

# Taft Joins With M'Arthur, Wants War on Peiping

By John G. Wright

On April 27 Sen. Taft delivered a full-dress speech on "American Policy in the Far East" on the Senate floor which marks a sharp departure from his previous foreign policy stand.

In the early stages of the "Great Debate" as late as last January, Taft was cautiously maneuvering, seeking to narrow his differences with Truman and even making an "olive-branch" offer to discuss with administration spokesmen the possibility of a "bi-partisan" agreement on foreign policy.

## SEEKS PRESIDENCY

Today, he is seeking to widen the differences and render them more bitter. Evidently, the Senator from Ohio has decided that the Truman-MacArthur rift offers him a golden opportunity

of cinching the Republican presidential nomination and a popular issue on which he can ride into the White House in 1952.

With reservations on a few secondary points, he has solidly backed MacArthur. "I have no difficulty whatever in lining myself up with the general principles announced by Gen. MacArthur," declared Taft.

In his attacks on the State Department as "pro-Communist," Taft is virtually indistinguishable from McCarthy. To all this Taft added something which neither MacArthur nor McCarthy have found advisable to do. He openly challenged the personal integrity of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

## ATTACKS "STOOGES"

As a preliminary to his speech, Taft declared on the previous day that he had lost all confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and found it necessary to "expose" them as stooges for the administration.

"I have come to the point," he said on April 26 "where I do not accept them as experts. . . . The Joint Chiefs of Staff are absolutely under the control of the administration." He added for good measure "that their recommendations are what the administration demands that they make."

To forestall the possible discredit of MacArthur by the military chieftains, Taft seeks to discredit them in advance. That Taft is bold enough to deal blows to the prestige of the Brass Hats, so sacrosanct among the imperialists, is a tell-tale sign of the frenzy the Korean crisis has created among some capitalist circles in this country.

## SHIFTS VIEWS

At the beginning of the Korean adventure, Taft sought to capitalize on the unpopularity of this war. He denounced Truman for usurpation of power and brought the "constitutional question" to the fore. Today, seeking to capitalize on what he believes is the popularity of MacArthur's position, Taft unceremoniously shunts this aside. (Besides, MacArthur has publicly endorsed as "sound" Truman's plunge into Korea.)

"There is, of course, no question," declared Taft at the beginning of his Senate speech, "that we are at war with Communist China, whether war is declared or is not declared. . . . The important issue is how we shall fight that war."

## ENDORSES CHIANG

He then proceeded, point for point, to endorse what "may be called the MacArthur policy."

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## More Big Strikes Loom Against Dictator Franco

More strikes on a gigantic scale are looming in Spain following the massive "folded arms" strike in the heavy industry Bilbao-San Sebastian area on April 23-24 and the general walk-out of the Barcelona workers six weeks earlier.

So far, upwards of a million workers in Spain's chief industrial provinces have defied the terror of Generalissimo Franco's fascist regime in strikes that have shaken the dictatorship to its foundations.

## MADRID STRIKE

Reuters, British news agency, reported from Madrid on April 29 that leaflets have been distributed in Madrid, Spanish capital, calling for a general strike on May 22 and in Malaga, a leading city of Southern Spain, announcing a May Day strike.

Meanwhile, strikes in various industries have continued unabated for several weeks both in the Barcelona and San Sebastian areas. At Manresa, near Barcelona, the government closed down 67 plants where sit-down strikes have been in progress in the textile industry for several weeks, the United Press reported on April 28.

Thousands of San Sebastian workers resumed their "folded arms" strike on the same day in protest against harsh measures of the government, which ordered workers deprived of various benefits for participation in the April 23-24 struggle.

Franco's repressive acts, instead of frightening the workers, are provoking greater resistance. The struggle is taking on a revolutionary sweep that might soon topple Washington's newest fascist ally.

# Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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# Let American People Vote On Issue of War and Peace

## Get U.S. Troops Out of Korea -- Recognize Govt. of New China!

### A Letter to President Truman and the Members of the Congress

By James P. Cannon

Gentlemen:

My purpose in addressing you for the third time since the Korean war began is to present three concrete proposals on foreign policy as an alternative to the policies of the Truman administration on the one hand and MacArthur-Taft on the other.

Your differences are merely tactical. My differences with both sides in your so-called "Great Debate" are fundamental. You are preoccupied with the problem of how to conduct a war the American people do not want and never approved. I propose to end the war at once and let the American people themselves decide the life and death questions of foreign policy.

I submit the following three proposals: 1. Withdraw all American troops from Korea. 2. Recognize the Peiping government. 3. Let the people vote by referendum on the issue of war and peace.

I have opposed your Korean war from the start. Twice before in open letters I urged you to heed the peoples' will to stop the war and bring the American soldiers home. American troops have no business in Korea. They are being slaughtered by the tens of thousands for no good purpose. Every day they remain swells the casualties list and inflicts more grief upon parents, wives and children. Every day they remain intensifies the hatred of the Asian people for all things American. Again I urge you: Withdraw the U.S. troops from Korea.

### The Way to Peace

The way to peace in Asia is neither to wage a "limited war," as you are now doing, nor to expand it by bombing Chinese cities and killing the civilian population. The way to peace in Asia is to get out of Asia and let the peoples of Asia run their own affairs. The aroused millions of China have thrown out the corrupt dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, despite all the billions you gave to help him. Cut off all support to the discredited Chiang Kai-shek and recognize the new Chinese government.

The flood of letters to Washington and other expressions of public opinion in the past few months have clearly shown that the people have developed a profound mistrust and suspicion — I might even say, a resentment and hostility — toward you who are in power.

Their mistrust is sharpened by the obvious lack of confidence you have in each other. You, Mr. President, have cashiered MacArthur, the very general assigned to head your Korean "police action." He, in turn, has all but called you a traitor. You, gentlemen of the Congress, charge each other with political miramy and corruption. Your most influential Senate Republican, Mr. Taft, has just voiced complete distrust of the highest military authorities, the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

### The Will of the People

Your lack of trust in each other is reason enough by itself for the people to place no trust in any of you. But there is another reason: You have never trusted the people. You did not ask their consent last June when you sent American troops into Korea, and you have not bothered to consult them since. You have brushed aside their pleas to stop the war and bring the troops home.

Your policies, moreover, have proved you are unfit and unworthy to act in the name of the people on the all-important question of war and peace. Your deeds brand you as betrayers of the hopes of mankind. You have "liberated" the Korean people by bombing and burning their homeland. The victims of your atrocities are already numbered in millions.

All this is against the will of the American people. I challenge you to put it to the test. Submit the question of foreign policy to the people. Let the people themselves decide!

I repeat my three proposals:

1. Withdraw all American troops from Korea.
2. Recognize the government of New China.
3. Let the issue of war and peace be voted on in a national referendum of the entire American people!

### "Liberated"



This little Korean girl helping to push a heavily-laden wagon of household goods is one of ten million refugees "liberated" by U.S. "scorched earth" methods of warfare.

## SUPREME COURT ISSUES "SUBVERSIVES" RULES

The Supreme Court by a 5-to-3 vote on April 30 denounced the blacklisting of three organizations as subversive as "arbitrary" and "unauthorized" and ruled that

the Attorney-General had exceeded his authority in designating them as "Communist" without a hearing or presentation of evidence. The three organizations were the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, and the International Workers Order.

This decision does not hold that Truman's loyalty purge is unconstitutional but condemns the procedures used in establishing it and gives blacklisted organizations the "right" to a court trial of the government charges against them. Such trials for political beliefs have always been considered violations of the First Amendment of the Constitution.

The five justices who ruled that the Department of Justice acted illegally in listing organizations without any hearing gave stinging rebukes to Attorney General Tom Clark, now one of their colleagues on the Supreme Court. Justice Black in his opinion said: "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. . . ."

### TYRANNICAL PRACTISES

"I cannot believe the authors of the Constitution, who outlawed the bill of attainder, inadvertently endowed the executive with power to engage in the tyrannical practices that had made the bill an odious institution.

"In this day, "Black continued, "when prejudice, hate and fear are constantly invoked to justify the irresponsible smears and persecutions of persons even faintly suspected of entertaining unpopular views, it may be futile to suggest that the cause of internal security would be fostered, not hurt, by faithful adherence to our constitutional guarantees of individual liberty."

### RUDIMENTARY JUSTICE

Justice Douglas wrote that an organization branded by the Attorney General is "maimed and crippled. The injury is real, immediate and incalculable. . . . Although no charge nowadays is more serious, there are no standards to determine what the designation "subversive" means. "These flexible standards, which

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## Farm Monopolies Install Peonage, Senator Says

A handful of huge corporate farms interests in the South, the Southwest and on the West Coast are working might and main to reintroduce peonage in this country. These agricultural monopolists who so ruthlessly exploit several million native and foreign migratory workers now seek to assure themselves of a vast reserve of imported labor in order to further drive down agricultural working and living standards. They are pressing hard for such legislation as the Senate bill 984, sponsored by Sen. Ellender of Louisiana, a bill that would secure large-scale importation of Mexican workers.

