

# Will It Be War or Peace - Who Decides?

An Editorial

Isn't it time the voice of the people was heard in our land on the question of war and peace?

Everybody except the people has had his say. The Senate investigators have listened for hundreds of hours to the brass hat militarists, the boss politicians and the whole crew of capitalist lackeys who are merely the puppets of the war mongers. They have filled volumes with their testimony — and what have they said?

They all say the same thing — war! But the people, the workers like you and your shopmates, and your neighbors, the housewife who talks to the woman down the street while shopping, the students, the GI and his girl friend — they don't want this war. You know this without the conclusive evidence of the poll takers who admit that the majority of the people are opposed to this war.

## Who Does the Fighting?

And who fights this war? Who dies on the battlefields? Who sweats in the factories? Who pays for the whole mess — if not the working people? Don't you think it's time they had their say?

In the first place the war in Korea was ordered by Truman without any authorization. Who gave him the right to dispose of the lives of our youth? In the second place, the Congress in the most spineless and cowardly manner permitted this brazen usurpation of authority. It's all too clear that the whole show is being run by that tiny percentage of the population, the big business imperialists.

## A Fundamental Right

The Militant has been saying for a long time that if the people have any rights this is the fundamental one — to decide the life and death question of war or peace. We don't believe that the capitalist "statesmen" are wiser than the people. On the contrary we think they are sold body and soul to the Wall St. money kings.

If you agree with us and you want to do something about it there is much that you can do. Join the fighting group of Militant Builders, get this paper to your friends and shopmates, fight with us to:

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!

## Militant Campaigner

### N.Y. Builds Lead In Sub Contest

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party this week rolled up its highest weekly score so far in the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign. A total of 3,305 points put the New Yorkers well ahead of the Twin Cities, who were threatening last week to recover their earlier lead. (One point is scored for each paper sold; 26 points for a six-months subscription; 52 points for a one-year.)

Total subscriptions for the campaign now stand at 1,690; sales of single copies, 21,573.

Detroit, for the second week running, made an impressive showing, scoring 1,847 points and moving closer to the Twin Cities. Detroit started neck-and-neck with Los Angeles but at the present rate may double the Californians' score.

In the Konikow League, Boston moved into third place, pushing Philadelphia down to the fourth rung. Newark, scoring one of its best weeks, continued to hold second place.

In the Kujac League, Akron again forged ahead, cutting down Oakland's lead to a bare 16 points.

Among the national pace-setters, Ernie D. of Detroit moved up another notch to capture fourth position in the Coover League. And in the Konikow League, Belle of Boston challenged the lead of Emmett of Flint. As we observed last week, it's still anybody's guess who will win the grand prize in each league of a trip to New York and week's vacation, expenses paid.

New York's excellent showing this week will, we hope, set the pace for the last days of the campaign which closes July 1. Let's put the throttle down to the floor boards!

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

## MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

### Branch Scores

Coover League		Points	
New York	16,120		
Twin Cities	13,407		
Detroit	11,078		
Chicago	7,248		
Los Angeles	6,360		
Buffalo	5,927		
Seattle	3,928		
San Francisco	3,638		
Konikow League		Points	
Flint	3,182		
Newark	1,833		
Boston	1,690		
Philadelphia	1,546		
Cleveland	1,108		
Youngstown	910		
Milwaukee	776		
Kujac League		Points	
Oakland	847		
Akron	831		
New Haven	382		
Pittsburgh	372		
St. Louis	261		
Allentown	195		
Toledo	156		
West Virginia	130		

### Individual Scores

Coover League		Points	
Paul	Twin Cities	3,595	
Mary	Chicago	2,374	
Don	Buffalo	1,914	
Ernie D.	Detroit	1,781	
Pauline	Twin Cities	1,687	
Winifred	Twin Cities	1,166	
John	Los Angeles	1,164	
Harry	Twin Cities	1,097	
Marie H.	New York	1,064	
John R.	Detroit	989	
Lucille	New York	958	
Jean	Twin Cities	912	
Chuck	Detroit	794	
Clara K.	Seattle	761	
Ruth B.	Detroit	671	
Bill B.	Twin Cities	603	
Artie	Detroit	598	
Myron	New York	591	
Konikow League		Points	
Emmett	Flint	966	
Belle	Boston	865	
Bill	Flint	667	
Dotty	Newark	630	
Kujac League		Points	
Frank K.	Oakland	603	



JAMES KUTCHER

# THE

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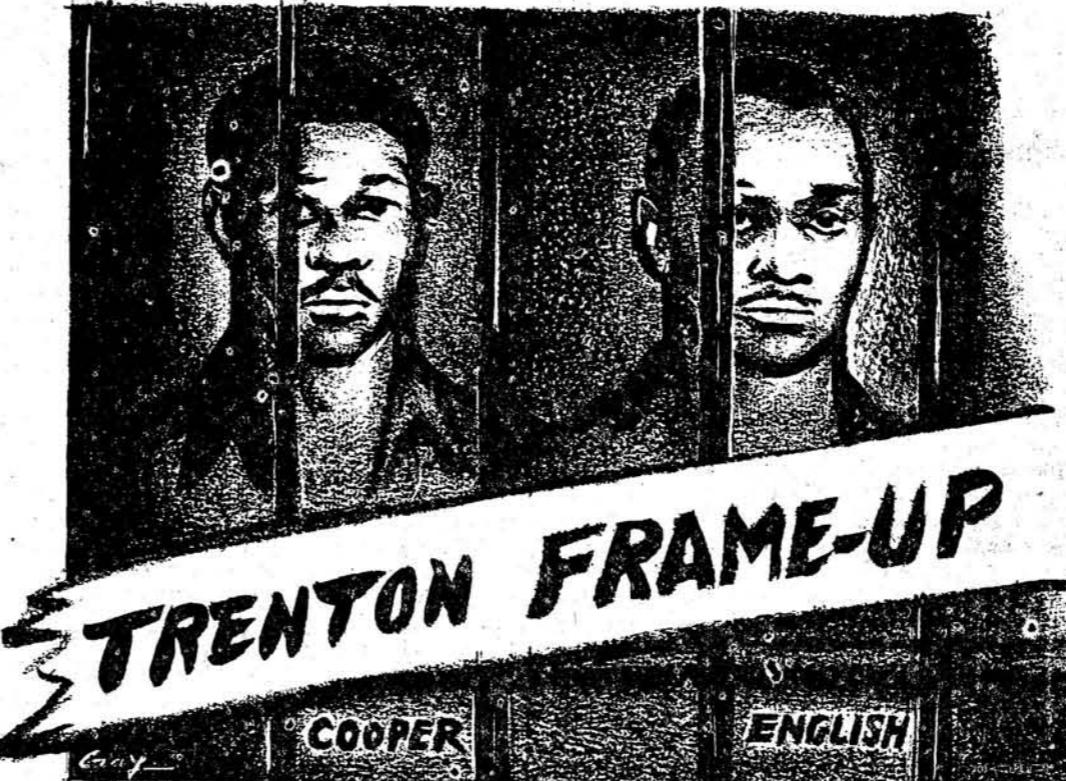
267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

