

Notebook of an Agitator

THE INCIDENT AT LITTLE ROCK

When I get to Heaven I'm gonna put on my shoes,
And walk all over God's Heaven.

These words of exultant prophecy from the great Negro spiritual have come down the years from the time of chattel slavery in America. They expressed the longing and hope of the slave for a free and happy time in the hereafter when he would no longer be out of bounds wherever he might choose to saunter. The slave dreamed of a place of limitless expanse where he would be free to ramble. He called it "Heaven," and put his aspiration for it into the song of his own making. He would have shoes by right, like all the rest of God's children, and he would put them on and walk around wherever he pleased, walk all over God's Heaven.

The heirs of the slave would also like to arrive sometime at a place where there are no signs posted up to inform them that this and that section — always the nicest ones, of course — are reserved for white folks only, and no warning signals in blunter, more explicit terms: "Not for Colored!" or "Colored Keep Out!" Their hearts sick with hope deferred, the grandchildren of the slave still sing the old song of a hoped-for future different from the present — a future with some freedom in it.

The worst thing, to my way of thinking, the most intolerable thing, for one who has a little wild blood in his veins, is to have no freedom; to be restricted and fenced in; to have no right to do what others do and to go where others go. I am not a colored man, and haven't begun to suffer a tenth part of the brutal discriminations and indignities which are the daily lot of the Negro people in our America which isn't Heaven yet for them — not by a long shot. But I know what freedom to walk around means to a man who hasn't got it, from my time in prison.

Ask any prisoner, in any jail, what he wants for Christmas, and he will probably tell you in a telescoped phrase: "The bars." By that he means, he wants the bars out of his way, so that he can get up and walk anywhere, and in whatever direction he pleases—"all over," as it says in the yearning spiritual. He will even take it in Heaven, if you can convince him there is such a place, which is doubtful. The poet Swinburne spoke of the "good things" of freedom, the "sweet food" of freedom. I think the poet for these words and I believe in them. And if you care for the testimony of an ex-convict, the sweetest freedom of all is the freedom to come and go. I can never be neutral in matters of this kind. My sympathies are with the prisoner, with the man deprived of freedom, every time. So any report of a convict trying to make a get-away or a Negro claiming about 10 per cent of natural rights and freedoms so long denied him and his fathers before him, is apt to attract my attention.

SEGREGATION IN CHURCH

It was this predilection, I suppose, that drew my eye to a small Associated Press dispatch tucked away among the advertisements on an inside back page of the New York Post. A religious colored man passed by a big Baptist revival in Little Rock, Ark., the other day and heard the sounds of preaching and hymn-singing swelling out of the stadium which had been properly consecrated and converted into a church for the occasion. Mistaking the stadium-church for the ante-room to the free and equal Heaven of his religious hope, he went in, and walked around, and finally sat down. As the AP dispatch told the story, "Last night, Joseph Harris, a Negro, entered and took a vacant seat in a section reserved for white persons." And then there was hell to pay in that heavenly revival meeting of the Baptists at Little Rock, Ark. Joseph Harris wasn't in Heaven yet, or anywhere near it, and he soon found it out. "Two white ushers promptly notified him of the presence of Negro sections, but Harris was heard to shout, 'No, that is not my place.'"

The white Christians disagreed with him. "Members of the group dragged Harris from the seat and out an exit to a point under the stadium. There, several persons began choking Harris, said Most Stern, Arkansas Gazette reporter."

A couple of Little Rock pastors intervened, according to the AP dispatch. Dr. M. Ray McKay "urged his fellow Baptists to be Christians." Dr. W. O. Vaught, for his part in the Christianizing business, "led Harris away from the angry group, and escorted him to the speakers' platform. The Negro soon left quietly." This was probably the most sensible thing he could do because it was beginning to look as though he was not wildly wanted in that white men's personal and exclusive communion with the Lord God Almighty.

I would like to make a few remarks about this incident at Little Rock. First of all, I would like to say that I don't blame Joseph Harris for thinking he had a right to take any seat he chose in the public revival meeting. And I don't blame him and others for their religion and their aspiration for a Heaven where all are equal, even though I do not share their religious beliefs.

But deeply as I sympathize with Joseph Harris in the trouble he got into at the white men's revival meeting, I have to take exception to his attitude in one respect. The AP report says: "At the gate, he turned and thanked the ministers and said he would pray for the persons at the revival."

ARE THEY LYING ABOUT HEAVEN?

Hold on there, Mr. Harris. Aren't you going too far? I have no doubt you are a better Christian than the white Baptists who beat you up and threw you out of the tabernacle. But aren't you just a little bit too much of a Christian? Like some of the things the Carpenter of Nazareth is supposed to have said and done — his angry vigor in denouncing the money-changers and driving them out of the temple; his scorn for the high and mighty hypocrites, and his tolerant friendship and compassionate regard for lowly sinners. I am in favor of neighborly good will toward anyone who is half-way reasonable. I am even willing to agree to the forgiveness of trespasses — up to a certain point. But I'll be damned if I'll say any prayers for people who are so low-down mean, so corrupt with prejudice, that they will deny a religious man, merely because of the color of his skin, the right to walk into a public revival meeting, and sit down in peace in any seat that is vacant, to listen to a preacher explain how we are all going to be equal in Heaven. I not only will not pray for them. When I see the way they run their church I won't even believe that their Heaven will be different. Maybe that is jim crow too.

Could it be that the Lord God himself, whom the Baptists of Little Rock claimed to represent at their revival, is just another bigoted and prejudiced white man, who has Heaven all staked out, with the best places all reserved for white folks? Could it be that the colored people who get in — if they get in at all — have to keep on their own side of the railroad tracks and do their walking, just like on earth, in the dirty and ugly streets and alleys of a celestial sim? Will they have no right to "walk all over God's Heaven" after they get there?

