

Campaign Shows Socialist Ideas Attract Workers

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

The Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign is warming up. Last week's work brought total subscriptions in the campaign to 504, sales of single copies to 7,279. Subgetters continue to underline the favorable reception they are getting. Working people, they report, are worried about the drift toward atomic war and indicate increasing interest in the socialist program for achieving enduring peace. That makes for brisk sales of The Militant.

The Twin Cities held their lead in the Coover League with a score of 6,638 points. (Every paper sold counts one point; a \$1 six-months sub, 26 points; a \$2 one-year sub, 52 points.) New York, however, moved forward in a determined effort to close the gap.

Los Angeles and Detroit spurted ahead almost neck and neck and San Francisco moved into the thousand

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores		Individual Scores	
Coover League	Points	Coover League	Points
Twin Cities	6,638	Paul	1,807
New York	4,847	Don	962
Los Angeles	2,738	Pauline	858
Detroit	2,518	Harry	627
Buffalo	1,764	Marie H.	612
Chicago	1,681	Jean	426
San Francisco	1,001	John	405
Seattle	744	Bill B.	391
Konikow League		Walt	364
Flint	1,814	Winifred	336
Newark	935	Artie	312
Philadelphia	810	Konikow League	508
Milwaukee	483	Emmett	373
Cleveland	312	Marve	340
Youngstown	234	Sol	311
Boston	67	Bill	285
Kujac League		Dotty	162
Akron	214	Jack W.	137
Pittsburgh	160	Fred	132
West Virginia	130	Helen	130
Oakland	120	Bob	107
St. Louis	109	Kujac League	77
New Haven	63	Dave	
Allentown	39	Sally	

point class. Most spectacular jump for the week was registered by Chicago — from 488 to 1,581 points.

In the Konikow League, Flint remained well in front with no letdown in their fast pace. Newark moved ahead to nose Philadelphia out of the second notch.

In the struggle for the prize of a free week's vacation, a free trip to New York and a seat as Guest of Honor at the National Militant Champions Banquet, which is being offered by the Socialist Workers Party to the highest contestant in each league, Paul of the Twin Cities was still the national pace setter with 1,807 points.

Don of Buffalo, however, reported in belatedly but impressively to take second place in the Coover League with 962 points, forging ahead of Pauline of the Twin Cities.

In the Konikow League, the Four Horsemen of Flint still led, Emmett's 503 points keeping his edge over the others.

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

TRENTON SIX DEFENDANTS EXPOSE WHAT WENT ON IN POLICE GRILLINGS

TRENTON, May 16 — The jim-crow, frame-up trial of six Negro men for the 1948 murder of William Horner, junk store proprietor, today went into its 51st day. Today was also the sixth day of testimony by defense witnesses. This testimony already has completely demolished the prosecution case which is almost 100 percent based on "confessions" extorted from the defendants after days of grilling, psycho-

logical terror and the administering of drugs.

COLLIS ENGLISH

On the stand today was Collis English, the second defendant to testify so far. English, a 135-pound veteran, who was honorably discharged from the navy because of a rheumatic heart and malaria, related his activities the morning of Jan. 27, 1948 — the morning Horner was killed in the

alleged hold-up attempt.

That morning he stayed home to await the arrival of his unemployment compensation check and helped his mother with the laundry she takes in to make a living. The mailman came at the usual time around 10:30 — the time police have fixed as that of the murder of Horner in another part of the city — with the expected check. English took the

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Congress Acts To Boost Tax Load on Poor

Reduces Proposed Levy on Profits

The House Ways and Means Committee has been readying a new tax bill in Congress which is nothing else but another savage onslaught on the pockets of the poor, with a continued free ride for the billionaire profiteers.

An additional 3 billion dollars has been piled up in "individual income" taxes on top of last year's \$5 billion hike. The burden of this falls, of course, on the lower income groups who are already paying out in direct taxes approximately a month's wages each year. The new tax boost will bring the average tax payments from approximately 5 to 6 weeks' wages yearly.

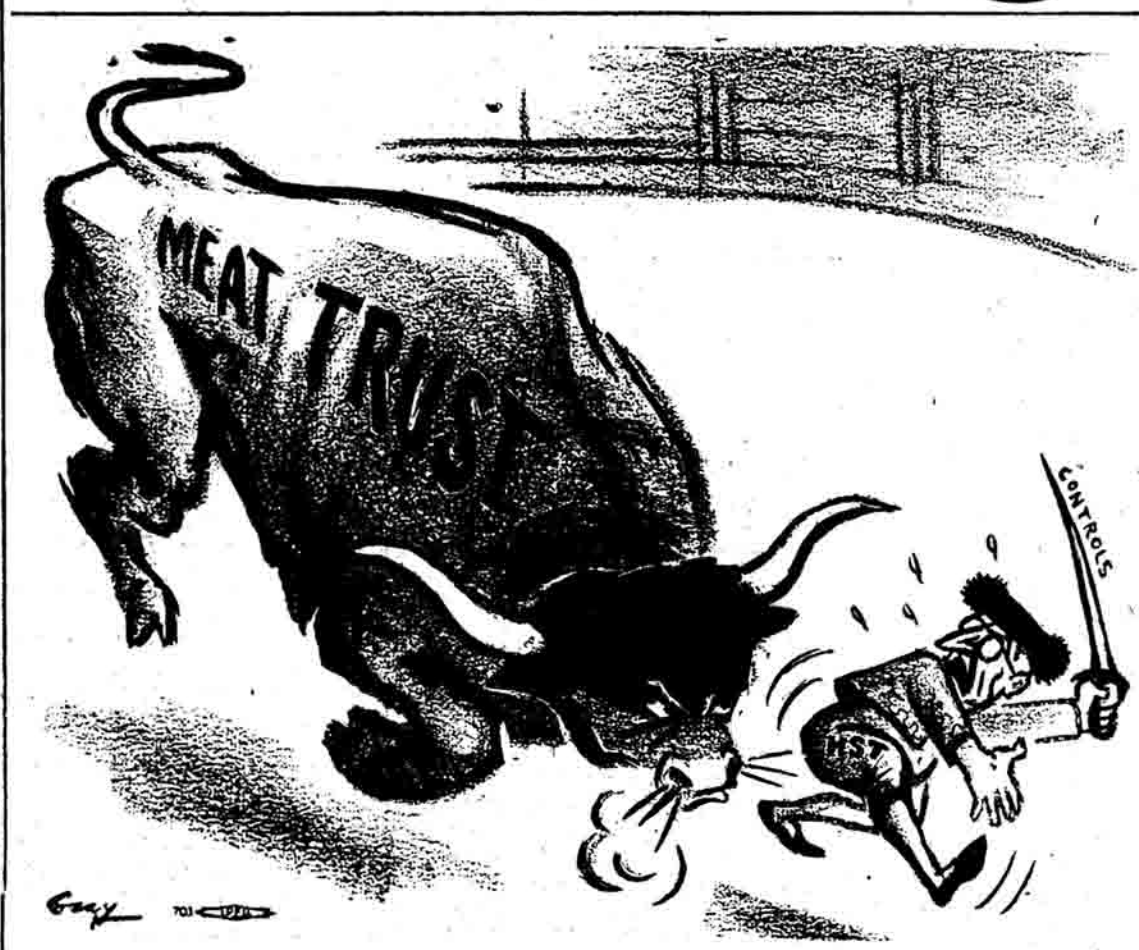
INDIRECT TAXATION

But even these huge sums are only part of the actual tax toll. For piled on these direct taxes are the "indirect" ones — excise taxes of different sorts, paid by the poor. These are to bring an additional 3 billion dollars, with the boost on liquors, beers and wine alone amounting to a quarter of a billion. While the figures are by no means complete, the 1951 tax steal is almost as big as last year's when the tax load of workers and other toiling sections of the population was increased by about 40 percent.

The tax load on the poor has thus virtually been doubled in the last 11 months since Korea. The profiteers have meanwhile ripped the hide off the population by the soaring prices, which have already cost some \$250 a year to every man, woman and child. On the other hand, the profits of the corporations have been climbing to all-time highs.

And what do the rich pay? The new tax on corporations is estimated to bring in — \$2.1 billion more! The scope of this swindle may be gauged by the fact that in one year, 1944, when corporation profits were far less than they are today, the old excess profits tax raised more than \$10 billion, or five times as much as the 1951 rate. And this separate and apart from the countless "escape clauses," 5-year "amortization provisions" and other devices in corporate taxation which make the biggest sieve seem watertight by comparison.

Big Brass Plot "Right" War at "Right" Place



Iran Nationalizes Oil, Defies British Threats

Under the irresistible pressure of the Iranian masses whose revolutionary ferment is rising to a fever pitch, the Majlis, Iran's Parliament, is carrying through the measure nationalizing the British-owned oil industry. The Laborite flunkies of British imperialism employed every device to balk the nationalization and are now threatening to occupy the oil fields. Defense Minister Shinwell, who had previously hurled one threat after another, has issued an alert order to British parachute troops. The Iranian press has responded with a counter-threat of "holy war" against Britain.

The Iranian crisis, precipitated by the nationalization move, is aggravated by the highly strategic importance of this country and its vast oil reserves in the Middle East.

BILLION DOLLAR EMPIRE

At stake for British imperialism is its largest remaining foreign investment, valued at well over one billion dollars. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which Iran is now preparing to take over, supplies one-third of Britain's total oil needs and keeps the British Navy running.

Britain's exploitation of Iran has been ruthless. Production costs, in the Near East oil industry are the lowest in the world and Iranian costs and wages are at the bottom of this wretched scale. "Actual cost of delivery of oil to tankers in the Persian gulf . . . is relatively nominal," smugly comments the N. Y. Times on May 16.