## 'Pay As You Go' Makes Labor Pay Costs of Capitalist War

### Free the Trenton Two!



### Truman Democrats, Douglas And Moody, Back Rent Steal; Labor Leaders Keep Silent

Congress is moving up its heavy legislative artillery for a two-pronged offensive on the American people's standard of living. Democratic and Republican legislators have joined forces at the behest of Big Business in moves to demolish price controls and rent ceilings and to invade wage-earners' incomes with the third income-tax bill since the start of the Korean war.

Truman's feeble and purely unrealistic appeal on June 14 for "strengthened" price and rent controls was promptly met in Congress with moves to eliminate scheduled price roll-backs on meat, clothing and a host of other commodities and to boost residential rents at least 20 percent. At the same time, the new tax bill is being pushed through the mill to raise withholding taxes another 12½ percent and to slap big sales (excise) taxes on hundreds of necessities.

#### Sky -- The Limit

Have you heard any talk, much less action, of freezing the salaries plus cash bonuses plus stock rake-offs of the big corporation executives? Chas. E. Wilson of GM heads these big shots with a total take off last year of \$626,300; the low man on the long list is William S. Paley of CBS with a mere \$100,000. Here are a few of the others:

Albert Bradley (GM)	.....\$41,000
C. H. Greenwalt (duPont)	.....\$539,550
M. E. Coyle (GM)	.....\$526,100
H. C. Curtice (GM)	.....\$526,100
J. C. Dellinger	.....\$468,278

#### HALT ROLL-BACKS

While the meat packers and big cattle ranchers were holding back beef supplies in an attempt to force the American consumers to bow to the profiteers' price demands, the House and Senate Banking and Currency Committees have approved measures prohibiting price roll-backs on beef which the price control administration had ordered to take effect on Aug. 1 and Oct. 1.

To crown it all, the defendants against whom the police and the prosecution succeeded in making their "strongest" case were declared innocent, while English and Cooper were found guilty by the police as all the others. The police and the prosecution were also caught red-handed in faking evidence. Having failed to produce the "murder weapon" in the first trial, they corrected this oversight by introducing a bottle. It was identified though its markings by the foreman of the plant manufacturing these bottles as being part of a lot which had not been cleared from the company warehouse before June 1950. But the murder of the Trenton storekeeper took place some two years earlier, in January 1948!

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The crying injustice of the case of the original Trenton Six has now been compounded by the case of the Trenton Two. No organization and individual seriously concerned with safeguarding civil rights, fighting against race prejudice and police brutality ought to rest so long as English and Cooper rot in jail. The case of the Trenton Two must be kept before the public eye. It must be given the widest publicity and support until English and Cooper are set free. All of us working

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

1. Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!
2. Withdraw all American troops from Korea!
3. Recognize the government of New China!
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### Why Teen-agers Take to Dope

By Joseph Andrews

Between five and ten thousand teen-age youth are in the grip of the "white death" — dope addiction — in New York City. The wave of narcotic addiction among youth has swept to Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Washington and Baltimore, according to Harry J. Anslinger, U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics.

Kutcher contends he was illegally discharged because of his political views and affiliation and because the party to which he belongs was placed on the Attorney-General's "subversive" blacklist without notice or hearing. When the SWP protested the arbitrary designation as "subversive" and demanded a hearing, its protest was denied.

As The Washington Post pointed out editorially: "Mr. Kutcher is the victim of a dual arbitrariness. The organization to which he belongs has been arbitrarily held to advocate what it denies advocating. And the advocacy imputed to the organization has been arbitrarily imputed to Mr. Kutcher through the mere fact of his membership — an assumption of guilt through association which the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case denounced as invalid and repugnant to American law. As a result, Mr. Kutcher has been severely punished not only by the loss of his job and a blacklisting which may close all other avenues of employment to him but also by an official finding that he is 'disloyal' to the country in whose service he was grievously wounded."

THE REAL CRIMINAL Who is to blame for this horrible epidemic? It is not the peddlers alone; it is not merely the lack of effective anti-narcotics police; it is not only the absence of hospital facilities for treatment of the tragic victims.

A KEY TEST The decayed social system is the real criminal.

Professor Austin McCormick of the University of California, stated recently that the mounting

juvenile addiction rates were a sign of "social disintegration — failure to keep up with the problems of urban life." Youth, he stated, found itself unable to develop ethical concepts in an atmosphere of poverty, alcoholism, and racial prejudice, and sought escape in narcotics.

Prof. McCormick omitted one of the greatest pressures upon the youth — militarism and war.

Congressman Howard H. Buffett of Nebraska, stated May 2 "In America a young man at 18 loses his freedom. His life is at the disposal of the Government in Washington. Aside from forced military service overseas, our borders become a prison wall. He cannot leave this country as a permanent emigrant — to seek his freedom elsewhere."

CAPITALIST FUTURE

All that capitalism holds in store for the youth is war, poverty, dictatorship, atomic destruction; the adolescent who confronts his future sees only a blind alley.

The government, from Washington down to the local cop on the beat appears to the youth as an enemy — and he isn't wrong.

