

N.Y. Killer-Cops Slay Two More In Cold Blood

NEW YORK, May 31 — New York's killer-cops have chalked up two more victims in their terror campaign against Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups.

Edwin Gonzales, 17-year-old Puerto Rican youth, was murdered in cold blood May 23. Patrolmen Walter Stubbs and Richard Lowe chased the unarmed youth to a cellar doorway. They pumped three bullets into the body of the helpless boy, who died at once with his 30c. worth of "loot" — three chocolate bars — clutched in his lifeless hand.

Young Gonzalez' older brother bitterly asked, "Why didn't they use their flashlights before firing? The cops ride us kids in this neighborhood."

New York's "finest," who have stepped up their beatings and murders of defenseless citizens in the recent months, committed their second homicide within a week on May 26.

SECOND VICTIM

The victim was Henry Fields, 26 year old Negro father of three children, who was suspected of a hit-run auto accident. As he jumped from his car at Liberty Ave. and Osborn St., Patrolman Sam Applebaum shot him through the head, killing him instantly.

A crowd of indignant citizens gathered at the scene of the brutal crime, and reports the N. Y. Daily News "were muttering about the cop's haste in opening fire."

Only after 60 or 70 patrolmen were brought to the scene, and two Negro pastors pleaded with the crowd, did the horrified witnesses disperse.

DEMAND ACTION

A group of 150 Negro and white residents of Brownsville, where the murder took place, filled the 78th police precinct station, demanding action against the killer-cop. But Capt. Joseph Malina stated Applebaum was not being charged with murder, nor relieved of his duties.

The Brooklyn Branch of the National Association for the Ad-

vancement of Colored People has taken up the Fields case, demanding arrest and prosecution of the cop. Norman Johnson, vice president of the Brooklyn NAACP, reported at a meeting called to protest the murder, that the national NAACP would back the fight to avenge the murder of Henry Fields.

Fields was guilty of no crime. He was only "suspected" of being a hit-run driver. But witnesses have testified that he sideswiped another car when he swerved to avoid hitting a child in the street.

Both cases show the complete ruthlessness and insane brutality of the cops. The young Puerto Rican was seen running down the street. The cops did not know he had committed any crime. But they murdered him. Field had done nothing wrong, but fell a victim of the trigger-happy cop.

LONG LIST OF CRIME

These are only two recent instances of a long list of similar cold-blooded slayings in the Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. The communities of Harlem and Brownsville are aroused. Youths fear to walk the streets in the evening for fear of the killers in uniform.

In the case of John Derrick, Negro veteran slain by killer-cops, the NAACP conducted an investigation and protest movement. But all that was achieved was the temporary transfer of the murdering patrolmen.

Promises by Negro leaders to march on City Hall were betrayed for a compromise deal with the city administration in the Derrick case. Now it is clear that such compromises do not intimidate the sadistic police.

Avenue Fields and Gonzalez! Organize a mass protest march on City Hall. Demand the arrest and prosecution of Patrolmen Stubbs, Lowe and Applebaum!

Corporations Ride The Gravy Train

Since last January the Defense Production Administration has approved more corporation requests for tax deductions to pay for increased plant capacity (five-year tax amortization) than in all of World War II from 1940-47. Certifications covering \$5.6 billion investments in new plants have already been allowed, and up to \$15 billion more are pending.

Here are some approved tax-grab certifications:

U.S. Steel	\$418,674,420
Bethlehem Steel	235,420,000
Jones & Laughlin	191,086,266
Armco Steel	165,992,406
Republic Steel	115,503,000
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	98,384,000
Reynolds Metals	82,665,278
Aluminum Co. of America	75,355,511
General Electric	60,872,877
International Paper	55,898,549

Bradley Spills Truth About U.S. Losses

Total of Casualties Nearly 150,000

The April 23 Militant charged that U.S. casualties in Korea are "more than double the misleading figures given out by the Defense Department." This is now fully confirmed by the testimony of General Omar Bradley on May 24 before the Senate hearings on the ouster of MacArthur.

Bradley admitted that, in addition to 69,276 so-called "battle" casualties, the U.S. forces in Korea have suffered 72,679 "non-battle" casualties, for a total of 141,955. The previous day the Defense Department had listed casualty "totals" of 66,816.

The general listed the number of dead as 10,680, but indicated that of the 13,349 "battle" casualties listed as "missing" a high percentage are believed to be dead. In previous testimony, MacArthur had stated, "My own judgment on the missing is that the heaviest percentage of them are dead."

Bradley tried to pass off the "non-battle" casualties as inconsequential. He used the example of a man "with a cold or something else; a man that has to go back to have a tooth pulled."

A lot of these "colds" Bradley dismisses were pneumonia and virulent influenza contracted by thousands of men lying in open fox holes in the sub-zero Korean winter. More than 5,000 cases of frost-bite, which is not something you get inside a rear echelon office or barracks, were reported by Army doctors (New York World-Telegram, Feb. 12). These included more than 600 amputations and more "basket" cases (amputations of all four limbs) than in the Second World War.

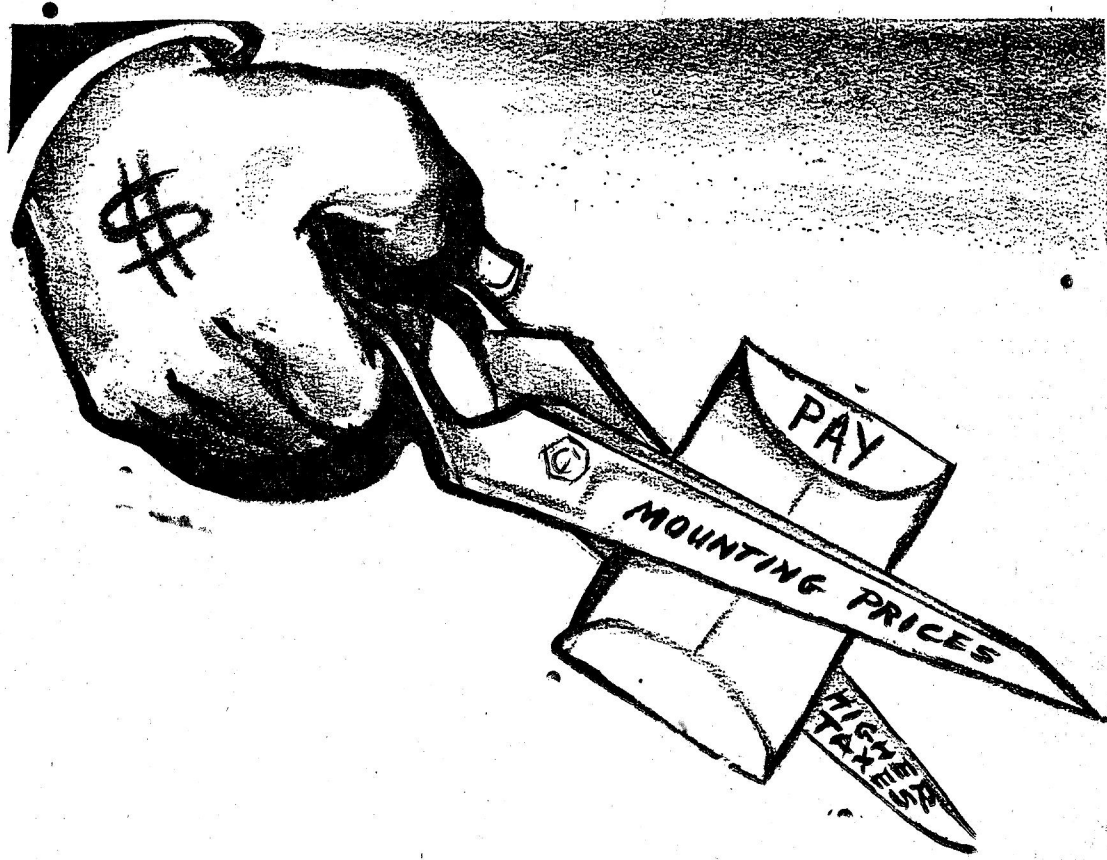
As Senator Bridges, who questioned Bradley closely on the casualties, observed: "If a man loses a hand by frost-bite or frozen off or he is otherwise injured he is just as much a battle casualty as the fellow who gets a bullet in battle."

In addition to concealing a large part of the U.S. losses under the heading of "non-battle" casualties which are not publicized, the Defense Department has been giving out reports that Chinese-North Korean forces have sustained losses ten and 15 times greater than the U.S. forces. On May 25, the Defense Department claimed Chinese-North Korean losses totalled 1,025,404 through May 23. A close reading of the report discloses "battle" casualties of 736,449.

But in comparing losses, the Defense Department doesn't mention the total UN casualties. The United Press on May 11 reported: "Total United Nations casualties through April 30 were about 248,000. This includes an official total of 64,055 United States (battle) casualties, and an estimated 180,000 South Korean losses and 4,000 troops of other United Nations."

Thus, "battle" losses alone are a quarter million and on a ratio of 1 to 3 of the opponent forces.

Congress Plans Big Tax Slice on Take-home Pay



New Bill to Hit Labor Hard; War-enriched Corporations Permitted Unchecked Profits

Blocked in their attempt to freeze wages to 10 per cent above the Jan. 1950 level, Big Business and its government are moving to slash mass purchasing power with a huge tax-knife. Congress is preparing to slice another six billion dollars from the people's incomes with a flat 12½ per cent addition to everyone's income tax bill.

This same measure, already approved by the House

Nationalization -- That's the Answer To the Meat Trust

If the profiteering meat trust — four meat-packing corporations which control 90 per cent of the country's meat supply — successfully challenge the government's price ceilings, the whole feeble structure of Truman's "price control" will collapse.

This is admitted by War Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson, who said on May 25: "Beef has become a symbol of the whole price control program. If beef prices, which are so far out of line, are not compelled to yield to reasonable regulation, the entire structure of price control is seriously, if not fatally, impaired."

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

This is where we came in. Five years ago, the entire OPA collapsed after the meat barons imposed a meat famine on the country. Instead of Truman seizing the industry, including all meat supplies, he removed all price control on meat and opened the era of unrestricted price inflation.

Now the meat trust threatens to repeat its tactics of 1946. The big meat-packing monopolies are starting to shut off meat supplies in an attempt to force the American people to accept their demands for uncontrolled meat prices. And again Truman offers nothing to oppose this threat of meat famine but paper regulations.

