reasons, we have a right to speak plainly about the 1951 membership drive of the Association, and to urge the millions of Negro workers and their friends who have not done so to join and become active members, to make the NAACP the kind of mass organization of struggle that is needed.

Join and Work for Better Program

We don't say, as some of the drive directors are saying, that you owe it to the NAACP to join for all it has done for you. We are as irritated as many of you are with the snobbishness of some of the branch officials now trying to "spank" you into joining, who will later try to shut you up if you attempt to criticize them or their policies.

We agree with the Omaha Guide's editorial criticism of the national board of directors' reversal of its decision to boycott the Civil Defense Administration headed by white supremacist Caldwell. As the Guide correctly stated:

"The plea for national unity is a poor excuse for abandoning the cause. . . . The national defense must not be permitted to be used as a whipping post for the postponement to gaining of full equality. These are rights that are already the Negroes', that are already bought and paid for — but undelivered. . . . Anything less must meet the wrath of our entire Negro populace."

We agree with those of you who are disgusted with the leadership's policy of false political "non-partisanship" which leaves them free to play capitalist Democratic and Republican politics while keeping the organization politically impotent.

We urge you to join the NAACP, as hundreds of GI's in Korea are doing, since it is, with all its weaknesses, the largest and best Negro organization in the struggle for democratic rights — and make it the organization you want. Replace inadequate leaders with better ones. Take the responsibility yourselves.

Truman Uses 'Peace' Slogan To Hide His War Program

(Continued from Page 1)

settles the issue so far as these people are concerned.

LIMITED WAR

Truman now offers as the security for peace — the indefinite continuation of a "limited war" that has already cost tens of thousands of casualties and has devastated the Korean civilian population, Korean cities and countryside beyond anything known before in history.

The same Truman who only a short while ago precipitated a world protest by his threat to drop the atom bomb in Korea is now loudly lamenting the horrors of "atomic war."

This individual who is responsible for the dropping of the first atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki now warns:

"We could expect many atomic bombs to be dropped on American cities and a single one of them could cause many more casualties than we suffered in all the fighting in Korea."

NOT PEACEABLE

This is, of course, undeniable. But there is nothing peaceable in this. Truman needs an argument to counteract the popular impression made by MacArthur who has dramatized the mounting and continuing casualties in Korea. As against the horror of the Korean corpses, MacArthur has employed so demagogically, Truman, just as demagogically, raises the greater horror of atomic casualties on American soil.

MacArthur's course, Truman said, would draw the Kremlin into the war and he added: "If the United States were to widen the conflict we might well have to get it alone." This was affirmed by Gen. Marshall in his testimony. When pressed in the Senate hearings on whether the administration's moves in Europe might not likewise lead to the spread of war, Marshall conceded both a "provocation" to the Kremlin and the possibility of a general war.

Sen. Bridges asked: ". . . In the light of the facts isn't our program for Europe ten times more provocative, for example, to bring on a world war than would, for instance, the bombing of the bases in Red China?"

"I agree with you as to the hazards we have accepted in Western Europe," replied Marshall.

DIFFER ON TIMING

It was also brought out at the Senate hearings that Marshall and Joint Chiefs of Staff consider every one of MacArthur's military proposals in connection with Korea as "legitimate." They differ with MacArthur merely over the actual timing and manner in which to carry out these proposals; and they side with the administration in concentrating the military effort for the projected all-out war in Europe as against MacArthur's policy of giving priority to the Asian arena.

MacArthur's promise of an easy and early conclusion of the Korean war has been exploded by Truman, Marshall and the others. But their own "solution" is no less fraudulent.

This is admitted by the columnist Walter Lippmann. "I do not at all think that Gen. MacArthur," writes Lippmann, "has a plan for ending the war quickly, decisively and cheaply. But the alternative, as the administration is expounding it, that we are going to kill so many Chinese in Korea that the war will end satisfactorily, is I believe, as repulsive a way to announce our war aims as it is unconvincing." And he immediately adds:

"There is no more reason to think that a satisfactory conclusion can be had by killing Chinese soldiers in Korea than that it can be had by bombing Chinese cities."

What a commentary it is on American imperialism, when such confirmed apologists for it as Lippmann finds it necessary to criticize the policy backed by the decisive capitalist circles as "repulsive" and "unconvincing."