These charges were flatly made on the Senate floor by Sen. Chavez of New Mexico, not a radical by any stretch of the imagination, but a hard-boiled supporter of the capitalist system.

### CORPORATE FARMS

Over the past years these corporate farms have exploited the so-called wetbacks, or migrant workers from Mexico, who enter this country illegally by crossing the Rio Grande and who are then completely at the mercy of their employers. The number of these wetbacks is estimated at above a million. Last year alone, 500,000 of them were deported.

"People who are supposed to be outstanding citizens in their community have told me that they have the least trouble with a wetback. Certainly they do not have as much trouble with him as with a contract worker. They

can take care of a wetback. If he complains or rebels or gripes, he is reported to the Immigration Bureau. He is at a disadvantage," said Chavez.

The Ellender bill, he charged, would not "solve" the wetback problem. "There is no provision in the bill under which it would be possible to punish greed. There is a good deal of greed involved," he explained. On the contrary, large-scale importation of Mexican workers would simply add to the flow of illegal entrants, inasmuch as additional thousands would be reduced to the same illegal status upon the expiration of their contracts.

Chavez read into the Congressional Record (April 27, page 4595) a typical contract. "The contract is between a man named Bonifacio Ramirez Servin and the Fullerton Mutual Orange Association. Here we have the items. He was charged 10 percent deduction, \$3.25. Board \$5.25. Board \$10.50. Advance \$10. He received a check for a total of \$10. It is wrong that such a thing should be done in America."

When Sen. Ellender rose to challenge Chavez, claiming that this 1948 contract "has since been changed. They are now operating under a different contract," Sen. Chavez's rejoinder was: "Yes; the next time he may receive \$3.75 instead of \$3.50."

### MISERABLE PAY

Chavez then went on to read into the record evidence where "farmers acknowledged to the

President's Commission on Migratory Labor last summer that they paid field hands as low as 15 cents an hour." Actually, pointed out Chavez, the wage amounted to "from 15 to 25 cents a day." And in many instances, no money is paid at all, not even the pittance mentioned, but "many receive food alone, while shelter is a hut, a thatch or the stars."

Commented Chavez: "The stars are the best. Nature provided that shelter. I have seen the huts, and in many instances the average American farmer would not furnish such habitations for his pigs, his horses, or his sheep."

Among the indescribable conditions, he cites are the following: A health director of Florida county has testified: "This is an actual observation. A sanitarian reports 180 people living in 60 rooms, with only 1 toilet stool that works."

### SHOCKING CONDITIONS

At Fort Collins, Colo., another doctor who is chairman of the Colorado Governor's Committee on Migrant Labor, testified about conditions in a large farm-labor camp which "was built and formerly operated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but now is under the management of farm employers."

"I have never been as shocked," said this physician, "as when I entered the one-room shacks with old iron bedsteads and thin pads, with one shaded bulb, in which as

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### 30 to 1 Against War on China, AFL Poll Shows

Opposition to a U.S. attack on China reached 30 to 1 in a radio poll by Frank Edwards who conducts the AFL news broadcast over WOR-Mutual.

The newscaster reported on his Monday night, April 30, program that he had received 96,000 letters in response to his appeal for audience views on the question of U.S. participation in an invasion of the Chinese mainland.

In the first 64,000 letters received, Edwards said, the opposition to war on China ran 7 1/2 to 1, but jumped to 30 to 1 after Republican Senator Cain called for a declaration of war on China.

## Jim Crow in Korea -- The Full Report

The Korean war is no bed of roses for any American GI's. But the horror and misery of the war are multiplied for the Negro troops who must not only suffer the tortures of modern battle, but the abuse, victimization and terror imposed by the white-supremacist officers corps.

This is the picture painted by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in his "Report on Korea," which is subtitled "The Shameful Story of the Courts Martial of Negro GI's." This report is the result of Marshall's personal survey of conditions in Korea.

### ARMY ALWAYS JIM CROW

In his report Marshall compares the experience of Negro GI's in Korea with jim crow in the U.S. armed forces in the past. "What has happened in Korea is an old, old story — as old as jim crow in the armed services. It is a story of the sacrifice of Negro troops upon the altar of segregation.

"The pattern is little varied from war to war. First come reports from the front of some heroic deed done by Negro soldiers, an achievement to indicate the courage with which these men are facing the enemy and their ability to take the toughest kind of fighting.

"And then suddenly the reports change. . . . the tales we begin to hear are of incompetency, failure and cowardice — accounts which would make it appear that Negroes are not capable of combat duty and should be restricted to labor battalions.

"Soon after the war broke out in Korea last June 25," the NAACP report states, "we were able to observe a repetition of the consistent pattern. As the early 'police action' settled down into a grim, costly and protracted war, we had the feeling that this was the point where we had come in. First there was the account of the initial American success in the Korean campaign—a triumph won by the 24th Infantry, which arrived in Korea on July 12 and two days later was thrust into the forefront of the fighting. . . ."

"Remember the story of the battle of Bloody Peak? The 24th Infantry (an all Negro regiment) fought up and down the mountainside. . . . For days the fight-

ing continued. Casualty rates were unbelievable. . . . This feat was widely hailed in the American press and on the radio. . . . And then it happened again. Such popular applause could not be tolerated. Something had to be done to disabuse the public mind of the impression that Negro troops were doing the major part of the fighting overseas. There was a ready-made device for this purpose, the court martial."

Marshall reports on a whole series of court martial of Negro troops, beginning with that of Lieut. Leon A. Gilbert, one of the few Negro officers of the 24th Infantry. He was arrested in September 1950, and in a summary court-martial was convicted

and sentenced to death. Intervention by the NAACP succeeded in reducing this sentence to 20 years.

### NEGRO COURTS-MARTIAL

Immediately after the Gilbert case, Marshall reports, "there began to appear reports of a large number of court-martial cases involving Negroes — cases in which Negroes were tried and convicted of cowardice, of misbehavior in the presence of the enemy, of failure to perform their assigned duties. Thirty-six of these convicted men had appealed to the NAACP for assistance."

At first the application of Thurgood Marshall to go to Japan was flatly rejected by MacArthur,

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## STOP LEGAL LYNCHING OF McGEE, SWP DEMANDS OF GOV. WRIGHT



WILLIE MCGEE

NEW YORK, May 1 — At a mass meeting held to celebrate May Day, the Socialist Workers Party tonight unanimously endorsed a resolution demanding an immediate pardon for Willie McGee, young Mississippi Negro doomed to die May 8 in the electric chair. The resolution, which was sent to Gov. Wright of Mississippi, is printed below:

Whereas: Willie McGee is scheduled to die in the electric chair May 8 for an alleged crime which it has not been proved he committed, and

Whereas: He was convicted by a lily-white jury on no evidence other than a so-called "con-

fession" extorted from him under duress of the anti-Negro police of jim crow Mississippi, therefore be it

Resolved: That this meeting demand that Willie McGee, victim of white supremacist lynch law, be given a full and complete pardon and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi.

Further News of May Day Meetings on Page 4



# MacArthur and Imperialism Competition Grows Keen In "Militant" Campaign

**By Art Preis**  
 Debate in Washington over Gen. MacArthur's speech to Congress has centered almost exclusively on the issues of military strategy he raised. All the political factions, as if by mutual agreement, have remained silent about the most revealing part of his address — his attempts to justify U.S. armed intervention against the Asian peoples.

Departing from the theme of how to "win" a military victory in the Far East, MacArthur raised a more fundamental question: Is the United States waging a just war? His explanation of the economic, social and political background of the struggle in Asia unwittingly exposed the real nature of American intervention. First of all, said MacArthur, to understand the situation in the Far East one "must comprehend something of Asia's past and the revolutionary changes which have marked her course up to the present." Asia, he says correctly, is in the throes of a great popular revolution and "the peoples of Asia found their opportunity in the war just past to throw off the shackles of colonialism and now see the dawn of new opportunity, and heretofore unmet dignity, and the self-respect of political freedom."

**A NEW FORCE**  
 The Asian peoples, he admits, "are rapidly consolidating a new force, both moral and material," to raise their standards of living and to adapt the "design of modern progress" to their own cultural environment. He even warns that "this is the direction of Asian progress and it may not be stopped."

These are striking and curious words within the context of MacArthur's whole speech. They pose a glaring contradiction, noted James Reston, N.Y. Times political commentator, who briefly observed that "the General . . . argued that on the one hand there was a vital new force of nationalism afoot in Asia, and that we had to adjust our policies to this important fact, but he said this in a speech designed to bring about a major air and naval war against the very power that is the most obvious symbol of that new oriental nationalism."

But MacArthur even conceded in his speech that "efforts toward greater homogeneity" in China during the past half century "produced the spark of a nationalistic urge" which "has been brought to its greatest fruition under the present regime." How then can he explain U.S. intervention in Korea up to China's very border and the projected extension of the war to China itself as anything but a brutal counter-revolutionary assault upon the country and regime which has brought the Asian revolution for the "self-respect of political freedom" to its "greatest fruition"?