Unrestrained price-gouging is going to rob the American people if decisive action is not taken to smash the meat monopoly once and for all. There is only one way to do this: Nationalize the meat industry under the control of the workers. Only a government concerned solely with protecting profits and a complete tool of the monopolies, would fail to take this measure so essential to protect the health and welfare of 150 million people.

Wilson's program for squeezing labor through taxes is now being put into operation with a vengeance.

Ways and Means Committee, would nick the war-enriched corporations for not more than \$730 million in additional excess profits taxes. Corporate profits, before taxes, in the first three months of 1951 ran at a yearly rate of \$48 billion compared to a \$23 billion rate in the same period of 1950 before the Korea war.

The drive to boost taxes of low-income earners to pay for the country's meat supply — successfully challenge the government's price ceilings, the whole feeble structure of Truman's "price control" will collapse.

The united stand of the CIO, AFL, railroad unions and machinists against the old Wage Stabilization Board and the strikes of the railroad operating unions, packinghouse and textile workers have forced the government to retreat by scrapping the 10 per cent wage-ceiling formula. The new WSB has granted the CIO and AFL packinghouse workers a 14 per cent raise over the Jan. 1950 wage scales.

Leading monopoly executives and the Truman administration had foreseen the possibility that the power of the unions would compel a more flexible wage policy. They long ago planned to use taxation and "regulated" inflation as a means of diverting mass purchasing power into the war machine.

In his letter to Senator Byrd last January, Truman said he was for taxing the people "until it hurts." The president of General Motors, Charles E. Wilson, in a statement on Jan. 4 warned that labor would not force wage increases "to make up for the increases in the cost of living." He proposed to make the workers accept lower living standards to pay for the war by means of taxation. "They will do so more willingly," he said, "if their nation's necessities in the form of taxation force them to do so than they would if they were forced to the same condition by employers holding down their wages."

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Trenton 6 Witnesses Blast Cops' Testimony

By George Lavan

TRENTON, May 29 — Defense witnesses continue to punch gaping holes in the jim-crow frame-up on which the State of New Jersey is trying to railroad the Trenton Six to the electric chair.

The trial resumed today after yesterday's recess occasioned by an emergency operation on defendant James Thorpe to remove a painful abscess. Thorpe is the defendant whose arm was amputated the week preceding the crime of which he is falsely accused.

HANDWRITING EXPERT

Testimony this afternoon by a handwriting expert blew up prosecution contentions that McKinley Forrest had initialed a bottle at police headquarters and that he had signed a receipt from the junk store where the 1948 murder occurred. Both the initials and the name on the receipt were written by hands other than the defendant's, testified J. Howard Haring, examiner of disputed documents who has at times been retained by the U.S. and foreign governments.

Other damaging blows were dealt the prosecution in the past few days.

The alibi of Horace Wilson that he was at work on a farm nine

miles from Trenton the morning of the murder was rendered ironclad by the testimony of Holmes G. Perrine, general manager of the Dilatash Farm Co. The company official produced records proving that Wilson worked that morning until noon for the big farming company. Company records also showed that Wilson had worked the preceding day when the prosecutor claims he was in a Trenton barroom plotting the murder.

THE "MURDER WEAPON"

A devastating blow to the police frame-up was dealt by Lloyd Eisenhart, plant foreman of the Royal Crown Bottle Co. of

Allentown, Pa., manufacturers of the bottle introduced into evidence as the "murder weapon." From company code marks on the bottle Eisenhart stated that the lot to which it belonged had not left the company warehouse before June 1950. The Horner murder occurred in Jan. 1948. This testimony definitely shows that the prosecution is guilty of faking evidence.

COPS "COURTESY"

Gratifying to the audience was further demolition of the testimony of Chief of County Detectives, Naples, one of the chief perpetrators of the frame-up. He brazenly testified that he was a

(Continued on Page 2)

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

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

British Maneuver to Keep Iran Enslaved

By John G. Wright

Temporarily dropping the threat of occupying the nationalized Iranian oil fields by military force, the British imperialists, backed by the U.S. State Department, resorted last week to behind-the-scenes diplomatic and economic pressure to maintain their stranglehold on Iran's oil and to keep that country under subjection.

Foreign Secretary Morrison announced in British Parliament that the Laborite government was agreeable to "some form of nationalization" provided a "satisfactory settlement" was agreed upon, with the British monopolists dictating the terms. Their aim obviously is to perpetuate the previously existing state of affairs within the framework of a formal acceptance of "some sort of nationalization."

Meanwhile the mass ferment in Iran continues unabated. A demonstration of 100,000 took place in Teheran, the capital city,

on May 29, the eighteenth anniversary of the original signing of Iran's concession to the British oil monopolists.

Homer Bigart, special correspondent of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported from Teheran that the dilatory tactics of the incumbent Mossadegh government are leading to another crisis. "The chief remaining danger," he cabled, "is that Premier Mossadegh may be overthrown and supplanted by some one even more fanatically determined to take over (the oil fields) in a hurry. There are persistent rumors that several Cabinet ministers are on the verge of quitting."

As for the British, they are still conspiring to install, if possible, a "strong regime." "Judging from here," said columnist Joseph Alsop from London on May 28, "a firm suppression of the Persian Parliament, ruthless martial law, and dictatorial rule by decree constitute the minimum price of any new government

which is to enjoy real control in Iran." What deters these "democrats" is the knowledge, also reported by Alsop, "that the most determined attempt to install a more rational and serious administration at Teheran will touch off a rising."

The conflict in Iran is arousing the masses throughout the Near East. This mass upsurge is finding its expression in the most conservative native circles. Thus from Karachi, Pakistan, Inamullah Kahn, secretary of the World Moslem Conference, has called upon all Moslem countries to follow Iran's example and nationalize all foreign-held "national assets" in their respective territories.

Inamullah Kahn is neither a radical nor a "religious fanatic." "He is an insurance and building executive in private life. He was educated by American missionaries," explains the United Press dispatch from Karachi. The naked imperialist stand of the British, which is being backed

by Washington, may lead to disaster in the Near East, columnist Walter Lippmann fears. Lippmann concedes that the British imperialist stand "may be good law." "But," he adds, "it is not the kind of law that can be enforced in a continent which is in the midst of a stupendous revolution against precisely that kind of law."

The case of Iran throws into the limelight the true situation in Asia today and the real nature of the struggle that is taking place there, in the Near East as well as in the Far East. In Iran as in Korea, in Indo-China as in Malaya the various Asian peoples are struggling to cast off the yoke of imperialism and its "kind of law." But the old colonialists, aided and abetted by American imperialists, are determined to crush ruthlessly the attempts of the Iranians, as well as of the Indonesians, Koreans, Chinese, and others to gain their independence and determine their own future, along with disposing

as they wish of their own natural resources.

In the case of Korea, Washington fraudulently claimed "foreign aggression." In the case of Iran, no one, either in Washington or London, has dared to raise the bogie of "Russian" or "communist" aggression. In Iran, economically and militarily the aggressors are the British. They have no more right to the natural wealth of Iran than they had in days of the colonial struggle of independence in this country to the wealth and resources of the United States.

The British today are seeking to dictate in Iran, just as their corrupt and brutal forerunners sought to dictate in 1776 to the oppressed American colonies. Supporting the British today are the capitalist rulers of America. All the more reason why the American people should firmly support the oppressed Iranians and demand that Washington keep its hands off Iran.

Militant Campaigner N.Y. Takes Lead In Sub Campaign

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

New York took the national lead this week in the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign. The Twin Cities stayed in front for the entire first half of the drive sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party to increase the circle of Militant readers, but finally had to move over for the determined New Yorkers.

Up to now, 1,007 subscriptions have been chalked up nationally and 14,948 single copies sold.

As they passed the Twin Cities, the New York contingent sent their rivals a "vote of thanks for lighting the fire under us that got us moving." However, this did not express over-confidence. The New Yorkers have tremendous respect for the capacities of the Twin Cities comrades and they also have their eyes on the potential threat from Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago and the other branches hot on their trail. They know it will take everything they've got to keep the lead until July 1, the closing day of the contest.

In the Kujac League, too, an upset put Oakland in the lead. Akron dropped down to third place.

In the Konikow League, the only change was in the basement section, which Youngstown handed over to Cleveland.

Paul of the Twin Cities still held his national lead among the individual scorers as he started rolling toward 3,000 points. (One point for every paper sold, whether singly or as a subscription.) But Don of Buffalo was not far behind and Mary of Chicago is putting in a strong bid for top place.

With many subgetters finding their second wind, the big prize in each league of a week's vacation and trip to New York, expenses paid, is still open.

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

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores		Individual Scores	
League	Points	Coover League	Points
New York	10,157	Paul	Twin Cities 2,361
Twin Cities	8,943	Don	Buffalo 1,658
Detroit	6,565	Mary	Chicago 1,452
Los Angeles	4,461	Pauline	Twin Cities 1,118
Chicago	4,060	Harry	Twin Cities 1,013
Buffalo	3,772	Marie H.	New York 977
San Francisco	2,019	Ernie D.	Detroit 841
Seattle	1,979	John	Los Angeles 780
		John A.	Detroit 657
Konikow League		Jean	Twin Cities 527
Flint	2,540	Winifred	Twin Cities 519
Philadelphia	1,278	Lucille	New York 505
Newark	1,223	Bill B.	Twin Cities 485
Boston	830	Artie	Detroit 468
Milwaukee	620	Myron	New York 449
Youngstown	572	Chuck	Detroit 435
Cleveland	510	Frank	Chicago 421
		Ruth B.	Detroit 416
Kujac League		Clara K.	Seattle 395
Oakland	700		
Pittsburgh	274	Konikow League	
Akron	256	Emmett	Flint 775
New Haven	178	Bill	Flint 478
St. Louis	135	Marve	Flint 427
West Virginia	130		
Toledo	104	Kujac League	
Allentown	89	Frank K.	Oakland 468

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Notebook of an Agitator

WHAT IS A MAN PROFITED?

The Big Wheel by John Brooks paints a devastating picture of literary work reduced to a mere commodity in the magazine market. Writers are bought and sold like meat on the hoof, and scant consideration is given to the artistically squeamish. The conscience of men and their dignity, the highest things they have attained to in milleniums of upward striving from primeval times count for no more in the mass magazine market than the hair colorings and markings on a steer bred for beef.