The schools seem institutions for the spreading of hypocrisy; they teach about freedom, peace and democracy, but the world around them holds none of these ideals.

The business world to which the youth in the heyday of capitalism would normally aspire, offers little opportunity except to the sons of the rich; the scramble for profits, the cynical selfishness of the big

## Notebook of an Agitator

### WHAT GOES ON HERE?

Having nothing else to do one day last week, and being in need of diversion, I abstracted myself from reality and took an imaginative journey into the realm of fantasy. In a sort of a trance I played the part of a sucker who believes everything he hears from Washington about our cold war propaganda campaign for truth, as well as democracy, freedom and all that sort of thing. In the euphoria of delusion I was feeling as fine as any fool in love with his own ignorance and credulity until I started to read the testimony and cross-examination of Secretary of State Acheson before the Senate Committee. Then I suddenly woke up with a headache and a hang-over.

In my day dream I had been convinced — because I had been told — that our Seventh Fleet had occupied Formosa in order to defend it against any imperialistic aggression from the Chinese, who for some incomprehensible reason think the island belongs to them, and incidentally because its control is of decisive strategic importance to the defense of our homes and fire-sides. But the hearing brought out a previously secret document of the State Department, a policy guide sent out to 552 American representatives abroad — dated Dec. 23, 1949 — which stated the exact opposite. Referring to Formosa, this 1949 memo deprecated "the mistaken popular conception of its strategic importance to United States defense in the Pacific," and denied that the U.S. was "committed in any way to act to save Formosa."

Now, what goes on here? And which is which? Has our policy changed in its objectives, or has Formosa changed its location, or what? The answer, as it came out in the testimony of Acheson, is that nothing is new. Our policy is just what it was in 1949, and Formosa is still there in the same place. The two different and opposite statements of policy were meant to serve two different purposes. One was a directive to the Navy for action to carry out U.S. policy. The other was an instruction to 552 foreign representatives for their guidance in talking about it in public statements and radio broadcasts. Just listen to the testimony, reported in the New York Times, June 4:

Senator Knowland, questioning Acheson, said, "This paper (the 1949 memo) clearly enunciated the policy which we were following in regard to Formosa." No, explained Acheson, "... this paper is a direction to people making broadcasts how they should deal with these problems in the event that Formosa falls."

Then Senator Sparkman intervened with a question right to the point: "And this paper

## Unprovoked U.S. Aggression in Korea

was issued primarily for the purpose of directing or giving direction to those of our people scattered all over the world who were in charge of what we might call propaganda?"

Acheson: "That is correct sir; yes."

Sparkman: "And was limited to that?"

Acheson: "That was the sole purpose."

Sparkman: "And at the very time that was issued, we were actually supplying arms aid to the Nationalists on Formosa?"

Acheson: "Arms aid, yes, sir."

So! We now have it down in black and white in the sworn testimony of the Secretary of State that the United States Government was doing one thing in Formosa all the time and secretly instructing its representatives to say the opposite. Did you ever hear such two-faced hypocrites and brazen liars in all your life? For my part, I'll never believe another word they say even in my sleep.

There are two odd footnotes to this story. The Associated Press reports that Moscow propagandists, who can lie on their own account faster than Count Turf can run, have cited Acheson's testimony as proof that the U.S. Government is "playing a 'dirty game' in Asia" and "pursuing a false and dishonest policy" toward Formosa, Communist China, and also in Korea. This time even the Moscow liars told the truth.

And the Social Democrats, those unofficial agents of the State Department, who in their own right rank in the order of liars as habituals, first class, also took the occasion to experiment with an honest statement of facts by remarking in the New Leader under the by-line of Washington correspondent Robert Dean:

The Secretary of State had elaborated a necessary distinction between policy and propaganda, but had also put on the record the obvious fact that the U.S. was, at times, doing one thing and saying another — as all countries do. We were minimizing the strategic necessity of Formosa, and denying that we were holding it up, to guard against the possibility of the island's falling, at the same time that we were, in fact, sending arms."

The moralistic New Leader reports these unadorned facts with neither sorrow nor anger. "The U.S.," as it says, "was, at times, doing one thing and saying another." But that's O.K. with the New Leader. Why make a fuss about it? After all, we are only doing what "all other countries do." Can you think of any better reason for double-dealing? Hold steady, boys. We'll lie our way to peace and freedom yet.

— J. P. C.

Most of us recall the fatal week of June 25, 1950, as a blur of events moving at dizzying speed. Within a few hours of the report that North Korean troops had crossed the South Korean border, Truman had dispatched U.S. planes and warships. The U.S. State Department rounded up sleepy-eyed members of the UN Security Council after midnight and stamped them into an immediate statement branding North Korea an "aggressor." Before the week was out, U.S. troops were dying in Korea.

The American people were given no time to study the events or voice an opinion. They were overwhelmed by accomplished facts and a propaganda blitz-

krieg. They were deluged with the continuous din about an "unprovoked aggression" by the North Koreans.

### A DELIBERATE LIE

Marxists, of course, do not deny the progressive or reactionary character of a war on the basis of who fired the first shot. We judge wars by the classes who conduct them and the class aims they serve. But even if the question of who shot first were decisive, it can be shown that the chief pretext for U.S. intervention — the charge of "unprovoked aggression" by the North Koreans — is a deliberate fabrication.

A growing body of informa-

tion — concealed during the first quick stampede into the Korean war — reveals that this war climaxed numerous provocations by the U.S.-sponsored Syngman Rhee regime of South Korea during a civil war that had been raging for two years.

The Militant has already uncovered and published much evidence about these provocations and the civil war. Now we have additional evidence in the recently-issued book, "Red Storm Over Asia," by the British author Robert Payne, a long-time resident of China. He is a bitter opponent of the North Korean and new China regimes and a supporter of the U.S.-UN intervention.

Payne points out, first of all, that Korea was divided by a secret deal between the western imperialists and the Kremlin at the Yalta conference "without any of the leaders of the great powers consulting any Korean official, or any Korean at all."