MacArthur simply twisted the known facts of history and lied on two counts: 1. He excluded the U.S. from the group of imperialist powers which he admitted "long exploited" the Asian peoples, including the Chinese; 2. He claimed instead that it is revolutionary China, just emerged

from a century of imperialist exploitation, which is "aggressively imperialistic, with a lust for expansion and increased power normal to this type of imperialism."

MacArthur said nothing at all of U.S. imperialism's role in the long attempt by the western powers to dismember China and reduce it to complete colonialism. From 1843 on, the U.S. joined first with Britain and France, and later with Japan, in a century-long attempt to slice up China, enforce trade concessions and extraterritorial rights and to exploit and loot that unhappy country.

After Britain in 1842, by a three-year war, forced China to allow the continuation of the profitable opium trade, the U.S. compelled the defeated Chinese government to sign a treaty which accorded the U.S. the same "rights" as the British had seized. When the British and French demanded a revision of these "treaties" in 1856 and waged another bloody war against the Chinese, seizing Canton and other cities, "American representatives, although not in the war, were on hand to profit by the French and British successes and also obtained treaties," states the Encyclopedia Britannica.

The U.S. supported the British seizure of Hong Kong and the French seizure of Annam, which is now part of Indo-China, where the French have been butchering the Indo-Chinese with American arms since 1946. It was President Theodore Roosevelt who engineered the 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth (N.H.) that ceded Korea to Japan.

**THE BOXER REBELLION**  
 In 1900, U.S. troops played the major role in the suppression of the Boxer Uprising, when Chinese nationalists sought to drive the foreign looters from their country. Through all the subsequent years, U.S. troops were quartered in China and U.S. gunboats patrolled the Chinese rivers to "protect American interests," such as Standard Oil, until the Japanese took over in the late Thirties.

If China is "imperialistic" then this word has lost all meaning. Modern imperialism was defined by Lenin, the greatest authority on the subject, as that stage of monopoly capitalism where, along with the export of commodities, the capitalists are forced to export capital in order to realize super-profits.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM**  
 Today, the U.S. has a greater accumulation of capital than all the countries of the world put together — idle working capital of U.S. corporations alone exceeding \$80 billion and U.S. foreign investments in 1949 passing the \$30 billion mark. China, on the other hand, is one of the poorest countries in the world. As MacArthur stated, immediately after calling China "imperialistic," the "standard of living is so low and the capital accumulation has been so thoroughly dissipated by war that the masses are desperate and eager to follow any leadership which seems to promise the alleviation of woeful stringencies."

It is this China, so poor and lacking in capital, that MacArthur accuses of seeking "aggressively" to waste its last substance in a war that can only mean greater misery and poverty and weakening of its economic structure. Who cries "imperialistic" and "aggressive" against this new China that has just thrown off the bonds of colonialism? It is the man who led the conquest and occupation of the Japanese empire and seized for the U.S. hundreds of Japanese islands in the Pacific, including Okinawa, the "privileged sanctuary" from which the U.S. bombers today pour their loads of death on the Korean people. It is the man who calls for the

occupation and retention of an "island chain" along the entire Asian Pacific coastline, from which "we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore" and who stated that "I have strongly recommended in the past . . . that under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control."

**WHO IS IMPERIALIST?**  
 Who was the "imperialistic aggressor" when Truman, with MacArthur's support, at the start of the Korean war ordered U.S. warships to surround Formosa, the island originally seized from China by Japan and which the western powers have recognized by treaty as part of China. It is this island, "protected" by U.S. armed might from the rightful Chinese government, which MacArthur proposes to grab permanently as "a matter of military urgency."

Who is the "imperialistic aggressor" — the richest country in the world that invaded Korea from more than 6,000 miles away and marched to the Manchurian border, threatening to seize the vital electric power supply system on the Yalu River, or the Chinese who did not intervene until their own border was threatened by an army under command of a general who has scarcely concealed his mad dream to be conqueror of all Asia?

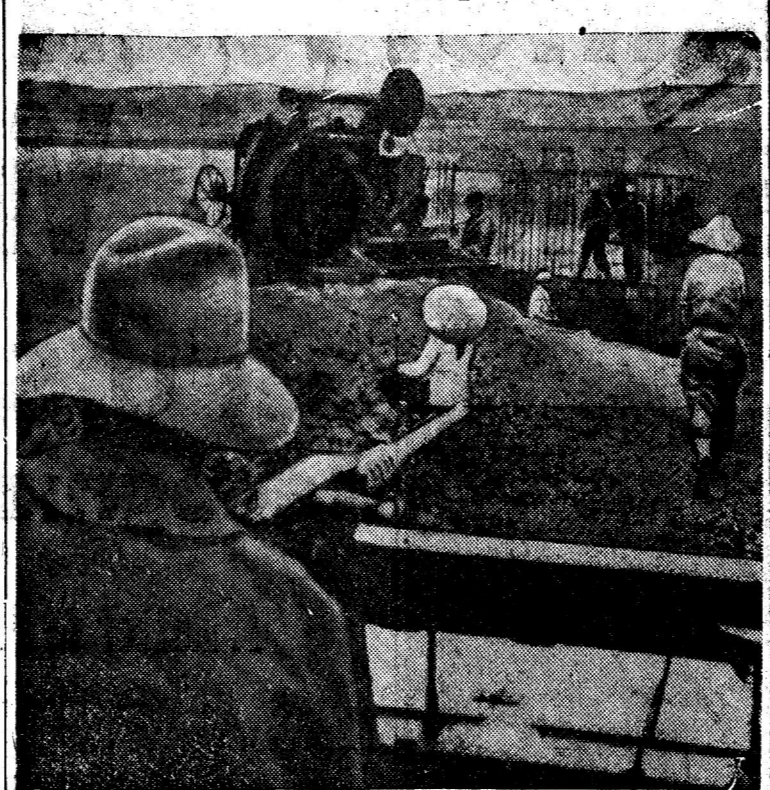
Who is the "imperialistic aggressor" — the Washington government that has poured arms and money into the attempted French reconquest of Indo-China, originally seized from China at the end of the Nineteenth Century, or the Chinese government which is aiding the independence

fighters and which did not even exist when France began its current war against the Indo-Chinese in 1946?

The important issue raised by MacArthur's speech is not whether the Joint Chiefs of Staff did or did not agree with his military strategy, and similar matters that have constituted the "great

debate." It is the fact that the U.S. part in this whole "police action" is a brutal imperialist aggression. The very hypocritical arguments used by MacArthur to justify this war rise up against him and the imperialism of which he has been throughout his long military career one of the chief agents.

## Labor Under Imperialism



Working at gunpoint, these underpaid conscripted Indo-Chinese workers are constructing cement block-house fortifications for their U.S.-armed French masters who have been warring since 1946 against the independence movement.

The Big League Militant Campaign is well under way. Some of the Socialist Workers Party branches which were late in starting due to pressure of local election campaigns, moving of headquarters, and local meetings, now report that the decks have been cleared for action. "We got off to a late start," writes Bert D. from Chicago, "but we're rarin' to go now, and the other branches will soon be feeling our hot breath on their necks."

For those who are wondering what methods the Twin Cities are using to pile up their point score so fast, here is part of St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred's report:

"This is our system. Where we cannot get a 6 months or 1 year subscription, and yet find more interest than just selling a single copy of *The Militant* warrants, we sell *The Militant* for 6 weeks or 3 months instead and collect in advance — the way the newsboys do. Then we deliver these papers each week, and the comrades have been very successful in setting up routes. You may want to pass this idea along to the other branches. We think in some cases, after people have read *The Militant* for 6 weeks, they will want a subscription — and the campaign will still not be over. This involves work, of course, but we feel it will pay off."  
 Literature Agent Frank K.

writes to increase Oakland's bundle for the campaign. "Although we are 8 days late due to the work of the election campaign," he writes, "the Oakland Branch is determined to leave our rivals San Francisco far behind in this campaign and even afterwards."

Dotty B. reports that Newark has been visiting a list of subscribers whose subscriptions have expired in the last few years. While they are getting renewals,

the comrades also collect new names to visit. "When the subscriber has moved," she writes, "we contact the person who took his flat, or his neighbors, and we ask people for the names of friends who would be interested in reading *The Militant*. In this way we are getting a list to work on after we have covered the first one."

Many thanks to S. M., a Portland, Oregon subscriber, who sent in \$3 to help print *The Militant*.

## MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Coover League	Points	Konikow League	Points
Twin Cities	3213	Philadelphia	706
New York	2058	Flint	601
Los Angeles	1096	Newark	426
Buffalo	624	Youngstown	182
Seattle	259	Milwaukee	54
Detroit	208	Boston	15
Chicago	195		
		Kujac League	
		Akron	54
		Pittsburgh	52
		New Haven	41
		St. Louis	26
		Oakland	16
		Konikow League	
		Pauline	437
		Harry	239
		Marie H.	237
		John	218
		Jean	198
		Bill B.	195
		Flo	163
		Winifred	146
		Myron	118
		Konikow League	
		Emmett	260
		Dotty	132
		Bill	93
		Marve	87
		H.	78
		Kujac League	
		Dave	62
		Frank K.	12

## Unauthorized Portrait of the General

Part II  
 By Frank Poole

When MacArthur's tour of duty as Chief of Staff came to an end in 1935 he was appointed military advisor to the Philippines. There he was given a large salary — the amount has never been revealed — in addition to his regular U.S. Army pay and was made Field Marshal of the Philippine Army. In 1937 he retired from the U.S. Army and devoted himself exclusively to his job with the Philippine government.