For a Socialist

Future

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Algerian Workers Fight Police in Paris Parade

By Ernest Germain

On May Day the colonial revolution, dominant feature of the present world situation, came to Paris, when thousands of Algerian workers successfully chased away 500 policemen who tried to break up their demonstration and to tear their national banner out of their hands.

Last year the participation of some 25,000 Algerian workers, members of the militant nationalist MTLD (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Democratiques, present name for the outlawed Algerian People's Party) was the dominant note of an otherwise lukewarm May 1 parade. The police, enraged by the wonderful, militant demonstration by the Algerian workers, the most disinherited and downtrodden layer of the French working class, had planned long in advance to prevent the Algerians from repeating the same feat this year. The heightened repression of the Algerian national movement is symbolized by the fact that the new governor-general of Algeria is Leonard, the former chief of Paris police.

No month passes without a frame-up trial of MTLD leaders in Algeria, without brutal arrest and torture of MTLD militants. In France, whither several hundred thousand Algerian workers have been lured by promises of work and better living conditions, the biggest centers of concentration (Paris, Marseilles and the industrial area of the North and

Northeast) are constantly scenes of police violence and organized raids against these pariahs. The reactionary press and official public opinion try to whip up a pogrom atmosphere against them, blaming them for the present "crime wave" from which France is suffering. All forces seem to concentrate on making life impossible for these slaves, whose homeland has been transformed into a hell by their imperialist masters.

ARREST HUNDREDS

On the eve of this year's May Day parade, the Paris police arrested hundreds of Algerian workers throughout the Paris area. Anybody who approached the centers of concentration for the parade even hours in advance, was scrutinized and if he looked like an Arab, was brutally abducted. From all indication some big provocation was being prepared.

Nevertheless thousands of Algerian workers succeeded in occupying their sector of the parade, behind the metal workers and ahead of most of the other unions. As every year, the parade starts from one of Paris' biggest squares, the Place de la Nation, and slowly winds down the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine to the Place de la Bastille. This is the heart of proletarian Paris. The famous Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine is the classical avenue along which during the French revolutions and workers' uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Paris proletariat advanced towards the center of the city. Half a mile above the Place de la Bastille, the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine is cut by a short avenue which ends at both sides in a large square. It is in both these squares that some 500 policemen were assembled, with a force of Gardes Mobiles, armed with machine guns, being kept in reserve.

HAIL SUBWAY WORKERS

The start of the parade was quiet and without incidents. Only when the subway and bus workers appeared, at the head of the section of the parade reserved to the unions, was there a big outburst of enthusiasm. The subway workers are extremely popular since they won their strike by effectively realizing unity of action between the different unions in their industry. After the subway workers came the metal workers, led by a big delegation of the Renault auto workers. When they arrived at the Bastille, the Algerians, their national banner proudly unfurled, started to march down the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. They arrived at the intersection where the cops were waiting for them. The parade halted a moment, and then the banner-bearers suddenly swung forward trying to run past

this danger point. (The banners of the Nationalist Algerians are forbidden.) At that moment the police intervened. The cops threw themselves with an extreme brutality on the demonstrators and by-standers, chasing them away, clubbing all those who didn't run or take shelter inside the houses. Dozens of blood-covered victims appeared on the street and sidewalk. A large breach was opened in the parade. Swinging their clubs, the cops advanced to pursue the first group of Algerians who had retreated.

ALGERIANS FIGHT BACK

At that moment, they got the surprise of their lives. The incredible happened: the pariahs became "rebels," the reactionary paper "Le Figaro" commented next day. Advancing suddenly in closed ranks, other groups of Algerian workers, supported by hundreds of French proletarians, started to fight back the police, using the handles of their placards, the pavement stones and bars torn from railings as weapons. The cops did not long withstand this assault. After a moment of hesitation they ran for their lives.

The breach in the parade was closed in a couple of minutes. A tremendous cry of victory and of indignation rose from the thousands of workers present. Marching very quickly down to the Bastille, the demonstrators now showed a fighting spirit like of which no May 1 parade has known since the end of the war. The universal cry: "Fascism Won't Pass," (le fascisme ne passera pas) was repeated over and over again by the aroused workers. And for three hours the rest of the parade marched by the square where the Gardes Mobiles stood to protect the broken police-cars and the wounded cops, with the debris of the battle scattered on the pavement between them and the demonstrators. At no time since the "liberation" has Paris known a clash between the working class and the police of such dimensions.

