

## TRENTON'S KILLER COPS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Vol. XV - No. 36

## Top Brass Stalls Korea Talks With Aggressive Acts

Events last week in Korea cast serious doubt on Washington's intentions to conclude any cease-fire agreement there. At the very least it becomes clear that U.S. negotiators are trying to hold up a truce until after the signing of the Japanese peace treaty next week.

A series of belligerent provocations on the part of U.S. high brass took place starting last Sunday, just as true negotiations appeared to be making rapid headway. Reports from the four-man subcommittee meetings in Kaesong indicated that discussions were taking place in a relaxed atmosphere. Further and even more important, a Peking broadcast on Saturday, Aug. 18, quoted Korean negotiation chief Gen. Nam II as saying, "it is possible to adjust this (truce) line on the basis of the terrain and mutual defense positions of the demilitarized zone if they are reasonable and necessary." This statement plainly went a long way towards giving in to U.S. demands.

Suddenly on the following morning, General Ridgway opened a new major offensive with one of the most devastating artillery bombardments of the Korean war. This developed quickly into the hardest fighting since the start of the cease-fire talks. Early the same morning, 30 armed men invaded the Kaesong area, and attacked a Chinese MP platoon, killing the platoon leader and wounding one other soldier.

Following rapidly upon the heels of these events were the strafing of Korean jeeps flying white flags on their way to the conference area, and finally the sudden change in U.S. policy



## "One-Third of a Nation" Still Lives in Poverty

Fifteen years after F. D. Roosevelt shed his crocodile tears for "one-third of a nation, ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-nourished," and promised to do something about it, one-third of a nation remains in the same impoverished condition. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from facts recently released by the Conference Group on Low Income Families.

The Conference Group, composed of nine national welfare agencies, in a report for the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, told a tale of miserable poverty and bitter sub-standard living. Its findings were the result of sample investigation of 100 families, to find out just how 10,500,000 families in the U.S., or one-quarter of all family units, manage to live on incomes less than \$2,000 per year.

### HALF A NATION

Not only this one-quarter of America's families, but fully half of the families of this country with incomes below \$2,750, must get along on far less than the \$4,000 which the Department of

Labor says is a minimum family decency and health budget.

How these American families do it is a story of impoverished living that gives the lie to the fancy claims of an "America way" that gives a high living standard made by well-paid propaganda experts. Unlike such lying claims, however, the report of this Conference Group has been given very little notice in the capitalist-controlled press.

How can a family eat nowadays on \$2,000 per year? The Conference Group reports how it was done in 1950, before food costs went up almost 30 points on the Bureau of Labor Statistics index:

### MEAT AND MILK

"The most frequent method used to cut down the food budget was to eliminate meat and milk. The habit was to economize by eating starchy diets which are filling — bread, potatoes, macaroni, spaghetti, rice. Many families reserved meat for Sundays and holidays. The use of day-old bread was another means of economizing."

Even after cutting all expenditures for clothing and rent, the report said, many families could not meet minimum subsistence levels for food.

Nor is the housing situation any better for one-third of a nation than it was 15 years ago. While many new housing units have been built, these are almost entirely for the top and middle thirds of the population, with only a very tiny handful of low-income housing projects. "In these postwar years," the report says, "such families have had difficulty even in wedging into the slums."

### PROBLEM OF SHOES

How about clothing? Here the facts are even more glaring. "Shoes," says the Conference Group report, "present the stiffest all-family problem, not only because they usually have to be purchased new, but because cheap leather means that they wear out faster. A new suit, dress or overcoat we found mentioned as a rarity for grownups. Most clothing purchases were made on a

(Continued on page 2)

## MYRA T. WEISS STARTS TOUR IN NEWARK, SEPT. 7

Myra Tanner Weiss, known to thousands of workers in Los Angeles and elsewhere on the West Coast as a brilliant Socialist campaigner and speaker begins this week her two-month coast to coast tour under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party.

She will speak in Newark, N. J., on Friday, Sept. 7 at 8:00 p.m. at 423 Springfield Ave on: THE

After fulfilling her engagement in Newark, Mrs. Weiss will speak in Boston, Mass. on Saturday, Sept. 8.

The Militant will carry detailed information of dates and places of Mrs. Weiss's speaking engagements from week to week. Further information may be obtained by writing the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The schedule of her tour, after the Sept. 7 talk in Newark, follows:

### TOUR SCHEDULE

Saturday	Sept. 8	Boston
Sunday	9	New Haven
Friday	14	New York
Saturday	15	Philadelphia
Sunday	16	"
Monday	17	Buffalo
Tuesday	18	"
Wednesday	19	"
Thursday	20	"
Friday	21	"
Saturday	22	Cleveland
Sunday	23	"
Monday	24	Akron
Tuesday	25	"
Wednesday	26	Youngstown
Thursday	27	"
Friday	28	Pittsburgh
Saturday	29	Travel
Sunday	30	Detroit
Monday	1	"
Tuesday	2	Flint
Wednesday	3	Detroit
Thursday	4	"
Saturday	6	Chicago
Sunday	7	Milwaukee
Monday	8	Chicago
Tuesday	9	"
Wednesday	10	Chicago
Thursday	11	St. Louis
Friday	12	Travel
Saturday	13	Twin Cities
Sunday	14	"
Monday	15	"
Tuesday	16	"
Wednesday	17	Travel
Thursday	18	Salt Lake City
Friday	19	"

MYRA TANNER WEISS

OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA: Lessons of the Korean War."

### ON WAR PLANS

Her talk, dealing with this timeliest of topics, will present the Socialist viewpoint on the Korea true talks, the prospects for peace in Asia and in the world, and the repercussions of Korea and the arms program on the American people.

She will analyze in this connection political tasks and needs in the light of the dire threat to the living standards and popular democratic rights here at home which has resulted from the arms program of the billionaire plutocrats and Truman's unauthorized war in Korea.