"It is axiomatic that we can replace a writer more cheaply than a typewriter," said the memorandum of the Board of Directors in commenting on the protest petition of staff members over the firing of one of their number, the critic, Herb Katzman, who had been pretentious enough to say openly that he didn't believe in the stuff he wrote or the books he recommended. Burnside, the sub-editor who incidentally bore the burden of no beliefs of any kind, said: "The trouble is, you're a bunch of prima donnas! You think you can indulge your intellectual pretensions up here! You think you can express your assinine, epieicne, immortal souls! Hell, we're in business."

The staff members couldn't answer back or dispute the plain talk they were subjected to. As one of them said to another, "You know how easy we all are to replace. They could have an entire new staff up here by tomorrow morning, and a good one. Ever see the lines waiting down on Thirty-Seven, in personnel?"

Where do they get the people to man the staffs of the great magazines where news and culture are processed and squeezed into slick, neat packages for the masses? From what ranges and feed lots are the literary cattle rounded up and shipped to the market? Quite a few of them, especially on such publications as Present Day, regarded as "probably the leading force against communism in this country," are graduates of the radical movement which had offered the compensation of working for the truth, but where the pickings otherwise were slim.

"You know," said Masterson — who was an old "ex-radical" himself — "you know we still take some of our best men from the little magazines." Such publications as Present Day are crawling with one-time radicals and dissenters who have "learned their lesson" that opposition to the existing social system is tough going, and now devote their talents, and the smattering of knowledge on social questions they picked up in the radical movement, to opposite ends.

COLLAPSE OF A MAN OF TALENT

I once knew a man, a writer with an exceptional style and considerable reputation, who was better acquainted with Marx than most people who think they have "read" him. He knew all the ins and outs of the labor movement, and even wrote understandingly about the Moscow Trials of the Thirties from the revolutionary standpoint of their victims. It seemed, for a time, that the good cause had found a powerful new champion. He soon tired of that, however — it wasn't getting him anywhere in his profession. When I argued with him that his writings could have a great influence on the younger generation, and urged him to write more on the great theme of socialism — indeed, to devote his whole talent to revolutionary journalism — he answered me wearily: "Where am I going to publish it? No magazine or paper of large circulation will take such writings."

Soon after that conversation, he turned around and began to write on the other side of the social question. He had no trouble finding publishers for that kind of stuff. The more he prospered the more conservative his writing became. He finally ended up as a publicist in the right wing of the Republican Party, and died there not long ago. I knew him well, and sometimes wonder where he went when he died. Renegacy has become a paying profession in the United States in recent years, especially

among the intellectuals. But what do they get for it after all? According to the testimony of the characters in The Big Wheel, they get bigger apartments than they really need, and more money to spend on other superfluous things which a writer with a "mission" — if he really has a mission — would disdain even if he could afford them. Thoreau did all right in a one-room cabin he built himself.

"What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" This is a fair question, but it hardly applies to the minions of the public opinion makers.

THE TRADE IN MEN'S SOULS

It is understandable that a man — if he is sick enough — should be willing to exchange his soul to gain the whole world; for the whole world is a great prize and no doubt tempting to ambition grown into megalomania. But even in this exchange we are told there is no profit. It is understandable if millions of ordinary people, hemmed in on every side by pressures and sanctions, feel constrained to keep their opinions to themselves, or even formally to profess contrary opinions, as the price of daily bread for their families. People feel that they must live and bide their time until they get a fair chance to assert themselves and proclaim their own truth.

But what of men of talent and education, such as those The Big Wheel portrays — writers, no less — who trade off their souls, if one grants for the sake of argument that they came into the world endowed with such attributes, not for the whole world and not for daily bread — but just for a few extra comforts and trappings which they don't really need and which serve, rather, to complicate their lives and bog them down? The very best you can say for such people is that from a moral standpoint they belong to the lower orders of life, whereas one who has been nominated to the high office of writer should be bound by his calling to the strictest artistic scrupulousness and personal disinterestedness. In other words, to the truth.

Under present conditions in the world a man should disdain material advantages for himself at the expense of others. Superfluous comforts and display, and soft living in general, at this moment in history, are for the slothful, the self-indulgent, the people with a pig-like mentality, who have no mission and no purpose in life, and are content to fill their own bellies while others, who make up more than half the world's population, go hungry. Such people are not fit to lead and to shape public opinion.

CORRUPTION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Yet — and this is the terrible misfortune of America, the curse of America — it is just such people who are today in full charge of the business of forming and shaping, that is, poisoning and corrupting, public opinion. In the service of the privileged few, they monopolize all the great channels of public information, of which Present Day is only one example, and use them to serve the special interests of the privileged; while the truth-tellers, deprived of adequate mediums for lack of material means, are voices crying in the wilderness, obliged to restrict their utterances to little, poorly-circulated papers and magazines and small meetings, unnoticed by the great agencies of publicity and advertising.

The people, seeking light and leading, are up against this monstrous monopoly of all the sources and instruments of information and instruction, manipulated in a great coordinated conspiracy for the defense of the present condition of affairs. The "news" and argument issuing from this monopoly are all the people get. The great majority probably don't even know there is another side to the story. But there is another side just the same, and the people are going to find out about it, and there will be some changes made.

— J.P.C.
(Next week: The Writer and the People)

Will More Babies Prevent Depressions?

By Harry Frankel

It has often been noticed that the viciousness of the capitalist system finds its fitting counterpart in the foolishness of its apologists. An excellent example is offered by Sylvia Porter, the newspaper "economist" in a column originally published in the N. Y. Post and other newspapers, and reprinted at the expense of the International Latex Corporation in an advertisement in the N. Y. Times of May 23.

Babies equal boom! says Miss Porter. "Take 3,548,000 babies born in 1950. . . . What do you get? Boom. You get the biggest boomiest boom ever known in history. . . . Just imagine how much these extra people, these new markets will absorb — in food, in clothing, in gadgets, in housing, in services."

VAST IMPLICATIONS

"Without anyone's aid," Miss Porter boasts, "I can see these vast economic implications." Before we are swept away by this enthusiasm, however, it would be well to examine this matter a

little more closely. A new baby born into the capitalist world may be looked upon both as potential consumer and potential producer. If each addition to the population is treated solely from the standpoint of consumption, as Miss Porter treats it, then there is every reason to believe that the high birthrate would give a great impetus to the market.

According to this view, 3,548,000 babies come into the world, already equipped with the means of purchasing "food, clothing, gadgets" without the necessity of working as producers. As Miss Porter puts it with bouncing exuberance: "Gazing into my crystal ball, I can see the babies of 1950 getting married to each other in 1970, and then going out to buy everything from autos to zippers—and boy, what a boom!"

Since the working people, in distinction from Miss Porter, live in the real world, it would be best for them to take into consideration these further facts: Of the crop of new babies of this or any other year, the largest proportion of them will be producers

as well as consumers. Moreover, in accordance with the laws of the capitalist system, each of them will be required to produce as producer more wealth than he or she consumes as consumer.

This surplus furthermore steadily increases because the productivity of labor is increasing, and also because an ever larger proportion of the population is being transformed into wage workers. Of course, one might assume that all of the surplus produced by the additional workers will be consumed by those few among the new babies who come into the world already equipped with purchasing power, those who do not produce, but only consume. But even this favorable assumption does not add up to any "boom" or even provide assistance for the solution of any economic problems. It leaves us right where we started.

The actual fact, however, the surplus of wealth produced by any new population would not be entirely consumed, any more than the present annual product is entirely consumed. A portion of that

wealth remains in the hands of the capitalist as new capital, over and above his own consumption needs.

A FLY IN OINTMENT

We are now somewhat better equipped to examine the hasty predictions made by Miss Porter. It becomes clear that the basic fear that haunts the capitalist class, the danger of losing its paying markets, is not at all solved by the addition of 3½ million, or 5 million, or any number of new babies; on the contrary, this danger is intensified, for as we have seen, not only is a surplus still produced, but a continually increasing surplus. In a period of economic growth, of rapid accumulation of capital, a rapid population growth is necessary and favorable to the capitalist class. In a period of constriction and the narrowing of the margin between accumulated capital and places for its investment, the opposite is true. We see that it is not the addition of a new section of the population that determines the economic laws, but,

on the contrary, the economic laws that determine the disposal of the growing population.

DEPRESSION OF THE 30'S

During the crisis of the Thirties, a portion of the population amounting with their families to one-third of the people of this country, were unemployed. At that time, every new increase in population, every school graduating class, was viewed with extreme horror by the capitalist class. The new additions could not serve as paying consumers; therefore, the newspaper economists found no comfort in the increasing population. On the contrary, the birth rate, low as it was, was viewed with apprehension by them. They were all mournful neo-Malthusians at that time, holding fast to the lugubrious tenet that, for some inexplicable reason, the population of the world is always "too large" to support itself. None would have dreamed at that time of halting a growing birth rate as a solution to the difficulty.

The fate, not only of the 3,548,000 new babies of 1950, but of the unborn millions, will be determined, not by the mere fact of their birth, but by the future course of the capitalist system and the rapidity with which this system is everywhere replaced by socialism. Should the capitalist system manage to drag out a degrading and violent existence until the new generations come to maturity, they will serve as the recruits for the capitalist armies, the victims of atom bomb explosions, the subject matter for ever intensified exploitation in the factories, and the armies of unemployed.

ONE WAY OUT

The only assurance that the new generations have of a rich and secure existence is the abolition of capitalism by the socialist society that is everywhere struggling to be born. The present insane so-called population "laws," both Malthusian and "market-expansion" alike, will then appear as delusions. Nothing will then appear more foolish than to proclaim that the population is always "naturally" too large to support itself, even though each individual produces more than is required for his own support, or on the other hand to jump with joy, like Sylvia Porter with every population increase, on the theory that too many goods are always produced, and we must look to an increase in the numbers of mankind to help us out of our troubles.

Trenton 6 Blast Cop Testimony

(Continued from Page 1)

model of courtesy to the Negro defendants. Describing the early morning raid without warrants on the Negro section of Robbinsville where Horace Wilson, was hauled out of bed and arrested, Naples claimed he told the half-awakened farm worker: "Please, Mr. Wilson, will you get up and dress." Leanna Turner, present at the time of the arrest, quoted him as saying: "Get up you black son of a bitch."

The testimony of the handwriting and disputed documents expert torpedoed the state's case against McKinley Forrest. For-

rest, the brother-in-law of Collis English, was arrested when he went to the police station to see why Collis was being detained so long. Forrest is illiterate save for the ability to make his initials. Even this he does in a laborious fashion and consequently usually makes an "X" for his signature. Thus on his marriage license and on pay checks in the years preceding the murder he signed an "X." Today a Trenton funeral director testified that Forrest in 1947 signed insurance papers covering his wife's burial expenses with an "X."