After the first flurry of indignation had passed, the Stalinists who led the parade and were themselves taken by surprise by the violence of the clash, did everything they could to lull the masses. None of their leaders took the mike to denounce the brutal intervention of the police. When the Algerians marched along the Bastille, they received a tremendous ovation from all the assembled workers, and the Stalinist leaders themselves showed their approval. But nothing was done to promote solidarity of the French workers with the victims of imperialist repression. During the evening, hundreds of Algerians were again arrested. And the next day, the whole French press, including the Stalinists, played down the clash.

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PAC Policy Backfires

By Dave Lands

With the recent death of Republican Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, Democratic Governor Williams was given the opportunity to appoint a successor. Governor Williams himself was elected through the efforts of the CIO officialdom, all his Democratic running mates meeting defeat in the last election. Williams won by virtue of the strenuous campaign on his behalf exerted by the CIO faction in the Democratic Party.

Did he consider Labor's desperate need for political representation in Washington, D. C.? Did he pay attention to the CIO leaders' wishes? The unions have not a single congressman or senator to speak on their behalf. The governor's handling of this important political office can therefore be viewed as a sample of how Democratic politicians repay organized labor for its political support.

Williams appointed Blair Moody to fill Vandenberg's shoes. Who is Moody? What does he represent? Has any public sentiment ever been expressed for him? Moody has been the Washington correspondent for the reactionary Detroit News for 18 years. He has been a close supporter of Republican Senator Vandenberg, and particu-

larly of his foreign policy. While classing himself as a Democrat, he stated he belonged to no political party. By this he means that he always feels free to cooperate with either party. He is an enthusiastic supporter of Truman's unpopular war in Korea, and is opposed to recognition of China.

Moody is a nephew of William E. Scripps, president of the Evening News Association. He has never run for public office. He is described in the press as a writer, analyst, commentator and authority on international affairs. His attitude to organized labor is best shown by the fact that he is not a member of the American Newspaper Guild, CIO.

In appointing Moody, Williams expressly rejected the choice of the CIO, George Edwards. Reuther stated that, "We in the CIO are extremely disappointed that Governor Williams did not appoint George Edwards as U. S. Senator." So long as Reuther and the rest of the CIO leaders persist in acting as a tail to the Democratic Party, they will continue to be disappointed. Democratic politicians, with or without labor's backing, will continue to favor Big Business spokesmen. The only way to prevent disappointments is by working for an Independent labor party.

Halsey and Stettinius

By James Walcott

The greed and hypocrisy of the officials who inhabit the Pentagon and the other high offices in Washington was very well illustrated by the revelations of the Kefauver Investigating committee on the big tanker steal.

This \$2,800,000 robbery involved no less a figure than the late Edward Stettinius, former Secretary of State, Fleet Admiral William Halsey, and General Julius Holmes, wartime head of the military government branch of the General Staff, and later an assistant Secretary of State.

These three men ran up a profit of between 900 and 1000 percent on an investment of \$100,000. Halsey raked in \$140,000 on an investment of \$5,000. Stettinius made \$280,000 on a \$10,000 investment, as did Holmes.

This was all done through the manipulations of Joseph E. Casey, a Washington lawyer, who by using his distinguished client's contacts in the right places, was able to purchase surplus oil tankers dirt cheap from the government at prices conveniently arranged.

This Casey, a former Congressman from Massachusetts, and one of Roosevelt's right hand men, did pretty well by himself, too, netting a neat \$280,000 on a \$20,000 outlay.

No matter how you stretch it, this money-grubbing by men in high places cannot be construed as a justifiable result of "venture capital."

There was no "chance" involved here. It was a sure shot. Incidentally, it was all arranged so that the government took only a 25 percent capital gains tax on the profits made in the deal.

This is only one case which happened to leak out. How many other government officers, Army and Navy, have feathered their own nests at the expense of the taxpayers, using their high posts

to add to their riches, has not yet been made public.

The Republicans, whose tongues are literally hanging out in anticipation of an electoral victory in 1952 that will give them a chance to dig into the pork barrel, are loudly indignant about O'Dwyer, now ambassador to Mexico, but are keeping quiet about Admiral Halsey and Stettinius . . . both Republicans at the time of their venal grafting.