Mrs. Weiss has run as the SWP candidate for Congress, Mayor and Board of Education in Los Angeles; she received 18,752 votes in this year's Los Angeles elections.

## Union Ward-Heelers And Labor Day

An Editorial

On Labor Day 1951, the American labor leadership has little to brag about. Although William Green patted himself on the back in his Labor Day message, saying "During the past year, labor at the local, national and international level reached new heights of influence, prestige and constructive leadership," he could not avoid revealing at least part of the reverses suffered by labor in the past year.

Referring to the uncontrolled inflation and the lack of "equality of sacrifice" in the laws passed by the 82nd Congress, Green asserted: "... As we take stock, we come to the inevitable conclusion that unless we expand and perfect our political activities organized labor stands to lose through hostile legislation much of the ground it has gained over the years."

The fact is, the Big Business controlled Congress has already undermined the living standards of the American workers. Real incomes have been reduced by increased taxes, higher rents, and runaway prices. Wages, under the Wage Stabilization Board's control, have lagged far behind living costs.

The top union officials are no longer able to ignore the weakest spot in organized labor's armor, and that is, its political ineffectiveness. But their answer to the problem is meaningless, worthless. Echoing William Green, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, states in its Labor Day message, "Labor must intensify its political activity. The time is long past when American labor has to accept as its candidates for office the political hacks, the ward heelers, the time servers who bring government into disrepute, and who are incapable of producing or carrying through a program to meet the critical needs of the times."

But there is not the slightest sign that any section of the official labor leadership is prepared to embark on a new road politically. They all continue to support Truman, political hack No. 1, and the Democrats or Republicans — both parties completely under Big Business control.

The situation can be accurately described as one in which the union leaders play the role of labor ward heelers for capitalist politicians. In

exchange for this activity, they get a few "prestige positions," but the workers suffer one blow after another. Ward heelers butter their own bread.

Although the labor movement represents the single biggest bloc of voters in the country, it

does not have a single voice in Congress. The tiny minority of billionaires controls the House and Senate as well as the White House.

This situation can be reversed if labor breaks

all ties with the Wall Street political parties, and organizes its own independent political party. But it cannot be done under the present do-nothing union leadership.

Many militant workers, especially in the CIO, have felt the need for a new leadership. Opposition groups have repeatedly sprung up, in such unions as the UAW-CIO. But thus far, these opposition groups have not been able to mobilize enthusiastic rank and file majorities, because their programs have been totally inadequate.

On the key issue of our times, political action, these groups have hesitated to break with the old policies and boldly advocate a new course — toward a labor party.

A new leadership cannot be built exclusively on the basis of a fight over plant problems, more militant economic struggles, even though a far more aggressive fight on this level is needed. It cannot be built by clique fights for power. The workers are tired of this kind of internal union struggle; they will not be inspired by it.

An opposition can fight and win in the labor movement only by standing on the platform of a radical, totally new political outlook. Such a left-wing program must necessarily include as its most important plank: the formation of an independent labor party. This point alone would serve to show the way to the many militants in the unions looking for a new road.

For the building of a new left-wing leadership of the dynamic unions in this country, there is no halfway house. Build labor's own political party! That is the way to fight the Greens and the Murrays and the Reuthers. That will mobilize the ranks. That will put the unions in a position to defend the workers' interests on the decisive field of battle, the battlefield of politics.

## Truman Asks Robber Peace In Japan Pact

### Britain, France Toe Line; Asian Peoples All Opposed

By Harry Frankel

Amid worldwide protest, the U.S. is preparing to compel Asia to accept a Japanese peace treaty which arranges Asian affairs in the best interests of American imperialism.

### U.S. DOMINATION

The proposed Japan pact provides for continued occupation by U.S. troops of the Japanese mainland, turning over the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands to U.S. imperialism, revival of Japanese militarism and continued U.S. domination of Formosa.

Last June, Dr. L. F. Kimball, national president of the USO, blamed the "folks back at home" for creating a serious "morale problem" among the GIs in Korea by writing letters saying "this is just a political war and you're not fighting for anything but the politicians." From all indications, the Korean war has not gained in popularity at all.

### Senate Eases Tax On Rich, But Low Incomes Hit Hard

#### INCOMES HIT HARD

U.S. Senators are earning their money these days sweating in the Washington summer heat, figuring out ways to make the working people pay more in taxes, while easing up on the tax load of the wealthy.

The Senate Finance Committee is hard at work revising the House proposals, already heavily weighted in favor of the rich. The House has proposed a straight 12½ percent increase in income taxes for all groups. That would mean that the same number of dollars per hundred would be added to the tax of a family with an income of \$1,000 per year as with an income of \$100,000.

This proposal, unfair to the working people as it is, is being worked over by the Senate Committee with an eye toward keeping the tax increase on the poor about the same, but drastically lowering the tax increase to be paid by the higher income brackets. The big savings would come in the incomes above \$40,000 a year.

Not satisfied with this income tax steal, the wealthy manipulators of the U.S. Senate have also gone to work on corporate taxes. On Saturday, Aug. 25, the Senate Committee re-opened a loophole in the corporate tax laws which had been closed by the House proposals. By means of this loophole, which permits each member of a chain of connected corporations to take certain deductions, corporations will steal about \$56 million next year.

Still not satisfied, the Senators went back to work the next day, and chopped a hefty three-quarters of a billion dollars from corporate taxes. The biggest reduction of all was in excess profits taxes. This cut alone will save \$610 million for the corporations. Excess profits taxes are supposed to cut down on the wartime profits which corporations coin out of the slaughter of innocent young draftees and civilians in wartime.

Federal tax bills this year are designed to add the staggering sum of more than \$7 billion to the already stupendous tax load now being borne by the American people. Cuts such as the Senate is making in corporate and higher income taxes increase the burden carried by the poor.