The bulk of these "nominal costs" consists of royalties paid to the Iranian government, a mere pittance which is then embezzled through graft and

corruption. It has been British policy to keep Iran in degradation precisely in order to keep oil costs "nominal," that is, continue to extract fabulous wealth while paying little or nothing in return.

LIVING CONDITIONS

The living conditions in Iran are among the most intolerable in the world. The last war acted to swell the urban proletariat and in this way "opened the eyes of the peasant masses to the wretchedness of their lot," reported

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

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

Bradley Counters M'Arthur's "Fight Asia" Proposal with Plan for Global Conquest

Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who direct U.S. global military strategy, complained before the Senate hearings on Gen. MacArthur's ouster that the policy proposed by the cashiered Far East commander would involve this country "in the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time and with the wrong enemy."

Charges of Mass Murders, Graft Rock Rhee Regime

There was scarcely a mention of the South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee in the hundreds of thousands of words of testimony by MacArthur and Marshall before the Senate hearings on the Korea war policy.

Yet it was to save Rhee's regime from "aggression" that Truman began his "police action" which has poured into Korea about a half million U.S. ground, air, naval and supply personnel, cost nearly 150,000 U.S. casualties from all causes, slaughtered and maimed millions of Korean civilians and reduced the country to rubble.

What kind of regime are American soldiers killing and being killed for? That is an explosive question that MacArthur and Marshall, Truman and Taft alike want to avoid.

The question has become especially explosive in the light of recent dispatches from Korea about the conflict raging within the South Korean government. It seems that the despotic Rhee regime, kept in power by the U.S. forces, is so corrupt and murderous that a majority of the South Korean National Assembly members themselves can't stomach it.

DEMAND RHEE RESIGN

Last week the United Press reported that "the South Korean Government was rocked to its foundations today (May 11) by brawling within its ranks." This "brawling" involved nothing less than a demand for President Rhee's resignation on charges of corruption and thievery, mass massacres of South Korean civilians, the assumption of dictatorial powers and other crimes. The conflict was brought to a head by the resignation of Vice President Lee Si Yung in protest against, among other things, the embezzlement of 5 billion won (about \$2

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COUNCIL OF WAR

Bradley thus bears out what the Militant has stated from the start of the so-called "great debate." The MacArthur-Truman conflict over the conduct and future strategy of the Korean war has nothing to do with restoring peace. It concerns — as we have consistently and insistently pointed out — the question of where, when and against whom to launch the third world war.

The most significant fact about the "great debate," as the Militant observed editorially last week, is that its principal figures are the professional militarists — the top generals. They are leading off the Senate hearings and are laying down the main lines of argument. What is taking place in the Senate, as Walter Lippmann cynically observed, is a "council of war."

The supporters of MacArthur's views calling for immediate all-out war on China — principally those who have financial and trade interests in the Far East — fear first of all the Asian revolutions for national independence and against foreign rule and exploitation. They want to concentrate U.S. military might against China. The leading capitalist circles, however, fear the rise of socialist revolutions in Europe which has the most advanced industrial development outside the U.S. They want to concentrate U.S. military strength on the European continent.

WORLD CAPITALISM

MacArthur is right when he contends that the Asian revolution, undermining imperialism in a third of the world, threatens the very foundations of world capitalism. And Bradley is equally right when he insists that a victory of the socialist revolution

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Why the Morale of the GIs Is So Low

By Joseph Keller

Why is the morale of the GIs so low? This question is keeping the Big Brass awake nights and stirring anxious comment in the press. For never before have GIs shown so little eagerness to wear the uniform and to fight.

The N. Y. Times, frankly acknowledging the low level of Army morale, assigned one of its ace investigators, Benjamin Fine, to do a survey of the problem. He spent months interviewing some 5,000 Army trainees, as well as officers, in Army camps in six states. His findings are reported in a series of articles last week in the Times.

WHY ARE THEY FIGHTING?

Fine concludes that: 1. "Few American soldiers know why they are in uniform"; 2. "because they don't know why they are in uniform, the morale of many of the nation's service men is poor"; and, 3. "the armed forces education program does not do an adequate job. It does not answer

the many 'why's' asked by the man."

Fine studied particularly the Army's Troop Information and Education Program, which was originally set up during World War II to "educate" the draftees on why they ought to be willing and eager to fight. Fine emphasizes the inadequate pedagogical methods of this propaganda program. He found it "put the men to sleep," that the instructors didn't know their subjects or were not interested themselves, that the men were crowded into hot and airless rooms, that there wasn't enough discussion, etc., etc.

He suggests better-trained instructors and more interesting teaching methods be employed to "stimulate interest." But he concedes "however, it must be remembered that this is not the solution by a long shot." He's right.

The answers to the "why's" of the men are not convincing. No matter how the Army dresses up these answers, they are the same

ones the men have heard before.

In school, in church, over the radio and television and in the press and movies, the GI has been hearing these same answers year in and year out. Day and night since the start of the Korean war, like everybody else in this country, the draftees have been bombarded by experts with arguments on why it is "right" for his country to intervene in Korea.

PROPAGANDA USELESS

If the young men are not convinced by the time they enter the Army, what reason is there to believe that any kind propaganda program, however clever and interesting, can "sell them a bill of goods" once they don the uniform? If their parents and friends at home, as all the polls and the flood of letters to Washington prove, are against the Korea war and want the troops withdrawn right away, why should the GIs be expected to view the Korea war any differently?

In previous wars, the men customarily "griped" about conditions of army life, the food, the clothing, the shelter, the "chicken" of the officers, the discipline. But there was not so much questioning of the "why" of the war itself. Korea has changed that. "The gripes" are more than the typical Army complaints. They are serious," Fine reports.

He devotes most of one long article to a typical "cross-section of the attitude" of the men. Their own words reveal they do not believe the Korean war is just and necessary; they regard terms like "democracy" as mere propaganda; the only thing they want is to get out of the army as fast as possible. Here are some of their statements:

WHAT THE GIs SAY

"We are not fighting to protect our country; we are fighting to protect other countries."

"If I were wise I wouldn't be here. The smart ones will stay out."

"Why do we pay income taxes and generals don't?"

"Democracy doesn't mean a damn thing to me in this hellhole (the training camp)."

"If democracy means fighting for freedom, why don't we have some of it in the Army?"

"Why am I in the Army? I'll tell you why. It's because Truman made a blunder."

"I've lost all sense of religion here. I just have no stomach to fight the United Nations war. It's only for Wall Street anyway."

"Why are we kept in the dark about everything? What we get tossed at us is just a bunch of propaganda."

These are the attitudes current in the armed forces, Fine reports. The men regard the army as an institution with profound dislike and view the war aims with utmost distrust. Their attitude, Fine complains, is "heartbreaking." And, as he admits, "it would oversimplify the case to say that a good information program would correct all the problems."



Undergoing a second trial for their lives are the world famous Trenton Six, saved from execution after their first jim-crow frame-up trial by popular protest. Front row (l. to r.): Collis English, James Thorpe, Horace Wilson. Rear: R. Cooper, McKinley Forest, J. McKenzie.

Notebook of an Agitator

The Mind Molders at Work

What would people think about the larger questions of general interest and concern if they were free to make up their own minds; if they got full information and heard all points of view, and were not pressured, badgered, bulldozed and blackjacked into thinking what they are supposed to think? If the reference is to the state of affairs in the police-ruled and regimented domain of Stalinism behind the Iron Curtain, it will be recognized at once that this question is in order. When one source controls all agencies of information and instruction and uses them to serve special interests, it is pretty hard to tell what the people really think or would think if they had access to all the essential facts and had a fair chance to decide for themselves.

But how do things stand with regard to the shaping of public opinion in the United States, which according to the self-righteous critics of the Stalinist regime, enjoys diametrically opposite conditions of unrestricted democracy? Just what does this free and fair democracy, the necessary premise for which is full information and free criticism from all sides, look like in practice in this marvelous country of ours? From a close-up view it doesn't look so good. People's minds are brutally bludgeoned and one-sidedly manipulated here too, as can be demonstrated by an examination of the news and information factories of the country and the methods by which they mold public opinion.

Convincing testimony on this point is adduced in an important novel about life and work on the staff of a widely-read national news and picture magazine. The book is "The Big Wheel" by John Brooks, first published in 1949 and now brought out in a 25c Pocket Book edition. Mr. Brooks brings impressive credentials to his task. He has served on the editorial staffs of several large magazines, including Time and the New Yorker, and he knows what he is talking about. His book radiates authenticity from every page.

Taking advantage of the greater freedom offered by the novel form in these days of increasing censorship and witch-hunt suppression, the author brings information and depicts reality excluded from expression in other mediums. The truth nowadays must disguise itself as fiction. You can come closer to getting honest information about contemporary society in fiction than anywhere else.

"The Big Wheel" presents a composite picture of the inner workings of such so-called news magazines as Time and Life and the people who work there. The fictional name of the publication is Present Day, "the bright, four-color purveyor of a popular culture that had all the answers, and behind the facade a staff of tortured and doubting men who feel that half of what they did was dishonest." Present Day, like all the popular magazines of mass circulation, fat with advertising and expensive illustrations, is engaged in the business of slanting the news by the omission of some essential facts and the exaggeration of others under guise of objective reporting.

The technique of Present Day is somewhat different from that of the press in totalitarian countries, but it is no less effective in poisoning the wells of public information. The press behind the Iron Curtain — monopolized by the Stalinist party-state — lies outright, secure against any contradiction by anybody. The technique of the so-called free press of democratic America — in reality the monopoly of a small group of financial interests — is subtler, trickier and more hypocritical. Present Day, as the author depicts

it, bludgeons the minds of people with the systematic misrepresentation of reality, betrays them with half-truths which are the most treacherous of lies.