While some of the young basketball players who accepted bribes have been indicted for what amounts to a small time "fix," none of the big shots in Washington who are in on the "Big Fix," have been given anything but a little bad publicity.

Halsey was portrayed by the capitalist press as one of the great naval heroes to which all American youth should look up; a model for every young man to follow.

Stettinius, with his white hair and blue eyes, was the epitome of what every Wall Street banker should be: To question his honesty, or accuse him of being a not-so-petty thief during his term as Secretary of State would have brought loud cries of indignation from the N. Y. Times.

The truth is such men are no exception. The banker Stettinius lived in the financial world where the dollar is god. While he was lecturing the world, as the proponent of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" he was making his pile.

Halsey, hung over with medals and ribbons, found richer and more concrete rewards in a sneak-thief deal to mulct the government in collusion with other men in the "public trust."

It is of such stuff that the leaders of capitalist society are made. They are the same men who decry the "materialism" of socialists; and pose as idealists who will lead humanity out of the wilderness.

A Letter From Germany

By A. V. Nathan

Today, with the cold war taking a deeper turn toward atomic war, the question of Germany is gaining greater importance. Without Germany the West will have no corridor to enter the Russian arena. Without a powerful Germany the West will have to put forward a weak defense line.

Thus, under the pressure of American imperialism, and finding no other solution, the West has had to swallow the bitter pill of German rearmament and even recognition of an equal footing for Germany. Imperialism needed a war to destroy the competition of Germany; now the threat of war has forced these same imperialist powers to re-equip Germany. What a paradox!

Dr. Adenauer's government is not so anxious about the size of the army, nor the actual status of the German government. But it is anxious for one thing — that by hook or by crook Germany will again emerge as a strong power.

Adenauer's opposition, led by Dr. Shunacher, differs not a bit insofar as the general plan is concerned. He wants a larger army, however, lest German "honor" be wounded. To them both a united Germany is not an immediate prospect; they see it as a hope to be realized over the dead bodies of the Russian forces.

While the aim of an independent Germany has drawn fairly good support from the people, ever larger numbers are losing their confidence both in the government and in the Social Democratic Party, and are tending toward political apathy.

The mass of people who bitterly remember the two wars that they fought for "prosperity" have begun to realize there is no salvation in war. Rearmament and war find little favor among the people, even if Western Germany is to be treated as an equal. They see war as a catastrophe in which Germany would be a battleground where the imperialist master would establish his rule.

However much they want unity, they do not want to buy it at the price of war.

This may come as a shock to the imperialists. But even greater shocks lie ahead for them. The German people, who have never known a foreign master, are harboring deep hatred for the occupiers. The occasional demonstrations on the streets against the members of the occupation forces are only signs of the revolt to come. This deep hatred was well expressed by the words of a young girl — a "darling" of the American forces ing forces.

The ever increasing taxes, both direct and indirect, growing unemployment, and the fall in purchasing power brought on by inflation, has embittered the people who realize that money dragged from them does not go into building up the country, but into the coffers of the occupying forces.

The feeling of the masses may best be described in the words of an ex-soldier, "We are neither interested in communism nor in the suppression of communism. All we want is to be left alone in the next war, and that we not be taxed and bled to death."

Thus this cross-section of the German viewpoints expresses clearly the underlying mood of the people. The Rhine capitalists, who back the government, want to make as much as they can now; they function as typical businessmen realists, out for profits, without hurting the feelings of their masters.

The Social Democrats, backed by the reactionaries and the military clique, are exploiting the international situation for their own benefit. And the people are in a blind alley of political apathy, while deep hatred burns within them. The fact that the new Independent Workers Party is gaining active sympathy among the disillusioned workers is a great sign of hope.

Short Subjects

PATIENCE IS NO VIRTUE — Sen. Morse of Oregon speaking on April 30, said: "I served on the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. I was shocked at the open defiance which we encountered in connection with some of the business establishments dealing with vital war materials. They are making profits the like of which they have never made in their history, and yet they want more. I am not going to hold my patience much longer, under the ruling of any committee in regard to keeping things secret."