Nonetheless, police claim that

Forrest entered the Horner store the day before the murder and signed a false name on a receipt for a deposit on a mattress. The handwriting expert demonstrated with enlarged photos that the defendant could not possibly have written the false signature which is the work of a person who writes easily.

Similarly the expert denied the well-written script initials allegedly made by Forrest on the label of a bottle at the time he "confessed" could be his writing. These initials differ radically from the crude initials appended by Forrest to the typewritten "confession" forced on him by the police. Obviously the police themselves initiated the bottle as an afterthought when the crudities of their frame-up began to be apparent.

THE STATE'S CASE

With still more witnesses to be brought forward, the defense has already refuted the case of the prosecution. This case rested basically on three elements:

1. The now discredited "confessions" forced upon the prisoners after days and nights of endless grilling by teams of detectives using threats, promises and drugs.

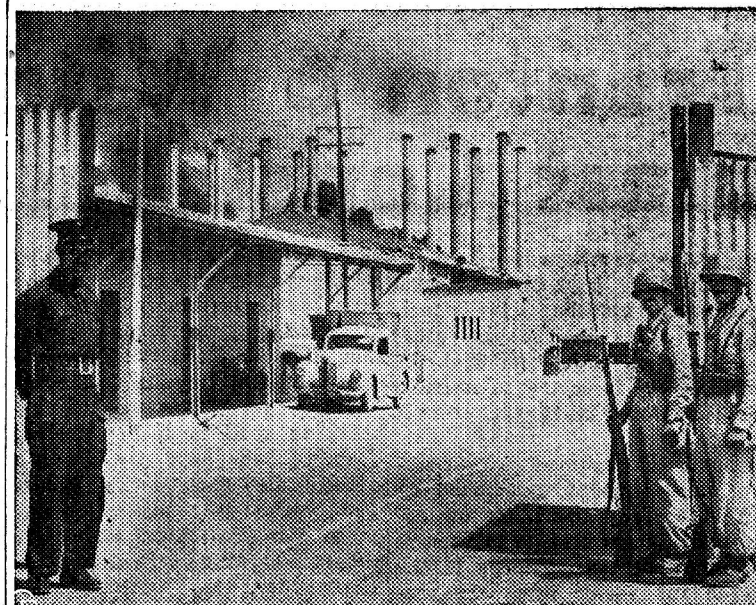
2. Testimony of Mrs. Horner, struck on the head when her husband was murdered. Two days after her release from the hospital she was taken to identify four of the six defendants. She failed to recognize any of them. Four months later, after much looking at police photos she "identified" four defendants from photographs. On the stand she admitted that in the intervening four months she had also seen pictures of the defendants "six

or seven times" in the Trenton newspapers.

3. Testimony of George W. English, estranged father of defendant Collis English and pathological hater of defendant Ralph Cooper. Old man English whose psychoneurosis is the basis of his long criminal record — two of his convictions are for sex crimes against his step children — asserts he was "framed" by Cooper for his most recent carnal-abuse-of-a-minor arrest. At his trial, however, he did not contest the charge. He was mysteriously released from prison before he was eligible for parole and was put on the stand as a surprise witness for the prosecution after the court had thrown out three of the "confessions."

His testimony was designed to strap the six defendants in the electric chair. He claimed to have overheard Cooper state several weeks before the murder that he was planning "to do some robbing and murdering on North Broad St" — the area where the murder took place. He also "found" the "murder weapon" in an old coat which he identified as Cooper's. His testimony has already been shown to be perjured not only in regard to the bottle but on minor details such as his marriages.

What Imperialists Want



Iranian guards at gate of big Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. refinery at Abadan after British government threatened to grab Iran's oil wealth by force when the Iranian government voted to nationalize the country's oil industry.

THE MILITANT ARMY

As the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign passed the half-way point, we can say that it is already a big success. The one thousand subscriptions marks a substantial achievement and the some 15,000 single copies that have been sold are bound to win new sympathizers and adherents to the cause of socialism.

As can be seen from the scoreboard of top subscribers, a number of branches are developing teams of real socialist campaigners. And these are only the 23 highest. There are many more who have excellent scores in their localities but who have been unable to bump the top ones.

The appearance of enthusiastic subscribers like these is a big achievement. It means a revival of the old campaigning spirit which gave our socialist predecessor in America, the Appeal to Reason, the biggest circulation a socialist weekly has ever had in this country.

A new development this week was the challenge of Oakland. They pushed to top place in the Kujac League and declare they intend to stay there. Frank K. of Oakland, who is now top subscriber in the Kujac League writes: "We are out to take all prizes in our league. And the way to do it is to have patience and spend some time with your customers. Don't take no for an answer but be courteous and don't stop at selling one copy of The Militant, sell a whole year's subscription."

Among the top subscribers, we note that Don of Buffalo is again in second place after dropping down to fifth place last week. Literature Agent Charles Carlson reports, "Don is setting a terrific pace and by his persistent work remains in first place in our branch. Don is really a go-getter and spends most of his spare time obtaining subs or selling copies."

Many of the branches are adding to their points by taking six-week deliveries for a quarter.

They find that some families who are very poor can't quite make up their minds to try The Militant for six months but are willing to get more than a single copy. In delivering the paper each week, members of The Militant Army get better acquainted with these families and often end up with a full year's subscription and sometimes a new recruit to the ranks of socialism. Try it, if you haven't done so up to now.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., Open Tues., 6:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd Fl., Phone FT 6-9129, afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 8-960.
- CHICAGO—734 St. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone HAVENLANT 7-3433.
- CLEVELAND—Creation House, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-0297.
- FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street, Phone 22496.
- LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANGELES 9-4653.
- MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.
- NEW YORK CITY—Hq.: 116 University Place, Phone AL 5-7852.
- BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Leovy's Bldg. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm. 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1955, or call TBemphab 2-3785.
- PHILADELPHIA—1305-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone STEVENSON 4-5820.
- PITTSBURGH—For information, write P. O. Box 385.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-9129.
- SEATTLE—Marzard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm. 201. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 5275.
- TOLEDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1502.
- YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St. Call 3-1779.

New Light on the Betrayal of the Scottsboro Boys

By Albert Parker

In January 1937, two of the top Alabama officials came to New York City for a conference with Samuel Liebowitz, the lawyer for the Scottsboro boys. As we reported last week on the basis of the evidence offered by the chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, in his latest book, *They Shall Be Free*, they arrived at a deal by which four of the boys would be freed, three would plead guilty "to some sort of assault not involving a sex crime" and get five year sentences, another would be tried for a self-defense "assault" against a guard,

and Haywood Patterson's appeal against a 75-year sentence would be withdrawn on the understanding that he would be released in five years.

Now Chalmers (and the rest of the committee) knew that none of the Scottsboro boys was guilty of any kind of "assault," sexual or otherwise. To agree to the deal therefore, would be an act of plain betrayal, no matter how it was covered up. But that didn't stop them. The SDC "cannot be a party to that agreement," said Chalmers in a letter explaining his views. ". . . I recognize, however, that we might be open to legitimate criticism in advising

the boys not to accept. . . I can readily see how Mr. Liebowitz, as the lawyer for the boys, might feel that his loyalty to his clients would demand his acceptance of the deal. I do not see how the Committee would blame either Mr. Liebowitz or the boys for that point of view. . . I think that it should be made very clear, however, that we, as a Defense Committee, had been overridden by the boys' attorney in this matter."

In other words, Chalmers was for the deal, wouldn't criticize it, wouldn't advise the defendants against it; all he wanted was the right in public not to take responsibility for it. The SDC had only one modification to make — they changed his phrase "overridden by the boys' attorney" to "yielded to." But Liebowitz was no fool; seeing that they were capable of putting the whole blame on him if things went wrong, he demanded their agreement in writing. And so the Scottsboro Defense Committee formally drew up and signed a document stating that "the undersigned do not offer any opposition to the acceptance of the above proposal." This included the Stalinist member of the SDC as well as Norman Thomas, Walter White, Roger Baldwin, etc.

Then, after this disgusting display of willful treachery and moral cowardice, came the payoff — a doublecross by the Alabama authorities. Four of the defendants were convicted and sentenced to death, 99 years, 75 years, and 20 years; the charges against four others were dropped and they were released; and Patterson's 75 year sentence was upheld by the Alabama courts. This was the acid test for the

SDC policy, based on Chalmers' "expectation that people would be decent and live up to their honorable intentions." But the SDC was determined on only one thing — not to call for mass action to renew the struggle. So it started up another long blind-alley — an appeal to Alabama's Governor Bibb Graves to carry through the part of the deal that had been broken.

Chalmers met Graves at the end of 1937, and pleaded with him to free the five still in prison on the ground that it was inconsistent to hold them on the same evidence on which the other four had been released. Graves expressed interest and even sympathy for this viewpoint. "For the first time in the case," says Chalmers, "I felt that things were moving with me and not against me. I was highly enthusiastic. The governor was way ahead of our demands. He anticipated our every request," etc., etc.

Graves said he couldn't take any action while there were appeals pending in the courts, but he would act when legal action had ceased. Chalmers at once offered to withdraw the appeals if it would facilitate Graves' immediate action. Graves declined

the offer. The case dragged on for another year. It went to the Alabama Supreme Court, but Chalmers hardly cared: "It mattered not at all what the high court's decision would be. We felt that we had the governor's backing and that was enough for us."

The end could easily be foreseen. Governor Graves decided, after a little pressure from the more rabid racists, that he wasn't going to release the Scottsboro boys after all, assuming that he had intended to do so in the first place. Chalmers rushed down to confer with him again, pleaded with him, but to no avail. "I am truly sorry, Governor," he said as he left. "You have been swell up to now and I wish I could save you from what will necessarily happen." This referred to Chalmers' subsequent reluctant — and impotent — public denunciation of Graves as "contemptible."

And that was the spirit in which Chalmers continued to conduct the rest of the case. Afraid of only one thing — "the restoration to control over the defense by those who believe that it is only by denunciation and violence that justice can be obtained" — he had confidence in everybody but the masses. First he trusted

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Statement by Natalia Trotsky--and Reply by SWP Political Committee

Text of Letter To SWP from Natalia Trotsky

To the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

Comrades: You know quite well that I have not been in political agreement with you for the past five or six years, since the end of the war and even earlier. The position taken on the important events of recent times shows me that, instead of correcting your earlier errors, you are persisting in them and deepening them. On the road you have taken, you have reached a point where it is no longer possible for me to remain silent or to confine myself to private protest. I must now express my opinions publicly.