### Union Hails James Kutcher's Fight for Rights

#### FIGHT FOR RIGHTS

"In these grim days of witch hunts and dim-outs of civil liberties, it is good to know that there are many in the labor movement ready and eager to halt this blight. We wish you success in the cause of securing justice to brother James Kutcher, whose fortitude in facing the massed might of reaction merits the respect and admiration of everyone who abhors injustice."

These words of encouragement accompanied a \$10 donation to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee from UAW-CIO Amalgamated Local 722 of St. Paul, Minnesota, to enable the legless veteran to carry his fight against the loyalty purge to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. A similar contribution to Kutcher's defense fund was sent last week by Brier Hill Local 1462, United Steelworkers of America, of Youngstown, Ohio.

### JOHN F. DULLES

The treaty was prepared by the Republican adviser to the State Dept., John Foster Dulles, corporation lawyer, and himself director in no fewer than 15 corporations. His grandfather, appropriately enough, was John Watson Foster, who in 1895 helped arrange the Treaty of Shimoneseki, by which Japanese imperialism robbed China of Korea, Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, the Liao-tung Peninsula, and a heavy cash indemnity at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War.

Imperialist U.S. has arrogantly announced that the San Francisco peace will last only from Sept. 4 to Sept. 8, and that the treaty is to be signed either intact or not at all. "Take it or leave it," the world is being told. "You can't amend it, or change it at all, and don't try to talk about it too long either." In order to enforce this extraordinary course of action, the U.S. is entering the treaty conference with a set of proposals on procedure which will limit debate and hamstring discussion.

## Notebook of an Agitator

### THE MATTER OF JUSTICE

The case of William N. Oatis, Associated Press correspondent sentenced to ten years imprisonment in Czechoslovakia, after confessing to a charge of spying, has stirred up American newspapers and newspapermen to a partisan interest in justice they never felt before. At any rate, they are expressing themselves about it, volubly and even excitedly, for the first time to my knowledge. Oatis is one of their own. His case also involves them, insofar as it affects the security of foreign correspondents. Oatis has become not simply a case to report but a cause to defend. As with the Catholic hierarchy in the case of Mindszenty, and American businessmen in the case of Vogeler, the individual is represented as the symbol of a principle — the principle of justice and fair play — and the American people are summoned to a moral crusade in its defense.

Our moralistic preceptors have learned to love justice late in life. Justice has been a poor vagabond in the world for a long time, with hardly a place to lay her head, and they never gave her a tumble. I, personally, am in favor of the principle laid down as a basis of this crusade, but I am somewhat mistrustful of late converts — especially those who have an axe of their own to grind.

Please don't misunderstand me. I do regard this awakening to the importance of justice for the individual as ludicrously sudden, and even contemptible in its hypocrisy. But I am making no jokes about the prisoners involved in these cases; or any other prisoners, for that matter. There is nothing funny about a defenseless man — any man — on trial for his life or his liberty, which is practically the same thing. When he is cut off from friends and all means of support, isolated and under pressure in a hostile environment, and deprived of competent legal counsel of his own choosing — it means in effect that he has no defense at all. That's wrong wherever it happens. I believe the world should be concerned about the matter of justice for the individual human being. And this concern is long overdue.

#### Test of Justice Involves All

When the friends of Oatis, Vogeler or Mindszenty contend that their cases are the concern of all, they are right to a certain extent. When justice is at stake, all are involved. There is no such thing as the trial of one man; although this is seldom realized until a particular trial strikes home. When one is on trial, all are on trial. The accusers as well as the accused. Not only the victim, but those who impose the punishment. Not only the participants in the trial, but also the observers — the whole community. And they are all subject to judgment — the accusers as to the facts in his particular case; the accusers by the manner in which they prosecute; and the observers, the whole community, by their reaction to the proceedings. By this reaction, by this attitude, they also should be judged. It is from this broader, more inclusive standpoint that I wish to discuss here not only the trial of Mr. Oatis, with whom I deeply sympathize, but also the other trials; and trials and confessions in general.

It is not my intention here to debate the

merits of the confessions extracted from the cardinal, the businessman, and the correspondent by their Stalinist inquisitors. Espionage, of course, is a business in which the U.S. government, like all others, is extensively engaged, and on which it expends huge sums of money and uses all kinds of people. Priests, businessmen and journalists are undoubtedly included in their network, like people of any other occupation in ordinary life. The defendants in these particular cases could all be guilty of the offenses charged against them, and such conduct would represent no contradiction to the things they stand for and the interests they represent.

#### Moralistic Phonies and Spies

Neither would it be considered wrong by the moralistic phonies who are beating the drums in their defense. The U.S. Intelligence Service, which organizes espionage in foreign countries, is dear to their hearts. And the F.B.I., with its army of domestic spies and stool-pigeons, is the apple of their eye. Even General MacArthur, who sits on the right hand of God, maintained an intelligence service to ferret out those military secrets of the North Koreans and Chinese which the Lord neglected to tip him off to. The only criticism I have heard about this is that the five-star general's spies didn't find out much.

On the other hand, I would be the last person to put any credence whatever in anything coming out of a Stalinist court. I take it for granted, as a matter of course, that all Stalinist trials are designed to serve political purposes. The guilt or innocence of the particular person in the hands of the Stalinist police in a specific case makes no difference whatever. Guilty or innocent of the specific crime charged against him, he will be convicted just the same. I don't know whether the cardinal, the businessman and the press correspondent are guilty or innocent, and have no way of finding out. Their sponsors have made no attempt to prove their innocence; and the Stalinist proofs of their guilt are worthless. Therefore I am willing to assume, for the purpose of this discussion, what it is always safe to assume about any Stalinist trial — that these particular trials were frame-ups and that the confessions were false.

Assuming this, in order to get extraneous and — in the circumstances — unverifiable questions out of the way, I propose to raise other questions which can be verified. There have been many cases of frame-ups and false confessions right here in the United States. Their victims, being made of human flesh and blood, were just as good as Oatis, Vogeler and Mindszenty, and just as much entitled to fair play. What about them? What did our clerical bigwigs, business monopolists and publishing tycoons have to say about the violations of justice in these cases here at home? An examination of the record, which is wide open for anybody's inspection, will give the answer to this question. It should also throw some light on the worth of their pretensions and protests in the name of justice and morality — in Eastern Europe.