MEAT PRICES — Business Week, weekly magazine for employers, says "Ceiling prices on beef aren't likely to mean much without rationing." Already, the meat packers are threatening to withhold meat . . . and veiled threats of black market operations similar to those of World War II are hurled by the meat barons.

THE BIG STEAL — The Defense Production Administration has authorized 1,013 rapid tax write-offs to private companies for the construction of plants. This amortization program already

totals four and a half billion dollars. By forgiving taxes to these companies, the government in effect pays for the new plants in large part, and turns them over to capitalists for private profit. To date, average percentage of plant costs thus underwritten by the government is 65%.

NEW UNION — The CIO has launched the United Department Store Workers Union, headed by R. J. Thomas, former president of the UAW-CIO, which is initiating a drive in New York City.

"PEACE DANGER" — Dr. Julius Hirsch, economist, speaking at the N. Y. Statler Hotel to a group of business men May 8 stated, "We need an increase in defense expenditures averaging at least \$1½ billions a month" to maintain the present volume of production. He predicted that either a truce or a stalemate in Korea will be effected "before three months have passed" and warned that with such a situation in effect there will be a decline in production. He warned that a letdown in military spending would "prolong the present slack in the civilian economy."

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Detroit Transit Strike Grows In Militancy

DETROIT — Entering its third week, the strike of streetcar and bus operators is growing in fighting spirit and militancy. The strike, called by the AFL Bus and Streetcar Operators Union, Division 26, has clashed head-on with the reactionary Hutchinson law that forbids strikes among city employees.

At a mass meeting of 2,000 operators held May 6 at Cass Technical High school, a new tone of militancy was introduced by the men and officers of the union. It was decided to establish full picketing of the various bus and streetcar terminals throughout the city. A special edition of the Detroit Labor News, AFL newspaper, is to be printed. The unions will distribute a half million copies of this edition.

Strike and welfare committees are being established. A threat was made to tie up traffic as an answer to a "hitch-hiking" club being organized and sponsored by the Detroit News.

Leading the strikebreaking efforts is Mayor Cobo, who was supported by several AFL leaders in the last election.

The entire Detroit AFL and CIO has endorsed the strike. Thus far there has been little actual defiance of the law, but the growing pressure from rank and file unionists throughout the city in support of the transportation workers' strike may force the leadership into some practical demonstration of aid and solidarity.

Joseph Hansen Speaks at Newark May Day Rally

NEWARK, N. J., May 6 — The May Day Rally of the Newark Socialist Workers Party last Friday was the best attended meeting held this year. Present were workers and students who had never visited our headquarters previously. They were much impressed with Joseph Hansen's talk on "The Crisis in U.S. Foreign Policy." During the speech Hansen demolished the "reasons" put forth by the different sections of the ruling class for the necessity of war with the Soviet Union. At the same time he made clear the intransigent fight of the SWP against Stalinism for the past thirteen years.

Hansen's conclusion that the best way to get rid of Stalinism was by supporting the colonial revolutions and the independent working class struggles in other countries, was a clear answer to those in the audience who sincerely feared the extension of Stalinism and its evils to the rest of the world.

The audience responded well to a call for funds to extend the work of the branch in distributing the Militant. Most of them stayed for the social held after Hansen's speech.

Students Attend Marxist Lectures

NEW YORK, May 7 — A large and intensely interested audience, including a good number of college students, tonight heard John G. Wright deliver the first of three lectures on the Marxist philosophy of history, sponsored by The International Socialist Youth.

An animated question and discussion period followed the lecture. Many of the students participating in the discussion were especially interested in the question of whether the study of history can be considered a science in the same sense as physics and chemistry.

The discussion continued almost unabated even after the conclusion of the meeting, when coffee and cake were served.

The second lecture will be held Monday, May 14, 8 PM at 116 University Place. The subject will be "Why Man Could Not Consciously Make History in the Past." The final lecture will be given Monday, May 21, at the same time and address.

The series is sponsored by the Internationalist Socialist Youth, Youth Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Deadline for Militant

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

THE MILITANT

Defendant Takes Stand, Exposes Frameup in Trial of Trenton Six

TWIN CITIES MAY DAY MEETING HEARS DUNNE

By Harold Kent

MINNEAPOLIS, May 1 — The Twin Cities branches of the Socialist Workers Party held a joint meeting here to celebrate May Day, and re-affirmed the need for international solidarity of the workers of the world. A large audience of workers and students heard V. R. Dunne speak on "May Day and the Militants."