The step which I feel obliged to take has been a grave and difficult one for me, and I can only regret it sincerely. But there is no other way. After a great deal of reflections and hesitations over a problem which has pained me deeply, I find that I must tell you that I see no other way than to say openly that our disagreements make it impossible for me to remain any longer in your ranks.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

The reasons for this final action on my part are known to most of you. I repeat them here briefly only for those to whom they are not familiar, touching only on our fundamentally important differences and not on the differences over matters of daily policy which are related to them or which follow from them.

Obsessed by old and outlived formulas you continue to regard the Stalinist state as a workers' state. I cannot and will not follow you in this. Virtually every year after the beginning of the fight against the usurping Stalinist bureaucracy, L. D. Trotsky repeated that the regime was moving to the right, under conditions of a lagging world revolution and the seizure of all political positions in Russia by the Bureaucracy.

Time and again, he pointed out how the consolidation of Stalinism in Russia led to the worsening of the economic, political and social positions of the working class, and the triumph of a tyrannical and privileged aristocracy. If this trend continues, he said, the revolution will be at an end and the restoration of capitalism will be achieved. That, unfortunately, is what has happened even in new and unexpected forms. There is hardly a country in the world where the authentic ideas and bearers of socialism are so barbarously hounded. It should be clear to everyone that the revolution has been completely destroyed by Stalinism. Yet you continue to say that under this unspeakable regime, Russia is still a workers' state. I consider this a blow at socialism, Stalinism and the Stalinist state have nothing whatever in common with a workers' state or with socialism. They are the worst and the most dangerous enemies of socialism and the working class.

You now hold that the states of Eastern Europe over which Stalinism established its domination during and after the war, are likewise workers' states. This is equivalent to saying that Stalinism has carried out a revolutionary socialist role. I cannot and will not follow you in this. After the war and even before it ended, there was a rising revolutionary movement of the masses in these Eastern countries.

But it was not these masses who won power and it was not a workers' state that was established by their struggle. It was the Stalinist counter-revolution that won power, reducing these lands to vassals of the Kremlin by strangling the working masses, their revolutionary struggles and their revolutionary aspirations. By considering that the Stalinist bureaucracy established workers' states in these countries, you assign to it a progressive and even revolutionary role. By propagating this monstrous falsehood to the workers' vanguard, you deny to the Fourth International all the basic reason for its existence as the world party of the socialist revolution.

In the past, we always considered Stalinism to be a counter-revolutionary force in every sense of the term. You no longer do so. But I continue to do so. In 1932 and 1933, the Stalinists, in order to justify their shameful capitulation to Hitlerism, de-

clared that it would matter little if the Fascists came to power, because socialism would come after and through the rule of Fascism. Only dehumanized brutes without a shred of socialist thought or spirit could have argued this way. Now, notwithstanding the revolutionary aims which animate you, you maintain that the despotism of Stalinism which has triumphed in Eastern Europe is one of the roads through which socialism will eventually come. This view marks an irreparable break with the profoundest convictions always held by our movement and which I continue to share.

POSITION ON TITOISM

I find it impossible to follow you in the question of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia. All the sympathy and support of revolutionists and even of all democrats, should go to the Yugoslav people in their determined resistance to the efforts of Moscow to reduce them and their country to vassalage. Every advantage should be taken of the concessions which the Yugoslav regime now finds itself obliged to make to the people. But your entire press is now devoted to an inexcusable idealization of the Titoist bureaucracy for which no ground exists in the traditions and principles of our movement.

This bureaucracy is only a replica, in a new form, of the old Stalinist bureaucracy. It was trained in the ideas, the politics and morals of the G.P.U. Its regime differs from Stalin's in no fundamental regard. It is absurd to believe or to teach that the revolutionary leadership of the Yugoslav people will develop out of this bureaucracy or in any way other than in the course of struggle against it.

THIRD WORLD WAR

Most insupportable of all is the position on the war to which you have committed yourselves. The Third World War which threatens humanity confronts the revolutionary movement with the most difficult problems, the most complex situations, the gravest decisions. Our position can be taken only after the most earnest and freest discussions. But in the face of all the events of recent years, you continue to advocate, and to pledge the entire movement, to the defense of the Stalinist state. You are even now supporting the armies of Stalinism in the war which is being endured by the anguished Korean people. I cannot and will not follow you in this.

As far back as 1927, Trotsky, in reply to a disloyal question put to him in the Political Bureau by Stalin, stated his views as follows: For the socialist fatherland, yes! For the Stalinist regime, no! That was in 1927! Now, twenty-three years later Stalin has left nothing of the socialist fatherland. It has been replaced by the enslavement and degradation of the people by the Stalinist autocracy. This is the state you propose to defend in the war, which you are already defending in Korea. I know very well how often you repeat that you are criticizing Stalinism and fighting it. But the fact is that your criticism and your fight lose all value and can yield no results because they are determined by and subordinated to your position of defense of the Stalinist state. Whoever defends this regime of barbarous oppression, regardless of the motives, abandons the principles of socialism and internationalism.

In the message sent me from the recent convention of the SWP you write that Trotsky's ideas continue to be your guide. I must tell you that I read these words with great bitterness. As you observe from what I have written above, I do not see his ideas in your politics. I have confidence in these ideas. I remain convinced that the only way out of the present situation is the social revolution, the self-emancipation of the proletariat of the world.

NATALIA SEDOVA TROTSKY
MEXICO, D.F.
MAY 9, 1951

Answer of SWP to Natalia Trotsky's Letter

Comrade: Your decision to leave the ranks of the world movement founded by L. D. Trotsky is indeed a grave one. We do not doubt that you have felt the emotion you speak of at taking this step. We do not question the sincerity of the convictions that move you. We will add that we have always considered you a political figure in your own right. Since the death of Trotsky we have paid the closest attention to your views as the leading exile in the Russian Section of the Fourth International, although we have seldom been able to agree with you. We also feel deep respect for you because of the great sacrifices you have made and the tragedies you have undergone as a major victim of Stalinist persecution. We are sure you are fully aware of this. We say it now solely to make clear in this public discussion that personal feelings do not motivate our reply to you. The issues concern Marxist theory and Marxist politics and touch their very foundation. That is the level on which we propose to respond to your present declaration.

You advance five major differences with the program of the Fourth International. We will take them up one by one. These differences were not merely confined "to private protests," as you state, but have been widely known and discussed for years. Your opinions have been published in the bulletins of our party as well as internationally and have been rejected as unsound by virtually the entire world movement of Trotskyism.

Character of Soviet Union

You contend that the "restoration of capitalism" has been "achieved" in the Soviet Union and that since we still defend the planned economy, our "criticism" and "fight" against Stalinism consequently "lose their value."

First, a factual correction. We are not "critics" of Stalinism; we are its mortal opponents. The Trotskyist defense of planned economy in the USSR has never meant the slightest concession to Stalinism. We will discuss this more fully below.

Secondly, your arguments that today the USSR can no longer be called a degenerated workers state are nothing but a repetition of those advanced in 1939-40 by the petty-bourgeois opposition headed by Burnham and Shachtman. The arguments then were far from new, as Trotsky pointed out when he answered them.

However, Trotsky's basic evaluation of the character of the Soviet Union, embodied in the program of the Fourth International, did not represent an obsession with "old and outlived formulas," to use the phrase you seem to have lifted from the contentions of the Burnham-Shachtman opposition. The evaluation, as Trotsky proved at length in his writings, flowed from the Marxist analysis of class relations in the Soviet Union and holds true so long as these class relations do not undergo a qualitative change.

Out of dozens of statements made by Trotsky in 1939-40, let us take a typical one:

"Some voices cry out: 'If we continue to recognize the USSR as a workers state, we will have to establish a new category: the counter-revolutionary workers state.' This argument attempts to shock our imagination by opposing a good programmatic norm to a miserable, mean, even repugnant reality. But haven't we observed from day to day since 1923 how the Soviet state has played a more and more counter-revolutionary role on the international arena? Have we forgotten the experience of the Chinese Revolution, of the 1926 general strike in England and finally the very fresh experience of the Spanish Revolution? There are two completely counter-revolutionary workers' internationals. These critics have apparently forgotten this 'category.' The trade unions of France, Great Britain, the United States and other countries support completely the counter-revolutionary politics of their bourgeoisie. This does not prevent us from labeling them trade unions, from supporting their progressive steps and from defending them against the bourgeoisie."

"Why is it impossible to employ the same method with the counter-revolutionary workers state? In the last analysis a workers state is a trade union which has conquered power. The difference in attitude in these two cases is explainable by the simple fact that the trade unions have a long history and we have become accustomed to consider them as realities and not simply as 'categories' in our program. But, as regards the workers state there is being evinced an inability to learn to approach it as a real historical fact which has not subordinated itself to our program." (In Defense of Marxism, pp. 25-26.)

You have now rejected this Marxist approach to the characterization of the Soviet Union. We prefer to retain Trotsky's method and view.

You advocate that the working class should no longer defend the Soviet Union. This flows from your conversion to the concept that the Soviet Union is capitalist, a concept that was thoroughly familiar to L. D. Trotsky and one which he flatly rejected as incompatible with Marxism. Your views on defense of the Soviet Union, we are compelled to point out since you fail to do so, are in complete opposition to those of L. D. Trotsky. To prove this it is sufficient to cite an example or two of his final remarks on this important question:

"What does 'degenerated workers state' signify in our program? To this question our program responds with a degree of concreteness which is wholly adequate for solving the question of the defense of the USSR; namely (1) those traits which in 1920 were a 'bureaucratic deformation' of the soviet system have now become an independent bureaucratic regime which has devoured the soviets; (2) the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, incompatible with the internal and international tasks of socialism, has introduced and continues to introduce profound deformations in the economic life of the country as well; (3) basically, however, the system of planned economy, on the foundation of state ownership of the means of production, has been preserved and continues to remain a colossal conquest of mankind."

"The defeat of the USSR in a war with imperialism would signify not solely the liquidation of the bureaucratic dictatorship, but of the planned state economy; and the dismemberment of the country into spheres of influence; and a new stabilization of imperialism; and a new weakening of the world proletariat." (In Defense of Marxism, p. 122.)

As Trotsky explained over and over again, his position had nothing in common with Stalinism. "This kind of 'defense of the USSR' will naturally differ, as heaven does from earth, from the official defense which is now being conducted under the slogan: 'For the Fatherland! For Stalin! Our defense of the USSR is carried on under the slogan: 'For Socialism! For the World Revolution! Against Stalin!'" (In Defense of Marxism, p. 20.)