The whole business looks like a bum deal to me, Mr. Harris. Maybe there is no Heaven, except the one we may create for ourselves. Maybe we had better get together — you and I and the likes of us, the freedom-loving honest working people of all colors and nationalities — and take hold of the situation in this country and fix it up right. Make conditions fair and square for everybody — so that we can all be free and equal, and put on our shoes and walk all over a Heaven of our own, which we make for ourselves right here on this good green earth.

Stalinist Peace Fakers Hail Malik 'Cease-Fire' Proposal

By Murry Weiss

Ford Local 600 Rally



John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers receives the greetings of Pres. Carl Stellato of Ford Local 600, as this largest autoworkers' union celebrated its tenth anniversary. In his speech to the gathering Lewis called for a \$50 million labor defense fund.

CIO HITS CONTROLS LAW, HINTS REPEAT WALK-OUT

The CIO, in its monthly publication Economic Outlook threatened July 4 to again walk out of the government mobilization program. Organized labor, the CIO stated, "cannot be expected to accept wage stabilization without effective price curbs."

This follows the statement made on June 26 by Emil Reive, head of the CIO Committee on Economic Policy, commenting on the economic controls bill now before the Congress, in which he said, "If such a weak law is enacted . . . we in the CIO, at least, will have to reconsider our whole attitude toward the stabilization program."

The Economic Outlook pointed out that inflationary price rises since the outbreak of the Korea war had cost consumers \$17 billion a year — over \$300 per family.

Thus far, since the AFL and CIO returned to government boards, Congress has not made one concession to labor. On the contrary, the controls law now in the Congressional mill would drastically lower the workers' standard of living.

The action of the House cancelling price cuts of about \$5 billion which were to have gone into effect July 2, will mean that there will be no relief for low-income families.

The 20-per cent rent increase bill, will further undermine living standards. According to the new Senate measure soon to be voted on in Congress, beef prices will be "frozen" at 35 per cent above Jan. 1950 levels, 25 per cent higher than the wage-freeze level.

The moment Malik's "cease-fire" proposal was issued last week, the American Stalinists, who falsely call themselves Communists, began to beat the drums and shout praises for this "peace plan."

On July 2, the Daily Worker said, "Soviet delegate Malik's latest peace plan, however, spoke for all humanity. That is what gave it its power." But just what is this "peace plan" that speaks for all humanity?

The Malik proposal provided for: 1. A cease-fire with both sides withdrawing to the north and south of the 38th parallel. 2. The imperialist troops remain in Korea. 3. The settlement of the differences by peaceful negotiations, presumably through the U.N.

FATE OF KOREA

One thing should be clear at once about such a truce. It does not liberate the Korean people, as Truman promised when his unauthorized imperialist invasion began one year ago. Korea is left with the complete devastation of its land, the mass slaughter of millions of its population, and the occupation of its southern half by the armed force of sixteen imperialist countries and their satellites.

The reason the North Koreans and Chinese have gone along with the terms of this armed truce is a separate matter. They are in the position of workers on strike who are forced by terror and superior force to accept the most brutal terms laid down by the boss. Caught between the enormous military might of world imperialism and the pressure of the Kremlin, with its power to withdraw the scant aid they have been getting, they are

likely being forced to accept these harsh imperialist terms.

But it is a very different matter for a working class party in an imperialist country to hail these terms as a victory for world peace and "all humanity." Won't these cynical declarations sound like a bitter mockery to the Koreans and Chinese?

Does "all humanity" want the maintenance of imperialist troops in Korea, the continued partition of the country half under the yoke of the dictator Syngman Rhee? Is this the peace hundreds of thousands of soldiers died in battle to attain? And can such an armed truce be anything more than a short interim between episodes in one of the most ghastly wars in history?

The Chinese people — who constitute one fourth of all humanity — have learned very well the meaning of settlement of the "issues" through the United Nations. The "thieves' kitchen" of imperialism has taken great pains to instruct them in its virtues as a court of appeals for Asian people fighting against the hated foreign oppression of their countries. But they have not seated the legitimate Chinese government.

KREMLIN AND U.S.

We know that only a tiny fraction of humanity wants the American troops to remain in Korea — the American people and the soldiers themselves certainly don't want that. So where do the Stalinists get off trying to represent Malik's truce proposal as the voice of humanity? Isn't it more like the voice of the Kremlin trying to make a deal with the imperialists at the expense of the Asian people?

When the Stalinists were nervous about Washington's delay in replying to Malik's cease-fire proposal, they unintentionally told the truth about the Malik "peace plan."

This (Malik's proposal) was exactly what Secretary of State Acheson, during his recent Senate testimony, indicated to be the condition of the U.S. for a cease-fire agreement. (Daily Worker, June 25.) Is Acheson's plan therefore also in the interests of all humanity, since it is exactly the same as Malik's?

After Washington decided to consider a deal, the Stalinists dropped all talk of the identity of Malik's and Acheson's truce plans. In answer to the question

of why Malik's cease-fire proposal was accepted they no longer urged that it was after all the same as Acheson's. Instead, on July 3, the Daily Workers said, "If Malik's proposal on June 25, 1951 was accepted it is because events have changed the position of the U.S. government from one of unwillingness to discuss a truce to one of willingness."

IMPERIALIST TERMS

What events? The major event that occurred was the declaration by Malik that the Kremlin would favor a cease-fire on American terms. And the important point is that these terms endanger the interests of the Korean and Chinese people. They are the terms of imperialist bandits. The working people can no more support these terms than they could support the imperialist war in Asia. The genuine mass yearning for peace makes understandable the wave of relief and hope that the possibility of a cease-fire aroused. But the deals of the Kremlin and the imperialists will not bring world peace. The Stalinist double-talkers can speak of the terms of the cease-fire as a great victory for peace only because they haven't the slightest interest in the fate of the Asian people or the American workers.

The Militant has always explained that the so-called Communist (Stalinist) Parties of all countries, are concerned only with carrying out the diplomatic interests of the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union. They call for peace and shout anti-capitalist slogans only when it suits the interests of their Kremlin masters. They preach the lie and delusion of "peace through negotiations of the five great powers." For them the interests of the workers of the world are completely subordinated to the deals of the Russian Stalinist dictators and the U.S. capitalists.