J.P.C.

(Next Week: The Dirt on Their Own Doorstep)

## Iran Talks Flop As British Issue Ultimatum

After more than six weeks and scores of conferences, the negotiations between Britain and Iran over the nationalized Iranian oil industry have again collapsed. These negotiations were imposed upon the Iranian government by the relentless pressure of the American imperialists through Truman's "personal representative," the millionaire Averell Harriman.

The capitalist propaganda machine in this country and in Britain has pictured these talks, whose progress throughout was kept in strictest secrecy, as the height of reasonableness and conciliation on the part of the British and the height of unreasonableness, "fanaticism," etc., on the part of the Iranians.

The British delegation, headed by Lord Privy Seal Richard Stokes, started the negotiations talking tough and ended on the same note — by an ultimatum to Iran to accept the British terms or suffer the consequences, that is, a thinly veiled threat to employ force.

Harriman, portrayed as an "impartial" go-between, actually backed the British at every stage.

About the only "soft" note he introduced was an offer to bribe the Iranian government with a \$25 million loan through the Import-Export Bank, plus a vague promise of further loans.

The British position is that they have the right to stay in Iran and continue exploiting the vast oil resources of that country for the benefit of the British oil monopolists. The only point they are willing to concede is to pay slightly higher royalties. Up to now they have been paying from 10 to 15 cents a barrel, or virtually stealing the oil. They are now willing to pay a little more.

As for the rest, they imperiously insist that the Iranian nationalization decree remain on paper, while the British run the industry, lock, stock and barrel, as before.

An authoritative summary of the British proposals was contained in a cable from London to the *Wall Street Journal*, the influential financial daily. On Aug. 18 this paper reported that the British demanded the setting up of three companies. One an "Iranian" dummy, without any powers whatever, and the other

two completely British-dominated corporations, with sweeping powers.

The "National Iranian Co.," the "purely Iranian" agency, would formally take over the assets of the nationalized oil industry, have an advisory voice in approving "the oil production policy" and supervise the distribution of oil inside the country, a tiny fraction of the total output.

#### BRITISH CONTROL

The purchase, sale and distribution of the oil would be in the hands of a British purchasing organization, with the Iranians barred from any voice on it.

Finally, a third agency was to be set up that would handle the operation of the oil fields and the great refinery at Abadan. On this body, the British were magnanimous enough to permit "some Iranian directors."

These are the same terms that the British have been seeking to dictate to Iran since the beginning of the Iranian crisis. The camouflage is little more elaborate than the one originally proposed, but that is all.

For the Iranian government to

accept such terms is to capitulate to the British. And this, no Iranian government can afford to do in the face of the overwhelming mass opposition inside the country. It would mean the immediate downfall of any government that permitted the British to hold on to the oil monopoly. The previous Premier who tried it, was assassinated; and the same threats have been made against the reigning Premier Mossadegh.

In this sense the Mossadegh government was left with no choice in the matter. Despite the terrific pressure exerted by Harriman, the British ultimatum was rejected.

#### PROVOCATION

The British continue to "talk tough." They have begun the evacuation of the British technical staff from the oil fields, but intend to leave a "skeleton staff" at the Abadan refinery. This staff is under instructions not to allow the Iranians to take over the plant.

This is a deliberate act of provocation. Should the Iranian government try to take over the

refinery, as it has every right to do, the British can then declare the "lives of their nationals" in jeopardy and resort to naked force.

In preparation for this a British naval armada has long been stationed in the vicinity of Abadan, while air and land forces have been mobilized on the Iranian frontiers and a division of paratroopers stationed in the Mediterranean in easy reach.

The conduct of the British has been so crass that it has aroused "criticism" even from so conservative a capitalist politician as Sen. Malone of Nevada. On Aug. 23, he declared on the Senate floor:

"Instead of trying to arrive at some fair method, the British simply continued largely controlling the government of Iran. It was well known that they controlled the government of Iran, and paid very little in royalties for oil, until the showdown came. Then they expected Uncle Sam to get tough." The Senator omitted to add that Washington has thus far lived up to all the British expectations, and that one of the main reasons they refuse to budge in Iran has been receiving from the American imperialists.

The Senator was then so incautious as to go on to denounce the "colonial system" practiced by Britain. "It is a great system," he said. "But it will not work, because the colonial system is out of date at this time. . . . Things can no longer be concealed. The various colonial peoples can no longer be controlled by the British, as they were for 100 years."

The Senator did not openly say so, but he obviously implied that the British should leave and let the American oil monopolists take over.

Let both Britain and the U.S. get out and stay out of Iran! The various colonial peoples, as the Iranian experience once again confirms, refuse to be controlled any longer.

## Postal Workers Borrow to Live

How deeply inflation is slashing into living standards of American workers is illustrated by the plight of the postal workers at one time reputedly among the higher paid federal employees. Their condition is now critical, affirms J. H. Redmacher Jr., president of the National Association of Letter Carriers of Detroit, Mich.

In order to keep from starving the Detroit postal workers alone have had to borrow over a million dollars from their credit union. In order to support their families, deeply in debt, over 1,300 men and women of experience . . . were forced to quit.

The General simply can't understand why the South Koreans won't fight for the corrupt, brutal Syngman Rhee regime when he himself supports it. They have tasted the fruits of Rhee's regime just as they have tasted them by all the generals from MacArthur down. They have seen their cities and villages wiped out, and their country laid waste from one end to the other. It is hardly surprising that they see no reason to die for this kind of "liberation."

#### DESTRUCTION

That wasn't the only thing the General didn't know the answer to. He was also at a loss to explain why "it was impossible to get our South Korean allies to perform the same way in battle."

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#### DESTRUCTION

To wage a successful war, explained the General, "We have to destroy their economy; we have to destroy their means of making war against us. That means their government on down."