One of the central episodes in the book deals with the "editing" of a series of despatches from Eastern Europe. They were written by Struther Carson, a noted correspondent who retained the habit of reporting what he saw, while "avoiding responsibility for what happened to his despatches between the time they came over the trans-oceanic cable and the time they appeared on the newsstands" under his by-line. Barring this compromise with conscience — a gravely serious one to be sure, but even at that he was 50% better than his editors, being only 50% crooked — "the instincts of a thorough, honest and fair minded reporter were still with him." His report was "calm in tone, but let the facts fall where they might; it pandered to nobody's prejudices." But by the time it got into the magazine, it was a different story altogether.

The device by which the despatches went into the editorial hopper as one thing and came out something else is related in the account of the editorial conference on the matter. "It needs serious work on it, of course," says one of the editors in charge of fouling things up. "Rambles badly, Dick. Got to cut it down. Part about religious freedom in Yugoslavia. Got to go. Dull."

"Isn't that pretty important?"

"No. Now about the trouble with Polish visa. Kind of fascinating. Got to build it up. Elaborate. Set it off so nobody misses. Add a few sentences there."

"Military strength in Russia. Build that up. Get stuff out of files here. Stick it in."

The narrator, who was a green man on the staff, demurred at this butchery of an objective report, but it didn't do him any good. The editor just grinned and said: "Take it easy, will you? You're getting all steamed up about nothing. What the devil, it's only another story. . . . Hell, we're not saints up here. We're in business."

Further: "Listen, it's just routine editing. Mostly cutting things out, not much putting anything in. The piece as it stands is too long, see? It rambles; it needs tightening up. It's not exactly a revolutionary assignment, Dick, asking a man to do some cutting."

That was the way they cut up Struther Carson's unprejudiced report of what he saw in Eastern Europe and made it fit Present Day's conception of what he should have seen. Hatchet jobs of this kind on every item and article in every department fashioned Present Day into a club to beat public opinion into the desired shape, and gave the editor-in-chief the self-satisfaction of a man of accomplishment, a man with a mission. "It's a good and important job we've got, Dick, molding people's minds, shaking them out of their ruts and putting them onto the path into the future." By the "future," the editor meant more of the present; more of "Our Way of Life" extolled by the magazine, a "way" generally recommended by its beneficiaries to its victims.

It's time here to follow the author of "The Big Wheel" in his clinical examination of the motives and morals of the staff members on Present Day who "mold people's minds" to the acceptance of things as they are by these dirty and dishonest methods. But space is running out, and the chapter on The Men Who Mold People's Minds will have to hold over for next week.

Charges Rock Rhee Despotism

(Continued from Page 1)

million) through the false registration of draftees in the South Korean National Guards.

A dispatch to the N. Y. Times from Pusan, where the National Assembly is meeting, concedes that there is "no attempt on the part of American officials to delude themselves about the extent to which charges of governmental corruption are well founded."

SLAUGHTER CIVILIANS

The Times published a May 11 dispatch from Taegu by Murray Schumacher reporting that the "immediate reason" for the "bitter disputes" in the Assembly was "the disclosure that South Korean troops and police had massacred hundreds of South Koreans on the ground they aided Communist guerrillas. As a result of the killings in Kochang on Feb. 12, three ministers, including the powerful Defense Minister, were forced out of the Cabinet. A fourth has since resigned and the

resignation of the Vice President was refused by the Assembly after a hot row yesterday."

The Assembly had, in fact, upheld Lee's charges against Rhee by voting, with only one vote against, not to accept Lee's resignation. This action, which amounted to a virtual repudiation of Rhee, greatly alarmed the American officials in Korea, Murray Schumacher reported. U.S. officials were "trying to figure how far they can interfere in South Korean politics without being accused of taking sides."

U.S. INTERFERENCE

Three days later, evidently, the Americans had solved their dilemma. The Assembly reversed itself and by a vote of 77 to 10, with 41 abstentions, accepted the resignation of Vice President Lee. The United Press said that "Korean government employees charged that the sudden about-face was directly attributable to 'suggestions' of the United States State Department, which has been a strong supporter of the ad-

ministration of President Syngman Rhee."

CBS correspondent George Herman reported from Korea on May 14 that "there were many angry mutterings in the chamber that the only reason the Assembly went through with the embarrassing reversal was because of heavy American pressure supporting Syngman Rhee." He added: "But despite American support, the Syngman Rhee regime is in a shaky and unpopular condition."

This is direct evidence that, far from defending an "independent democratic" government in Korea, the U.S. is actually upholding a corrupt, savage, despotic regime which the Korean people despise. This regime would have been swept out by the South Koreans if the civil war between North and South Korea had not given Truman the pretext to intervene and save Rhee. Just a few weeks before the war began, the Rhee supporters were badly beaten in elections which returned only 45 of them to the National Assembly out of 210 seats filled.

SUPPRESSED REPORT

When Secretary of Defense Marshall released the long-suppressed report of General Wedemeyer on China and Korea, he deleted from it portions which were highly critical of Syngman Rhee. The Republicans, who had been clamoring for release of the report, didn't so much as whisper about these deletions.

According to Robert S. Allen, Washington columnist of the N. Y. Post, the still-suppressed portions of the Wedemeyer report "deal entirely with South Korean President Syngman Rhee and the 'extreme right-wing group' around him. Two deletions are to the effect that Rhee cannot be elected in an honest ballot." Another lengthy deletion characterizes Rhee's intimates as land-owners, bankers and mortgage holders who will "fight to the finish any attempt to better the lot of the average Korean."

Thus, one of the chief reasons why Washington intervened in

Korea was to keep it under the control of capitalist elements.

But why have the U.S. officials insisted on keeping Rhee in office even against the opposition of the South Korean Assembly members? Couldn't they find another figurehead not so tainted and exposed as Rhee?

There is reason to believe that the majority, and more liberal, elements in the South Korean Assembly are ready to make a peace with the North Korean government and that only the Rhee group is opposed to it.

In this connection, we can see the possibly great significance of a statement issued as an "Easter Sunday peace appeal" by Yong-yeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C. Kim expresses the point of view of the anti-Rhee wing of the South Korean government. His appeal was addressed jointly to Syngman Rhee and to Kim Il Sung, Premier of the North Korean government.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

Kim declared that "continuance of the war will only spell the complete annihilation of our nation" and wrote, "I beseech you both to confer together to effect a peaceful settlement. Korean difficulties must be settled by Koreans. You must request simultaneously that all foreign and domestic forces within your areas cease fighting."

The Korean people want to stop the war under any conditions because the alternative is complete annihilation. Even the South Korean Assembly — which originally upheld U.S. intervention — is ready to offer terms for the ending of the war and the "liberation" that threatens to wipe Korea off the map with U.S. bombs and shells.

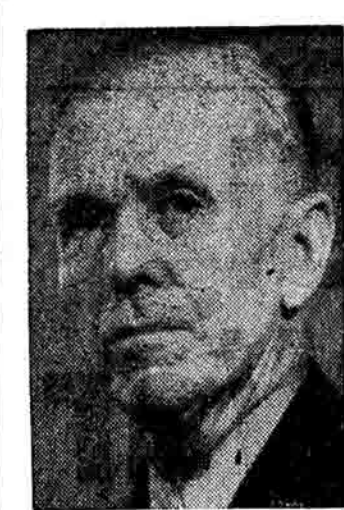
But U.S. imperialism is determined to prevent the war from being stopped except on its terms. That is why it wants to continue to maintain its puppet Rhee, who was imposed on the Korean people by fraud and force, as the "spokesman" for the South Koreans.

By Tom Conlan

In the battle of words between MacArthur and the administration, where the "area of agreement" is growing broader and broader, both sides have been very careful to suppress the outstanding fact in relation to China, namely, that this Asian country has been undergoing vast revolutionary changes and that it is primarily as a result of this unfolding revolution that Chiang Kai-shek and his utterly discredited and corrupt gang have been kicked out of the mainland.

To be sure, in his public address, MacArthur made a reference to the unification of China under Peiping, something that neither Chiang nor the Japanese ever came close to accomplishing. MacArthur made this admission only to assert that this highly progressive unification of 500 million Chinese represented an "imperialist" threat; and to assure in the same breath that this giant country would collapse through the incursion of Chiang's troops on the mainland, coupled with U.S. bombings of Chinese centers and a naval blockade.

Against MacArthur the administration spokesmen have



MARSHALL

cited the experience of Japan. Holding the main coastal areas and inland centers, with a firm base in Manchuria and the Northern provinces, with large armies in the field, and ruthless bombings of Chinese strongholds, the Mikado's militarists nevertheless failed miserably.

AID TO CHIANG

But the administration spokesmen had an even more potent argument, which they have re-

frained from adducing directly. Chiang for years received "logistical support" far beyond anything MacArthur dares now to suggest in public. Billions of dollars in cash were advanced to Chiang, plus other billions in arms and equipment. Entire armies were trained and equipped by U.S. officers and military advisers. He was given naval and air armaments. His troops were transported by American planes and vessels to points in Manchuria and elsewhere in China.

In his testimony, Gen. Marshall, Secretary of Defense, who spent an entire year in China — from Christmas 1945 to January 1947 — summarized the situation at that time as follows:

"You were confronted with a force on one side of about 3,000,000, a military power, and a force on the other side of something between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 of which about 400,000 were pretty well trained troops in the way of organization."

Overwhelming military superiority was on Chiang's side. His army was of a size never before mustered in China, not even by the Japanese. How then was it destroyed by "400,000 pretty well trained troops" on the other side? The Pentagon sages who discuss everything solely in military terms do not even bother to explain this military miracle. The whole point is: It was the Chinese revolution, the millions of insurgent people, who overwhelmed Chiang, with all his armies, with all the billions of dollars pumped from Washington.