In 1941 as the Roosevelt administration maneuvered closer and closer to war in the Pacific MacArthur was called back into the army and made U.S. commander in the Far East. The Philippine Army was incorporated into the U.S. army and the outbreak of war was prepared for.

The Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines broke the back of domestic opposition to entry into the war, as Roosevelt and his cabinet had calculated. However, the military and naval victory gained by the Japanese was more than the administration had bargained for. As defeat after defeat for the U.S. marked the opening stages of the war, the press and the propaganda experts sensed that the public should be given some heroes to make them forget the losses in the Pacific.

**GLORIFICATION CAMPAIGN**  
 The glorification of MacArthur began with the beginning of the war. There were no other land battles of importance and hence no other generals to eulogize until the invasion of North Africa. By then MacArthur had such a head start in publicity that even Eisenhower, who commanded the huge U.S. armies in

Europe, hardly ever caught up to him.

This head start gave MacArthur a unique position throughout the war and into the present. In subsequent campaigns in the Pacific he was able to assume a semi-independent position. His communications, written by advertising men in uniform, were played with self-glorification and pride down the role of the navy (which infuriates the admirals to this day). Roosevelt and the politicians in Washington handled him with kid gloves because he betrayed political ambitions as son as he escaped from Bataan.

MacArthur was greatly disliked by the correspondents in his theater and was also unpopular with large sections of the men under his command. Correspondents, who would not behave as trained seals and take all public relations handouts but tried to do honest reporting came into conflict with headquarters. John

Gunther, who has written a generally favorable study of the general, reports: "MacArthur alienated a good many correspondents during the war not merely by his high-handedness but because his communications did not always tell the truth."

The general's overweening ego was well demonstrated by his struggle for months against the Office of War Information which wanted to drop millions of leaflets on the Japanese-occupied Philippines using the slogan "We will return." This version of his famous "I will return" statement, amended to include the army and navy, was fought tooth and nail by the general who finally won.

**PRESIDENTIAL BOOM**  
 The MacArthur-for-President movement, begun in 1942, and boosted by Senator Vandenberg, flopped before the Republican Nominating Convention of 1944. When it was evident that his

chances were nil, the general declared he didn't want the nomination.

In 1948 MacArthur made another try for the presidency. In time-honored fashion he declared that he would not seek the nomination but that he would accept if it was given him. However, no big figures in the Republican Party came out for him (they figured incorrectly that they could beat Truman with any candidates and therefore a military "hero" was unnecessary) and also men who had served under him in the Pacific began forming "Veterans Against MacArthur" clubs long before the primaries. The primaries in Wisconsin, his "home" state, marked the end of his chances in 1948. He got only eight of the 27 delegates. At the Philadelphia convention his name was put in nomination. On the first ballot he got eleven out of 1,094 votes; on the third ballot he got zero.

## Bolivia Miners Appeal for Our Aid

La Paz, BOLIVIA — After a frame-up trial at Uncia, capital of Bustillo province, in March 1951, the Bolivian court, acting as a protective agency for the tin magnates, imposed death sentences upon Juan Posada and three other leaders of the Miners Union in Catavi and condemned six others to ten-year prison terms. They were falsely accused of killing two American engineers and two Bolivian superintendents in connection with the big May 1949 strikes which were ruthlessly suppressed by government troops brought in to break the tin miners' union.

It is reported that a second trial is being prepared for May involving national leaders of the Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers Union such as Guillermo Lora, Nelson Capellino, Juan Lechin, Cesar Torrenzos, Mario Torres and others. These mine leaders, who include prominent Trotskyists and their sympathizers, have been accused of responsibility for the "agitation" leading to the violence in these strikes.

The actual violence, and provocation to violence, were on the side of the mining magnates, the police and the strike-breaking troops. The soil of the Bolivian mine districts has been soaked with workers' blood in the past decade through large-scale acts of terror instigated by the feudal-minded operators. In 1942 the mining oligarchy massacred over one thousand workers in Catavi in response to their demand for higher wages. In 1946 hundreds of workers from the mining area of Potosi were assassinated by the police and by government

shock-brigades brought in to crush the workers.

**WANT WORKERS GOVT**  
 The miners responded to these actions by the Villarroel government (which was supported by the Stalinists) by sending a group of deputies and senators to parliament who were sympathetic to or associated with the Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian Section of the Fourth International. At the same time the miners staged tremendous demonstrations in the mine fields and in the cities condemning the capitalist regime and advocating the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government.

Alarmed by the rising revolutionary resistance of the workers, the Villarroel tyranny set about to "put an end to the intolerances of extremism that operate within the labor organizations." The reaction decided to deliver its first and most powerful blow in Catavi, the chief center of the mine workers. In September 1947 the Patino mines fired all the union leaders there as "dangerous agitators." When the workers refused to be intimidated, the Patino mines, with the acquiescence of the Villarroel government, laid off the entire personnel of 10,000 workers and then rehired new workers under worse conditions and lower wages. Company-controlled stores raised their prices 20%.

This union-busting scheme failed when the new workers in turn asked for wage increases and made other demands. Upon the company's refusal, they appealed for arbitration to the conciliation board of the Ministry of Labor.

Thereupon the government and mine-owners connived to wipe out the Federation of Mine Workers Union and replace it with a company union. Only 12 persons joined this fake outfit. Unable to provoke a split in the workers' ranks, the Patino bosses resorted to more cynical and open methods of provocation. They prevailed upon the government to send two regiments of troops into Catavi and to proclaim martial law in the mining district. In addition, the government sent over 100 police agents as provocateurs and disrupters into the miners' organizations.

The arbitration tribunal handed down a decision which granted certain wage increases to the Patino workers but did not satisfy their demands, including the demand that their own union organization be recognized. The government decreed that both the company and the workers should abide by the arbitration decision of the Labor Ministry. However, the company refused to do so in order to provoke the workers.

On June 28, 1949 four members of the mine workers union at Catavi, including its secretary, were arrested. The rumor spread through the district that the government intended to shoot them. The enraged miners, arming themselves with dynamite and hand grenades, attacked the troops and mining police. For days there were pitched battles and bloody encounters between the workers and soldiers. All the miners and petroleum workers of Bolivia took up arms but were defeated. The principal working-class leaders were exiled to Chile. During the struggles in Catavi the workers held various high

employees of the Patino mines as hostages and gave the commandant of the troops an ultimatum to free their leaders. A few hours later the workers heard that their leaders had been shot. This report so angered them that two American engineers and two Bolivian superintendents were killed in retaliation. It is for these actions that the mine leaders of Catavi have now been condemned to death and the leaders of the Federation of Mine Workers Unions are being placed on trial. The leaders of the Mine Workers Federation have brought forward abundant documentary evidence to prove they played no part in the killings and that the accusations against them and all the convicted workers are without foundation.

**TIN MILLIONAIRES**  
 It is clear that the tin mining millionaires and the government in their service are determined to make an example of the leaders and the best militants of the Miners Federation in order to save their company union and crush the resistance of the tin miners. U.S. capitalists have a considerable interest in the ownership and profits of the Bolivian mines.

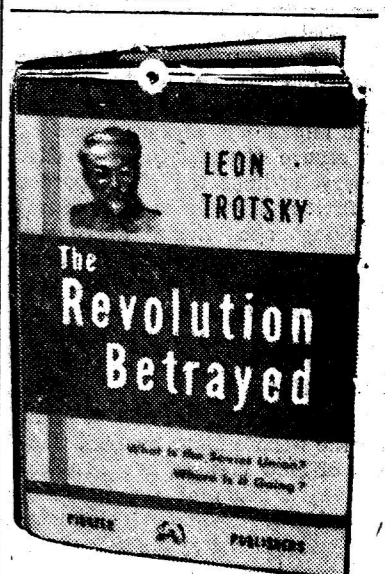
The Miners Federation and the Revolutionary Workers Party have appealed to the workers of other countries to aid the mine leaders in Bolivia whose lives are threatened by the government of the mining magnates there. Protests against the frame-up trials and death sentences and appeals for freeing the victims should be sent to the Bolivian government by all labor organizations.

ive tuberculosis or other pathological conditions."

While Chavez listed these and other conditions, as revolting as any in the slave labor camps under Hitler or Stalin, his colleagues in the Senate demonstratively left the Chamber. "Inasmuch," complained Chavez, "as only a few Senators are now present in the Chamber and are listening to what I say, I respectfully call this matter to the attention of our guests in the gallery."

And while still addressing the gallery, he remarked, "That situation was found to exist in our progressive America, Mr. President (of the Senate), in the country that is telling the rest of the world how to behave and how to improve its condition and how to obtain better economic advantages for its people. That is, sermonizing," he hastily added doubtless carried away for the moment and then shocked by the tenor of his own remarks.