Although he accuses the North Koreans of a "wanton act of aggression," Payne concedes that "until June 25, 1950, there was a case for the North Korean government . . . that should be examined with great care." He admits that the North Korean regime had completed "sweeping" land reforms, dividing 2,500,000 acres among the poor peasants; set industry "on its feet"; granted equality to women; built schools; cancelled debts of the poor; etc. But the U.S.-controlled government of Syngman Rhee, "who had spent forty years in America and who had been given the presidency of South Korea in the most dubious way," was "dominated by landlords" and "seems to have done everything in its power to maintain the landlords' feudal privileges."

### A CIVIL WAR

Who fired the first shot in Korea? No one knows — least of all the imperialists who play on every key the theme of "unprovoked" and "wanton" aggression by the North Koreans on June 25, 1950. The first shot was fired years before in a civil war between poor and rich in Korea.

When U.S. troops were landed on the shores of Korea, there "came no new social philosophy, no quickening revolutionary fervor, no hint that the responsibility of America lay in other directions besides armed forces," bemoans Payne. "The land regained from the North Koreans was not distributed to the peasants, while the landlords were even assured that their rights of tenure remained. Also, the American military command tacitly assented to the brutality of the South Korean police and the South Korean marines." He concludes sadly that "whenever the democracies find themselves fighting in such a way that civilians are murdered simply to get them out of the way, then it is perfectly clear that a tragedy of incalculable proportions is taking place."

That tragedy is, above all, the slaughter of millions of Koreans, the destruction of their whole country, by a brutal imperialist invasion carried out under the lying pretext of defending these same Koreans from an "unprovoked aggression."

That tragedy is also the sacrifice of the lives and limbs of scores of thousands of American boys who have been sent to uphold the Syngman Rhee regime which Payne describes as one of "that strange" group of corrupt governments which have appeared in the East . . . which seem to have nothing in common with the people they rule . . . a small group of men who have never in any real sense been elected by the people, rich mercenaries of power . . . comprador governments (which) would never have come to power without foreign interference . . ."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

That July 1 deadline is only a few days off! That means every spare hour between now and then counts as at no time in the campaign. The seasoned campaigners know this and that's why, instead of lagging, they are now spurring ahead as if each one had tapped fresh reserves.

Paul of the Twin Cities, for example, last week rolled up 495 points, totaling 3,595 points. That's sub-

Ernie D. of Detroit came close to Paul with 410 points. And Don of Buffalo got 256; Belle of Boston 225; John of Los Angeles 211; and Mary of Chicago 193.

The secret of those scores is work — time, work, and more time and work. These comrades of course have the skill to begin with, but much more important, they have a genuine appreciation of the political importance of widening the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

The New York Local this week moved in full force. They got a good reception as their score indicates. The welcome they received heartened everyone. However, more decisive than the welcome was their own determination to wind up the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign in the spirit that characterizes a true socialist. That is to not only start the job right, but to finish it right.

The same feeling of enthusiasm and determination to end the campaign with an energetic push is apparent in most of the other branches. The St. Paul contingent ordered the extra copies "we'll need for that last spurt the first of July."

And Literature Agent Winifred Nelson mentioned one of the main ingredients in the Twin Cities' success thus far: "The Militant each week is better than the one the week before. It has an appeal to workers that is appreciated by the comrades who are out selling. And that is because The Militant is truly a workers' paper as no other paper in the U.S. is today!"

Literature Agent Bea Allen of Detroit likewise reports, "The enthusiasm was really good last week and I hope we can keep it that way for the rest of the campaign."

Buffalo too, according to Literature Agent Charles Carlson, intends to finish among the leaders. "If we don't, the reason is not because we didn't try. The comrades are doing a marvelous job in their tireless efforts to sell The Militant to working people."

And the Akron comrades are moving with all energy in hopes of making the last part of the campaign count enough to put them in top place in the Kujak League.

These excerpts from our mail this week are sufficient, we think, to indicate a finish is in store for this campaign even more successful than its beginning.

## IMPERIALISM DEALT HEAVY BLOW AS IRAN TAKES OVER OIL INDUSTRY

By John G. Wright

The Iranian crisis reached a breaking point on June 20 when the Mossadegh government ordered the seizure of all properties of the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. in conformance with the nationalization law passed in March. This action followed the complete collapse of the negotiations with the British delegation headed by Basil R. Jackson, deputy chairman of the British oil trust.

From all indications the British imperialists have been caught by surprise both by the collapse of the negotiations and Mossadegh's order to take over the oil industry. They had arrogantly hoped to dictate a "compromise" whereby the nationalization decree would remain nothing more than a facade for the perpetuation of the British monopoly of the oil fields and refineries. They expected to achieve this by means of slightly higher royalties to the Iranian government and through the pressure of the U.S. State Department and its representative

sador Grady who declared that the U.S. was "100% behind" the British stand and found the British proposals "completely fair and acceptable under the terms of the nationalization law."

The British began the 80-minute "negotiations" on June 19 by demanding that the Iranian government have no say whatever concerning the operations of the oil industry. The British imperialists, with the backing of Washington, are still hopeful of dictating their terms. The American capitalist press has sprung to the defense of their British colleagues. The N. Y. Herald-Tribune editorially denounced the Iranian action as "remorseless," and a product of "violent nationalism," and called upon the Truman administration to maintain "the common front presented by the United States and Britain."

An even sharper tone was taken by the N. Y. Times which advocated the same course and attacked the Iranian government's conduct as "the height of folly."

U.S. BACK BRITISH

The position of the administration was expressed by Ambas-

## Which Way for the Youth of America?

By Joseph Hansen

While I was on tour recently, I missed hearing James P. Cannon speak on "American Youth and Foreign Policy" at a New York University student gathering. I regretted this as I find I always learn something worth while from his speeches; and both the audience and the subject matter promised to be of unusual interest. Who is more directly concerned with foreign policy than the youth awaiting orders from the draft board?

Besides, I enjoy hearing America's leading expounder of socialism. I think even his bitterest opponents will concede that James P. Cannon is one of the best speakers the American labor movement has turned out in a long while.

However, a recording was made of the speech, and the full text is published in the May-June issue of Fourth International, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. The written text of a speech is never as good as the living words, at least the way I look at it. But when a speaker has something important and vital to say, a lot of it carries over even in the cold print. That's true of this speech.