This basic policy developed by L. D. Trotsky — defense of the planned economy but unyielding opposition to Stalinism — retains its validity today. Indeed, the past decade has shown clearer than ever, that from the viewpoint of the labor movement it is the only effective and progressive solution to the problem of destroying Stalinism, its power and its influence.

To the argument that the enormity of Stalin's crimes against the working class should bar defense of the Soviet Union, Trotsky replied: "The Marxist line of conduct in war is not based on abstract moral and sentimental considerations but on the social appraisal of a regime in its reciprocal relations with other regimes. We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was politically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class."

"We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of

the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy, are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except further decay." (In Defense of Marxism, p. 177.)

The separation of Burnham and Shachtman from the movement built by Trotsky occurred at the opening of World War II. Trotsky observed then:

"What unmasks the noisy critics most of all is that they continued to consider the USSR a workers state at a time when Stalin was destroying the Bolshevik party; when he was strangling the proletarian revolution in Spain; when he was betraying the world revolution in the name of 'Peoples Fronts' and 'collective security.' Under all these conditions they recognized the necessity of defending the USSR as a workers state!"

"But no sooner did this same Stalin invade 'democratic' Finland, no sooner did bourgeois public opinion of the imperialist democracies — which covered up and approved all Stalin's crimes against the communists, the workers and the peasants — raise a howl to the skies, than our innovators immediately declared: 'Yes, this is intolerable!' (In Defense of Marxism, p. 177.)

At that time, we thought that Trotsky's denunciation of the course taken by Burnham-Shachtman was completely justified. Eleven years later we see no reason to change our opinion about this or about similar actions in the setting of the Truman Doctrine of the "containment of communism" and large-scale preparation for atomic war against the Soviet Union.

The Buffer Countries

You accuse us of holding that the states of Eastern Europe now occupied by Soviet troops are "likewise workers states." Permit us to make a correction as to fact. The Socialist Workers Party has not yet taken a definitive position on this. The question as to the correct characterization of these countries is now under discussion. In accord with the complete democracy that reigns in our party, the views of every adherent who has an opinion on the subject are published in our internal bulletins and the discussion up to now has been a fruitful one. We have no reason to doubt that the collective opinion of our party will reach a revolutionary position on this question, as it has on others by the same democratic methods.

Aside from this complex theoretical question, however, our political positions in regard to the occupied countries of Eastern Europe are strictly analogous to those taken by L. D. Trotsky in 1939-40 when Soviet forces invaded Poland and Finland. Just as Trotsky considered Soviet expansion under Stalinism in agreement with Hitler as a heavy blow against the socialist cause, so we considered the expansion in agreement with Churchill and Roosevelt to be an unfavorable development. It helped to confuse Stalinism with genuine communism in the minds of millions. It deludes workers about the possibilities of bureaucratic-military substitutes for the revolutionary action of the masses. It temporarily strengthens Stalinism. It sets back the world socialist revolution which takes priority over any considerations of the defense of planned economy in the USSR.

For these reasons we oppose the expansion of the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime. We demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the occupied countries. Inside those countries we oppose Stalinism just as vigorously as we do in the Soviet Union. We fight for the free development of the socialist revolution in these countries.

As in Poland and Finland in 1939-40 we will defend against the capitalists whatever progressive measures have been taken against the bankers, industrialists and landlords. That is an indispensable part of the struggle to rid these countries of Stalinist influence and to permit them to win their independence so that they can move forward along the road to socialism.

Your rejection of this kind of revolutionary politics today can only lead to the conclusion that you no longer agree with Trotsky's similar positions in the case of Poland and Finland in 1939-40. Our aim is to apply these ideas and methods of Trotsky, which we consider correct, to the political problems of today, not to renounce them.

Our Position on Yugoslavia

The sectarian, abstentionist character of your positions is especially glaring in the case of Yugoslavia. Here is the first great postwar split in the Stalinist movement, one which has had deepening repercussions throughout the world, a split which actually dealt Stalinism far harder blows than anything from the right under the auspices of Truman. Yet you dismiss this as of no consequence!

The revolutionary character of our opposition to Stalinism enabled us to become the first in the labor movement to recognize the significance of the Titoist split from Moscow, to explain it, and to support it as a progressive development.

The fact that we came out for the defense of this workers state against the menace of the Kremlin shows how unfounded and absurd is the charge that we are conciliatory toward Stalinism. Equally unfounded and absurd is the charge that we are guilty of "idealization of the Titoist bureaucracy." We have made no concessions to this regime. We have openly condemned its anti-Leninist foreign policy. In opposition to the nationalistic Titoist conceptions, we have defended the program of revolutionary internationalism. The concept of the USSR as "state capitalist," now advanced by the Yugoslav Communist Party theoreticians, has been refuted and rejected by our movement. And precisely in order to drive home our criticisms we have presented as fully as possible the facts about the revolution, the destruction of capitalist property relations and the construction of a workers state in Yugoslavia.

The events in Yugoslavia have brilliantly confirmed Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. They augur the downfall of Stalinism and the early development of the new world movement that will find the way to socialist emancipation nowhere else but in the program of the Fourth International.

The War in Korea

You accuse us of "supporting the armies of Stalinism in the war which is being endured by the anguished Korean people." What armies of Stalinism? Do you mean the North Koreans and the Chinese? That is giving too much to the Kremlin. These are colonial peoples engaged in mortal struggle against world imperialism, in this case American imperialism. No Marxist can deny the progressive character of their struggle to achieve independence.

It is American imperialism — not "armies of Stalinism" — that has leveled their factories, cities, villages, even grass-thatched huts to the ground and indiscriminately slaughtered millions of civilians. It is American imperialism that has put the whole country to the torch and converted half the population into refugees. It is American imperialism that is waging in Korea the most destructive colonial war of modern times.

The horrors for which the Truman administration bears full responsibility have made the Korean war the most unpopular in American history. This is the basis of the demand directed from all sides to the Truman administration to get out of Korea. It is the principal cause of the profound crisis in foreign policy now being experienced in the USA.

How can anyone blind himself to these facts? It is the elementary duty of every revolutionary socialist to oppose American intervention in the Korean civil war, and we are proud of the fact that we did from the first. We underline what Trotsky said: "... the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class."

Contrary to this, you now say, "Stalinism and the Stalinist state" are "the worst and the most dangerous enemies of socialism and the working class." If you referred to enemies within the labor

movement, it would be correct. That has been our position from the beginning. However, you do not qualify your statement. You refer to the entire world arena. In that respect Trotsky's views were different. He held the "main enemy" to be imperialism, as we pointed out above. In our opinion world events today confirm this view to the hilt.

Take China, which you do not mention although a revolution involving one-fifth of mankind is now in progress there, a revolution of such colossal impact that it has completely altered the relation of forces on a world scale. Your position on Korea implies, if you are consistent, a similar attitude toward China today. You would refuse to defend it against the imperialists. Yet under Trotsky's guidance, using the same logic we applied to the Soviet Union, we defended China against Japanese imperialism when the butcher Chiang Kai-shek stood at the helm and it was allied with the United States. As you well know, we did this despite Chiang, not because of him. Like the case of the Soviet Union, our defense of this colonial country against imperialism was not made contingent upon the good or bad policies of its government, which imprisoned and executed Chinese Trotskyists.

Should we now change our attitude because the Chinese Stalinists have been thrust forward by the revolutionary wave into leading positions? So far as Moscow is concerned, the danger to its regime revealed in the Yugoslav revolution are multiplied a thousandfold by the Chinese revolution. A new turn of events can reveal the chasm implicit in the relations between the Soviet caste and the rising Chinese masses.

A working class party that cannot see this, commits political suicide. And that is precisely what has happened to all those parties and groups which have taken a false position on such questions. Trotsky sought to prevent the movement he founded from suffering that fate. We do not intend to forget the lesson.

Errors in Method

Your erroneous position derives in the final analysis from two serious errors in method. You identify Stalinism with the planned economy based on nationalized property in the Soviet Union. But from a dialectical point of view these are opposites. The first is the agency of counter-revolution; the second is the product of the workers' revolution of 1917. Their union leads on the one hand to the mutilation of planned economy and its eventual destruction; and on the other hand to an occasional action on the part of Stalinism that within a narrow frame and without any credit to its representatives is progressive.

This way of viewing the contradictory phenomena in the Soviet Union is one of Trotsky's greatest contributions to Marxist theory. It has been attacked from all sides since it was first advanced. But the test of time has sustained it and has refuted and discredited all the others. From it flows the political position of world Trotskyism, held by it alone — defense of planned economy, absolute opposition to Stalinism; the defense of planned economy not conditioned by the policies of the regime resting on it. By identifying Stalinism with planned economy you fall into the same methodological error as the Kremlin which likewise identifies the two. The difference is that you put a minus where the Kremlin puts a plus.

Your second error is to split the USSR from its relationship to world imperialism and the powers plotting its destruction. We have defended planned economy inside the Soviet Union against the tendencies toward restoration of capitalism fostered by Stalinism. We have defended it against the imperialist forces outside the Soviet Union which aim at smashing it and replacing it with capitalist anarchy. Viewing defense in this light enables us to keep our eyes constantly on the main enemy, world imperialism, while struggling against Stalinism in the labor movement as the major obstacle to the achievement of socialism.

You have now cast aside this great contribution of L. D. Trotsky toward the understanding of the Soviet Union and its relation to world politics. One of the consequences — we can see no other explanation — is your failure to even mention in your document the fact that the main responsibility for the preparations for atomic war belongs to American imperialism. We view that omission as impermissible.

We Do Not Change Our Course

Trotsky taught us how to fight against the main enemy on the world arena, imperialism, and the main enemy within the labor movement, Stalinism, without giving concessions to either. Strict adherence to his teachings and to his method has enabled the world movement he founded to survive and to grow against blows and difficulties unparalleled in history.

Those tendencies that made concessions to Stalinism went down without a trace. Those that made concessions to imperialism either faded away or ended in the camp of the Social Democrats, that crew of renegades and professional counter-revolutionaries whose main function today is the production of propaganda for the U.S. State Department.

Outside the movement founded by L. D. Trotsky no serious revolutionary force exists. All of the critics, many of whom advanced the concepts which you now find so attractive, ended in political oblivion: The political perspectives on the road you have now entered are no better than they were years ago. For our part, we retain our confidence in the eventual success of the world movement created by Trotsky. We do not change our course, just as Trotsky did not change his course in the face of defections. There is no other way to withstand the pressures of counter-revolution and create a movement capable of leading the working class to victory against both imperialism and Stalinism.

