

What the "Great Debate" Is Really About

An Editorial

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

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

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

Area of Agreement

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

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

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

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

A Revealing Dialogue

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

MacArthur: Communism has many various factors...

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

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

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

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

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

"Liberation" by War

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Truman Uses 'Peace' Hoax To Push War

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

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

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

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

A DECEPTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 3)



Shift in Popular Mood Spurs "Militant" Sales

By Joseph Hansen

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

During the height of the Truman witch-hunt, workers felt intimidated. Sales of socialist literature became more difficult in the reactionary atmosphere. Now things are changing.

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

listen to the program of socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

One thing MacArthur agrees on with Truman: He's against submitting the life and death question of war and peace to the American people. He made that plain in his testimony on May 4 before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees hearings.

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

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

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

"A. — Not at all, Senator." MacArthur then elaborated:

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

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

AVOIDS QUESTION

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

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

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

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

Remember Willie McGee -- Keep on Fighting!

By Art Preis

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

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

HIS VERSION OF CASE

Another version of the case, given by Willie McGee and from the Stalinist-controlled Civil

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

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

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

Rights Congress and he made a fight of it.

LYNCHING LEGALIZED

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

Willie McGee's murder took place inside the court room where the judge had pronounced sentence. The state provides a portable electric chair for such occasions. But only Negroes have ever died in it for the crime of rape — no white man has ever suffered the death penalty for that offense, although plenty have been convicted of the same crime. A black man will die in it even if he is merely falsely accused.

Willie McGee went to his death without flinching. Outside a mob of 500 whites were gathered. At

news of his death, they gave the Rebel yell of the old Confederate slavery. And that as the right lynch atmosphere — even though they burned Willie McGee "strictly legal."

WILLIE'S LETTER

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

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

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

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

Millions of Korean Civilians Slaughtered -- Who Is Guilty?

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

REFUGEES ALSO VICTIMS

His figures do not include untold numbers who have been driven from their homes and have died on the roadsides of freezing, disease and starvation. We get a faint idea of that toll from the report of Douglas Fairbanks, head of American Relief for Korea, who said on April 26 that "refugees numbering approximately 10,000,000 . . . are wandering back and forth through the countryside with the tide of war."

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

MASSACRE OF VILLAGE

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

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

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

The only complaints the Paks

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

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

Who then drove the Paks from

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

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

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

BABY FREEZES TO DEATH

So the Paks, like many others, fled south -- from fear of the Rhee regime, not the "Communists." On the way to Taegu in a truck -- they were luckier, than most and were privileged with several other families to ride by paying a Nation Police official 250,000 won -- their baby froze to death.

The Militant has documented

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

HIGH LIVING COSTS

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

The strike got under way Monday afternoon, May 7, when a group of workers' wives marched on the palace of the provincial governor and demanded that the officials be hanged. They protested that eggs, with an official ceiling price of 12 pesetas

(30 cents), were selling at 17

pesetas (43 cents) a dozen. The women broke into black-market stores and smashed the eggs.

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

STRIKE CONTINUES

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

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

As the Spanish workers, after

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

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

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

MILLIONAIRE FASCIST

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

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

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

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

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

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

JAPANESE "DEMOCRACY"

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

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

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

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

DICTATORSHIP IN JAPAN

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

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

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

Branches Pile Up Points In Circulation Campaign

Subscriptions to The Militant are coming in with every mail, and bundle orders from Socialist

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Tom Conlan

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

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

BOTH BACK CHIANG

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

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

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

MILITARY MISSION

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

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

Marshall openly stated that the administration's present stand

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Truman and MacArthur Back Dictator Chiang



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

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

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

A "LIBERAL" BUTCHER

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

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

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

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

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

Join and Work for Better Program

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

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

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

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

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

Truman Uses 'Peace' Slogan To Hide His War Program

(Continued from Page 1)
that co-determination does not go far enough. It falls short of nationalization. Therefore they shout, it is only a nefarious "new scheme" by the capitalists. But this does not at all follow.

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

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

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

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

STALINISTS AGREE
WITH NAM

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

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

EAST GERMAN WORKERS

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

The situation is just as acute in the rest of the Soviet "buffer zone." The workers in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and elsewhere can easily become infected with the same ideas. As for the Soviet Union, which is fraudulently claimed to be passing from "socialism to communism," the "mono-poly press" in this country, the N.Y. Times and the Herald-Tribune, discloses the Daily Worker, have actually been "enthusiastically booming" and writing "approvingly" about co-determination. The Stalinists are experts at fabricating lies out of thin air. But this one is so transparent that it should give pause to the most gullible of their followers.

The monopolists, including

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

FAKE ARGUMENT

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

The gist of their "criticism" is

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

LIMITED WAR

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

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

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

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

DIFFER ON TIMING

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

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

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

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

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

When pressed in the Senate hearings on whether the administration's moves in Europe might not likewise lead to the spread of war. Marshall conceded both a "provocation" to the Kremlin and the possibility of a general war.

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

The Negro Struggle Why We Should Back the NAACP Membership Drive

By J. Blake