For telling a part of the truth — not about some distant dangers but about long existing conditions involving several millions of native and foreign "migrants," he feels obliged to apologize for "sermonizing" before a deserted Senate Chamber. And what he seeks are a few amendments that would remove the worst features of the Ellender bill, which is, of course, desirable, but which will leave intact the actual and sordid state of affairs.



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# THE MILITANT

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## The People Must Know the Truth

The Senate hearings on the administration's Far East policy and the circumstances leading to the dismissal of Gen. MacArthur are to be held behind closed doors. The public is to be permitted to know only that information which the administration and the MacArthurites choose to let out, or decide "unofficially" to leak to the press for partisan advantages of their own.

It was never the intention of either side to air the issues openly. Nor it is now. When the hearings were originally projected the Democrats and the Republicans alike on the Senate committee decided to keep them secret. If the Republicans are now shouting for open hearings, it is mere demagoguery in order to reap political capital at the expense of an embarrassed administration.

Two major issues are involved in these hearings. First is the usurpation of powers and second, the issue of Far Eastern policy.

It is a patent fraud to pretend that "military security" is in any way involved in either of these issues. On the other hand, who has a more vital stake or has a greater right than the people to learn the truth, and the whole truth, about two such vital matters as these?

Truman removed MacArthur on grounds of insubordination. In plain language, MacArthur stands charged

with having arrogated to himself powers he had no right whatever to exercise. Removal from high office is indeed a slight punishment for such brazen usurpation. The least the public is entitled to know is the full extent of MacArthur's "insubordination."

Closed or secret hearings preclude any possibility of this.

There remains the issue of policy. Who needs secrecy in this connection and why? MacArthur has already aired his position. More than this, he has publicly asserted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are in accord with his views of extending the war to China. Not only has this not been denied officially by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but public steps have since been taken that tend not to refute but rather to confirm MacArthur's contention.

We refer here to the sending of the large military mission to Formosa and the pressure being brought on Washington's Atlantic Pact allies to agree to the bombing of Manchurian bases. These moves differ only in tempo from MacArthur's avowed policy of extending the war against China.

A veil of secrecy over the hearings may well provide a cover for further war moves.

Since Korea the American people have been subjected to one hoax after another, with the scheduled hearings bidding to become the most brazen hoax of all.

## Victims of Capitalist Insanity

There are 7,000,000 mentally ill persons in the United States. This is the considered estimate of Oren Root, president of the National Association for Mental Health. Illness of such dimensions has commonly been recognized as an epidemic.

Five percent of the human minds in this country have already broken down, unable to withstand the social pressures generated by the system in which we are forced to live, especially the insecurity and fear.

Every breath men draw, each heart beat, not only here but all over the earth, is contaminated with the universal dread of U.S. imperialism which threatens to plunge humanity into World War III. Living in the very center of this global disturbance, the peoples of the U.S. are naturally fearful for their sons, for their homes, for their very lives. And suspense does not relieve but lends terror to these constant pressures of insecurity and hopelessness.

Such is the world which has emerged from Roosevelt's World War II, which was to establish among the other "Four Freedoms" — freedom from fear.

The mental health experts deplore the spreading insanity that has maimed and removed so many people from active life. The association deplores the situation because it constitutes "a tragic loss of manpower."

Root and his associates propose as the best cure — bigger and better mental institutions. The tragic victims of modern capitalist society can be thus rehabilitated in order to be harnessed in one capacity or another to the war machine now preparing the world atomic conflict.

It is true that the mental institutions in this country are inadequate and provide only a small fraction of the facilities needed to treat the mentally ill; it is also true that what institutions there are in many instances are poorly staffed and guilty of maltreatment of inmates.

But the spreading mental crack-up cannot be coped with by a mere amelioration of these conditions.

Tuberculosis, we all know, cannot be stopped until the diet and living conditions of underpaid workers are corrected. This applies with an even greater force to mental breakdown which cannot be prevented so long as human beings are deprived of a healthful and stable and sane environment in which to live.

The capitalist system, long outlived and now defended by the greedy handful of power-mad monopolists, is destroying mankind's most cherished possession — the human brain.

Until this system is replaced by a sane, rational socialist society, based on the collective cooperation of the peoples, removing all threats of war, there will be no cure for this epidemic of insanity.

## Witch-Hunt In Review

By Fred Hart

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN by Alan Barth, Viking, 1951, 253 pp., \$3.

WITCH HUNT: The Revival of Heresy, by Carey McWilliams, Little, Brown, 1950, 361 pp., \$3.50.

SECURITY, LOYALTY AND SCIENCE by Walter Gellhorn, Cornell University Press, 1950, 300 pp., \$3.

ORDEAL BY SLANDER by Owen Lattimore, Bantam, 1950, 198 pp., 25c.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION by Jerome Davis, Philosophical Library, 1950, 259 pp., \$3.

The assaults on civil liberties initiated by Truman's "loyalty" purge in 1947 have had literary by-products as well as far-reaching political and social consequences. The last two or three years have seen the appearance of a growing shelf of books, including some novels, devoted to various aspects of the current witch hunt. One of the first and best of these was the study, Loyalty Among Government Em-

ployees by Thomas I. Emerson and David M. Helfeld (Yale Law Journal, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1948), which was previously reviewed in this paper. The books listed above are of interest and use because they report some of the outstanding civil liberties cases since 1948 and call attention to the mounting threats against democratic rights in this country.

Barth, who is an editorial writer for the liberal Washington Post, has closely followed the development of the witch hunt in its birth place, the capital. The best part of his book is the one dealing with Truman's "loyalty" purge program.

McWilliams, the well-known liberal journalist and lecturer, attempts to relate the present trends in the U.S. to previous inquisitions in European and American history. But the more valuable chapters of Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy are concerned with attacks on academic freedom, especially the case at the University of Washington, over which so many liberals and Social Democrats showed their true colors.

The work by Gellhorn, professor of law at Columbia University, covers a narrower range, dealing primarily with the stultifying effects of the government purge on scientific research. Lattimore, widely publicized

target of Senator McCarthy, relates his own account of the charges, hearing and plot against him and reprints the main portions of his testimony and counter-attack before the Tydings Committee last year.

The book by Davis, who was at one time president of the AFL American Federation of Teachers, has little to recommend it beyond the author's good intentions. It is poorly organized, indifferently written and adds little to the total picture, with the exception perhaps of the account of his libel suit against the Saturday Evening Post for an article accusing him of being a "communist wrecker of American labor."

All of these books stress the dangers arising out of the witch hunt and address appeals (to the government, or the people, or both) to combat these dangers. They recognize a relation between the cold war and the undermining of civil liberties, but none of them undertakes an analysis of the really basic question — the connection between the attacks on democratic rights and the decay of the capitalist system, which results in the growing inability of the ruling class to tolerate any independent political activities by the working people. A fully scientific study of the source and meaning of the witch hunt still remains to be published.

# British Socialists Urge Emergency Party Parley

The Socialist Outlook and Socialist Fellowship, speaking for the Left Wing of the British Labor Party, have issued a statement to the rank and file opposing general elections before an emergency Labor Party Conference is convened to decide on a new policy.

Placing the responsibility for the current political crisis squarely on the shoulders of "the Right Wing, with Mr. Attlee, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Shawcross, Mr. Gaitskell and all their supporters in high places," the statement explains that Aneurin Bevan's resignation "was forced upon him by the government's determination to proceed with a rearmament policy which means the inevitable lowering of working class living standards and the undermining of the Social Services."

## LEFT WING CHALLENGE

The entire course of the Right Wing is designed to force a showdown with the Left. "Why? Because they know very well that the war preparations cannot be successfully advanced unless the socialist conscience of the Party — its Left Wing — is silenced. That is why Mr. Shawcross made his disgraceful threat to expel any member who dares to oppose his arms budget. The Right Wing is on the attack. Spurred on by every Tory and warmonger in the world, they have challenged the Left for the future of the Labor Party. The Left must meet the challenge and defeat it."

"The immediate danger is that the Right will now try to utilize the crisis they have themselves deliberately created to force us into a general election WHILE THE PARTY IS DIVIDED AND WITHOUT A POLICY. This would be disastrous for Labor. It must be prevented. Labor does not need another general election — it needs A NEW POLICY. And the place to decide on a new policy, the place to settle the differences between the Right and Left, is at a properly convened Special Conference of the Labor Party. LET THE RANK AND FILE DECIDE!"

"No election UNTIL AFTER THE PARTY HAS SETTLED THE PRESENT DISPUTE AND DECIDED UPON A NEW POLICY. Before we can defeat the Tory Party we must first

## Barth Statement On Subversive List and the SWP

"One of the organizations placed on the ('subversive') list by Tom Clark when he was Attorney General is the Socialist Workers Party. This is a bitterly anti-Stalin splinter group reflecting the Trotskyist deviation from what is now orthodox communism. It is a legal political party which polled about thirteen thousand votes in the 1948 national election. It advocates production for use, socialization of all industry, and creation of a workers' and farmers' government. It resolutely denies that it seeks to achieve these ends by violence or any other unconstitutional means."