We are disciples of L. D. Trotsky. It was his defense of Marxism and his explanation of the character of the Soviet Union and of Stalinism that won us to his banner. All of us feel profound gratitude for the clear view of world politics which his development of Marxist theory gave us. We loved and admired Trotsky above all others for the nobility of his character and his beautiful, heroic example. But we were never followers of Trotsky in a personal sense. We regard him as one of the outstanding exponents of the program and method of Marxism. Our allegiance is not to him personally but to this body of thought which represents the best contributions of the greatest geniuses of the past century.

We say this in order to make doubly clear why we remain so firm in our ideological positions; and why we are unimpaired by the repetition of long-ago refuted arguments or the defections of individuals, who have sometimes been extremely close to us personally and prominent in the socialist movement. In this respect Trotsky himself gave us an impeccable example. We intend to maintain that tradition of our movement too.

Political Committee Socialist Workers Party

May 29, 1951

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Truman's "Peace" Talk

By Tom Conlan

On Thursday May 24, during a regular White House press conference, President Truman made some revealing comments on the probable consequences and horrors of another world war and then took the unusual step of authorizing the assembled reporters to quote these "informal" remarks directly.

His entire program, Truman assured, was based on "world peace" and aimed to avert "another — a third — world war which would, I believe, destroy freedom and everything else in the world."

The resulting destruction would be so vast that "we would probably go back to the Dark Ages if we have another, third world war," Truman explained.

The position of the U.S., he added, would not be the same "position that we have been in in the other two (world wars)." This time the arena of military hostilities would include this country. "We will be a battlefield. We can look forward to destruction here, just as the other countries had in the second world war," he said.

It is unquestionable that freedom is doomed in the event of war. To realize what will take place in the course of the "hot war" one need only observe what has already happened to democratic rights in this country, since Truman initiated the witch-hunt at the outset of the "cold war." As for the destruction entailed, there is the preview in Korea, where an entire country has been laid waste from one end to the other, without resort to any of the "more perfected" weapons of warfare.

The falsehood is that Truman is aiming toward peace. He simply finds it expedient to assume the pose of a guardian of peace as against the openly war-mongering MacArthur.

The very next day after Truman decried the horrors of the next war and, naturally, what he had in mind, first and foremost, atomic warfare, the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission issued a joint announcement

to the effect that "progress" has been made toward perfecting the Hell-Bomb, a thousand times more destructive than any atomic explosion thus far designed. Work was started on this super-bomb, sixteen months ago by Truman's personal directive.

This "guardian of peace," along with the rest of his capitalist colleagues, has been working might and main to assure the greatest possible destruction which he himself fears can lead to the return of the "Dark Ages."

Truman's "informal" remarks were, of course, delivered with an eye to the 1952 presidential elections. All this is part of the cynical game where the Democrats and Republicans are each seeking to picture themselves as preservers of peace and the other side as the war-party.

Meanwhile both sides agree in rushing at break-neck pace to convert this country, Western Europe and every other area on our globe where the American imperialists have a foothold into military encampments on a scale far beyond anything on record. Enough armaments, atomic and of the "ordinary" variety, are already piled up to ensure a global catastrophe. But the cry continues, with Truman shouting the loudest, for more and more weapons of destruction, for bigger and "more efficient" explosives; larger conscript armies, ever expanding stockpiles of munitions, planes, rockets, guided missiles, poison gases, bacteriological sprays, radio-active dust clouds, etc.

Global violence, global destruction, a return to the Dark Ages — this is the height of reason from the capitalist standpoint. Rather than surrender an iota of their power and privileges, the billionaire monopolists are prepared to blow up civilization and mankind itself. And these are the people, and their apologists, who accuse us, revolutionary socialists, of being starry-eyed "dreamers" and "unrealistic" because we point to the need of abolishing capitalism and reforming the world on a socialist basis to assure world peace, world plenty, world equality and freedom.

The Vatican and Labor

By Joseph Keller

It is well known and recorded in official documents that the Vatican made concordats with every fascist regime in the world, including Mussolini's and Hitler's, backed the Axis powers in the last war and supported fascism's destruction of unions, murder of labor leaders and bestial suppression of the workers.

Since the post-war alliance of the U.S. State Department and the Vatican for the defense of capitalism everywhere and the "containment of communism," there has been a vigorous campaign to whitewash the stains of fascism on the Papal State. This campaign is directed particularly at the workers, who cannot forget the Vatican's services to the butchers of German, Italian and Spanish labor.

Conforming as usual with the policies of the State Department, certain union leaders in this country for the past several years have been acting as transmission belts for this pro-Vatican propaganda and have been trying, in addition, to open the way for interference by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the affairs of the American trade unions. Until recently, however, they have not dared to proclaim their views openly.

Now this step has been taken by the top leaders of the CIO, Philip Murray and James B. Carey, president and secretary-treasurer respectively. They have used the pages of the May 21 CIO News to publicize highly laudatory comments on the alleged "pro-labor" policy of the Vatican. This is the first time, to our knowledge, that any official publication of a legitimate union in the United States has been used as a vehicle for propaganda on behalf of any special church, particularly the Roman Catholic Church.

The occasion was the joint anniversaries of the two papal encyclicals which are supposed to be the fundamental documents of the Papacy on the relations of capital and labor. One is the proclamation of "Rerum Novarum" by Pope Leo XIII in 1891. The other is Pope Pius XI's "Quadragesimo Anno" issued in 1931.

The CIO News reports that Murray, who was prevented by illness from speaking at a Chicago celebration of the anniversaries of the encyclicals sponsored by the Catholic Labor Alliance, said in a telegram that "all the laboring men in Amer-

ica, and indeed of the world, owe a debt to the memory of the two great Popes." Carey, speaking in Toronto at a meeting presided over by James Cardinal McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, said: "I believe that the programs of our great labor organizations on this continent reflect the teachings of the papal encyclicals."

Murray's and Carey's statements will be swallowed only by those who don't know what these encyclicals contain or the circumstances which inspired their issuance. If the principles of these encyclicals had been enforced in this country — as they were in fascist Italy and still are in fascist Spain and Portugal — there would not even be any independent labor unions in the United States.

The famous encyclical of Leo XIII was issued on the occasion of the establishment of the Second (Socialist) International. It was specifically an enjoiner against Catholic workers supporting the ideas of socialism or affiliating with labor organizations which advocated class struggle or socialist principles.

Leo XIII was concerned with protecting the incalculable wealth and property of the Vatican whose material existence rested upon the capitalist system. Therefore, the central point of his doctrine was: "Our first and most fundamental principle... must be the inviolability of private property." The encyclical that Murray and Carey hail is nothing but a proclamation of capitalist property rights over human rights.

Pope Pius XI, who signed the concordat with Mussolini in 1929 which restored the Papal State, reaffirmed Leo XIII's anathema against socialism, even socialist groups that "have abandoned class war and no longer attack private property," because they "do not repudiate the basic socialist idea, merely repudiate it in practice."

His encyclical was a specific endorsement of the corporative state as established by Mussolini in Italy. It supported the so-called "syndical and corporative organization" of government-controlled labor bodies of the Fascist regime and the prohibition against strikes. This encyclical was the blue-print for the later clerical-fascist regime of Franco in Spain.

(To be continued.)

Short Subjects

BELL SYSTEM SPIES ON UNION — The CIO Communications Workers Union stated last week that it had positive proof that the Bell System was tapping the private telephones of union officers. The company at first denied the charge, but later stated it had ordered the tapping "to protect the service."

DRAFT OF GIRLS — According to Senator Jenner of Indiana, the Universal Military Training bill contains a hidden "kicker" in that it will enable Truman to draft all eighteen-year-olds, including girls, for any type of work that he may "deem necessary for national security." This bill, if passed in its proposed form, would go a long way toward imposing Nazi-like "compulsory labor" on the youth of this country.

JIM CROW MURDER IN GEORGIA — A police chief in Warner-Robins, Georgia, murdered two Negro soldiers in cold blood on May 11. He had picked up the two GIs on suspicion that they were AWOL. He handcuffed them so that they were helpless. Despite the fact that they were handcuffed, the cop claimed the two soldiers, from Fort Bragg, N. C. had attacked him.

INDONESIA NATIONALIZATIONS — A program for the nationalization of important industries, banks and large estates, many foreign-owned, was announced on May 28 by Indonesia's new government headed by Premier Sukirman Wirjosandjojo. The government's first policy statement to Parliament also called for "neutrality" in the "cold war" between western imperialism and the Kremlin-controlled countries, reconsideration of existing relations with the Netherlands and continuation of Indonesia's claim to sovereignty over Dutch New Guinea.

CLOTURE HEARINGS — Under pressure of the civil rights conference of 31 national organ-

izations called in Washington by the NAACP on May 22-23, the Senate Rules Committee announced it will hold open hearings on proposals to change the present cloture rules that have made possible the filibusters which have blocked anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills.

MAKING MONEY ON TAXES — Here's one way the corporations beat the tax laws. They pay more than they owe, then collect interest from the government on the refunds. By delaying a refund of \$1.7 millions in income taxes to Lackawanna Railroad since 1942, the government rolled up interest on the money to \$820,000. Lackawanna then paid \$385,000 tax on this additional income, made a clear profit of \$435,000.

THE RENT SITUATION — Advance, publication of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, reports that low income families are paying rent increases that range from an average of 29 to 64 percent — and higher — in nine of the larger decontrolled cities surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Vacancies are almost non-existent. In army towns, such as Waynesville, Mo., six families are paying \$180 a month for a six-room cottage. There are 14 people in all in this cottage. Some four-room shacks in Fort Leonard Wood are renting for \$100 a month although they have neither toilets nor hot water.

THE FINAL RAP — The truth on a rare occasion does find its way into the halls of Congress. The other day Sen. Malone of Nevada said the following: "There must be, and I am sure there is, a realization at this time that the workingmen are at the bottom of the pyramid. We can raise our salaries by a vote. (They not only can, they did.) But the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Martin) knows that after we get down to the workinggirl and the workingman there is no further source to tap. They take the final rap."

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THE MILITANT

Detroit Victim Of Jim Crow Gets Life

By Dave Lands

DETROIT, May 27 — Charles Gordy, Sr., Negro victim of police brutality, stands convicted this week of first degree murder. He had dared to defend the sanctity of his home against illegal police entry. That is his crime.