A timely and thorough analysis of this Stalinist peace fakery is currently appearing in the Militant in a series of articles by James P. Cannon (page 3). These articles should be carefully studied by Militant readers. They offer devastating and conclusive proof of the phony character of the Stalinist peace propaganda and show how the class struggle of the workers for socialism is the only method of achieving peace.

Detroit Transit Strikers Forced To Resume Work

By Howard Mason

DETROIT, July 2 — Although their 59-day strike generated the greatest show of labor unity seen here in recent years, the Streetcar and Bus Operators, Division 26, AFL, returned to work without benefit of any gains. The two-month transit tie-up saw many promises from the local CIO and AFL leadership to hold mass demonstrations, to spread the strike if necessary, but when the chips were down these militant words became just so much talk.

The officials of the Wayne County and Greater Detroit AFL Council, who "adopted" the strike, and the local union officers, permitted the strike to be dragged through the courts, placing full faith in the decision of a circuit judge, thereby attempting to destroy the militancy of the rank and file.

A LEGAL TRAP

Rather than challenge the infamous no-strike Hutchinson Act outright, the AFL and CIO leaders allowed the question of its legality and application to be decided by Circuit Judge Ira Jayne. The officers used the excuse of Jayne's ruling which held in abeyance the applicability of the Hutchinson Act to this strike to send the men back to work without one penny of the \$1 1/2c they had originally demanded from the city.

The agreement provided for negotiation of the wage question, which, failing agreement, will be arbitrated. It required considerable pressure, according to newspaper reporters, to convince the strikers to accept this formula.

The CIO and AFL joint committee was formed, apparently, not so much to cement labor unity and solidarity in action, as to draw off the feelings of militancy among the strikers and sympathetic workers in other unions.

NET RESULT

The net result of the strike is that the men have returned to work without any improvements in wages and conditions, and, most likely their past working standards will be whittled away by a reactionary city administration, taking advantage of the apathy following this long battle.

The spirit of the strikers ran high. Three days prior to the settlement, at the televised public hearing which heard both sides of the strike, hundreds of operators showed up to cheer their side of the story. However, even this spirit crumbled when the leadership unanimously endorsed the settlement.

Britain Keeps Threatening Iran

Throughout last week the British continued their policy of provocation and aggression against the Iranian people in the clash over the nationalization of the oil properties formerly owned by the British monopolists.

Multiplying their economic and military threats and reprisals, more British naval units, including an aircraft carrier, have been moved into Persian waters, where the British cruiser Mauritius has been maneuvering in the vicinity of the Abadan refinery.

According to the Iranian authorities, the British have also strongly increased their troop detachments in neighboring Iraq along the Iranian frontiers. As a counter-measure, the Iranian government has ordered additional military forces to the oil fields. One observer from Iraq reported "Iranian forces concentrated all

along the shore in the Abadan area."

BRITISH WARSHIPS

Two more warships from the tiny Iranian fleet have been moved to waters near the British cruiser Mauritius and British shore parties have not been permitted to land.

On July 2 the Iranian Embassy in London issued a strong statement denouncing the British moves and the "threats by responsible British authorities in London and Teheran against Iran" and declaring that they were "abhorred" by the Iranian people. This statement implied that the Iranian government was considering lodging charges against the British before "competent international organizations," obviously meaning the U.N. The British management is

meanwhile completing its plans to withdraw all British personnel from the oil fields. These fields and the huge refinery are now operating at less than half of capacity and the British have been threatening to cut down production to one-fifth of capacity in the next five days. Virtually all the British tankers have been withdrawn.

The Truman administration continues to play along hand in glove with the British imperialists.

WASHINGTON'S ROLE

Washington is now exerting pressure for a "standstill agreement" for a period of two months during which both sides "would agree to refrain from final and irrevocable decisions," a proposal heavily weighted in favor of the arrogant British.

Meanwhile Washington continues to assume the pose of an "honest broker." On July 3, W. Averil Harriman, chief presidential adviser, testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, conceded in reply to a pointed inquiry by Representative Bolton of Ohio that the Iranian people "have a right to more of their wealth of oil" than they have been hitherto receiving from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.

The Iranian people have a right not merely to "more" of their oil wealth but to ALL of it. The Anglo-Iranian monopoly has no right to it whatever. Their exploitation of Iranian oil has been, as it still is, a case of unbridled imperialist pillage.

The original "oil concession" covering roughly five-sixths of

the entire Iranian territory, was granted fifty years ago in return for a payment of \$20,000 to the reigning Shah. The royalties since paid to the Iranian government by these monopolists have been on par with this original "payment." In every instance these royalties have represented only a tiny fraction of the fabulous wealth of which the Iranians have been robbed for half of a century.

And there have been entire periods of record breaking profits when exactly nothing was paid, as for example, throughout the years of World War II.

According to the British trust's own figures, the original "investment" never amounted to more than 60 million dollars, itself an exaggerated figure. What did they get out of this relatively small investment? The oil fields and the largest refinery in the world are alone valued at over a billion dollars. How many other billions in profits these bandits have pocketed over the years, no one really knows. Their "book-keeping" is the height of fraud.

Last year they admitted to profits of 100 million dollars. Even this is an obvious understatement, inasmuch as a much smaller oil company in the Middle East, paying higher royalties, acknowledged a profit of 200 million dollars.

The Iranian people have decided that the British monopolists have been repaid a hundredfold, if not more, for their "investment" and are determined to permit no further pillage of their oil wealth. And they are absolutely justified. HANDS OFF IRAN!

Art Preis on Way To Full Recovery

NEW YORK, July 5 — Art Preis, veteran member of the Militant staff and outstanding labor journalist in this country, is showing marked progress in recovering from an emergency operation he had recently undergone.

His name has been removed from the critical list and the attending physicians are confident of a rapid recovery. Comrade Preis is in excellent spirits.