It was an "impossible situation," to cite Marshall's own words. There was only way to curb or cheat the Chinese revolution. Marshall was sent to China to engineer a coalition government. His proposal, and he blurted out that it was a "temporizing proposal," was to set up a "sort of overall council," with Chiang assured of 40 votes while the Stalinists plus "all the other groups combined were to have forty." What could be more "democratic"? And here is the real joker. "But its action (that of the council)," continued Marshall, "could be vetoed by the Generalissimo, and the veto could be over-ruled by a two-thirds vote, which meant that defections would have to be from his (Chiang's) own group before he could be countered in his action by veto."

STALINISTS AGREEABLE

Chiang would remain dictator, with the "sort of overall council" as the facade. Incredible as it may seem to those unacquainted with Stalinist leaderships the Chinese Stalinists were agreeable to this arrangement; they simply wanted certain guarantees against Chiang. Despite all of Marshall's urgings and pressure, Chiang was the one who insisted on breaking off the negotiations. He violated the truce by launching a large-scale assault, whereupon Marshall left China in disgust and incautiously at the time, denounced Chiang. And so did the State Department later in its "White Paper" on China.

All this has now been conveniently forgotten. But Marshall did blurt out a few previously unknown facts. One was that the U.S. Navy was all the while

pressing for "a port, a safe anchorage, you might say, and possible repair point on the China coast." The other was that U.S. marines were on "their job at that time of keeping the railroad open" — for Chiang from Tientsin to Peiping.

Then the Defense Minister Forrestal paid Marshall a hurried visit at Nanking, his chief concern being to "get the marines out." He thought Marshall was a bit remiss on this point. But Marshall assures, "I was not only skeptical, but alarmed at the possibilities of ground involvement with China."

The question naturally arises:

Why are Marshall and his colleagues today bent on prolonging and extending the war with both Korea and China — in a different way and at a different rate from MacArthur's — but prolonging and extending it nonetheless? Why aren't they equally "alarmed and skeptical" today?

"Everything that is involved in international relationship amounts to a gamble," coolly testified MacArthur. The administration and all its Marshalls appear here as well to have a "broad area of agreement." They are also gambling — with the lives and destiny of the American people at table stakes.

THE MILITANT ARMY

How do the leading branches in the Big League Militant Circulation Campaign roll up those points? Bill, one of the high scorers in Flint, top branch in Konikow League, explains it as follows:

"Getting subs is just plain old Jimmy Higgins work, consistent work with a deep awareness of its political importance. When somebody tells me they are taking enough papers already, I immediately explain the difference between our paper and the capitalist press, reminding them of the economy of \$1 for six months."

The secret of the success of the Twin Cities, now leading in the Coover League, is much the same, Pauline of Minneapolis says. "Our main emphasis has been, and will remain, on getting subs (both new and renewals). Of course we sell individual copies on the campus regularly and out of this work we hope to get some subs."

"All of the members of the branch have participated in this campaign in one way or another. We have a large scorecard in the front of our main hall with the names of all Twin Cities subscribers listed. We have few names now that have a zero for the four weeks of the campaign, and the enthusiasm expressed by all the participants is mounting as the weeks go by, so look for us to continue BUILDING THE MILITANT!"

Success in selling The Militant in the world's largest city is along the same road as elsewhere. New York Literature Agent Cathy reports that "in one week we almost doubled our score. We're really beginning to feel that the campaign is under way and all our activists are enthusiastically aiming to catch up with some of the national high scorers. From here on we'll be going all out to beat the Twin Cities."

Marie Hahn reveals some of the secret methods that have put her at the top of the list in New York. Every Saturday she takes 100 Militants to the same neighborhood and stays until the last one is sold. Marie likes the personal approach. She greets the individual coming along the street instead of waiting for him to make the first advance. She is completely democratic, drawing the line only on drunks. You can

never tell who may turn out to be a socialist at heart, she says.

Marie is courteous, cheerful and friendly no matter what the response from Stalinist hecklers or bigots. When she gets tired she takes time out for a cup of coffee.

Putting the paper into the hands of the prospective buyer is an important step, Marie finds. You let him inspect what you are selling, interest is aroused and The Militant sells itself.

"The thing that most often defeats someone trying to sell The Militant for the first time is lack of confidence," Marie says. "If you imagine you are inadequate, just study The Militant and compare it with the capitalist press. This will soon dispel that uneasy feeling. The analysis of labor and world problems is the most logical and honest offered. The worker, snowed in by lies and distortions has a real need for The Militant. As the head of IBM would say — you've got the best product on the market, now go out and sell!"

The Los Angeles "Campaign Bulletin" comments: "Last week's showing clearly indicates that our paper can be sold in large quantities in this period of widening political interest. It also shows that a larger number of comrades are becoming aware of the political opportunity that is before us at this time."

This sums up a feeling shared by all the branches that have really plunged wholeheartedly into the campaign: The political climate has changed; people who were influenced by the witch-hunt only a year ago are now interested in subscribing; and the paper sells easily.

U.S. Provoking War, Says Taft

Taking the Senate floor on May 10, Sen. Taft affirmed and reaffirmed that "we have not hesitated to give Russia cause for war." As one illustration he cited the administration's course in Turkey. "We have gone into Turkey," explained Taft, "from which Russian cities may be bombed; we have armed the Turks; we certainly would consider the arming of Mexico by Russia as a cause for war on the part of Russia. We have given them all the cause they want, if they want to go to war."

Nazis Revive in Germany, Austria

By Charles Hanley

The neo-Nazi "Socialist Reichs-Partei" scored 11 percent of the votes in the elections for a new parliament in the State of Lower Saxony, in the north of Western Germany (British Zone) on May 6. Considering the Social Democrats' 33 percent, neo-fascism still is far from victory, but the danger cannot be denied. It should be noted that the Social Democratic vote dropped from 43 percent in 1947 to 33 percent in 1951 (while the Stalinists got only 61,000 votes out of 3,393,000 ballots cast and therefore cease to be a major political force in Lower Saxony altogether, after having held eight seats in the old Assembly).

WHY NAZIS ARE GROWING

What are the factors accounting for the resurgence of fascism in Germany? Above all, the encouragement given to the Nazis by the imperialist occupiers who have systematically released Nazi criminals from prisons and infusing them into the German people by fraud and force, as the "spokesman" for the South Germans.

German military men and former Nazi propagandists for the current anti-Soviet war preparations; and by the Stalinists as well, whose "National Front" policy is aimed quite openly at an anti-American alliance between the Kremlin and "patriotic" German capitalists, former Nazi party members and even SS officers (!).

With both sides in the "cold war" wooing the Nazis, it was only natural that the new Hitlerites felt they were again becoming an important political group and should set up a new Nazi party including new versions of the "Hitler Youth" and of the Stormtroopers.

SHIFT IN MOOD

On the other hand, certain petty-bourgeois layers which at first favored the Social Democrats after Hitler's downfall, are disappointed because the reformists did not advocate the bold and radical solutions required by the situation. What did the SP do about unemployment, housing, the refugee problem and other social questions. . . ? Each time the organizations of the working class lack determination and

dynamic impetus, they lose petty-bourgeois support. The latter then swings to right-wing demagogues who promise more "action."

The more the reformists are afraid of attacking the capitalists, the more will the petty bourgeoisie feel attracted by fascism. To some extent, history can repeat itself: The Lower Saxony elections remind us of the rise of Hitlerism under the Weimar Republic. And we notice the same phenomenon in Austria where, on the same day (May 6, 1951) a neo-fascist party, the "League of Independents," was able to get about 15 percent of the votes in the first (inconclusive) presidential elections since the war — four percent more than the so-called "Socialist Reichs-Partei" in Northwestern Germany.

The Trotskyists have opposed the occupation of Germany and Austria from the very beginning because they knew one of its reasons was to prevent the German and Austrian working class from taking power in 1945 and from carrying out a thorough housecleaning which would really have "de-nazified" those countries.

As to the reformists, they are not capable of waging an efficient struggle against fascism, because they urge the capitalist state to do this, instead of consistently fighting capitalism and mobilizing the workers themselves against fascist bands. The capitalist state can never be relied on to destroy fascism: Only the proletariat is able and effectively willing to smash this outgrowth of capitalism.

The resurgence of fascism is a threat which it would be foolish to ignore. European fascists even seem to stage their first international conference in Sweden — under the direction of Sir Oswald Mosley (Britain). They hope for a big comeback. But it would be ridiculous to think that their eventual triumph is inevitable!

The European working class is not beaten into submission. Its mass organizations have yet to be broken up. The development of revolutionary movements can provide the toiling masses with the kind of leadership they need to crush their enemies. The launching of the Independent Workers Party of Germany is a big step in this direction.

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Monday, May 21, 1951

The Socialist Alternative to War

After the end of World War II the people of the United States and the whole world hoped for an era of peaceful collaboration between nations. Roosevelt's "Atlantic Charter," now trampled in the dust, promised an end to wars, freedom and independence to all peoples. Statesmen spoke of "One World," of the unification of Europe without trade barriers, of the free exchange of goods and worldwide mutual aid — the dream of humanity to lift civilization up beyond the stage of conflict over booty to the building of a world of peace and plenty. We were told by such spokesmen for U.S. capitalism as Time magazine that we were entering the "American Century" during which the fabulously rich resources of this country would be used to rebuild the world and re-create it in the image of U.S. prosperity.

A Bloody Preview of the 'American Century'

After six years of World War II, and the emergence of the U.S. power as dominant in the world, there has not been a moment's peace. A few days after the surrender of Japan, the U.S. government was sending transport planes into China to bolster the military forces of the Butcher Chiang Kai-shek. American imperialism interfered everywhere when the people tried to set up governments of their own choosing, to abolish imperialist exploitation, and to win independence from foreign domination.