"But, somewhat ironically, the Attorney General classified the Socialist Workers Party not only as 'subversive' but also as 'Communist' and as an organization which seeks 'to alter the form of government in the United States by unconstitutional means.' Thus membership in it entails mandatory dismissal from the government service under the terms of Section 9-A of the Hatch Act. One result of this ruling was that James Kutcher, a clerk in the Newark branch office of the Veterans Administration, lost his job in 1948 and was officially declared disloyal to the United States."

"In 1943 James Kutcher, as a private first class in the Army of the United States, lost both his legs in the Battle of San Pietro in Italy. He has never made any attempt to conceal his membership in the Socialist Workers Party; he merely denies that he personally, or the party to which he belongs, advocates the violent overthrow of the government."

The Attorney General's ruling makes him, therefore, the victim of a dual arbitrariness. The organization to which he belongs has been arbitrarily held to advocate what it denies advocating. And this advocacy was imputed to Mr. Kutcher through the mere fact of his membership — an assumption of guilt by association which the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case denounced as invalid and repugnant to American law. This arbitrariness, moreover, has



ATTLEE

defeat the Tories in our own ranks."

The statement then goes on to point out: "The great majority of working people do not want war. Labor has the right to speak for this great majority. We must declare that we wish to live in peace with all the peoples, that we have no desire to occupy foreign territory, nor to draw tribute from other lands. If, moreover, we match our declarations with DEEDS — the withdrawal of all British troops from Korea and all the colonies, the breaking of all alliances with

capitalist powers, and proceed to do what the workers in the Far East are trying to do — finish off this hated system of private enterprise — then, and only then, can we rightfully call upon the workers to sacrifice in the interests of defence."

At three anti-war conferences recently held in London, Manchester and Birmingham under the auspices of the Socialist Fellowship, "over 450 delegates from 32 Divisional Labor parties, 12 Trades Councils and more than 100 trade union organizations voted — AND ONLY 10" votes were cast for the "government's present policy."

These representative gatherings, the statement emphasizes, show "the real feelings and desires of the Labor Movement. With courage, with determination it can now mobilize itself, defeat the arrogant Right Wing, secure a decisive victory for the Left and — because of that — completely and utterly defeat Britain's chief war mongers, the Tory Party."

The statement concludes with the following slogans:

- "Defend Working Class Living Standards!"
- "Defend the Health Services!"
- "Organize the Left Wing!"
- "Demand An Emergency Conference of the Labor Party!"

## TAFT JOINS M'ARTHUR, WANTS WAR ON CHINA

(Continued from Page 1)

Like MacArthur, Taft painted up Chiang Kai-shek. Like MacArthur, Taft wants Manchuria bombed and "logistic support" for raids on the China mainland by Chiang's troops. The only point on which Taft expressed "some doubt" was on a "complete American blockade of China." It might be "wiser," he suggested to let Chiang do it, who "was conducting a fairly good blockade until we stopped him." Taft favors the "release of our Nationalist forces and a release of the Nationalist Navy" to resume the blockade immediately and then let a "committee" decide "whether it would be wise for the United States to undertake a general blockade."

When Sen. McMahon (Dem. of Conn.) charged Taft with seeking to expand the war with China, Sen. Taft blandly denied it. "I believe that by such principles (i.e. MacArthur's 'principles') we may reasonably hope to end the war in Korea," Taft said.

What is most ironical in the situation is that Taft has tor-

pedoed his previous "policy of reconciliation" precisely at the moment when the administration has moved a long way toward satisfying the demands of the China Lobby, the pro-Chiang and "Fight It Out in Asia" crew.

"The President and the Joint Chiefs (of Staff) have actually gone," lament the editors of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, "farther already in the directions advocated by MacArthur than most people seem to realize. . . . The real difference between the administration and the MacArthurites are not basic differences of policy, but disagreements over what is possible and practicable under the existing circumstances."

How true this is will be discovered by increasing layers of the American people as the Truman-MacArthur "debate" unfolds. Both Truman and MacArthur are acting to spread the war, and not peacefully end it. Their sole disagreements are over when, where and how this country can be plunged most easily and effectively into all-out war.

# Report on Jim Crow in Korea

(Continued from Page 1)

but after pressure was brought to bear he was allowed to go to the Far East.

Marshall reports on his investigations, "In the course of the investigation, one unbelievable story after another came to my attention. Take the case of one young GI convicted of cowardice. Enlisting at the age of 15, he was stationed in Japan and sent to Korea when the fighting broke out. Because he knew he would have been sent back to the U.S. as a youthful hero rather than permitted to get into the thick of the fighting, he did not reveal his age. This had stuck at the front until he was yanked out on a trumped-up court martial charge. It was not until I talked to him that his real age became known. He did not reach his eighteenth birthday until eleven days after he had been convicted by court martial."

## A FRAME-UP

Another flagrant case Marshall uncovered is that of Private J. P.

cost Kutcher much more than his job; it has cost him a reputation for loyalty to his country earned at considerable sacrifice in its military service.

"As this is written, a civil suit is before the federal courts challenging in Kutcher's name the constitutionality of the loyalty program and the constitutionality of Section 9-A of the Hatch Act. The one, he charges, imposes punishment without due process of law; the other limits freedom of speech in contravention of the First Amendment so far as government employees are concerned."

—From The Loyalty of Free Men by Alan Barth

Morgan, who was court-martialed for alleged violation of the 75th Article of War, and sentenced to ten years at hard labor. "Although he was able to prove he was in an Army hospital during the period when he was charged with not being on duty," Marshall reports, "his conviction was upheld by headquarters of the 25th Division."

Another case involved the men of the 159th Field Artillery. "They were in a river bed on a peaceful, calm night," Marshall reports, "so quiet that practically all of the officers (white) had left the post and gone to town. Then, of a sudden, all hell broke loose. The encampment had been located by the enemy, who at 12:15 a.m. began dropping death-dealing mortar shells on the post."

"In the midst of the chaos the captain in charge gave the order to close station and move out. . . . The men moved out and kept moving. As a result of the confusion . . . fourteen Negro artillerymen disappeared that night."

"All but two were back the next morning. Meanwhile, the battery had moved position. Charges were filed against them and an investigation made. The commanding officer, stating that because there was so much confusion no one knew what was happening, told the men to forget about it. They went back to their assigned tasks."

"Later two of the men were brought up on charges and court-martialed. Three of their fellow soldiers, who testified for them at the trial, were themselves court-martialed. During the trials the captain who gave the order gave three different versions of what happened that night. Five men were convicted and the captain was promoted to major. Three of

# The Negro Struggle NEGROES GLAD TO SEE MacARTHUR FIRED

By J. Blake

The firing of General MacArthur was hailed on two counts by Negro Americans: first because he was the responsible head of the jim crow army in the Far East; and second, because he represented the most outspoken advocates of extending the unpopular Korean war to all Asia.

At the same time, however, the more discerning writers in the Negro press are not letting President Truman off the hook of responsibility for both the war and discrimination because of his action in dismissing MacArthur; nor are these writers as confused as most of the white press about the significance of the demonstrations for MacArthur since his return to America.

The Los Angeles Tribune, in an editorial printed April 14th, summed up the reaction: "Douglas MacArthur, as commander of the U.S. Army in the Far East, is responsible for the situation which has existed with respect to Negroes among his troops, mass court martials, segregation. . . . So, who around here is going to waste any tears on. . . commanding general Douglas MacArthur?"

The Cleveland Call chose to express its opposition to the war by editorializing on April 20th in favor of Truman as against MacArthur: "Most Americans see eye to eye with Truman in desiring to end the Korean war as soon as possible and to avoid further military conflicts. . . . we do not want prolonged war no matter how glamorous a general leads our armies."

## Anti-War Sentiments

Columnist Joseph C. Carpenter, in the St. Louis American, was more explicit in his analysis of the reaction to the Truman-MacArthur debate as an expression of the anti-war sentiments of the people: "The American public. . . are sick and tired of war and all that it has brought in its wake. Hardly had one terribly destructive war ended than another began — a great many people think, against the express will and purpose of the large mass of the American public. . . . It is my belief. . . that all of these unparalleled demonstrations (for MacArthur) are psychologically the way the American public is letting off steam, and paradoxically enough, in reverse they are reacting against President Harry S. Truman. . . . The same thing would have happened had a Republican been in the White House."

Even the Pittsburgh Courier, whose editorial line is not customarily pro-Truman, approved the removal of MacArthur, but on grounds different from those cited by Truman. The Courier points out that the President issued an executive order to the armed forces in 1948 to end all discrimination because of race and color, and that this directive should be as binding as others issued to MacArthur.

## How About the Rest

"If it is right to remove General MacArthur for disobedience, as charged," says the Courier, "how can it be right to permit other Army officers to disobey another Presidential directive even more flagrantly?" — "How About Ousting Some Others?" is the title of the editorial.

The St. Louis American makes the same point in an editorial on April 19th: "Now that President Truman has shown that he is not afraid to exercise his position as Commander-in-chief of the military forces of the United States, all he has to do is to tighten up on those Generals and top brass who have failed to carry out his directive to eliminate jimcrow from the armed services and declare a new Fair Employment edict for the national emergency."