CAMPAIGN WINNERS -- N.Y., FLINT AND AKRON

(Continued from Page 1)

St. Louis, despite big obstacles, won fourth place in the Kujac League.

The campaign turned out to be one of the most successful ever conducted by the Socialist Workers Party. This was due mainly to the significant change in political mood among working people since Truman plunged America into the undeclared war in Korea. The welcome given the sub-getters by working class families everywhere shows that the message of socialism is finding a response among those seeking a way out of the intolerable tension and danger of another world war.

Aside from this favorable objective factor, credit for the outstanding success of the campaign goes to the readers and supporters of The Militant who participated in the hawking, button-holing and door-bell-ringing. They saw the opportunity and they moved into action. During the campaign they learned a lot. Many of them, trying this type of political activity for the first time, emerged as seasoned and enthusiastic campaigners.

They took as their models those three Socialists for whom the Leagues in the campaign were named, Oscar Coover, Antoinette Konikow and Paul Kujac. These three, who devoted their lives to spreading the truths of socialism, would be elated at the results of this campaign and proud of the new generation who are reviving the crusading spirit of the pioneer American Socialists. A campaign like this is the kind of tribute to their memory they would really appreciate.

Out of Our Mail Bag: From Winifred Nelson of St. Paul: "Our congratulations to all of the New York members! The whole party is proud of New York. . . This campaign is the most exhilarating, politically-important experience we have had for a long time in the Socialist movement in this country."

B. Allen of Detroit: "What a hectic last few weeks — and what spirit is coming forth to wind up this sub drive. Ernie D. now has a total of 77 six-months subs for the campaign, which seems to me to be a record all its own. Last week he told the fellows not to forget he would be over Sunday to get those subs he'd been talking about with them. But as he stopped at the bank to cash his pay check, he noticed a number of them there, so he just stood by the door as they walked out and collected the money from them for the subs. That gave him Sunday free to visit others."

Bert Deck of Chicago: "All in all we feel quite happy about the campaign. We've quadrupled our circle of readers, recruited two new members and made dozens of new friends. The spirit was good and the comrades got the definite feeling that we are breaking out of isolation."

Charles Carlson of Buffalo: "Every comrade in every branch in the country should feel very proud and justly so of the wonderful job done in this very successful campaign."

Clare Kay of Seattle: "We are proudest of the fact that every single able-bodied comrade participated in the campaign to some extent. It was not necessarily the competitive aspect that accounts for this, but a broad awareness of the excellence of The Militant and the urgent need to get it into workers' hands. In our sales talks we talked about the present crisis of American capitalism and how The Militant explains the only road out, socialism. Even many of the scoffers and cynics we ran into grudgingly admitted, 'Yeah, something's probably going to break pretty soon!'"

M.G. of Philadelphia: "The Socialist Workers Party has certainly done itself proud in this campaign. It's just an indication of things to come as the workers' discontent finds mass expression."

D. Hilson of Akron: "This has been a marvelous experience for the party."

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Police in N.Y. Swank Suburb Make 'Error'

On June 11 three women decided to go on a shopping tour in the solid middle class community of New Rochelle, N. Y. They did not get a chance to do much shopping. Instead, they were arrested by two detectives on the New Rochelle police force and, despite their vehement protests, hustled off to the local hoosegow on the charge of "shoplifting."

These three women, it then transpired, were Mrs. A. A. Farroq, wife of the second secretary in the Pakistan delegation to the UN; Mrs. Rahat Chhatari, wife of the alternate Pakistan representative to the UN, and her daughter Miss Nadira Chhatari. They wore their native costumes and the color of their skins happens to be "dark." Hence, explain the police, it was only natural to "mistake" them for "gypsies" and by the same token, for thieves.

Since then everybody has been apologizing. The New Rochelle authorities have extended "their sincere regrets for the humiliation and inconvenience."

Washington has likewise extended its "deepest apologies" for a "most regrettable misunderstanding."

It was "wholly unwarranted and was a violation of the rights and immunities to which the ladies... were entitled," stated the formal letter of apology signed by Mr. Gross, Acting Chief American UN delegate.

The indignities and humiliations suffered by women, men and children whose skin is tinted black are countless and as a rule, hushed up. They are a part of the scene in the North just as in the South; and are so much taken for granted that it takes some such flagrant "error" as the one committed in New Rochelle to bring this vicious race discrimination to the surface.



Gen. deGaulle, whose party emerged as a sizeable force in the recent French elections, represents a real danger to the French workers.

His movement has all the earmarks of a fascist party in the making. Growth of this semi-fascist party is a warning to the workers to provide a militant program around which the French masses can unite.

The Stalinist Peace Program -- IV

The Theory Of "Peaceful Co-existence"

By James P. Cannon

In the politics of Marxism the tactics of the day, as well as the strategy for the long run, flow from a theory which, in turn, is a generalization of previous experience... the evolution of class society in general and of capitalism in particular. This accounts for the consistency of Marxist policy in all the stages and fluctuations of the class struggle, and rightly entitles it to the name which Engels gave it — scientific socialism. Bourgeois politics, of which Roosevelt was perhaps the most brilliant practitioner, dispenses with all governing theory and trusts to experiments, hoping always to hit the jackpot. Stalinist politics is a hybrid cross between the two. In practice it is strictly empirical. But since it claims succession to the Marxist heritage, it is always constrained to justify its actions by a "theory" invented after the fact for that purpose. The result is a simulacrum of Marxism without its living substance.

This political method of Stalinism is illustrated in its current campaign for peace. The Stalinist bureaucrats want the imperialists of Western capitalism to let them alone to enjoy what they call "socialism" in the Soviet Union — a "paradise" of fat privileges for the bureaucrats and forced labor camps for millions of the workers, and a monstrous police terror to keep the others in line. A theory has been concocted to justify this utopian wish for non-interference, and it is trotted out on all occasions as the premise for their peace campaign. This practice of hooking up slogans designed to serve an immediate need to a subsequently elaborated "theory," allegedly sanctioned by Lenin, is what is known in the Stalinist jargon as "ideology"; and is intended to "educate" their dupes and inspire them with conviction in their agitational sloganeering.