"We meet here tonight," said Dunne, "during the gravest crisis of the capitalist system. The best way to honor the Haymarket martyrs is to carry on the struggle for international labor solidarity for which they gave their lives. It is our duty to declare our solidarity with the workers and peasants of Korea and all of Asia. To the oppressed peoples of all races and nationalities we say: Your cause is our cause!"

GREETING SPANISH WORKERS — "We offer a special greeting to the Spanish workers who have once again raised their heads in defiance of the butcher Franco and his new allies in Washington. But it is to the American workers above all that we must bring the message of internationalism. The way to reach the militant workers is through the pages of our paper, The Militant."

"The American workers will yet break through, will challenge the brass hats and corrupt bureaucrats. The Haymarket victims believed this and so do we!"

THE REAL CONFLICT

Dunne painted the sordid picture of capitalist death and destruction over the last thirty years of its decadence. He laid special emphasis on the singularly brutal record of the American capitalist class. He made it per-



VINCENT R. DUNNE

fectly clear that the present world conflict does not revolve around the question of the so-called free world versus totalitarianism but between socialized property versus private property.

Despite the greed and rapaciousness that seem to the casual observer to be everywhere in evidence, Dunne said he could produce examples of the essential kindness of human beings. He quoted from The Militant the story in the "Notebook of an Agitator" column, about Robert Sullivan, whose fellow workers gave their own skin to save his life.

Grace Carlson presided at the meeting and focused attention on the present Militant campaign. The audience contributed a generous collection. A pleasant social hour followed, with coffee, sandwiches and cake.

HARLEM MEETING HEARS ARMY JIM-CROW REPORT

NEW YORK, May 7 — An indignant and rapt audience at the Abyssinian Church in Harlem listened last night to Thurgood Marshall's report about the life of the

Negro GIs in the Jim Crow army in Korea. Mr. Marshall was the investigator in Korea of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Referring to the great debate on strategy which is keeping the top brass and the administration leaders busy day and night, Marshall remarked that it would be more important for them to hither about the fate of those Negroes who are losing their lives and liberty as a result of unjust courts-martial.

"Truman has promised long ago, to do away with Jim Crow in the Army," Marshall said, "but segregation has remained." Thus the Asian people who get a first hand experience with American democracy, are not favorably impressed with the American way of life of their "liberators."

DON'T MISS MACARTHUR

Marshall further pointed out that the Negro people have less reason than anyone else to weep about MacArthur's recall, for there was not one Negro in the general's Honor Guard, an example of how MacArthur fostered segregation. Marshall showed some dangerous implications in the MacArthur hero-worshipping

hysteria. He predicted dark days for minority groups in the event that the military succeeded in taking over the government. "That would be the end of all civil liberties," he warned.

Marshall further reported that while the proportion of Negro to white soldiers in Korea is about one to four, there have been 32 court martials of Negroes and only two of whites. Most Negroes have been convicted on trumped-up charges, at trials which usually have not taken more than 40 or 50 minutes.

Thurgood Marshall also confirmed what had previously been reported by "suppressed" white officers, namely, that the few mixed regiments that do exist have an extremely high battle efficiency.

There was a good sale of Militants before and after the meeting.

Was at a Farm Miles Away From Actual Scene of Crime

By George Lavan

TRENTON, May 9 — The Trenton Six defense put its first witness on the stand today. He was Horace Wilson, one of the six Negro defendants in the frame-up for the 1948 slaying of William Horner, aged junk store proprietor.

The defense started its presentation after a series of adverse rulings by Judge Smalley on motions for directed verdicts of acquittal. Defense arguments on these motions cited previous frame-ups in American history such as the Sacco-Vanzetti and the Martinsville Seven cases. High hopes entertained by friends of the defendants for directed acquittals for at least several of the defendants, were dashed when the judge this noon gave his ruling.

Horace Wilson, the only one of the Trenton Six who did not "confess" was questioned by NAACP attorney Raymond Pace Alexander. The brief account of his life that was presented was a powerful indictment of U.S. capitalism's jim crow system.