And these terrible years are only the beginning — a preview of Truman-Bradley's "right war, in the right place, at the right time, against the right enemy." Whether this next war is fought to win control over the industrial riches of Europe, or the colonial empire of Asia, or both — it will threaten the atomic wrecking of civilization.

Two ravaging world wars prove that capitalism cannot reorganize the world to live in peace. These two wars and the interval following them show that the great scientific and technological riches of humanity can be used under capitalism only for destruction. To establish

Only Socialism Can Build 'One World'

The hope of the world's peoples for "One World" is now deeper than ever. The realization that the greatest enemy to freedom and independence is U.S. capitalism has spread throughout Europe and Asia. And in the U.S. the American people are beginning to awaken.

Here, in the last stronghold of world imperialism, there is growing lack of confidence in the government leaders. The people are bitterly resentful of the bloody toll taken by the Korean war. They are indignant at the heavy burdens placed upon them to pay for this war and for the all-out war in preparation, while the profiteers amass fortune upon fortune.

Above all, the American people are beginning to lose their illusions that there

But events since the atomic destruction of Nagasaki and Hiroshima have shown that this was nothing but another capitalist lie. The Militant warned on August 18, 1945 that "There Is No Peace!" We warned humanity that "the end of the Second World War does not mean peace, but only an interval between wars, marked by smaller conflicts." This prediction has been tragically borne out.

The blunt statement of Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, in his testimony before the Senate committee investigating the MacArthur affair that MacArthur is proposing "... the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy," bares the whole sham of the foreign policy debate: They do not argue about the road to peace, but about the "best" road to war.

a society which will enrich human life, a new system is needed.

The people of Asia and Europe, the overwhelming majority of the people, are striving toward this new system. Millions upon millions of people are struggling to cast off the yoke of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation. The adherence of large sections of the oppressed people to Stalinism is only a phase in their struggle for emancipation.

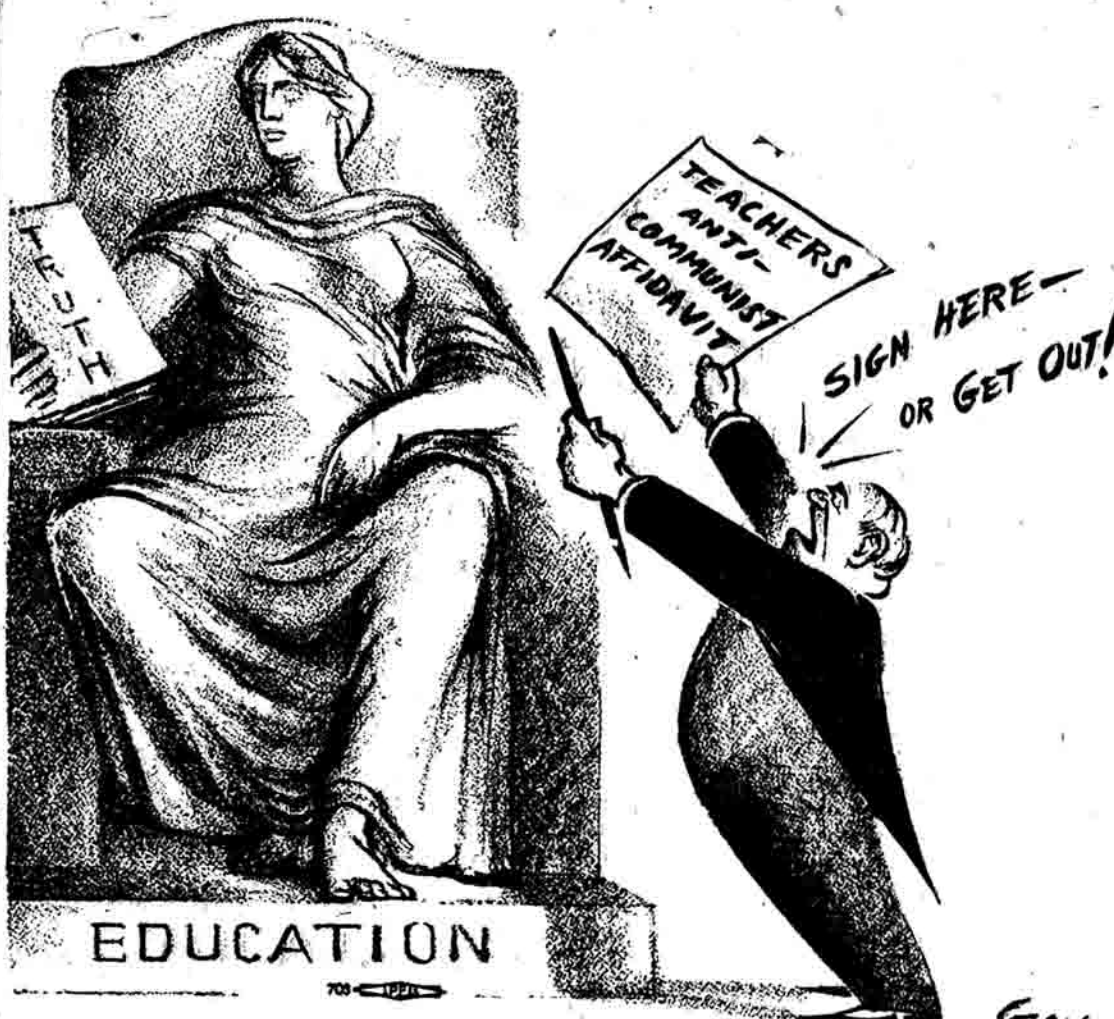
American capitalism has been throwing its guns and armies against this growing revolt since 1945. Every attempt by the masses of any nation to overthrow its exploiters meets the ferocious violence of U.S. imperialism.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism is world-wide. While the dictators in the Kremlin attempt to use the anti-capitalist mood of the masses in their diplomatic maneuvers, seeking to gain time and preserve their own privileged rule, they know that the victory of socialism will spell their doom. Once encouraged by the spread of socialism to the major capitalist countries, the Soviet masses will rid themselves of their own oppressors.

Only Socialism Can Build 'One World'

is any chance for peace under the present leadership; whether Taft and MacArthur have their way, or Truman and the Pentagon prevail, U.S. foreign policy leads to atomic war.

It remains for the American people to draw the conclusion from the present impasse that the cause for war is the capitalist system; when this truth is discovered, then the necessary preconditions for the world collaborations of the peoples will have been laid down. A socialist America, freely exchanging its gigantic production of goods with the rest of the world, exporting its science and knowledge and technique instead of guns and planes and bombs — that is the glorious promise of socialism. That is the only road to peace.



Campus Thought Control Already Nation-Wide

By Joseph Hansen

The New York Times is worried about the low state of intellectual life on the campuses. When the N. Y. Times worries about something, everybody better worry. It's the most influential capitalist paper in the country.

Yes, intellectual life on the American campus has deteriorated, says the N. Y. Times. Professors and instructors are "wary" about "speaking out" on "controversial issues." Freedom of thought no longer exists in the classroom.

Students it seems are being trained in strict accord with the real moral code of the capitalist system. To find openings in government or industry or even get into a graduate school they've got to start making the record the day they register. FBI agents are prowling around the campus. Scholastic standing is checked and nowadays that doesn't mean how did you do in math but were you ever "associated" with anything that Joe McCarthy considers disloyal? Number one requirement for a job after graduation is not some conspicuous achievement but a most conspicuous failure — failure to ever take up a "humanitarian cause" or any cause associated with words like "liberal," "peace," "freedom."

FEAR AND UNCERTAINTY

This blight upon "free exploration of knowledge and truth" is in part due to the witch-hunt, the Times reports, but it is also due to the "probable inevitability of the draft, the fear and uncertainty in national life and a fatalistic and frustrated conviction that little can be done

in the college area to alter international developments."

Now why should the Times suddenly get worried about intellectual life dying out on the American campus? Hasn't the Times supported all Truman's "loyalty" purges and the witch-hunt that's been raging under Democratic and Republican auspices for some five years? Doesn't the Times do painstaking research on its own prospective employees to make sure everybody on the Sulzberger payroll meets the thought-control standards of J. Edgar Hoover? Could it be that the editor has reformed?

No, the Times hasn't suddenly taken the cure or gone socialist and decided to really fight for democratic rights. The editor probably just started reminiscing about the discussions he underwent in his day on the campus — controlled discussions that created a mild, short-time fever about freedom of thought, the evils of capitalism and even what socialism could do to eliminate poverty, depressions and war. It was like vaccination.

Today they're turning out an unvaccinated student body. Is that safe? What if a student runs up against a genuine socialist and gets the full contagion of these dangerous ideas about freedom, peace, progress and a better world. What then?

My advice to the N. Y. Times is not to worry. It's true today's students lack that vaccination scar. But if I understand what the witch-hunters are after, the scheme is to graduate them with something else also missing.

Let's call a spade a spade. Back in my home, Sevier County, Utah, when we reached a certain age

some of the elementary facts of life were explained to us along these lines: It's necessary to perform that operation on Mary's little lamb so he won't grow up into a ram full of steam and fire. The same operation, for the same reasons, is performed on cattle. They are then known as steers or oxen.

Among the gang there was considerable free discussion on the point and we wondered if the stories about completely trustworthy harem guards were just made up like the rest of the Arabian Nights?

Now the Times has finally cleared this up to my complete satisfaction. Not only are there eunuchs but they are trying to turn them out on a mass scale. The American campus it appears is becoming just an animal farm. Like the old X-Bar-B ranch they plan to produce them by the hundreds of thousands, tender, spiritless, docile and guaranteed virgin. Emotions like solidarity, pity, compassion, love of humanity are unknown to these emasculates. "Higher" education removes their capacity for real living. They don't carry the FBI thought-control band on their hides but you can always get the necessary papers if need be and of course a mental examination is absolute proof positive that the operation was a complete success.