This "ideology" naturally had a place on the agenda of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S. The report on "Some Ideological Tasks in the Struggle for Peace" was presented by Betty Gannett. Following the lead given by Foster and the others, Betty hailed off and delivered the following ideological revelation as point number one:

"The possibility and necessity for peaceful co-existence and competition between the capitalist and socialist states and the fundamental principles on which this possibility is grounded, as taught by Lenin and Stalin, and as manifested in the thirty-three years of Soviet foreign policy."

FALSIFIES LENIN'S REAL VIEWS

No, Betty. Lenin didn't teach that; and it wasn't "manifested" in Soviet foreign policy during Lenin's lifetime. Stalin "taught" it, as you say; that much of your assertions is true. All the rest is false. You are lying about Lenin.

What did Lenin actually think and teach about "the possibility of peaceful co-existence"? Well, here is what he said in March 1919: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph."

That is printed in Vol. XVI of Lenin's collected works. Look it up. And, if you think that was just a chance remark, contradictory to his general line of thought on the question, here is another quotation, twenty months later, even more specific and emphatic. On November 27, 1920 Lenin said:

"We have now passed from the arena of war to the arena of peace and we have not forgotten that war will come again. As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully — the one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic. At present we have only a respite in the war."

That appears in Vol. XVII of Lenin's collected works. Look it up. And while you are at it browse around in the

unfamiliar green pastures of Lenin's writings for a while. You can find a whole flock of similar statements by Lenin, all along the same line and all expressing the same consistent thought — that "peaceful co-existence" of the Soviet Republic and the imperialist states "for any length of time" is not "possible," as the Stalinist falsifiers say, but exactly the contrary.

Lenin regarded the Russian revolution of 1917 as the beginning of the international revolution. He also thought the capitalist world would have the same opinion. That is why he did not expect them to let it alone and recognize its right to "peaceful co-existence." He was right about that, too; the imperialists couldn't see any room for the Soviet Republic in the world of their hearts' desire. Each side acted according to this common opinion. The imperialists blockaded the new Soviet state and hurled their interventionist armies against it. Lenin, on his part, organized the Comintern in March, 1918 to help carry the revolution into the imperialist homelands.

LENIN AND 'PEACE' MOVES

Of course, Lenin was not against peace; or rather a truce, for that is all he hoped to get. He signed the "peace" of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 and sent Chicherin to the Genoa Conference as his deputy to negotiate in 1922. But Lenin did not deceive himself or others. He called a truce with irreconcilably hostile imperialist powers by its right name, a "respite," a "breathing space." It was Stalin who invented the catastrophic theory of the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" between the imperialist states and the Soviet Union. He adapted Soviet foreign policy to that single end, drawing the revolutionary teeth of the Comintern into the process and converting the national Communist parties into mere pressure groups in the service of Soviet foreign policy.

But life refused to conform to the theory founded on a wish. Far from being "manifested" peacefully, as Betty Gannett recites, "co-existence" has been manifested for 33 years by blockade of the Soviet Union, military intervention, the construction of a "sanitary cordon" of hostile puppet states around its borders, diplomatic outlawry — and then the terrible devastation of World War II, which brought the Soviet Union to the very brink of collapse. Since the defeat of the Nazis, "co-existence" has been "manifested" by the cold war; trade embargoes; the ringing of the Soviet Union with a chain of air bases with bombing fleets poised for attack; and the stepped-up preparation of the Western imperialist powers headed by America for an all-out war.

Lenin was completely right in his theoretical prognosis. All the experience since then, up to this moment, confirms him and discredits the contrary theory of Stalin. These facts are disconcerting to the Stalinists, and they are trying to talk them out of existence. That's just about what their frenzied peace campaign amounts to. Lit up on their own "ideological" hooch, they are even trying to talk the hard-headed imperialists out of their unreasonable hostility to an agreement. But up to now the imperialists, who think in terms of coarse material realities such as markets, fields of investment, and political guarantees to secure the investments and accruing profits, remain indifferent to all the palaver.

Convention reporter John Gates painfully records this obstacle. Repeating once again the 15th Convention refrain that "the Soviet Union stands for the peaceful co-existence," etc., he mentions the one thing missing: "There must be a will for peace on both sides to make that possible." Ay, there's the rub, as Hamlet remarked. It takes "both sides." And one side, with headquarters in Washington, goes right ahead, unconvinced by all the slogans and unrestrained by any sentiments of good will, preparing to back up by force its demands for the kind of a peace which the Soviet Union cannot give.

(Next Week: The Teheran-Yalta Agreement)

Not Peace -- But a Sword

The war in Korea is heading towards a truce. When we look at the balance sheet of this undeclared war, we get this result: American boys, armed with the latest death dealing weapons, were sent 5000 miles to kill colonial peoples and lay waste their lands. The U.S. troops didn't want this war. The American people were overwhelmingly opposed to it. The attempt to crush the Asian workers and peasants with fire and sword were unsuccessful, despite the fact that the army of American imperialism in Korea is equal in size to the Korean and Chinese armies, and superior in arms and equipment, on land, sea, and in the air.

These are the facts. A great barrage of propaganda is used to cover these facts, but when the propaganda is stripped away, these facts remain. This record of American imperialism in a foreign land is worthy of the record of a Hitler, or a Mussolini.

Now that the Korean war is heading for a truce, it is important to see whether American imperialism can be any more successful in bringing peace than it has been in waging war against colonial people in their own homeland. Truce does not mean peace, and it certainly doesn't mean peace when it is a truce negotiated by the American money-interests.

WHY THEY MUST HAVE WAR

As an example of this fact, the stock market, and the grain commodity markets, suffered sharp drops as soon as news of a Korean truce became definite. But when the administration made "reassuring" statements to the effect that the military bases in Asia would be maintained, and that the pace of armament in this country and Europe would be continued, or even stepped up, only then did the stocks begin to rally. This is a symptom of the fact that U.S. capitalists must have the threat of war hanging continually over our heads, and must sooner or later have war itself.