### HOOK BACKS OUT

You can see that it was prepared in anticipation of debating Professor Sidney Hook on American foreign policy. However, Hook refused to accept the challenge although he devotes a lot of extra-curricular time to making scholarly arguments in favor of the war preparations of American imperialism, and you'd think he would snap at the chance of putting on the gloves with someone who takes a decidedly different view.

No doubt the champion of the State Department thought twice about Cannon's 40-year record as an advocate of socialism and opponent of imperialist war, reminded himself of Cannon's formidable reputation in the radical movement as a debater, and decided it was more dignified to look tongue-tied and even a coward than be cut to ribbons before his own students.

The sponsors of the debate decided to hear James P. Cannon anyway. If they were disappointed in not getting the rough-and-tumble clash they had expected, Cannon's speech I am sure made up for it, at least in part, as the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party went after Sidney Hook without paying much attention to the professor's conspicuous absence.

He took some of the pro-war views subscribed to by Hook and ran them through the grinder. They ended up looking pretty much like Pillsbury's best flour, which is extra fine according to the advertisement.

### LENIN'S IMPERIALISM

For example, Hook contends along with Lewis Corey, James T. Farrell, Upton Sinclair and Norman Thomas, that American capitalism is not imperialistic and that its development "does not fulfill Lenin's theory of imperialism as the inevitable last stage of capitalism."

Cannon used one of the leading spokesmen of American imperialism, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, to prove that Wall Street takes a more realistic view. Then he cited a series of unanswerable economic facts to show how Lenin's theories are being borne out before our eyes here in the USA.

The whole march of American capitalism toward another world war, this time an atomic war, is a consequence of the imperialist development of American capitalism, Cannon explained. Many of the students found this highly illuminating, I am told, as Cannon concluded by telling his

young audience that there is an alternative to the gloomy perspective facing us if the capitalists continue to run the country:

"In my opinion this alternative is to recognize the social reality of our time, to see capitalism as a world system in its death agony, completely reactionary, and beyond salvation by any means. This is another reason why he didn't show up. Low morale. After all, what answer could he have given when Cannon said, 'So I wouldn't advise young people to bet their heads on the victory of American imperialism.'

Cannon concluded by telling his

for the socialist society of the free and equal. That is the way to secure peace and progress and a good life for all.

"Friends, I recommend this alternative to you. It is better. For it offers you something worth fighting for, with the prospect of victory at the end, a victory for all humanity in which you and your generation will share."

I think you'll enjoy reading the whole speech and will agree that it's very instructive. You can get a copy by sending 25 cents to Fourth International and asking for the May-June issue. The address is 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

ment, alters nothing at all — because the Persian PEOPLE, the workers and the farmers, never did agree to this robbery. They weren't even consulted. The agreement was signed by a reactionary clique of feudalists whose leader is the Shah and so strong was the opposition of the people — they needed the protection of British guns before daring to sign away their country's wealth to foreign capitalists.

"Persia (Iran) is a land of extremes of wealth and poverty," states the Socialist Outlook. "All the poverty belongs to the workers and poor farmers — most of the wealth (oil) belongs to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. whose biggest shareholder is the British government. The decision of the Persian government to nationalize these fabulously rich oil fields has, quite naturally, the enthusiastic support of the great majority of the Persian people."

### SOVEREIGN RIGHT

"It is a decision," continues this editorial, "which should also have the support of every democrat — leave alone every socialist — throughout the world. For the Persians — like the British or any other people — have a sovereign right to dispose of their national wealth in any way that they, and they alone, see fit. Anybody who denies them that right becomes a defender of the 'right' of great and powerful nations to dictate to small and weaker nations — becomes, in fact, a defender of the imperialist system."

Denouncing the "legalistic" arguments and the military threats of the Attlee government, the Socialist Outlook goes on to point out:

"In this respect the Persian crisis is yet another aspect of the general crisis which now exists in the relations between the rich

exploiting nations like America, Britain, Holland and France and the nations they have for so long exploited. The peoples of India, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, China, Korea, and now Persia, will no longer tolerate 'agreements' which have been IMPOSED upon them and which provide for the legal plundering of their countries by a handful of foreign capitalists. It is the ordinary people who are rising against the imperialist system. It is they — and especially the workers — who are pressing their governments to fight for national freedom and independence."

This progressive struggle for national liberation tends to coalesce with the struggle for socialism. Beginning as anti-imperialist, these movements inexorably gravitate into anti-capitalist and pro-socialist channels. The imperialists and the native reactionaries have every reason to fear this: "But the labor movement has no need to fear it." Labor has everything to gain by supporting it.

"By allying ourselves with the Persian people — and with all other peoples fighting for national independence — we shall prove in practice that the British workers harbor no imperialist designs against anybody. Then will the workers of the colonial countries link hands with us in the common fight for socialism. Nationalism will give way to internationalism and the basis will be laid for the creation of the socialist community of nations — all equal and all sharing in the world's unbounded store of good and useful things."

This genuine socialist viewpoint concludes with the demand: HANDBS OFF PERSIA!

The action of the Mossadegh government deals a blow to both British and American imperialism. "There can be no masking the fact," admit the Herald-Tribune editors, "that a setback for the Western cause has been sustained in Iran . . ."

The American imperialists are still counting on their pressure to bring the Iranians to heel. What are the British counting on? It is doubtful that they themselves know. "Obviously," reported Homer Bigart on June 19, correspondent of the Herald-Tribune, "the British are counting on the fall of the Mossadegh government and think rejection of the Iranian demands will arouse



## Truman on Casualties

By Fred Hart

The man who ordered the first use of atomic bombs on crowded civilian centers has again demonstrated his moral idiocy. Truman last week belittled the appalling number of U.S. casualties in his Korean "police action" and complained because this frightful and steadily mounting toll is "on the mind and tongue of every citizen."