From the General's own words, which have been carried out in life in Korea, it is just as obvious why the Chinese and North Koreans, including "hunchbacks, old men and boys" are fighting so courageously. On the one hand, they are fighting for their freedom, their right to determine their own fate, to improve their lot. They are fighting against all the white militarists who have so long ground the necks of the Asians under their military boots. On the other hand, they are fighting against total destruction.

In a word, what inspires them is much the same cause that inspired the colonials in this country in 1776 to rise up against the British tyrants and their "professional killers."

There is another annihilating admission in the General's testimony, and that is that the G.I.'s have no cause for fighting in Korea. After delivering the usual spiel about the saving the world from communism and "safeguarding democracy," the General had to admit that the American soldier "fights because he's told to fight. And, frankly, he is fighting to save his own life."

American capitalists in their determination to make the world safe for their exploitation conscript American youth, train them, put guns in their hands and teach them to become "professional killers" — by putting them in a position where the choice before them is "kill or get killed."

The Chinese and North Koreans on the other hand are fighting because they have a great stake in the battle — freedom from the imperialist yoke.

Gen. Michaelis and his kind to understand that, any more than these military-minded creatures will ever understand that the American youth will never docilely accept the role of "killing or getting killed" — for the sake of enslaving other peoples.

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## What U.S. Generals Don't Know

By Doris Jones

More of the secret testimony of Brig. Gen. Michaelis before the House Appropriations Defense subcommittee has been made public by Washington columnist C. B. Allen. The General, former assistant commander of the 25th Division in Korea and recently appointed as Eisenhower's training co-ordinator in Europe, as we reported two weeks ago in this column, paid glowing compliments

to American soldiers as "professional killers."

He paid no such "compliments" to the Chinese and North Korean soldiers but his testimony about them was just as revealing. These soldiers, testified the General, are "well-fed, sturdy, good Chinamen . . . look like they had been conscripted from the villages." Then he added what he obviously believed to be damaging facts, first, that among the last

groups captured there were "a hunchback . . . two men of forty-five and two kids of fifteen"; and second that they are poorly trained. "They take a Chinaman or North Korean and give him 10 or fifteen days training and put him on top of one of those hills and tell him to dig in and stay there until he dies; and he will stay there . . . . Now there is one thing that a brass hat hates to admit and that is that poorly trained, poorly equipped Asian soldiers can and do stand up against elaborately trained and lavishly equipped troops. But the General had to admit it just the same. When asked whether these troops surrendered when "confronted with a hopeless situation" the General reluctantly confirmed that "relatively few" surrendered, and that is one of the things we do not know the answer to."

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Subscriptions: \$1 per year!  
\$1 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$2.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos.  
"Entered as second class  
matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the  
Post Office at New York,  
N. Y., under the act of Mar.  
2, 1940."

# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XV - No. 36

Monday, September 3, 1951

## Trenton's Killer Cops

In the last few months three cold-blooded murders of Negroes by trigger-happy gangsters-in-uniform have taken place in the New York-New Jersey area.

The last of these victims was Robert Kelly, 26-year old World War II veteran shot to death by Trenton, N. J. policemen, two of whom were involved in the Trenton Six frame-up. In New York the killer-cops had previously taken the lives of Henry Fields Jr., 26-year old Negro and father of three children; and of John Derrick, another young Negro veteran.

These are not isolated incidents. They are the most glaring instances of the increasing terror to which the Negroes and other racial minorities are being subjected not in the Jim Crow ridden South but in the allegedly enlightened and "progressive" Northern communities. There is no record of the countless beatings, the abominations of segregation and other humiliations which are the day-to-day lot of persecuted Negroes.

Effective defense against murderous assaults — particularly against the unbridled police violence — is no minor issue for the Negroes. It is a crying necessity.

Unfortunately, the leading Negro organizations, among them the NAACP, continue to center all their efforts upon official "investigations," and to rely upon the authorities for remedial measures

and justice. There is nothing wrong in pressing for investigations. What is dead wrong is to place the main reliance upon such legalistic procedures.

This has brought and can bring no real relief in the situation. On the contrary, it acts to obstruct a really effective struggle through a mass protest movement. Only when the mass of the Negroes launch such a movement and weld a close alliance with organized labor can damaging blows be dealt to the system of Jim Crow, of which police brutality is a component part.

Jim Crow is not something superficial or accidental. It is rooted in the existing order of things. It serves the deepest interests of the capitalist class. They not only reap profits from it but keep the ranks of the exploited and oppressed divided by it, thus making it easier for a tiny minority of plutocrats to rule unchallenged.

That is why it is so fruitless to plead with capitalists and their politicians and their authorities to end Jim Crow. It is on a par with pleading with one of their killer-cops for mercy, let alone justice. This is the truth, the bitter truth.

Let an aroused Negro people mobilize its ranks in a vast protest movement and in an alliance with labor launch an all-out war against Jim Crow! Once that is done, success is assured. Anything short of it, will fail, as it has up to now.

## Watch Where the Smart Money Goes

Korean cease-fire talks were broken off on Thursday, Aug. 23. On Friday, the New York Times carried an editorial that insisted: "We want peace..."

The financial page of the same day's Times told a different story. One headline on that page read: "WAR BABIES PACE MARKET UPSWING. Trend Traced to Breakdown in Korea — Copper, Steel, Air Issues Share in Rise." Another headline about sudden rises in food futures said "TRUCE COLLAPSE SENDS STAPLES UP."

Needless to say, when it became clear the following day that negotiations had not been finally broken off, and there was still a chance that a cease-fire would be negotiated in Korea, the stock market suffered a relapse.

What the stock market tells us in this instance is that the editorial page of the New York Times is not being honest. "We want peace..." the editorial says, but the facts show otherwise.