THE REBEL GENERATIONS

It seems a pity. To turn youth — rebellious American youth searching for ideals worth living for, into spiritless, hang-head cattle! Especially when you think back about the youth who came before them, the great rebel generations. Those who really believed in America — really believed it to be the land of the free and the home of the brave. Those who refused to bow to the British tyrant. Who refused to accept slavery. Who said America must not be afraid of change but must seek it when the time is ripe. The pioneers. The fighters.

The Times, not wishing to paint too dark a picture, claims that here and there a voice is still heard in the suffocating atmosphere. It offers no opinion on how long these pockets of resistance can hold out against the combined mopping up operations of the Truman Administration, school boards and trigger-happy local McCarthyites.

WHERE THOUGHT LIVES

Does this mean a hopeless outlook for free thought among the generation now in school? I don't think so. Not every youth is willing to make the required sacrifice for a cramped, stifling, pigeon-hole future. There are rebels among the youth today as there always have been and always will be. You can regiment the campus but you can't regiment thought or those who feel its power burning and stirring and awakening in them so they never can be broken and taught to wear the saddle and take to the whip.

I felt this on the coast to coast speaking tour I just concluded. The campuses are fenced off like barn yards by the barbed wire of reaction. Nevertheless centers of free thought do exist in America, centers of unfettered study, of clash of ideas, of great new vistas that lift you right out of the deadly humdrum daily routine. These centers are also sources of

The Negro Struggle

Meek Pleas, Civil Rights And Congress

By J. Blake

"Congress is engaged in a wilful sit-down strike against civil rights." That is what Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said last week in reviewing the record of the 82nd Congress.

Pointing to the long list of proposals for civil rights legislation on which Congress has not acted, White said this "demonstrates the urgent need for a national conference to develop plans for a new and intensified drive for enactment of civil rights measures."

The NAACP has called a conference for this purpose to be held in Washington May 22-23. That is a good idea. But unless this conference makes a basic analysis of why Congress has not passed any civil rights legislation, the "new and intensified drive" will simply be more of the same kind of tactics that have been followed by the NAACP in the past, and will get more of the same kind of civil rights legislation that has been won in the past, which amounts to practically nothing.

Why doesn't Congress pass civil rights legislation? Or, as the hero of "Simple Speaks His Mind" would put it: "Why do they do us like that?"

What Is the U.S. Congress?

It's not hard to understand. What is Congress? A body of politicians put in office by the Democratic and Republican parties for the purpose of passing laws in the interest of the people who run the country.

The people who run the country are not the Negroes, not the working people. The rulers of the country are the same people who run Big Business — the capitalists. Their chief aim is to run business at a profit and to oppose everything that challenges their right to do just that.

Civil rights for everyone would make it difficult to play off Negro workers against white workers, to make the underpaid and underprivileged white workers think they are not so bad off because another group, the darker workers, are worse off.

Once that division is removed, black and white workers might decide the time had come to get together to challenge the right of the minority, the capitalists, to own and control the factories and farms where workers are permitted to produce all the wealth of society only so long as the capitalist makes a profit.

A Labor Party Needed

If the civil rights conference actually goes to the bottom of the question of why Congress does not pass civil rights legislation, it will map out a very different kind of drive from the past. It will stop petitioning and pleading with capitalist politicians to do things that are against their nature, and begin a campaign to replace them with representatives of working men and women.

A labor party would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the greatest unity of all workers. Such a party would not have to lie to the people in order to gain their support, since it would not be serving one class while trying to buy the votes of the other with false promises.

Moreover, just the first steps in the building of a mass labor party would scare more concessions out of the bunch now in Congress than any amount of "respectful petitioning" of the old type.

If the conference in Washington fails to draw the lessons of experience with the old petition and lobbying campaigns, to recognize that those methods failed and new ones must take their place, the result of the May conference will simply be less confidence in the NAACP leadership, and no progress in the fight for civil rights.

IRAN NATIONALIZES OIL, BRITISH HURL THREATS

(Continued from Page 1)

columnist Joseph Alsop last April. And he adds that "the weak corrupt postwar (Iranian) governments have utterly failed to combat the misery and hopelessness that daily increase here."

On top of this there is the threat of famine. Early in April locusts were spreading 10 inches deep in the northern areas, threatening a four-year famine, Iranian agricultural officials warned. Their plea for help to U.S., Britain and France has been ignored.

MASS DISCONTENT

That the nationalization measure has been passed overwhelmingly by the Majlis is irrefutable evidence of the mass anger and discontent. The Iranian government from top to bottom has been completely under the thumb of the British imperialist. The

reigning Shah is the son of a sergeant in the Iranian army who was raised as a "strong man" to the royal throne 25 years ago by the British. And here is how Time magazine, on Feb. 5, characterized the Iranian parliament:

"The Majlis, Iran's parliament, represents cliques of landlords and courtiers competing for patronage and graft." These corrupt creatures now do not dare oppose the popular will and determination to rid the country of the intolerable imperialist yoke.

U.S. PLOTS TO MOVE IN

A sordid feature of the situation is the maneuvering of the American oil corporations, headed by the Rockefeller Standard Oil super-trust. Already entrenched in Saudi Arabia, these gentlemen estimate that circumstances are propitious for moving in on their British rivals, who up to now have successfully shut them out of Iran.

According to columnist Walter Lippman the British financiers have been publicly charging "in substance that the Iranian government would not have risked expropriating and ousting the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company if it did not think that the American oil companies, which have no concessions in Iran, would step in."

There is feverish haggling behind the scenes over the price the British imperialists should pay for Washington's "backing" of their demand to "negotiate" the nationalization decree.

The Iranian events help expose the whole fraud of the Korean intervention. In Iran, as in Korea, the protagonists are basically the same: the native insurgent population on the one side, the imperialists on the other. The American imperialists, backed by the British, plunged into Korea to "halt aggression." The British are guilty of crassest economic aggression against Iran. They threaten military aggression. And what happens? The American imperialists are now busy trying to settle their differences with the British aggressors — at the expense of the Iranian people.

Scottsboro Case--A New Review and Appraisal

By Albert Parker

Andy Wright was 19 years old when he was arrested with the eight other "Scottsboro boys" on a frameup rape charge in 1931. He was 38 years old before he finally was freed on parole and left the state of Alabama in 1950. The newest book on the Scottsboro case, *They Shall Be Free* by Dr. Allan K. Chalmers (Doubleday, 1951, 255 pp., \$3), tells these two stories about Andy Wright:

In 1936 or 1937, after he had already spent several years in prison for a crime everyone knew had not been committed, and when he was facing a new trial at which he might again be sentenced to death (instead of death, he received a 99 year sentence), Wright was told that the Alabama authorities had offered to let him be freed if he would plead guilty.

"Andy Wright's hands clutched the bars; his face was up against them. His eyes were tired from lack of light. His response was immediate. 'Doc, I'll rot here till I die before I'll say I did something I didn't do just to get myself out of here.'"

The second story deals with what happened after Wright was paroled in 1944, with the stipulation that he remain in Alabama. When he went to work for a

lumber company in Montgomery, someone taunted him as a Scottsboro boy and a fist fight followed. Afraid that this would mean his return to the prison hell, Wright fled the state.

Chalmers told him he would help him as much as he could if he wanted to continue hiding out, "but I pointed out the fact that his remaining at large would seriously hinder the other boys' chances for freedom. Thus the choice was up to Andy. He had every right in the world to remain out. . . . Andy went back. It meant years more in prison for him, because the (Parole) Board returned him to jail, revoked his parole, and refused to review his case. Yet for the sake of his friends who were still not free, he agreed to go back."

REMARKABLE DEFENDANTS

It is evident from this that when it came to integrity, solidarity and decency, the Scottsboro defendants were possessed of more than their share. These traits were all the more remarkable in view of the degradation, brutality and torture they suffered during those long years in prison, unforgettably recorded in last year's book, *Scottsboro Boy*, by Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad. But we call attention to these traits for only one reason — because they stand in such

stark contrast to the conciliating, disloyal and downright treacherous policies and behavior of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, the official defense agency in the case.

For the first four years of the Scottsboro struggle (1931-1935), that part was played by the Stalinist-dominated International Labor Defense which initiated the campaign to save the lives of the nine young Negroes that was supported by thousands of radical, Negro, labor and liberal organizations all over the world. Even the conservative enemies of the Scottsboro boys admitted that it was this mass movement which kept the defendants from the death to which they were repeatedly condemned by the courts of Jim Crow Alabama.

But the end of 1935 marked the end of mass action struggle around the Scottsboro case. Direction of the defense was transferred from the ILD to a new organization, the Scottsboro Defense Committee, made up of the following persons and organizations: Walter White of the NAACP, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, Robert Minor of the ILD, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party-dominated League for Industrial Democracy, and William Spofford of the Episcopal Federation for Social Science. Chalmers, then

pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York, was chosen as chairman.

Chalmers undertakes to explain why the Stalinists decided to turn the control of the defense over to a committee in which they would be a minority. "It was becoming evident, even to them, that their tactics were incapable of securing the boys' freedom." That, he says, was why they were "compelled by circumstances to abdicate in favor of a more effective organization," apparently forgetting that on another page he says, "I think the communists would have been content to lose the case if only they could publicize their part in it and point out the weakness in American legal practice."