One billion dollars a week is spent on war preparations. Remove this economic prop and the whole capitalist system in America collapses, literally overnight. A few weeks ago, we quoted a shrewd Ohio farmer in this column, and we find his remark well worth repeating, now that the truce negotiations are on. He said: "The generals don't want the war to end. Business would go broke without it. Roosevelt pulled the same trick to get us out of the last depression."

This farmer is still absolutely right. The generals are negotiating, but they still can't end the war for good. They can end this particular war, because they have reached a stalemate, and see no future in it. But to really end war, capitalism itself must be ended.

We know they are not making a permanent peace, and have no such intentions, because they have told us so. For example, General Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified in the hearings on the MacArthur case, that he thought American imperialism is fighting "... the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy." If this implies anything, it is that imperialism is reluctant to go any further in the Korean war, but is instead seeking a more suitable war — a war in which they can better fulfill their objectives.

While imperialism may choose between wars, it cannot do without war. That is the grim fact we must face. The Korean war can be ended temporarily in a truce because American imperialism finds this particular war to its disadvantage at the present time. The Korean and Chinese forces are surprisingly strong, although mainly an ill-equipped peasantry. The main arena for American imperialism in its struggle for world domination is Europe. And the remilitarization of the European continent is far from completed. For all these reasons, as the militarists have themselves testified in the MacArthur controversy, the Korean war may be temporarily ended. But war they must have, or they cannot survive.

The brass hats have bases all over the world. They attempt to hem in the colonial peoples and the Soviet world with an iron ring. With the present explosive situation in the world, how long will it be until there is another "incident" — another excuse? It will not take long until they find the war they want, in the "right place" at the "right time" and when they do, the world will go up in flames.

American imperialism plans to end this war today, in order to better prepare for a war tomorrow. Whether they will succeed in their plans is very doubtful. Every day that passes increases the awareness of the people of the world. The colonial world is now more than ever on guard against imperialism. The American people have been taught a great lesson about the aggressive designs of their own government by the Korean war. The tasks of imperialism are becoming more difficult, not easier. And as the European revolution revives, as the Asian revolution grows, and as the American people learn the truth and begin to swing into action, the war makers may be frustrated altogether.

But, we must repeat, the grim fact we must face is that imperialism means war, and that only the end of capitalism can bring an end to imperialism and the war danger.

WILL U.S. ECONOMY SUFFER A 'LAG' FOLLOWING CEASE-FIRE IN KOREA?

(Continued from Page 1)

world wars. Wholesale and retail prices soared more swiftly upwards during the single year of Korea than in any other year of war or peace.

Many prices, especially of key raw materials (tin, rubber, wool, cotton) have recently tumbled, but their current levels, as well as price levels generally, still remain far above what they were before Korea. With cease-fire, there are bound to be further declines. A great deal depends on the dimensions and rate of this probable decline of world price levels. No one knows and no one can tell as yet the levels at which prices will tend to become stabilized.

And one of the main reasons for this universal ignorance is that no one knows just how much has been hoarded in this country and abroad in the course of the unbridled speculation and "panic buying" of the last period.

INVENTORIES

The inventories of U.S. manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers are admittedly huge, anywhere from 15 to 25 billion dollars above "normal." The secret hoards of all kinds of goods for black market speculations are also huge, in this country as in many other parts of the world. The likelihood is that these, too, are larger than similar stocks piled up in the course of World War I and World War II, with this dif-

ference, that there are at present no scarcities in the offing as a result of world-wide havoc and devastation.

"Army orders," on which so much depends, by no means operate in only one direction. A part of the existing difficulties has arisen precisely from previous army buying which has piled up unbelievable stocks. It has been disclosed, for example, that the Brass Hats have piled up coffee, by the millions of pounds, enough for more than one year's supply. On the whole, the army stockpiles of "essentials" — from pepper to cloth — are estimated to be in the neighborhood of 30 billion. There is already so much that the Army is experiencing an acute warehouse shortage for its accumulated purchases. There are obviously limits even to "army orders." This could be overlooked so long as a large-scale shooting war was on; but it comes to the fore with cease-fire.

In addition, instead of using up arms and ammunition and pushing for all-out production for a large-scale war in Korea, the Army must now stockpile arms, cease freezing models, cut-back some orders while reshuffling others, and so on. Many suppliers and shippers are bound to get "hurt" in the process.

Overshadowing everything else, is the enormous productive capacity of this country. How huge it really is, the capitalists themselves were unaware of. They were caught by surprise when in-

stead of the expected shortages last year, there developed instead a surplus of civilian goods. The only actual shortage that materialized was the one least expected, namely, that of cash-paying customers.

The productive capacity of this country, wrote the financial editor of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, "is now so great in some key products that, without the complication of military needs, it can supply the expanded civilian economy with ease." This is not a boast; it is almost a complaint. Shortages are simply not in sight, least of all — after a cease-fire in Korea. To capitalism that is not a pleasant prospect, but a terrible danger! Shortages are the indispensable ingredients of a capitalist boom.

WORLD-WIDE PROBLEM

What complicates the situation still further are the international repercussions of cease-fire. The Korea boom was a world-wide and not a local development. Many countries, Japan for instance, became almost entirely dependent on supplying the Korea fronts for their boom. The Japanese stock-market suffered acute convulsions when the truce news broke. What will happen after cease-fire to the economy of Japan and other countries?

It is questions like these that are now giving nightmares to capitalist statesmen and economists, while their stock and commodity markets keep suffering the jitters.

The Balance Sheet of The French Elections

By Charles Hanley

The French parliamentary elections of June 17, 1951 — the first since 1946 — resulted in a complete defeat for the neutralist candidates who lost all the seats they had held in the preceding assembly. The French masses know that neutralism, pure and simple inaction between the two big blocs (U.S. and the Soviet Union), cannot solve their problems.