Everything that is published on the editorial page of a capitalist daily newspaper is worked out for effect, and is therefore usually false and hypocritical. When the New York Times, or any other

newspaper of the capitalist-controlled press, says "We want peace..." in an editorial, what it really means is "We want you to think that we want peace."

The stock market is different. It tells the truth about what the capitalist rulers of our country want, because it records their actions, not merely their words.

When stocks rise as a result of the news that there is a set-back in the cease-fire negotiations in Korea, that means that a group of the most responsible master-capitalists who rule this nation is saying: "The prospect of continued warfare makes us happy, makes us more confident that industries will show a profit, makes us more willing to part with sums of hard cash to buy shares in industry."

If you ask the owner of a string of horses whether his entries will win on the racetrack, you may be sure he will give you a confident answer. But if you want to know what he really thinks, watch where he puts his money.

That goes for the newspapers as well. If you want to know what the capitalist class wants you to think, read the editorials. But if you want to know the truth of the matter, read the financial page and see how their money goes.

## TRENTON MASS MEETING EXPOSES MURDER, MAPS FIGHT ON KILLER COPS

A Trenton mass meeting on Aug. 22 at which the police murder of Robert Kelly, 26 year-old Negro veteran was described by eye-witnesses, planned action to fight

frameup attempt against six innocent Negroes in which the police manufactured evidence and prepared perjured testimony in an effort to secure their conviction on a murder charge. The frameup fell through when four of the six innocent men were acquitted by the jury, with the cases of the two defendants who were found guilty on the same evidence now going to appeal.

The New Jersey State leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People outlined a plan for legal action against the police officers involved in the murder, two of whom were also involved in the Trenton Six frameup attempt.

However, no indication has been given by the NAACP leadership that it has any plans for actions which could safeguard the Negro community from further attacks.

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## Elmer

By Theodore Kovalesky

When it is hot and dry, the red-brown dust lies loosely in the furnace yard and puffs out smoke from under your work shoes as you walk. It leaps funnel-shaped into the air in miniature cyclones when the breeze eddies around the corner of the blow-engine house and scoops it off the roadway. When it rains, the red-brown dust coagulates into a sticky, bloody ooze, and little red streams flow into big brown puddles dyed and darkened by coke dust.

This is the furnace yard, a dusty or muddy wilderness, a red and brown and black desert lying flat at the feet of giant blast furnaces, walled in on one side by the unbroken cliff of the trestle and on the other by the ladle house and the gas washers, the scale houses and the blow-engine houses. It is a cheerless, desolate place, an ugly place — in spite of Elmer.

You see, Elmer always had the idea that he could turn the furnace yard into a garden. To him, the earth should bring forth fruit and produce life, and, naturally, the most barren places and the ugliest were the ones he felt most in need of life and beauty.

And so, in the most outlandish, impossible nooks and corners he tried to impregnate the sterile dust with apple seeds and peach pits; and, whenever the rest of the labor gang was resting he hurried here and there watering his plants from a whiskey bottle filled at a drinking fountain or at a hose on some furnace jacket.

He delighted in the tough, scrubby weeds that struggled, stubbornly and desperately for life near the north scalehouse, and from time to time he tenderly dug one of them up and transplanted it in some incredible spot where not even the most ferocious will to survive could save it.

Nothing he ever put into the ground grew up again, not that I know. But that didn't stop him. It didn't even seem to disappoint him. He kept on planting and watering. He kept on hurrying from place to place in the stiff, broken, hobbling step of the aging worker, driven by some lusty urge to do, to make, to create life in living green things to freshen the place where he spent his days. It was as though something had gone amiss in the vast social and biological cauldron where

the genes of life are mixed and categorized, and this odd human being, who should have been born and bred to the country soil, saw life and lived it instead in smoky steel plant suburb.

I remember once asking him why he didn't find himself a job on a farm. He smiled at me with his open, happy, uncorrupted smile, the kind of smile that is so pure-hearted that you see it most on the faces of either small children or dull-witted people. "You know," he said contentedly, "I used to think I'd like to do just that. But then, there's lots of fellows out there in the country to plant things and take care of them, and I figure they don't need me out there. But take a place like this here: Don't nobody take care of things but me, and if I was in the country, there wouldn't be nobody at all."

We used to laugh at him of course. It was funny to see the grotesque sites he always picked for his gardens and the dewy-eyed tenderness he displayed toward the grubbiest, homeliest little weed he chose to nurse. And it was funny to see the solemn, enduring earnestness of his efforts that were as constant and untiring as they were fruitless.

Jimmy once remarked, "Man, I hope they're gonna be that careful when they plant that old man in the ground. If they do, maybe his luck'll change and he'll take root and grow." But the ironic part of it all was that when old Elmer went home one day and quietly died, it was in the middle of the coldest spell of last winter; so even if his luck had changed, there would have been very little chance of his taking root in that season.

But you know, thinking back over the whole thing, I'm sort of wondering if there wasn't another reason why we laughed so much at Elmer. The world we had known was changing and decaying. The leaders of this world were driving it faster and faster toward universal destruction. Those of us who didn't see this at least felt it in one way or another. And it seems to me now that this was perhaps the funniest thing of all to us about Elmer: not that he failed in his desperate fight to create living things, nor that he tried in such a burlesque manner — but that, in this day and age, he tried at all!

## "Old Scabs Never Die"

By Mary Callahan

A voice called "Close that line!" and suddenly we were shoulder to shoulder in one solid line just before 8:30 Tuesday morning. Some of us wore picket signs and the other girls were just "observers." The picket signs read "The Communication Workers of America are on strike against the Bell Telephone System." Seven thousand telephone workers were involved in the strike throughout the northwest. Here in Seattle we were doing our part.

There was a commotion. Someone was attempting to push through the line. The picket line became alive with song. The girls sang: "Old scabs never die, never die, never die. Old scabs never die, they just smell that way." Some pickets could be seen holding their noses.

Other Seattle workers scurrying along Second Avenue on their way to work would crane their necks over the shoulders of the pickets to observe who had crossed the line — who was the scab.