STALINIST TACTICS

This only proves that Chalmers is as ignorant about politics as about the most elementary principles of labor defense struggles. The Stalinists turned over the case in 1935 not because they felt their previous tactics were inadequate, but because the new political line laid down by the Kremlin that year — the notorious People's Front policy — required that they should strangle all independent labor and Negro movements and struggles in the interests of promoting an alliance between Washington and Moscow. To further this policy, the Stalinists

were directed to become "respectable," ingratiate themselves with the "progressive capitalists" and the liberals, and subordinate every consideration of principle that would stand in the way of the formation of a People's Front.

There was, therefore, good reason even then to suspect that the transfer of the case meant a change in defense policy. The Militant appealed to the new committee to follow a class struggle policy in its efforts to win freedom for the Scottsboro victims. But class struggle was the last thing the Scottsboro Defense Committee had in mind, and it set out on a course that played squarely into the hands of the Alabama authorities.

The inside story of its activities is not widely known. One reason is that the organizations that founded the SDC pledged to refrain from public criticism of its policies, and they kept this pledge. Over the years The Militant has managed to breach this conspiracy of silence and to let the labor and Negro movements know the truth about some of the SDC's sordid deals. Now Chalmers' book makes it possible to fill in some of the gaps. Unwittingly, he has written a crushing criticism of liberalism and, although not in the way he intended, of Stalinism. We will discuss this further next week.

The Wise Man

By Theodore Kovalesky

There lived in our city a very wise man who knew everything. From great distances people came to ask his advice or to test him with questions.

"What," asked one skeptic, "can you tell me about an aard-vark?"

"An aard-vark," said the Wise Man, "is a beast of extremely low intelligence. It has a tiny head, a long nose, and sustains itself by devouring ants."

"So!" snorted the skeptic, leaving. "An aard-vark specialist! Plenty of people know about aard-varks. Probably concerning the loris or the ratel or the kinkajou he knows nothing."

But as time passed there were fewer and fewer skeptics, and the reputation of the Wise Man was assured. Indeed, three daily newspapers dropped both their household hints and their advice to the lovelorn columns, for nobody could tell you better than the Wise Man how to remove rust stains or to win back a prowling husband.

Now in our city it is a custom long observed that on each Mother's Day the Police Force attends Holy Communion and marches in a body from St. Joseph's to the Legion Hall for breakfast. It is a jolly affair and much enjoyed by the police.

One Mother's Day, filled with grace and good humor, the policemen were marching to breakfast after Communion. It was a windy morning, and on the street corners all the pretty girls (who seem to come out from hiding each spring) were clutching frantically at their skirts as the strong breezes blew them up like opened parachutes. The policemen stared with delight; they whistled; they whooped. Officer Mulvaney had gotten hold of a water pistol somewhere and was being impish as all got out.

It was truly a fine morning, too fine to go in for breakfast just yet; breakfast could wait. "Men," said the lieutenant, halting them, "How

would it be if we stopped to see the Wise Man on the way to breakfast?"

The policemen cheered. It was just the right touch for the day. "We will ask him a deep question," announced the lieutenant. "We will ask him... ah... what is the greatest thing in all the world?" He glared at Officer Mulvaney gave a bald answer; but the other policemen grinned. Oh, it was a fine day.

As they approached the door they speculated. Said one, "He'll tell us it's mother-love."

"No," said another, "He'll say it's the white race of Christians."

A third thought it would be the national anthem, and a fourth was sure it would be the United States Constitution, although he had never read it.

The policemen felt a little embarrassed standing there in the Wise Man's presence, but the lieutenant was equal to the occasion. In his best voice he greeted the Wise Man on behalf of the force and asked the question they had agreed upon. In the momentary pause that followed, each awaited the answer he expected. Then the Wise Man spoke.

"The greatest thing in all the world is the struggle of the poor, the oppressed of all races and nationalities for the Socialist liberation of mankind."

The policemen stared aghast. To hear such a thing as this on a Sunday... on Mother's Day... after Holy Communion! Then they closed in. Officer Brady kicked the Wise Man in the groin. Officer Shultz hit him on the head. Officer Szymanski bent down and handcuffed him. Then they dragged him across the street to Number Four, where they booked him for spitting on the sidewalk, assaulting an officer and resisting arrest.

But it was a fine day. They dusted off their hands and marched off, smiling again, whistling and hooting as the wind blew up the girls' skirts on the street corners.

DETROIT LABOR BACKS BUS DRIVERS DESPITE MAYOR'S STRIKEBREAKING

DETROIT, May 14 — With bold headlines in all the daily papers announcing the strikebreaking intent of the city administration, the strike of Detroit bus drivers entered its third week. Division 26, Bus and Streetcar Operators, AFL, began the strike on May 21 over the demand of an 8½ cent an hour wage increase. Within a week Mayor Cobo had invoked the state Hutchinson act and fired all but a few of the 3,800 operators, with the announcement that they "would return to work on the city's terms — or else."

Now the city has publicly announced their plans to hire strikebreakers to run the buses and streetcars. The press reported, with obvious glee, and with accompanying editorials of commendation, the announcement of Mayor Cobo that "I expect the DSR commission to proceed to run the system regardless of the outcome." He justified this position with the statement that, "Inasmuch as this strike is illegal, it cannot be called strike breaking."

There was an immediate reaction from Detroit workers to this brazen attempt to smash the

operators' union. The idea has spread throughout the city to declare a city-wide labor holiday demonstrating the solidarity of all labor with the strikers by holding a giant rally around the city hall. Within the UAW, where the men have often dealt with union-busters like Cobo, the militants are pushing for offering the use of the various flying squadrons, which served the UAW so well in similar strikes in the past.

SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY

The affect that this spirit of solidarity has had upon the strikers was demonstrated in the mass meeting held Sunday, at which Walt Stanley, business agent for the union said "As I said a week ago, it's going to be a long, hard fight. But we have the support of all other unions in the city. We will win."

The reaction of the AFL officials to the proposed strikebreaking attempts was given by Frank X. Martell, President of the Detroit and Wayne County AFL, who announced to the mass meeting "DRS vehicles will only appear on the streets of Detroit when they are operated by mem-

bers of Division 26 under union conditions."

During the past week the AFL distributed half a million copies of a special issue of the paper, Detroit Labor News, in which the true facts of the struggle were explained — the steps taken to avoid the strike, and the final need to strike in order to protect their past gains, and in an attempt to make further progress. The paper contained a copy of a resolution passed by UAW Local 49 which resolved "That all organized labor combine in a United Labor Policy Committee to direct concerted action of all their respective Unions." There was also a letter of support from Emil Mazey, Sec. Treas. of the UAW; proposing a joint meeting of the leaders of both unions to formulate a program of aid to the strike.

Campaign for Socialism Sell 'The Militant!'

TRENTON SIX DEFENDANTS EXPOSE WHAT WENT ON IN POLICE GRILLINGS

(Continued from Page 1) check to the corner grocery store, where he was accustomed to cash it, bought some groceries and returned to the house. There he continued helping his mother with the laundry until noon. In addition to his mother, English named two neighbors who can corroborate his being at home the morning of Jan. 27, 1948.

FRAME-UP BEGINS

When police picked him up on a routine motor vehicle charge the frame-up of the Trenton Six began. After a perfunctory question or two about his father's car which, it was claimed, he had used without parental permission, the police accused him of "hitting the old man up on North Broad St." Although English didn't realize it then, the police were referring to the blow that killed the aged junk dealer, English denied and kept denying any knowledge of what the police were talking about. Teams of detectives worked in rotation on the frightened, sickly veteran. The defendant described how "they kept waving pistols and blackjacks in front of my face." The police kept giving him details of the Horner murder and telling him to say it back to them. When he protested his innocence he was told: "Either you tell it our way or you don't tell it at all," and sent back to his cell only to be pulled out in a few minutes and worked on again.

English also described how Chief of Detectives Naples took him aside and showed him how to go through the pants pockets of a prostrate man. Then he took him back to the room where a representative from the prosecutor's office was and ordered him to demonstrate what he had just learned.

He was also taken to the scene of the murder for a re-enactment

of the crime. While he stood handcuffed the police re-enacted their theory of the murder and asked him to repeat it. Many times he was told that if he cooperated he would get off but that if he remained stubborn things would go hard for him.

DETECTIVES' "CONFESSION"

A glimpse of the method used in preparing the "confessions" was given by English's account of the first "confession" prepared for him and which he refused to sign. Taken into a room for grilling where there was a police clerk present he was asked a few preliminary questions about age, residence, etc. When asked about the Horner murder he said he didn't know about it. Chief Naples said, "I'll tell you how it was," and talking as if he were the defendant confessing gave the details of the crime. The police typist took it down so that the finished document (all in the words of the detective chief except for the preliminary statements about name, age, residence, etc.) was a detailed "confession" of the defendant who was still protesting his innocence.

English also told of a trip in a police car to pick up other Negroes for the frame-up. Before going into the houses to make arrests the detectives told him: "We want you to identify these boys we bring out. If you don't, you ain't coming back."

After four days and four nights of police bawling desks and shouting into his face, "You know you did it, you know you did it," laughing at his requests for medicine and threatening that he would never get out unless he cooperated, English gave in. "I signed the confession because I was sick, confused and scared. Besides there was nothing else I could do," he told the court.

Prosecutor Volpe, who was in

on the frame-up from the first days of the arrest of English, has failed to shake the testimony of either of the two defendants that have thus far taken the stand.

Indeed, one of the stirring sights of the trial was the cross examination of defendant Horace Wilson, who testified earlier this week. This illiterate agricultural worker, who came up from South Carolina nine years ago, conducted himself with such natural dignity and honesty that he commanded the respect of all. Though unlettered, his mind was more than a match for the legal cunning of the prosecutor and many times he turned the prosecutor's questions so that the frame-up was made all the more glaring.