## Break With Capitalist Parties

But all the clever arguments and editorials which utilize the Truman-MacArthur controversy to press the case against segregation without proposing a sharp break with both capitalist parties express but poorly the much more profound understanding of the Negro mass that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have attempted or are going to attempt any fundamental change to eliminate the second-class status of Negroes.

When spokesmen come forward who are not afraid to state this truth unequivocally, who are prepared to lead an uncompromising struggle for full equality for Negroes in America — despite the fact that they would be giving up chances of jobs with the State Department or the "Black Cabinet" in Washington — then will the voice of the Negro masses really be heard, and then will genuine gains be made.

the convicted men got 20 years and two life."

In one period, Aug. through Oct., 1950, studied by Marshall, 32 Negro servicemen were convicted under the 75th Article of War, and only two white GIs were convicted.

## TREATMENT OF WHITES

Commenting on the cases of the white GIs, whose sentences illustrate the heavy injustice meted out to Negro troops, Marshall states, "One of the white soldiers who was assigned to a first-aid tent near the front lines, became intoxicated while on duty. Ordered outside by his officer, the soldier disappeared and it was not until days later that he was picked up by MPs far to the rear. He was tried, convicted, and given a five year sentence, which was cut to one year by the Division Headquarters."

"The other convicted white GI," Marshall states, "was given three years for disobedience in front of the enemy. Another white GI, who fell asleep at his sentry post, was acquitted although his commanding officer testified that he had seen him asleep. Justice in Korea may have been blind, but not color blind."

Marshall points out that the trial Judge Advocate and the trial commanding officer were all white, as was the personnel of the Judge Advocate's office.

## WHITE OFFICERS

The relationship between white officers and Negro troops is reported by Marshall who states, "The men of these outfits told me repeatedly that many of the white officers sneered at their troops. . . . They openly announced: 'I despise 'nigger' troops and I don't want to com-

mand you and the regiment is no good and you are lousy. You don't know how to fight.'"

This attitude was prevalent among the white officers, according to Marshall.

The report also reveals that Negro GIs were often deprived of their right to choose their own counsel, and their cases railroaded through in a few minutes time in what was only a sham hearing.

In placing responsibility for these jim crow conditions, and the victimization of Negro troops, Marshall states, "The responsibility for maintaining the color line in the Army in the Far East rests with General MacArthur, who has failed to implement the President's order for the elimination of segregation from the armed services."

As far as anyone knows, that order issued by Truman was mere lip service and was never implemented anywhere.

While the NAACP report on Korea draws no conclusions from the horrible evidence presented by Marshall, it is a powerful indictment of the jim crow system in the armed forces. No mention is made of the fact that Truman could as Commander in Chief, issue orders to abolish the segregated regiments, and outlaw jim crow in the military forces.

THEIR MORALS AND OURS by Leon Trotsky 64 pages 25 cents PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3 Latest Catalogue on Request

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



By Tom Conlan

The army is running up against unexpected difficulties. Draft boards, it turns out, find it hard to tell the hale and hearty from the sick and physically disabled.

Men with chronic mastoids, hernia cases, deformed backs and feet and other disabilities have been inducted into the army.

Two of the men, announced the Senators, "had feet so deformed as to make the investigators cringe." Twelve men were found with "bad, readily identifiable hernias"; two others had deformed backs and five suffered from chronic mastoids.

The army officials announced that they are "aware of the situation" and "taking steps to correct any further recurrence."

Under proper "supervision" and "orientation,"

the draft boards and their physical examiners will henceforth doubtless have their burdens eased considerably. But meanwhile it has turned out that draftees who enter the army healthy and then suddenly fall ill likewise run into unforeseen complications.

A case in point is that of Stanley Amborski, age 21, inducted early in April and sent to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. Recruit Stanley began feeling poorly and kept writing to his family that he was nevertheless being assigned to duty.

On Saturday, April 28, his father "John Amborski, his wife Estelle and their four other children drove to the camp" from Illinois in order to see for themselves, reported the United Press on April 30. They found Stanley "unable to recognize his brother."

That same night recruit Amborski was admitted to the Great Lakes Hospital, Great Lakes, Ill. He was being fed intravenously and the family doctor's diagnosis was peritonitis.

Letter From Korea

We reprint below excerpts from letters written by British Lance-Corporal Bill Tyler, who, after he had written these thoughts, was killed in action in Korea.

Dear Harry, Our brigade, largely composed of reservists — fully shares the opposition to the war that you are experiencing at home.

The Commanding officer of our battalion recently gave us his views on the war — and he was loudly heckled from all quarters of the paraded battalion!

It must be apparent to most people by now that America is playing an extremely fishy game out here in Korea. British lives are being lost to further American ambitions in the Far East.

I am convinced that Korea is the biggest frame-up in modern history and the thought of it is

driving me frantic. The defeat suffered by the UN forces was deliberately engineered by the Yanks. But fortunately I believe the people at home are also growing suspicious.

We must finish with capitalist war blocs such as the Atlantic Pact and Western Union. The problem is extremely urgent and I am impatient to get home.

I have a vast and intimate experience of war and the misery it brings in its train. And I can honestly say that I have never seen such misery as is now being experienced by the Korean people.

The other day I gazed down at the body of a little girl lying in the snow and I thought of my Christine and it broke my heart. I don't think I shall be happy again until we have removed the fear of war from the world.

Your fraternally Bill Tyler

Revenge Witness Seeks To Burn Trenton Six

By George Lavan

TRENTON, May 2 — The prosecution has reached a new low in its jim crow, frame-up attempt to convict six Negro men for the 1948 murder of William Horner, aged junk store proprietor.

This unnaturally vengeful man is motivated by enmity against his whole family and his son, in particular, as well as hatred for another defendant, Ralph Cooper, whom he regards as his personal enemy.

CRIMINAL CAREER

George English might have stepped out of the pages of a case book on abnormal psychology. His present pathological lying is merely an extension of criminal career obviously psychoneurotic in origin.

Old man English also asserts that his son, Collis, helped frame him on a moral charge involving a minor. It is further known that George English has bitterly hated his family for years and that he swore he would get revenge on his son for not fixing bail at the time of his last arrest.

to hurt his family he had denied his marriage to Mrs. Emma English and parentage some of his children. The defense confronted him with a family Bible inscribed "Property of George English," listing the marriage date and the birth dates of the children.

Examination of the cellar from which English claims to have seen and heard Cooper planning the murder shows that it would be physically impossible to see and hear as the witness claims.

Attempts to find out why English was released from prison almost two years before he was eligible for parole were unsuccessful.

Similar attempts to find out if the prosecution had arranged for a larceny charge against him, understood to be still pending, to be dropped also brought no clarification.

"CONFESSION" READ

Today Judge Smalley also ruled against the defense by permitting the reading of Ralph Cooper's "confession." This is the first time the jury has heard any of the "confessions" forced from five of the six defendants by police after days of grilling, terror and drugging.

Judge Smalley refused to admit into evidence three "confessions" signed by the police and then signed by the worn-down prisoners. One of those ruled out — was Cooper's. The "confession" of Cooper read today was a handwritten document. It was composed in the presence of Chief Detective Naples who admits that from time to time he helped Cooper word it.

REVERSES TESTIMONY

On cross-examination today English contradicted and reversed his earlier testimony. Attempting

to reverse his earlier testimony. Attempting

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SWP in N.Y. Holds Spirited May 1st Rally

NEW YORK — Between 250 and 300 friends and comrades of the Socialist Workers Party attended a May Day meeting held last night at the Hotel Capitol.

The meeting commenced with a dramatic presentation, "The March of Labor," honoring the martyrs of the working class, starting with the Haymarket meeting, and ending with the 18 Trotskyists sentenced to prison during World War II.

Speakers, besides Hansen, were a representative from the International Socialist Youth, Ethel Pedersen, who discussed the socialist world to come; Gladys Barker, SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1950, who pulled no punches in saying what problems faced the Negro people today, and who gave the story of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenant's League, organized from years ago by the SWP, and what it has accomplished for its members.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, chairman of the meeting, presented three resolutions which were unanimously adopted. The first was a call on Congress to send grain immediately to the starving people of India.

Chicago SWP in New Headquarters Honors May Day

CHICAGO, April 29 — Socialism in Chicago "marched forward" last night as well over 100 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party gathered for the double celebration of May Day and the opening of the new party headquarters.

Enthusiasm for the gains made by the Chicago Local in the past period was well in evidence. The spirit of the occasion was typified by the rousing standing ovation given to Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the SWP, as he rose to make the main address of the evening.

"If you see people around you with a smile in their eyes," began Comrade Dobbs, "the reason is that this jubilee was 'built by hand.' It was made possible by the efforts of comrades and friends who worked, not because they had to, but because they wanted to. And that's the kind of party we are building."

The speaker emphasized "that the confidence of the Socialist Workers Party has a sound base in the profoundly revolutionary events which are now transpiring in the world. . . and although, today, we are in the vanguard, tomorrow will witness the fusing of our program and leadership with the mighty power of the American working class."