We were the accounting girls for the Telephone Company and following the "hit and run" strategy of the CWA it was our day for picketing the accounting office. Many of us had gathered at 7 o'clock that morning to prevent the few "loyal" employees from going to work. By 8:15 over a hundred girls were pushing and jovially kidding the official pickets. "Don't worry," they said, "we're not crossing the line but we want to see if anyone does."

A lot of the girls had just stayed home this morning enjoying an unexpected holiday, but the rest of us wanted to demonstrate our seriousness and strength on the picket line against "Old Ma Bell."

We all held our breaths as this particular girl approached the shop steward. Always known to be spouting company propaganda we considered her a potential scab. But we signed her up instead. She didn't just want to be protected from company reprisal for observing the picket line, she really wanted to join the union!

The squad cars approached soon after the line had become solid and several hundred girls were still excitedly shouting and singing outside. The cops informed us that we'd have to move ten feet from the building or keep moving back and forth without obstructing the public sidewalk.

We obligingly kept moving because ten feet from the building would put us out in the midst of traffic, and anyway our work was well done.

## Slums Bad As Ever

By Jeff Thorne

As Tammany ballyhoo for the Nov. 6 city elections, the New York City Housing Authority announces plans for a \$20,492,000 Harlem slum clearance project. The new project, called Jefferson Houses, will possibly be completed in two years, it is announced.

Even the Republicans will use this drop-in-the-bucket project for vote-getting in Harlem, in spite of the fact that their candidate for President of City Council, Congressman Henry Latham, has already been exposed as having voted consistently against Federal aid to such projects.

John Sharkey, Democratic incumbent, will try to pose as a champion of "human welfare." He will seek Harlem votes with glittering promises of eventually making Harlem a fit place to live. But he will never explain why, under the present rule of his party, millions have to live in slums in this richest city in the world.

Precisely because of the Lathams and Sharkeys and their kind of parties and government, representing only the rich, even such a desperately needed improvement as Jefferson Houses will be no unmixed blessing to Harlem. The 2,526 families now living on the site will have to fight every inch of the way to avoid being evicted into worse slums at higher rents.

NYCHA has already bought up the site and is now their landlord. Before these 10,000 men, women and children are finally kicked out, their present hovels will be more rat-infested and disease-breeding than ever. This is the experience in other city projects.

Callous bureaucrats in the Housing Authority

Office will advise complaining tenants to "hurry up and get out." The victims will need mass demonstrations, a fighting organization and lawyers to enforce the laws that are supposed to protect them against such a kicking around.

The site between First and Third Avenues at 118 to 115 Streets, is now occupied by 2,526 families. Jefferson Houses will take only 1,945. The other 581 families will not be able to get back in under any circumstances. There simply won't be room. So at least one-quarter of those at present living in that area now will be made homeless, and probably many more besides.

Records to date on city projects show that no more than 10 percent of the families now living in the area will get back into the new apartments. Those who do go back in will have to prove very low incomes, practically relief level, to qualify.

This Harlem project, therefore, will leave some families entirely homeless, and will not materially improve the situation in Harlem housing.

Facts show that housing for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other groups classified as "non-white" who live in the Harlem area is far worse than housing for the population as a whole. For instance, while 7 percent of the population as a whole is reported to live in completely broken down, dilapidated homes below even slum level, 27 percent of "non-whites" live in such homes. 11 percent of the nation's families have no bathing facilities in their homes, but 40 percent of the "non-whites" have none. And, where about 15 percent of the nation as a whole has no hot and cold running water in the home, fully 50 percent of the "non-white" people of the nation do without these facilities.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1951

NUMBER 36

## Socialist Candidates in San Francisco



HARRY PRESS

FRANK BARBARIA  
for Mayor

## HOWARD LERNER OPENS DETROIT SWP CAMPAIGN

DETROIT, Aug. 27 — The Lerner for Mayor Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has completed plans for a whirlwind finish in the primary election campaign to be concluded election day, Sept. 3.

11. A high point in the campaign for refusing to join the union when he worked as a newspaper journalist. This fact, coupled with a general disappointment with the anti-labor program of the Democratic Party, has stimulated opposition to Branigan. At a recent meeting of CIO-PAC delegates and precinct workers, a move to endorse his candidacy for mayor was rejected. The CIO leaders will raise the question of endorsing Branigan again at a meeting to be held Aug. 28.

UAW-CIO Local 174, which generally reflects Walter Reuther's conservative opinions, has since declared itself in favor of endorsing a candidate to oppose Mayor Cobo. In the present circumstances this could only mean Branigan. Louis Miriani, president of the Detroit City Council, who in previous elections had received the endorsement of the CIO, has been condemned in the ranks of the CIO as an active agent of the real estate interests.

The SWP is endorsing the candidacy of Rev. Charles A. Hill for Common Council. Hill is spokesman of the Negro people, who has fought for their rights over a period of many years.

The CIO-PAC policy of supporting the Democratic Party has resulted in this disastrous position: two weeks before the primary election the CIO is faced with the alternative of capitulating to Cobo by abstaining, or of pushing through an endorsement of Branigan.

The Detroit Federation of Labor, under Frank X. Martel, has endorsed Branigan. At the last election they endorsed Cobo and were kicked in the teeth for their pains by his union-busting tactics during the DSR strike. Another wing of the AFL, under Teamster leader Hoffa, has endorsed Cobo to spite Martel. These AFL bureaucrats are incapable of learning anything from experience.

Only the campaign of the SWP for Howard Lerner points the way out to the working people of Detroit. All unionists, housewives and students who are interested in helping may contact the Lerner for Mayor Committee, at 6108 Linwood.

Howard Lerner is a veteran union man. He is a charter member of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO. The misery and hell of war is well known to him. He was drafted for World War II. He served through six major campaigns. Lerner was cited for meritorious service under fire at Anzio beach head, and was honorably discharged a sergeant. He is a graduate of Wayne University.