Last November, after his home was invaded by Detroit cops without a warrant, his son manhandled, himself shot at, Gordy had fired back in self-defense and killed one of the police officers. For thus protecting his constitutional rights, he is now branded a murderer; the penalty in Michigan is mandatory life-imprisonment.

The daily press for months used every trick in the book to stir up hatred for Gordy and sympathy for the cops. They described the police as protecting "law and order," and charged Gordy and his family with being crooks, slurring their characters without a shred of proof.

LABOR LEADERS SILENT

The city's Negro and labor leaders were, with few exceptions, silent about the case. Local 600, UAW-CIO passed a motion in defense of Gordy. The NAACP did the same. But that was all that was done to defend Negro civil rights and a man's freedom. This despite the fact that the Negro community was aroused against the local police "storm troopers."

The do-nothing policy of the city's Negro and labor leaders made it difficult for the Gordy Defense Committee, set up to gain aid for the defense, to win the necessary support.

RETRIAL DEMANDED

While a retrial is being demanded by the defense, it is not likely it will be granted. Against the forces lined up against the Negro minority, an effective campaign can be waged only if the populace of the city is alerted. This requires the energetic intervention of the labor leaders and the Negro leadership in a united effort.

To do this, mass meetings explaining the civil rights issues involved must be organized; the whole community must be informed of the facts through a widespread publicity campaign. Only an aroused citizenry can stop this brutality practiced against people because their skin is dark.

Gordy is not the only victim of the vicious "racist" police force in this city. He is one among many. Before him there were Beverly Lee, Leon Mosley, and others. The latest is Costello Hickson, beaten brutally last week by three cops after he had had a slight auto accident.

These cases will go on and on until the public is aroused, and with one voice says, "NO."

PHILADELPHIA SWP RUNS C. TURNER FOR COUNCIL

PHILA., May 26 — Members of the Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party last week began their campaign to place Clyde Turner on the ballot in the municipal city council elections to be held this November. State law requires 700 signatures to qualify for a place on the ballot. The Phila. SWP has planned an intensive two-week campaign with mobilizations almost every night.

The branch has collected 500 signatures thus far, setting its goal at 1,000.

Clyde Turner, the SWP candidate, is a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Turner, mother of one child, was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Penna. last year. At that time she received over 1700 votes, and had the honor of being the first woman to run for that post in the state, as well as being the first Negro candidate for U.S. Senator since the Civil War.

Discussing the campaign, Comrade Turner remarked that the friendly response to the signature drive is an indication of the people's indignation against both the Republican and Democratic

Campaign for Socialism Sell 'The Militant!'

Need for Labor Party Confronts Michigan State CIO Convention

Only Generals Allowed



While Gen. MacArthur and other big brass were describing their schemes to continue and spread the Korean war, these crippled Korean veterans stood outside the closed doors of the Senate hearing room in Washington waiting for reports of the testimony. They are Pfc Richard Snyder (left) and Pfc Donald Winters, amputees from Walter Reed Hospital.

CIVIL RIGHTS FLOUTED AT M'CARRAN HEARINGS

The three-man panel of the Subversive Activities Control Board set up under the McCarran Act, recessed May 24 when Charles M. LaFollette resigned as chairman in protest against the collusion between government witnesses, the FBI and members of the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security. The panel has been hearing testimonies on the government ruling that all members of the Communist Party (Stalinist) be forced to register.

Prior to LaFollette's action, the Washington Post, strongly conservative newspaper, stated, "In the course of the hearings now in progress before the panel of the Subversive Activities Control Board, it was brought out that Benjamin Gitlow, a witness for the government, was making regular reports to Benjamin Mandel, research director for the Senate Judiciary Internal Security subcommittee. This subcommittee... will determine... whether to recommend confirmation or rejection of the recess appointments of members of the...

ILLEGAL PROCEDURE

The six-week long hearings have thus far been a travesty upon legal procedures. Government witnesses have replied only to questions which aimed to incriminate the defendant Communist Party. When pressed by LaFollette to substantiate statements, they arrogantly refused to answer. The attorney representing the Department of Justice backed the witnesses in this "contempt" of the panel.

Gitlow, and witness Joseph Zack Kornfeder, renegades from the CP, both admitted regularly conferring with members of the McCarran subcommittee. They were obviously under the protection of this subcommittee, which meanwhile was holding the whip hand over the panel by postponing their confirmation.

Aside from the general unconstitutional character of the McCarran Act, the panel is obviously illegal since its appointment has not even been passed upon.

BILL OF ATTAINDER

The McCarran Act provides for a legislative substitute for regular judicial procedure in the case of "subversive organizations." An organization is ruled subversive by the Attorney General and the Congressional subcommittee, and members of the organization stand condemned by legislative fiat.

Such procedure violates that section of the constitution which outlaws "bills of attainder" — by which people could be ruled guilty and punished by legislation or government edict, instead of by judicial process.

Although the victims of this slave-state law can appeal the board's finding to the courts, they go into the courts with the brand of guilt upon them. The courts cannot rule upon the facts presented by the government. These must be assumed to be true.

The panel hearings on the case of the Stalinists will be reconvened June 4. Although he has objected to the procedures, LaFollette has not resigned from the panel. He is a member of the Americans for Democratic Action which had opposed the McCarran Bill as a violation of civil rights and the constitution. He nevertheless accepted the appointment to the board, at a \$12,500 salary.

DETROIT, May 31 — The 14th annual convention of the Michigan State CIO will be held June 4 to 6 at the Masonic Temple in this city. The primary problem to be discussed and acted upon will be political action.

Delegates to the convention will have an opportunity to review the balance sheet of CIO political policies in the light of the results during the past year.

The state CIO, led by Walter Reuther and August Scholle, has followed a program of close cooperation and support of the Democratic Party in Michigan, as well as nationally. On the national scale, the Truman administration has failed to carry out a single one of its "Fair Deal" campaign promises made in 1948. In the state, the Democrats, headed by Gov. Williams, have also failed to produce results for labor, although they owed their election entirely to the efforts of the CIO.

When Sen. Vandenberg's death left open a senatorial seat, the State CIO requested Gov. Williams to appoint George Edwards. But the governor, who had posed as labor's friend, appointed Blair Moody, Washington representative for the anti-labor Detroit News. Moody's contempt for labor is revealed by the fact that he is not even a member of the Newspaper Guild.

What about "labor's friends" in the Mich. State Legislature? The futility of expecting Democrats to line up with labor is again proved to the hilt by the vote of four CIO-endorsed state representatives from Wayne County on the gasoline tax levy of 1½¢ per gallon. This vicious tax aimed primarily at the low-income groups was

vigorously opposed by the CIO and all labor. But the four Wayne County Democrats lined up with the Republicans to pass the tax over the veto of the governor.

The Democratic politicians are part of a machine dominated by and allied with the big corporations. They talk pro-labor before elections, and vote for the capitalists after the elections. This is an old story.

The combined political strength of the CIO, AFL and independent unions, allied with the small farmers, professional workers and independent business men, whose interests all coincide, could sweep any election in this state.

But to mobilize this potential political power an independent labor party is necessary. Such a party, based upon the union movement, would elect men from labor who are directly responsible to labor. They would not be "friends of labor"; they would be a part of the labor movement, functioning on the political field.

The debate on this question at the Cleveland convention of the CIO-United Automobile Workers April 1 to 6 showed clearly that there is great sentiment for a labor party among the auto workers. This is also true of workers in other unions. All that is needed is a beginning.

The State CIO convention can lead the way by calling a delegate conference of all CIO, AFL and independent local unions and central bodies, to lay the groundwork for a Michigan Labor Party.

The Negro Struggle

Unconditional Defense of Frameup Victims

By J. Blake

Why didn't the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People participate actively in the defense of Willie McGee? Or the Communist Party in the defense of James Hickman in Chicago?

Whatever reason the NAACP leaders may give, they didn't support Willie McGee because the Stalinists did. And the Communist Party didn't support James Hickman because the Socialist Workers Party did.

No excuses can justify such actions. A Negro victim of jim crow frame-up deserves unconditional support. That is the position of the Socialist Workers Party and that is the position of the Negro masses.

The Socialist Workers Party is firm in this stand because it never forgets that the main enemy in any defense case is American capitalism — the system that maintains discrimination and segregation to keep the working class divided. We have no illusions that the government is a fair, impartial agency that will see to it that all citizens get equal justice. We know that it is a body of people representing the ruling class of white supremacists and prepared to go to any lengths in the use of force and frame-ups to keep the workers down and the Negro workers even further down.

We know which side we are on and we don't hesitate to give unconditional support to any victim in the struggle for equal rights for Negroes.

A Crime Against Victims

When the Communist Party failed to support the Hickman defense because the Socialist Workers Party was active on his behalf, and when the NAACP failed to mobilize support for Willie McGee because the Communist Party was defending him, both of those organizations were committing a crime against the victims of injustice. It was a crime because it weakened the forces for effective struggle against jim crow frame-up.

It amounts to putting a gun to the head of a man facing legal lynching and telling him: "Either refuse to accept the support of people we don't like — have nothing to do with them — or we won't lift a finger to help you!"

The Negro masses don't go for that policy. The proof is in the fact that they supported Willie McGee and James Hickman and every similar case that became a public issue — regardless of who led the defense committees.

A Principled Fight for Rights

At the same time, they are accumulating experience in working with different groups, making note of which are principled supporters of civil rights — without conditions — and which defend civil rights only in order to "use" the Negro people to further the interests of Stalinist or Democratic or Republican politics.

As long as we have capitalism, the basis for jim crow in the United States, there will be victimizations and frame-ups. In fighting the jim crow system, Negroes will continue to take whatever support they can get, without setting up a list of requirements for eligibility to give help. As one fighter once told me: "I'll make a deal with the devil himself if necessary to help the race."

Would-be leaders of the Negro struggle against injustice — whether Stalinists or "liberals" — who think they can take advantage of this situation and "capture" the Negro people by offering a crumb of help, don't fool anyone. When they try to lead the masses from a legitimate struggle against jim crow into some adventure that has nothing to do with the issue, they suddenly discover the masses are not following.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party never worries about who gets on the bandwagon in a defense case. In fact, the more, the better, because what the main enemy has in money and legal agencies, the oppressed must make up for with numbers and solidarity.

That is why we call on everyone and every group that is against jim crow frame-ups, particularly the powerful labor movement, to give unconditional support to the Trenton Six and all victims of jim crow "justice."