The Stalinists still remain the biggest single party with about 26 per cent of the popular vote, although they lost 500,000 votes compared with the 1946 elections — 10 per cent of their voting strength. This is their first loss in almost 30 years; it is a serious set-back but not a decisive one. Because of the new undemocratic electoral law the Communist Party won only 103 seats in the new assembly compared to its former 181.

The right-wing Socialists, closely allied to the Catholic forces in numerous districts, benefitted from this law, getting 103 seats, gaining in parliamentary strength despite a 500,000 loss in popular votes. The Catholic MRP has 81 seats, the so-called "Radicals" (a conservative capitalist party) gained 92 seats. Thus, the parties of the "Third Force" have 276 seats in Parlia-

ment. The Gaullists, headed by Gen. deGaulle, became the party with the strongest parliamentary position — 115 seats. This is true despite the fact that their popular vote was only 21 per cent of the total, 5 per cent less than the Communist Party.

DeGaulle does not wish to enter a government coalition which he cannot dominate. His party did not obtain a majority needed to govern alone. However, deGaulle says he can afford to wait, since he sees the tide turning in his direction.

THIRD FORCE

The "Third Force" (made up of all the capitalist parties except the Gaullists) is not strong enough to maintain itself in power against both the Stalinists and the Gaullists, without the help of Daladier's "Fourth Force," a group of ultra-conservative capitalists with 12 per cent of the vote and 99 seats.

This "Fourth Force" will certainly ask a heavy price for collaboration with the "Third Force." More and more the latter will have to move to the right to satisfy the demands of Daladier's party, while the right-wing Socialist Party leaders who are in the Third Force will face the restlessness of their supporters as they give in to the demands of the capitalists.

The loss sustained by the Stalinists and the gains made by the neo-Fascist Gaullists do not necessarily indicate that many workers went over to the militarist party of deGaulle. The leading French capitalist daily, Le Monde points out that in the 1946 elections most of those who did not vote were supporters of the right-wing elements, since they did not see any part to vote for. (The Gaullists were not organized at that time.) In 1951, most abstentions were probably those supporters of the left, mostly workers, who were disappointed with the policies of the reformist socialists and the Stalinists, and so far, fail to see any other party worthy of their vote.

THE TROTSKYISTS

Owing to the handicaps forced upon them by the new electoral law, the Trotskyists (International Communist Party) were unable to participate in the election with candidates of their own except in two districts of the Paris region — the 5th district and Seine-et-Oise. They obtained 11,000 votes in these working class sectors of Paris and its suburbs. They scored more votes in the 5th district than a neutralist candidate, but less in Seine-et-Oise than the new "Independent Communist Move-

ment." The Trotskyists got 5700 votes in this district, and the new party 7,000.

The capitalist press had given much publicity to this "Independent Communist Movement," founded by the former Stalinist deputy, Le Corre, and almost none to the Trotskyists. This is easily understandable, since the French Trotskyist party is thoroughly revolutionary, independent from both the Kremlin and Washington, while Le Corre's policy is neither independent nor revolutionary. He spreads illusions about the UN, is far less critical of Washington than of the Kremlin, advocates the arming of Europe, etc.

Together the Communist Party

and the Socialists lost one million votes. The threat of Gaullism has become formidable. It should not be underestimated. The "Third Force" is not a solid obstacle to the would-be dictator, deGaulle.

A united front of labor, called for by the Trotskyists, could still become the decisive force and eliminate the Gaullist danger. It would attract all those who supported the workers' parties in 1946, but were demoralized by the Stalinist and reformist leaders' continued betrayals.

The workers of France have once before beaten the fascists by a spontaneous united front. This was in 1934. They can do it again.

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No Care For Dying Baby

By Harry Frankel

Two weeks ago, the papers carried the story of a 17-month-old boy who died while his parents beat frantically at the walls of the medical world for a doctor's care and a hospital bed for their baby. Little Johnny Waldon died a few hours after he was denied admission to Brooklyn's Cumberland hospital.

Johnny seemed very sick to his young mother and father, who live in a tiny apartment in the Brooklyn Fort Greene housing project. He seemed to be getting blue, was running a fever, and gasping for breath. His parents couldn't get a doctor, and so the father, a linotype operator and former marine, rushed him over to the hospital around the corner. After a long wait, a doctor looked at little Johnny and rapidly wrote out a prescription, telling Mr. Waldon to take the baby home. Waldon says: "I begged the doctor to keep him in the hospital and do something for him." But the doctor said that his temperature was too low, and he couldn't be admitted.

The Waldon continued to demand that their baby be admitted to the hospital, at the same time seeking an outside doctor. Meanwhile the hospital authorities called the cops. By this time, Mr. Waldon says, "Johnny was like a little rag doll in my arms. . . . And he was having such a hard time to breathe."

The cops came and one of them asked the doctor on duty in the emergency ward: "You want these two jerks locked up?" Little Johnny's life was ebbing away. At this moment, a doctor who had previously treated Johnny arrived, and after one look, ordered him placed in an oxygen tent. But it was too late. Our medical system had taken another victim. Now Johnny's older sister, Carol, three years old, asks her mother: "Where's Johnny?" and Mrs. Waldon can only shake her head.

Johnny's father says, "We're not going to keep quiet about this, I can tell you that." He is trying to find out whether the hospital or doctor who refused Johnny admittance, can be prosecuted.

This recent example highlights the scandalous medical care situation in the United States today. Each of us may at any moment be caught in the same trap as the Waldons. If Mr. Waldon succeeds in prosecuting the criminals who are responsible for the death of his baby, then the medical and financial clique that is responsible for the present profit system in medicine should sit in the prisoners dock with them.

Everyone knows that it is the top 5 per cent of the American Medical Association that fights so bitterly to retain the profit system that has made them so wealthy. They are responsible for Johnny Waldon's death, just as much as doctors and nurses who gave the orders that kept him gasping in his father's arms until all hope was gone. The sleek and rich few who fatten on the shortage of medical care have deliberately created that shortage.