PARTY BUILDING

A well rounded program was presided over by the veteran socialist leader, Arne Swabeck. An excellent Smorgasbord was enjoyed by an audience which included a goodly number of Negro workers, students, and contacts made during the recent election campaign. Over \$250 was raised, during the course of evening, to further party building activities.

Several subscriptions to the Militant and a selection of pamphlets were sold to the many newcomers.

Two young sympathizers requested membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

As one old-time sympathizer of the party remarked, "It's wonderful, in times like these, to see something like this!"

Pamphlets by Joseph Hansen

- "The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is — What It Stands For" . . . . . 32 pp. 10
"American Workers Need a Labor Party" . . . . . 48 pp. 15
"Stalin's Frame-Up System", by Leon Trotsky with an introduction by Joseph Hansen . . . . . 168 pp. 1.00

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U.S. Labor Leaders Crawl Back Into All Washington War Agencies

SUPREME COURT ISSUES "SUBVERSIVES" RULES

(Continued from Page 1)

vary with the mood or political philosophy of the prosecutor, are weapons which can be made as sharp or blunt as the occasion requires. . . The rudiments of justice, as we know it, call for notice and hearing — an opportunity to appear and to rebut the charge."

By a 4-to-4 tie-vote in another closely linked decision the Supreme Court upheld the dismissal of Dorothy Bailey from her government job on charges that she belonged to the Communist Party — which she denied. This decision tends to strengthen the government's hand in carrying through its loyalty purge even though it contradicted the court ruling in the cases of the three blacklisted organizations. The two rulings were so flagrantly inconsistent that Justice Jackson said: "This is justice turned bottom-side up."

The court in effect held that it is illegal to brand an organization disloyal without a trial but all right to stigmatize a government worker as disloyal and dismiss her from employment without a fair and full hearing.

UNKNOWN WITNESS

Justice Douglas indignantly assailed the Loyalty Board for accepting secret evidence withheld from her against Miss Bailey from an FBI informant whose identity the board did not even know. "The critical evidence may be the word of an unknown witness who is 'a paragon of veracity, a knave, or the village idiot.' He did not 'see how the validity of this dragnet system of loyalty trials can be sustained' and called the system an 'excellent illustration of how dangerous a departure from our constitutional standards can be.'"

Although these divergent deci-

Purge Victim



JAMES KUTCHER

sions do not abolish the loyalty program, they cast considerable doubt on its legality. The confusion and uneasiness within the Supreme Court itself, caught between the demand of the administration to uphold the loyalty purge and its clearly unconstitutional character, was manifested by the fact that six different opinions were written by the justices on the improper procedures of the entire program.

KUTCHER CASE

These circumstances add importance to the appeal of the legless veteran James Kutcher now before the federal district court in Washington. Kutcher, who was fired from his job for admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, is directly challenging the constitutionality of the Attorney General's list and the loyalty purge based upon it. It should be far more difficult for the Supreme Court to avoid taking a definite stand on the legality of his discharge than in the Bailey case.

Hansen Speaks In Youngstown On World Crisis

YOUNGSTOWN—An audience predominantly made up of steelworkers, turned out April 27 to hear Joseph Hansen speak on "America and the World Crisis." The entire speech was followed with intense interest as Hansen cited the bestial atrocities in Korea, the vicious and fascist allies of the American imperialists and the perversion of Democracy.

"If," he contended, "this is the type of democracy America is exporting, it is certainly a weird and strange variety — surely it can have nothing in common with the democratic ideals held by the leaders of the American Revolution."

FALSE SLOGAN

Hansen's conclusion that the American imperialists were seeking not to make the world safe for democracy but to insure the safety and return on the capitalists' investments, seemed to be also the conclusion of the audience. This was evidenced by the nature of the questions following the speech, nearly all of which sought information on the nature of Stalinism, what the position of Stalinism is in the Korean war, and what kind of a deal Stalin is trying to make and why the change in the Yugoslav foreign policy.

As proof of the great interest in learning the socialist solution to the world crisis, five subscriptions to the Militant were sold.

Big Business Still Controls Entire Government Machine

The United Labor Policy Committee has returned to Truman's war mobilization boards without winning one major change in the anti-labor set-up which two and a half months ago precipitated labor's walkout.

When they voted April 30 to surrender their fight against Big Business domination in Washington, the labor leaders gave as their reason the "changed attitude in Washington."

At the same time they were obliged to admit that "the cards are still stacked against the consuming public."

Only three days before this cowardly retreat, William Green, AFL president, and James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, speaking at a New York labor rally, agreed that the war mobilization program is being operated "by and for Big Business" and that the prime cause for inflation is the "obscene accumulation of enormous profits."

LABOR'S DEMANDS At this rally the ULPC stated as its demands: 1. Legislation that would effectively avoid runaway prices. 2. Correct ineffective rent controls. 3. Direct tax burdens to higher income groups. 4. Allow small business a real share in fulfilling rearmament contracts. 5. Grant organized labor genuine participation in government policy-making.

These were the demands of the labor leaders as of April 27. Three days later they went back to the government agencies to serve as "window dressing" without a single one of these demands having been met.

WILSON STILL BOSS To underline the fact that labor made no gains and solved nothing by this retreat, Charles E. Wilson still remains as the dictatorial anti-labor head of the mobilization program, and the Wage Stabilization Board, newly constituted, is headed by George Taylor, World War II chairman of the War Labor Board, and author of the vicious "Little Steel Formula."

By returning to the Wage Stabilization Board the labor leaders have agreed to take responsibility for the government program which aims to freeze wages while the cost of living rises uncontrolled.

BACK IMPERIALISM The labor leadership is committed to the imperialist war plans of American capitalism. That is the real reason they have surrendered without any basic concessions. U.S. Capitalism, gearing its economy for all-out war, must of necessity hammer down the workers' living standards.

To fight against the consequences of militarization requires a fight against the whole political program of capitalism, both its foreign and domestic policy. The "peace" between Truman and the labor leaders may be only a shortlived one. Another crisis may break out soon. But the problems which the workers confront require more than the maneuvers of Philip Murray and Wm. Green; they require a full break with capitalist politics, the organization of labor's own party, and a struggle against the imperialist war plans which are incompatible with the well being of the American people.

DETROIT TRANSPORT STRIKERS HOLD FIRM, MAYOR TRIES STRIKEBREAKING

DETROIT — A strike of bus and street-car operators which began April 21, centered around a demand for an eight and one-half cent an hour wage increase, is one of the finest examples of labor solidarity seen in this city for many years.

When the city administration had shown a contemptuous disregard for the demands of the union, officials of Division 26, Bus and Streetcar Operators, AFL, called the strike, which had already been authorized by a membership meeting.

The strike was 100% effective from the very start. Every attempt by city officials to break the union has thus far met with complete failure.

THE RED HERRING

Two days before the strike, the Detroit News featured a story reporting a "Red Plot to Hurt City's Defense Effort With DSR Shutdown." This smear had no effect on the operators.

Detroit Mayor Cobo had instructed the city "subversive" squad to investigate the union leaders, seeking to establish their past connection with radical organizations, in an attempt to divert attention from the real issues of the strike. This was a complete flop.

On April 25 Cobo, dubbed "Little Caesar" by the workers, invoked the Hutchinson act, which forbids strikes by city workers in Michigan, and fired all but a handful of the 3,800 DSR operators.

The transportation workers met this drastic action with scorn. The

most common estimate of the workers was, "The firing notices aren't worth the paper they're written on." One operator told a reporter, "Those notices will make a pretty bonfire."

Cobo, who even refuses offers of aid from the State labor mediation board chairman George Bowles on the grounds Bowles once represented a union as an attorney, announced that "The strike will be settled on the city's terms — or else."

The city's terms are to give only a 5 cent wage increase, and to take away some of the benefits won by the workers during the past few years.

The union has branded the city's proposals as an attempt to cut the real wages of the operators 5 cents an hour.

Despite a concerted press and radio campaign of slander against the striking operators, support for the strike has been snowballing from all sections of the Detroit labor movement.

SUPPORT BUILDS

Although top officials of the UAW have not as yet taken a stand, local unions have been sending in many resolutions of support. In a letter to the Wayne County CIO Council, Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, UAW, called for a mass demonstration in Cadillac Square, and asked for a meeting of all union presidents to organize the action.

Stellato told the press, "Mayor Cobo's efforts to try to convince the public that it is against the DSR workers are simply strike-breaking tactics." The head of the Teamsters Union, AFL, James

Hoffa, warned that "his union would move immediately should efforts be made to hire new drivers to break (the DSR) strike."

Frank Martell, President of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, called a meeting of representatives of 250 AFL unions, to "Place solidly behind the members of the street car men's union the full support of every AFL union and member."

However, it should be pointed out that these same union officers who are now correctly siding the operator's strike, not so long ago joined with strikebreaking Mayor Cobo in his attempts to smash the union of sanitation workers, the United Public Workers, Independent. Their actions at that time helped to keep alive the infamous Hutchinson act, which is now being turned against the operators.

Should this strike of streetcar and bus operators be successful, and there is every sign that it will, it will deal a heavy blow against the anti-labor Hutchinson law, and against the anti-union administration of Mayor Cobo.

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