Addressing the fifth annual Highway Safety conference on June 13, Truman departed from his prepared speech to attack those who speak of the war casualties. "The total casualties for the whole operation (U.S. intervention in Korea — Ed.) have been less than 80,000 and that includes everything — sickness, death in jeeps by accidents, killed on the front, captured on the front and wounded," Truman said. "That is on the mind and tongue of every citizen, but right here at home we kill and permanently injure 1,035,000 people (in highway accidents — Ed.) and there is no outcry by the sabotage press, no misstatement by columnists or the Congressional demagogues. And I wonder why?"

We will dwell but briefly on Truman's lie about there being only 80,000 casualties. It is sufficient to point out that Gen. Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified May 24 before the Senate MacArthur Investigating Committee that U.S. casualties in Korea totaled 141,955 — and these figures were about three weeks behind the actual toll. Senator Bridges has put the figure at 175,000 and no one has contradicted him.

But in comparing the war casualties to auto casualties Truman lightly skips over certain significant facts. Even he will concede that the law takes a different view if you run over a child on the highway who darts unexpectedly in front of your car than if you deliberately chase a child with your car and run her down. In the first case, it is unintentional, an accident. In the second, it is deliberate murder.

Nobody is compelled by law to ride in automobiles. Everybody who drives or rides in a car or walks across a street — even Truman — takes

himself the risk of accident. But the American boy who is forcibly drafted into the Army against his will, sent to the Korean front to fight a war he does not believe in and the American people don't believe in, is given no choice. His death is no accident. He is a victim of murder.

Moreover, as the saying goes, figures may not lie, but liars always figure. The rate of auto casualties in terms of the number of people riding cars or walking on highways is less than one per cent. The rate of casualties for the U.S. combat troops in Korea is around 40 per cent.

Truman neglected to speak about all the war casualties in Korea — the three million civilian dead, the 200,000 casualties among the South Korean and other UN troops, the millions of Chinese and North Korean casualties. These he dismisses as so much dirt not worthy of mention. If he is morally blind to the slaughter of the youth of his own country, why should he care about colonial peasants and workers of another race?

It is quite true that there is a horrific toll in this country due to highway accidents. There are also hundreds of thousands who die each year of cancer, heart disease, TB and other killers who might be saved. And, in a way, all of them are victims of capitalist war.

With the hundreds of billions Truman is spending and preparing to spend to kill more millions in Korea and every place else in the world that U.S. imperialism aims to conquer, we could rebuild the whole highway system in America to relieve congestion and crowding and eliminate accidents. We could uncover the causes and cure of cancer, heart diseases and all the other maladies. We could eliminate bad housing and poverty.

Truman is no more indignant about traffic accidents than he is about the war casualties. He uses one to cover up the crime of the other. And if he has his way, we will have an atomic war in the not distant future which will make the highway and Korean war toll combined seem small by comparison.

## "Self Sustaining Paradise"

By Tom Conlan

We do not as a rule go out of our way to keep our readers informed about the latest capers of the ultra-snobbish social set. But we feel obliged to make an exception. It has to do with society's most popular hosts of the year — not merely in the Western hemisphere, mind you, but in the whole of the "Western world." This truly breathtaking item was made public the other day by the Scripps-Howard society editor whose business it is to record for posterity the doings and misdeeds of the billionaire playboys and playgirls.

The current rage, it turns out, is none other than Mr. and Mrs. John Astor Drayton. Up to last year Mr. Drayton's chief claim to fame, apart from his tidy bankroll, was his nickname — Satan. But last summer Satan Drayton became suddenly inspired "with the idea of creating a tropical, self-sustaining paradise at Andros, the most primitive island in the Bahamas," breathlessly reports the Scripps-Howard society editor, and immediately adds that "rich relatives and friends were almost unanimous in panning the project."

Last summer, you see, these carpers "relatives and friends" did not take Korea in particular or the Hell-Bomb in general as seriously as Satan and his spouse. They kept guzzling cocktails, swapping gossip and paramours and otherwise leading their utterly useless and meaningless lives. But not Mr. and Mrs. Drayton. They saw a miraculous vision, and with this in mind they set out to accomplish miracles.

And lo! while the "pioneering" couple "lived on their yacht," the jungle was cleared for hundreds of acres by "machete-wielding natives," and there was erected on the beach "a dreamy guest house." The island has in addition been equipped

with fuel-oil tanks "for a fleet of yachts" and there is handy a refrigerated freighter and a deep-freeze boat.

The plantation itself has "enormous potentialities for castor bean, copra and sisal hemp production." But this barely scratches the full potentialities of this "primitive paradise." The list of eager house-guests, headed by the one-time skeptics, has grown so large that the gracious hosts could not possibly accommodate "100th of the people who want to drop in."

The popular hosts have solved this ticklish problem with rare initiative and even more exemplary tact. To accommodate the snowballing demand they are now "building a resort hotel." The yacht trade who "can pay for the privilege of sharing the Bahamas paradise" will be all the more appreciative. The hosts obviously know their customers, and vice versa.

We do not know whether the Drayton "self-sustaining paradise" falls under the provisions of Truman's "Point 4" program for the development of backward areas. But if these enterprising "pioneers" are not granted tax-exemption under the above-mentioned heading, they can surely seek to amortize their current investments on the same 5-year basis as Congress has granted other essential wartime projects.

In any case, there is obviously no need for any one to worry any longer about the Hell-Bomb threat. A way out, and an entirely self-sufficient way at that, has been made available by this enterprising, not to say philanthropic, couple. The island paradise is there for anyone — anyone, that is, with a yacht or two, a little spare change and with the proper social credentials. Chalk up another thumping triumph for "free enterprise."

## The Real Background

By Bernard Stanton

The N. Y. Daily Mirror reports the following dispatch under the headline: "7 Sparkplugs in Stomach, Going Gets Rough."

Raleigh, N. C., June 16 (UP) — Hospital officials today reported they had removed seven sparkplugs, eight keys, a car wheel weight balance, an unfired .32 caliber bullet and part of a knife blade from the stomach of a 35-year-old Negro. Leon Burns was in critical condition at St. Agnes Hospital today following the operation. He told authorities he had been attacked two weeks ago by a mob in Georgia and forced to swallow the metal objects, but police doubted his story and were checking his background.