WILSON'S LIFE STORY

Wilson was born in South Carolina in 1911, one of 12 children of farm workers. His schooling consisted of a month in the first grade one year and another month the following year. He is illiterate save for the ability to read and write his own name. In the summer of 1939 he came north as a migratory farm worker and found a job on a potato and wheat farm near Trenton.

The next year he came north again and settled in Robbinsville, a shack town of Negro agricultural workers about seven miles from Trenton. He continued working as a tractor driver for nine years for the same group of farm owners in that area.

Monday and Tuesday mornings, Jan. 26 and 27 he was working for a farmer named Ed Dilatush. Tuesday afternoon he worked for a Mr. Koppel, unloading fertilizer. The state has set the time of the Horner murder at 10:30 A.M. Tuesday Jan. 27. From 8:30 A.M. till noon there were at least eight other men working with Wilson. He gave their names.

Furthermore on pay day — Friday — Wilson went to the pay office of the farm and was paid for that morning. The pay records showing this exist.

For more than a week after the fateful Jan. 27 Wilson continued working, now a full day, now a half, for the same group of employers.

Wilson, his girl friend and her children shared their crowded house with an Evelyn Smith, a 24-year old girl. Among her boy friends were Collis English and Ralph Cooper. Wilson first met English and Cooper when he came home from work one night and found them in the house calling on Evelyn Smith. This was after the Horner murder took place. Both English and Cooper called on Evelyn several times in the next week and a half and so Wilson saw them several times.

Just after dawn on February 6, 1948 the police staged a raid on Robbinsville. Collis English, picked up on a motor vehicle charge, had been sweated by the police who were hunting for Negro scapegoats for the Horner murder. When the police had broken him down he started making up names to appease his tormentors and purchase a few minutes peace. One of the names he invented was "Buddy" Wilson. When the police entered Wilson's bedroom the first question put to him was: are you Buddy Wilson? He answered no, that he was Horace Wilson. Chief of County Detectives Naples then demanded: "Give me that gun." The reply was, "What gun? I ain't got no gun." Naples and the other detectives searched the premises thoroughly but found no gun. As Wilson dressed on police orders he tried to find out what was going on. The police told him nothing and as soon as he was dressed handcuffed him and took him to Trenton.

BEATEN INTO SUBMISSION

By Monday morning, however, English was at the point where he would identify anyone. He and Ralph Cooper now pointed their fingers at Wilson and said: "He's the one."

Wilson endeavored to get the police to call his employer and find out he had been running a tractor miles away at the time the Horner murder occurred and which the police were demanding he confess to. Finally one of the detective captains pretended to comply. He came back shortly and told Wilson that the farmer had said he never had heard of him.

Despite police threats and endless grilling Wilson refused to sign the "confession" prepared for him. This is attributed partly to the fact that alone of the defendants Wilson steadfastly refused all police-offered drinks and cigarettes. It has been proven that the police used drugs in obtaining "confessions" from the other defendants — two of the "confessions" were thrown out by the judge earlier in the case on these grounds. It is believed that the drinks and cigarettes offered by the police contained the drugs.

ALL-CAMPUS CIVIL RIGHTS BODY FORMED AT ROOSEVELT COLLEGE

CHICAGO, May 7 — Students from 20 school organizations met last week to form the Roosevelt College All-Campus Committee for Civil Rights. Representing all political tendencies, as well as many groups with a non-political orientation, the committee is pledged to wage a united and militant battle against the Broyles and McClintock Bills now before the Illinois State Legislature.

Shortly after its initial meeting the committee called a rally to mobilize the student body to a program of action. About 60 students and faculty members attended the rally which began with the announcement of the principles of the committee: "We affirm the right of the individual to maintain any political belief and affiliate with any organization that he so chooses." Speakers included Nancy Blaine, State CIO Council, John Clay, Chicago Bar Association, and Ed-

ward Meyerding, American Civil Liberties Union. Planned activities include a petition campaign on the campus and in the communities, educational work in school and outside organizations, and the sending of a student delegation to the State Capital.

The Broyles and McClintock Bills make it a felony to belong to an organization that advocates

the overthrow, destruction or alteration of the present form of government by force, violence or other unlawful means. They also require loyalty oaths from candidates for public office and all state employees, and provide for the investigation of organizations and institutions by a commission such as the one that terrorized Roosevelt College and the University of Chicago in 1949.

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