One of his answers drew tears from many in the audience. He admitted not recalling a small detail to which he had testified at the first trial. When the prosecutor waxed sarcastic about his memory Wilson replied simply and straightforwardly: "Mr. Volpe, I've been sitting in a cell for more than three years since then and my memory ain't so good, lots of little things I forget."

On the day of the crime Wilson was working on a farm miles from Trenton. He named eight men who were working with him. The defense also has pay records from his employer showing he was paid for working that morning.

For a Socialist Future Join the Militant Sales Drive

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Wouldn't Heil MacArthur, Faces Ouster

NEW YORK CITY — Because he refused to take part in the demonstration for MacArthur, New York Junior High School teacher Norman London is up for disciplinary action before the Board of Education.

Asked why he did not choose to attend the MacArthur demonstration, London said that he considered the so-called "welcome" a "political demonstration," adding that he was opposed to the "army's segregation policy in the Far East" and that MacArthur's policy would "lead to world war III."

London also said that in the Philippines where he had served in World War II it was "well known that the GIs had no love for MacArthur."

The Teachers union is backing London. In the course of the revelations in this case it was reported by the school board that 50,000 students were corralled to line the streets in the big MacArthur "welcome."

This action to investigate London preceded by a few days action by the N. Y. State Board of Education ruling that the State had the right to order teachers to take part in extra-curricular activities, without pay. If teachers refuse, they can be fired, according to the ruling.

Kutcher Appeal to Test Supreme Court Decision

The importance of the case of the legless veteran James Kutcher has been highlighted by three recent Supreme Court decisions on Truman's loyalty purge.

Kutcher, a World War II veteran who lost both legs in Italy was fired from his clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration for his socialist opinions.

On April 30 the high court ruled that the Attorney General was unauthorized and arbitrary in placing organizations on the administration 'subversive' blacklist without any hearing. At the same time the court in a 4-to-4 vote upheld the discharge of Dorothy Bailey, the first government employee to be dismissed by a Loyalty Board, even though she was not permitted to know what evidence, if any, had been presented against her. On May 7 the Supreme Court by the same vote refused to review the appeal of twenty-six postal workers who had been suspended or fired by Loyalty Boards operating under the very procedures which the court itself had just termed unconstitutional.

These divergent decisions, which Justice Jackson correctly des-

Truman's 'Fair Deal' Promises All Betrayed

The Same Old Gang



Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston, former head of the Chamber of Commerce, swears in Dr. George W. Taylor as chairman of the reorganized Wage Stabilization Board. Taylor will have the same duties he had in World War II as head of the War Labor Board when he imposed the wage-freezing "Little Steel" formula.

Democrat Pledges to Labor Give Way to War Program

Not one of the major promises made to labor by Truman in the 1948 presidential election campaign has been enacted into law by the 82nd Congress. The administration, whose election was hailed by the top labor leaders as a "great victory" has not even made a serious effort to push the "fair deal" program.

Not a single Democratic Senator or Congressman, let alone Truman, has put up a fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor law — labor's major demand in 1948. Instead, Truman has used the vicious law time and again to break strikes.

HOUSING PROGRAM SHELVED

The promise to push a big federal low cost housing program has not only been shelved: The inadequate housing program enacted in 1949 was reduced by the Congress in 1950 from 150,000 to 50,000 low cost units. Now they are planning to cut it to 5,000. This was done by the Congress which Philip Murray and William Green hailed as controlled by a majority who were "labor's friends." The vote was 181 to 113.

Truman's "generous" pledge to push through a genuine civil rights program has also been buried. Not even a single step was taken to legislate a Fair Employment Practices law; the administration made no move to use the Democratic majority to carry out the Democratic Party Platform pledges in this respect. Far from fighting for the rights of minorities, Truman has failed to do anything to end segregation in the armed forces.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Truman's real position on the question of anti-Negro discrimination is shown by his stubborn refusal to lift a finger to save the lives of the Martinsville 7, or Willie McGee, lynched by jim crow Southern courts.

Under the attack of the reactionary American Medical Association, Truman and the Congress dropped all talk of a Federal Health Insurance program, one of the most popular planks in the 1948 Democratic platform.

The pledge to enact an improved old age pension program, and to increase social security benefits all along the line to compensate for increased living costs, are all in the White House waste basket.

Truman not only violated these pledges as well as many others, but proceeded to push a program of taxation which has resulted in

record-breaking profits for the big corporations and increasing the tax load on the poor. (See article on taxes, page 1.)

While runaway prices reduced the standard of living of the workers, Congress was passing laws to forgive taxes to Big Business in the amortization program by which billions of dollars in new plants are turned over to the monopolists by the government.

BIG BUSINESS CONTROL

As a reward for their votes in 1948, labor has seen Truman turn the whole mobilization program over to the agents of Big Business. His top collaborator in managing the U.S. economy is still Charles E. Wilson, anti-labor former head of the General Electric Company. Wilson, May 13, warned that the "nation" is in for more "austerity." Meanwhile profits are uncontrolled.

Truman's other chief aide, Former Chamber of Commerce President Eric Johnston, recently demanded a firmer wage freeze. He was not contradicted by Truman.

Meanwhile the administration's verbal promises to "control prices" are as fraudulent as ever. The latest "gestures" to control meat prices has brought about a terrific jump in wholesale meat prices, which are uncontrolled. Retail meat prices, supposedly held down by new ceilings, are steadily going up as merchants take advantage of the many loopholes in Price Administrator DiSalle's order.

Not one of labor's demands, made at the time of the walkout of the union leaders from all government posts, has been met. Nevertheless, they have returned to the fold, and are serving as Truman's flunkies in carrying out his program.

A TOTAL LOSS

The balance sheet of labor's dependence upon an alliance with Truman for its defense of the workers' living standards, and for an improvement of the lot of the common people, adds up to a total loss.

Only by a complete break with the administration, and an independent fight for labor's rights, can the labor movement begin to correct the gross injustices already saddled upon the working people.

Marine Cooks Fight Government Control

By H. Manning

SAN FRANCISCO — The Fourth biennial convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards union faced the most urgent problems of its recent existence in its sessions here from May 1 to 5. Confronted with government blacklisting and raids from the CIO and AFL, the convention took firm positions against these dangers.

But on broader issues facing the labor movement, such as the need for a labor party and a foreign policy independent of the Kremlin and Wall Street, the Stalinist forces were able to prevent progressive positions from being adopted. Instead the Stalinists projected their sectarian and pacifist policies which serve to isolate the union from its allies in the labor movement.

The resolution on the govern-

ment blacklist traced the history of government intervention against the maritime unions and its open strikebreaking. The resolution cited the breaking of the 1921 seamen's strike through government scabbing; the use of government hiring halls to maintain the open shop from 1921 to 1934; the use of troops in the 1934 maritime strike; the fight against the "fin" book during and after the 1936-37 maritime strike; the government attempt to set up fin' halls in 1938; Truman's threat to bust the looming maritime strike in 1946, and finally the resolution mentioned the government's injunction aiding the ship operators in 1948 when the unions were preparing for action against the employers.

The resolution then stated: "From the foregoing brief sketch, it is clear for all honest workers

to see that the screening program of the government today in the maritime industry is completely consistent with its past record of interfering in the affairs of the unions as a means of housebreaking them for the ship operators."

The convention adopted the following proposals to fight the blacklist:

"In the near future a conference of all interested unions on the Pacific coast should be called to fight the government blacklist."

"Our fight against screening, really a defense of the hiring hall, can be explained and can win broadest support through the medium of a rank and file delegated Congress of all labor."

"We declare unequivocally that should any delegate to this convention be blacklisted on his return to his ship, we will not sail that ship until the member is reinstated."

The raids by the National Maritime Union, CIO, and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL, are closely connected with the government blacklist against the MCS. Union members are often removed from ships shortly after speaking up in defense of their union against the raiders.

But the position taken at the convention to fight the government blacklist contrasts sharply with the policy, backed by the Stalinists, which opposes the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

LABOR PARTY QUESTION

At a time when sentiment for a labor party is growing, as indicated by the debate and vote on the question at the recent UAW convention in Cleveland, the Stalinists revealed themselves at this MCS convention once again as bitter opponents of a genuine labor party.

A minority report was submitted by the resolutions committee calling for a labor party, to be founded by the convening of a rank and file delegated Congress of Labor.

The majority report, while condemning the Democrats and Republicans, left the door wide open for continued support of the so-called "friends of labor and peace." The majority report spoke of the need for labor having its own political party, but the statements of its supporters revealed that the Stalinists are talking of a Wallace party or a revised edition of the same thing.

The Stalinists skirted the basic issues of how to build a labor party, by insisting that the minority and majority resolutions were the same, "except" that the majority resolution would allow the support of "good" professors. There were also some revealing references by the Stalinists to the labor party as a "torpedo."

In spite of the opposition of the Stalinists to the labor party a substantial number of delegates voted for the minority resolution. (There was no count, just a voice vote.)

FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

There was also a debate on foreign policy. The majority, Stalinist-supported resolution, called for a negotiated peace to end the Korean conflict, and negotiations of the big powers to remove the threat of World War III.

The Minority report stated: "When the officer's report says that war is inevitable under this system, the conclusion to be drawn is not that the solution is a deal to be made between Washington and Moscow and a few imperialist powers. Such a deal would be nothing but a temporary armed truce..."

"Such a deal would not stop the police state trend in America; it would not curb... discrimination; it would not stop screening; it wouldn't stop the raids; it would not stop Wall Street from continuing to prepare for war. Because the only other choice Wall St. has is to allow a depression to occur in the U.S."

Commenting on the resolution, a supporter of the minority resolution said, "The working people... want an end to wars, depression and discrimination once and for all."

The vote for the minority report on foreign policy showed the biggest opposition at the convention existed on this question.

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