This dispatch is as much a commentary on the Mirror, one of Hearst's rags, as it is on "justice" in the deep South. The off-hand manner in which the Mirror headlines the story is revealing of its true attitude toward the Negro people. If a white man, say, a Southern gentleman, were involved, it would not take the same attitude. The story was printed on a back page sandwiched in between advertisements. The Mirror makes no comment beyond its flippant caption. Evidently, the story was worth the printing for a chuckle.

But why should one expect anything else from this large daily? Why should Hearst send one of his reporters down to the deep South to check the story, before printing it? We can hear the editor guffawing at the very thought.

The Mirror editors who thought up that screamingly funny caption, must have had a real laugh when they read the last line — "but police doubt his story and were checking his background."

The North Carolina police would, of course, never dream of checking on the mob which forced their victim to swallow the metal objects. The United Press, which sent out the dispatch, does not suggest it. Nor does the UP bother to explain

why a man should voluntarily swallow such objects as bullets or knife blades. What will the police find by checking the victim's background? Is the victim suspect for not being killed outright? Will something be found in his background to convict him of some crime in case he recovers?

Any honest reporter would have investigated and reported the full story. Are mobs still operating unchecked against innocent and helpless Negroes? Are the police winking at and conniving with these mobs? Is the Ku Klux Klan still riding high? Here is a story to be written worthy of a great newspaper. But it's dynamite for the capitalist press. Its honest reporters are reserved for fiction and the movies.

They simply dismiss the matter by stating, "the police were checking his (the victim's) background." What inhuman mockery! The editors and writers have become so prostituted and degraded that they can print such tripe without batting an eye.

Each time an atrocity is committed against a Negro in this country, it is his "background" that is checked. The background of Leon Burns, like that of millions of other Negroes in the deep South and in the North is easy to establish. Economically — the most degraded section of the population. Politically, no representation. Socially, outcasts from the day they are born. That is Leon Burns' background.

After all the pious sentiments expressed in behalf of civil rights, democracy and freedom, by such "champions" of liberty as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, the Negro people continue to suffer from the most terrible repressions. And the capitalist rulers of America, from Truman to Hearst, have no shame in asking the Leon Burns and the John Derricks, and the Ferguson brothers, or the Trenton Six, to fight and die for "freedom and democracy" — as, say, in Korea.

## "I Have Returned from the Dead"

DETROIT, June 5 — Augusta Ford, 21-year-old Negro, was sentenced last September to serve 35 to 40 years in prison for rape and robbery. "I have returned from the dead," Ford said, when he was released last Monday, after serving nine months of his sentence.

Augusta Ford owes his freedom to his own efforts. While premacy courts,

serving his prison sentence he proved that on the night of the alleged attack May 31, 1950, he was in a Detroit jail on a minor misdemeanor charge.

Standing before Judge O. Z. Ide, and Prosecutor O'Brien, the same pair who had railroaded him, Ford bitterly denounced the frame-up justice of white-su-

"I nearly went insane thinking about this. You offered false evidence to the jury. I was railroaded by the police and prosecutor's office so they could get a conviction. Thank God I was lucky enough to be in jail at the time, or no one would have ever believed me. I'm glad Michigan does not have capital punishment, or I probably would be dead."

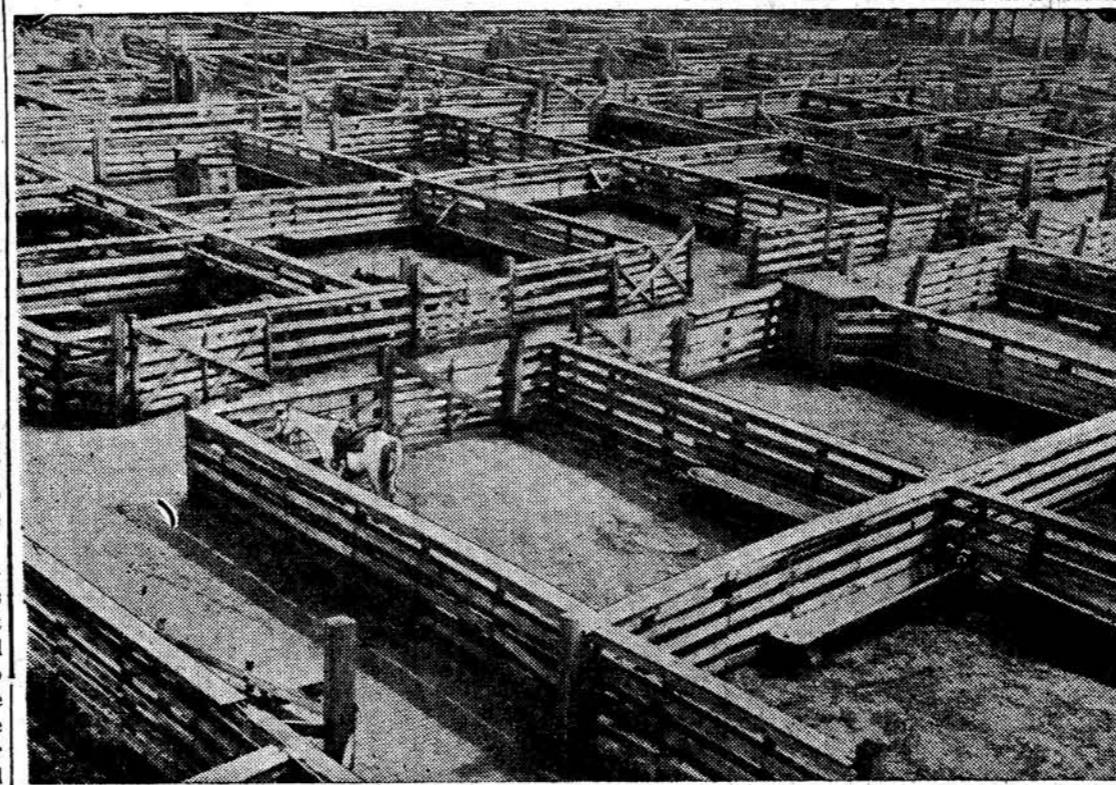
# THE MILITANT

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## Meat Trust Holds Out



The Big Four meat packers were withholding beef during the past few weeks, in an effort to push up the price of meat. As a result of their pressure, the Big Business controlled Congress called further beef price rollbacks.