Aside from the SWP campaign, confusion and gloom prevail in all other sections of the labor movement. All the other candidates for mayor are aspiring capitalist politicians. The labor movement forfeited a golden opportunity to start the ball rolling for a labor party by refusing to put an independent candidate in the field. The result is that aside from Howard Lerner, the only serious opposition to the union-hating incumbent Mayor Cobo, is Edgar Branigan, a Democratic party hack.

Branigan has been publicly condemned by the Newspaper Guild



HOWARD LERNER

## Barbaria Enters Mayoralty Race

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 25 — San Francisco candidates Frank Barbaria and Harry Press formally opened their election campaign at a joint Trotsky Memorial Meeting and Election Rally.

"The main issue of this campaign is the question of the war," both Socialist candidates declared. "We intend to oppose U.S. imperialism unambiguously and vigorously in its drive to enslave the world."

Harry Press, candidate for Supervisor, pointed out, "The dispute over where to build the next bridge over the Bay loses its interest when compared to the constant threat of war and insecurity. It is because of this basic question that we are entering the city elections as Socialist Anti-war candidates."

### BLACKLIST

"Here in San Francisco hundreds of longshoremen and seamen have been blacklisted by the Coast Guard. The seamen are driven from the industry and the blacklisted longshoremen are compelled to work on commercial ships and docks only. Soon they will try to force them from these jobs too."

"Keep your mouths shut and you can work! This is the command of the American capitalist class."

Frank Barbaria, candidate for Mayor, analyzed the basic causes of war in the economic roots of capitalism. "United States came out of the Second World War as the major world power," he stated. "Yet less than five years later it found itself in a situation where steel production dropped 22 percent in capacity in four months, the fastest drop in its

history, while business investments dropped 20 percent in three months. The capitalists had no place to invest their vast sums of surplus money. The only answer was to turn to a war economy, and a war economy ends up in war."

Connecting the economic crisis with its political expression he showed how the loss of markets and the colonial independence movements have shaken the ruling groups in this country and Europe. "Their attitude in spite of their differences can be summed up in the statement 'drive ahead to war and let come what may.'"

Quoting from Eugene V. Debs' famous Canton speech the SWP candidate showed how the party's anti-war stand flowed directly from the views of the great Socialist leader of thirty years ago.

The meeting commemorated the life and work of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, who was murdered by a Stalinist assassin eleven years ago.

"The world working class," said

### The Negro Struggle

## Why "Critical" Support?

By Jean Blake

Last week we explained that the Socialist Workers Party supports independent Negro candidates for office because they represent the demand of the Negro people for full equality, and the recognition that independent political action by the oppressed is the road to that goal.

But S.W.P. support for such candidates is "critical," or qualifying. Our criticism consists of telling the truth, rather than remaining silent about the limitations of reformist programs for solving problems which require basic socialist changes in our society.

Some people ask: When you urge workers to vote for non-socialist Negro candidates, doesn't that encourage false hopes that Jim Crow can be eliminated through capitalist reforms? What is gained through critical support?

Our answer is that there are a number of distinct gains, and that the first of these is the demonstration of the limitations of reform movements and the need for socialist change.

For example, in many cities throughout the country Negro communities have succeeded through independent mass action in electing Negro councilmen, or forcing passage of fair employment practices ordinances or state civil rights laws barring discrimination in public places. But instead of finding that such reforms actually eliminate discrimination, we see that it continues in only slightly changed form. Many states have civil rights laws, but there is no state where a Negro can go into any restaurant he may wish and be served. Many cities have FEPC ordinances, but there is none where discrimination in employment has actually been abolished.

### Reforms Not Enough

In trying to understand why this is so, thinking people are forced to the conclusion, based on all their experience, that political reforms which leave economic power in the hands of the same capitalist minority that profits from a divided working class cannot abolish Jim Crow.

At the same time, however, these movements demonstrate that small gains — more representation, legal victories — are possible, but only through struggle, mass action. In Cleveland, for instance, where there is representation for Negroes in the city council and the judiciary, and a local FEPC ordinance, honest leaders know that organized independent struggle by the Negro community must go on continuously to make these gains anything more than dead letters.

The big lesson of independent political action by Negroes is that in capitalist society the conditions for Jim Crow are constantly reproduced. The decisive power, economic control, remains in the hands of capitalists so long as they can keep the overwhelming majority of the people, the Negro and white workers, divided. Only when the masses unite to establish a workers' and farmers' government which will build a society that operates industry in the interest of all the workers, instead of for the profit of a relatively few capitalists, will the need for segregation and the conditions for it be eliminated.

### Negroes and the Working Class

Campaigns to place independent Negro candidates in office not only demonstrate the limitations of programs for reform of capitalist Jim Crow, but at the same time form an independent Negro political force capable of uniting with and stimulating the decisive force for social change in our epoch, the working class.

Negroes have seen that in struggling to eliminate segregation and misery of slums, they must aim at low-cost public housing for all workers; to guarantee that Negroes will get equal opportunities in employment, it is necessary to secure full employment for all. At the same time, the labor movement, in its struggle for better conditions for workers against the dominating profit interests of the capitalists, is powerless without the support of the Negro masses.

The labor movement, more slowly than the Negro people, who are spurred by the worst oppression, is also proceeding toward independent political action. This development is spurred on wherever independent Negro candidates run for office because they pose the question to labor of whether to vote for discredited Democratic or Republican politicians or to support an independent candidate. This raises the whole problem of working class political action.

In St. Louis, for example, in the local elections for city Council last spring, the leading Negro newspaper raised the question in an editorial: Why not a labor candidate who happens to be a Negro? The point was made that the Democrats and Republicans have not served the interests of either labor or the Negroes, and that if these two unrepresented groups united they could easily form a majority capable of electing their own man.

Unfortunately, the advice of the St. Louis American was not taken. But the fact that the proposal was made indicates the logical direction of independent Negro political action toward uniting with and developing the forces for an American Labor Party.

(Continued next week)