## NEW C.P. INDICTMENTS PERIL ALL CIVIL RIGHTS

### June 26 Trial Set in Case of "Legless Vet"

(Continued from Page 1)

arising from Truman's loyalty purge of government workers. Now his appeal has been given added importance by recent Supreme Court decisions on the loyalty program.

The Supreme Court ruled in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case that the Attorney General had no right to blacklist organizations without a prior hearing. Such a hearing was denied Kutter's party. At the same time the justices by a 4 to 4 vote refused to review the discharges of Dorothy Bailey and of 29 postal employees.

Many authorities and newspapers have stressed the absurdity of the position in which the court now stands. In effect, the Supreme Court holds it is unconstitutional for the administration to blacklist an organization without a hearing and yet refuses to protect the civil and job rights of individuals victimized by such illegal procedures. Justice Jackson correctly stated: "This is justly turned bottom-side-up."

#### SWP CASE

This indictment is the first fruit of the Supreme Court decision earlier this month upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, and turning down the appeal of 11 top Stalinist leaders who had previously been convicted under this act. The first conviction under the notorious gag law came in 1941, when 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Teamsters were framed and railroaded on similar charges.

Now that they have gone after two batches of CP leaders, it is clear that the government will not stop at this point. They have already planned to go after more. It is not out of sympathy for the Stalinists or support of their policies that these mass prosecutions ought to be opposed.

If the CP can be virtually outlawed simply because of its views and expressions, other groups can be prosecuted in the same way under the same law. Indictments like those against the CP leaders can be used in the future against other critics of administration policy or of Big Business government.

The twenty-one indicted today include Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones, Alexander Bittelman, Alexander Trachtenberg, V. J. Jerome, Al Lamon, Louis Weinstock, Arnold Johnson, Wm. Weinstone, Israel Amter, I. Begun, and Simon Gerson. All arrests were made in New York with the exception of that of A. Johnson, who was arrested in Pittsburgh. The United Press has indicated that future arrests are slated for Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco.

#### HANGS IN BALANCE

As a consequence of these clearly inconsistent decisions the law regulating the entire loyalty program now hangs in the balance. The Kutter case can become the vehicle for tipping it in a favorable direction. It is the only loyalty case now before the higher courts. It presents the basic issues involved in the clearest form. There is no dispute about the essential facts in the case.

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When his appeal is taken to the Supreme Court, as either side will do, the verdict rendered may well prove decisive in determining the constitutionality of the loyalty purge procedures.

That is why the American Civil Liberties Union is filing a brief as friend of the court in the case. The Kutter Civil Rights Committee which is in charge of Kutter's defense has issued an appeal for financial aid to pay for the expenses of the trial and the appeal to the highest court. Contributions for the legless veteran's defense should be sent to the Kutter Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

#### EXPULSION CHARGED

Two defendants are charged with having participated in the expulsion of Max Bedacht, former Stalinist leader. While this action can well be taken as a sample of the rigid bureaucracy which grips the Stalinist party, it is hard to imagine how it can be called an illegal action or a crime. Apparently, the government is satisfied, as all counts of the indictment show, that even the flimsiest and most senseless

defenses are rejected.

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## Art Preis Stricken, Is Operated On

NEW YORK, June 21 — Art Preis, veteran Militant reporter and outstanding revolutionary journalist, was stricken today and rushed to Beth Israel Hospital.

Comrade Preis suffered a perforated ulcer, which resulted in peritonitis. He was immediately operated upon.

Attending physicians report that Comrade Preis has an excellent chance of full recovery.

Comrade Preis' brilliant contributions to the columns of the Militant have been a favorite of readers for a period of ten years. His articles in the past few months on the Korean war, exposing the imperialist atrocities there, have been reprinted in the labor press all over the world.

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## The Negro Struggle

## NAACP Program And the GIs

By J. Blake

Delegates to the annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which meets the end of this month in Atlanta will undoubtedly agree that the most important single action of the organization this year was its defense of the Negro soldiers in Korea against the capitalist politicians and military brass.

The convention should recognize, first, the significance of the issue. The plight of the Negro soldiers is a broad popular issue which combines both opposition to the discriminatory frame-up courts-martial of Negro soldiers, and sympathy with the general distaste of soldiers and civilians alike for "operation slaughter" in Korea. The various charges of failure to obey orders, or refusal to advance in the face of the enemy were understood as descriptive of a widespread situation in Korea for which the Army chose to make Negroes the whipping boys. The courts-martial also focused attention on the complete lack of democracy in the Army which makes it possible for officers arbitrarily to single out those whom they wish to victimize, and to utilize all the totalitarian procedures of Army discipline to deprive them of even the formal democratic protection of civil rights of other American citizens.

The method employed by the NAACP in defense of the GIs was that of public investigation and exposure of the inhuman treatment of the soldiers and the injustice of the court martial procedure, the assigning of blame to the Jim Crow Army, and the public demand for redress.

The response to this method was an indication of the potential strength of the NAACP. Thousands packed public meetings to protest the condition, to express their support for the struggle against it, and to contribute to the campaign.

But as the Kansas City Call said when these meetings were at their height: "After the din of applause has died, then what?"

That question has to be answered by the NAACP convention.

## MacARTHUR AND DISCRIMINATION

Several alternatives are presented. The first, unfortunately, is already indicated in the line of those Negro leaders and newspapers which are attempting to use the plight of the Negro soldiers as a basis for petty political maneuvers on behalf of the Democrats or Republicans in the coming election campaign.

Negro Democratic party hacks are already soft-pedaling the responsibility of the Truman administration for maintaining the Jim Crow Army and the imperialist war in Korea. They, and this includes some of the NAACP top leaders, attempt to place all the blame on MacArthur by implying that his actions were contrary to the wishes of the Administration.

The Republicans, on the other hand, like the Pittsburgh Courier, are apologizing for MacArthur, attempting to picture him as a poor, misunderstood general who wouldn't stand for such a situation in the Army for a minute if he knew about it, and was the victim of bad