A few facts show how they do this. The less than 80 medical schools in this country turn out about 5,600 doctors each year. This is barely enough to keep up with the population growth of the country and the replacement of doctors who die or retire each year. This means that the medical shortage that exists now must continue as long as the Medical Association continues its restrictions.

Hospital service must continue to be inadequate, the average run of doctors must be overworked, and babies like Johnny Waldon must continue to die, as long as the AMA prevails. Surely, the heads of the AMA are guilty and should be held as guilty as the murderer who does not pull the trigger himself, but causes someone else to do so.

Johnny Waldon's case is a spectacular one; many other babies and grown men and women die each year just as needlessly, although the crime that has been committed against them is not as well publicized. The fantastic cost of adequate medical care is beyond the reach of all but a few. Many poorer people see a doctor occasionally, when serious illness compels them to go into debt to do so. But that is not really medical care. Genuine medical care is year-round expert care and check-up by doctors who are able to devote time and thought to the individual case. None but the wealthy can afford that. This means that the average workingman, and even many middle-class people, bring their illnesses to the doctor in an advanced state.

Such diseases as cancer, heart disease and tuberculosis, the greatest killers today, show symptoms that send the average person to the doctor only when they have reached an advanced stage. And these are the very sicknesses that require treatment in the earliest stages of their development, if they are to be cured.

It is amazing how many people never get to see a doctor at all, even in their final illness. In one state, fully one third of the death certificates issued are marked "No Attending Physician" and "Cause of Death — Unknown."

Britain and Iran

By Tom Conlan

To believe London, the British bear no responsibility whatever for the economic evils afflicting Iran. According to the propagandists of British imperialism, the oil monopolists have conducted themselves in an irreproachable, not to say philanthropic, manner. What they are obviously banking upon is public ignorance of certain salient facts relating to the ruthless exploitation of Iran by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. Here are just a few of these facts.

The British oil trust has just declared a 25% dividend, which comes on top of a previously announced dividend of 5% — for a total of 30%. Last year's dividend likewise amounted to 30%. A total take-off of 60% in two years is scandalous, even by capitalist standards.

It should be further borne in mind that while the huge dividends have been pocketed, rivers of oil have been "sold" to the British navy at a fraction of the world price. In taxes alone the British government receives twice as much annually from the operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. as the total royalty payments to the Iranian government. If any people has been skinned alive, it is the Iranians.

The British oil company is actually a bigger organization than the Iranian government itself. Consider the single fact that by the terms of the oil concession some 480,000 square miles of Iranian territory are involved. This is more than one and half times as large as the area of Texas. It happens to be almost five-sixths of the whole area of Iran. Financially, the Iranian government depends for the bulk of its income on the relative pittance paid in the oil royalties.

This state of affairs has existed for almost half a century. What is the condition of Iran as a consequence of it? Toward the end of last March there was drawn up in the UN an economic survey of the Middle East. It reported

that the per capita income of Iran is roughly \$85 a year, or less than 25 cents a day!

The health of the population is abysmally low. Life expectancy is below the age of 30. Four-fifths of the population are illiterate. The overwhelming bulk of the people are peasants who eke out an existence, on starvation levels, from primitive agriculture and animal husbandry.

The most modern city in the country is the capital of Teheran, with more than a million inhabitants. There is no supply of unpolluted water; there is no sewerage system. Instead there is a system of open gutters, called jubes, which simultaneously serve as water mains and to carry away the sewage.

Approximately one-fifth of Teheran's population lives in a district known as Goudal or the Pit. This area is not a single pit, but rather some 25 pits created by past removals of earth for nearby brick factories. Here the natives live in underground tunnels and congested mud huts, which the N. Y. Times correspondent described, on May 22, as "rabbit warrens." The average diet consists of beans, a mouthful of bread and watery soup.

The UN economists themselves cautiously admit that there is "a striking contrast between the huge potential wealth represented by the oil reserves of the Middle East and the current benefits so far derived by the countries." This easily merits the prize as the understatement of the year.

There is nothing "potential" about the billions in oil and the billions in profits pillaged by the British from the Iranian and other Middle Eastern peoples. We have given a partial listing of the "current benefits" they enjoy. It is hardly surprising that the Iranian people are determined once and for all to put an end to this "striking contrast," that is to say, the imperialist plunder of their national resources.

NAACP Parley Hits Jim Crow

(Continued from Page 1) against segregated schools, Thurgood Marshall, Special NAACP Counsel, felt that court cases were the most important means for winning anything for Negroes. Roy Wilkins, Administrator, stressed the same theme in his keynote address.

The mobilization of a mass movement, and welding it politically with labor into a new party, was neglected.

AGAINST WITCH-HUNTS

Yet in spite of shortcomings, the NAACP takes a strong stand against the witch-hunt. The resolution on loyalty opposed Truman's Executive Order which makes it possible to fire people from government jobs without hearings, without knowing the evidence against them, and without a chance to face accusers. All this if there is only a "doubt" of their loyalty.

The NAACP is against Stalinism. The resolution on "Anti-Communism" states that "the cardinal principle of those who follow the Communist line is to support whatever happens to be at the moment the foreign policy of Russia. . . . And it says that this is in opposition to the principles of the NAACP which are "to support and strengthen American democracy by winning completely equal rights for all people regardless of race. . . . With the criticism of the Communist Party,

no one can disagree. However, the resolution supports "American democracy," which flagrantly oppresses the Negro people and suppresses its critics. Moreover, there is danger that under the guise of "restricting membership" to those who support the principles and program of the NAACP, that wholesale expulsions may take place against critics of the leadership.

Anti-Stalinist left-wing elements of the NAACP felt that the very conduct of the Stalinists would discredit them, and that it was fatal to place a power in the hands of leaders that could be used to expel people for opinions. If dissidents could be expelled, the possible open, free discussion on a program that could most effectively fight for them would be impaired.

SAFEGUARDS

Yet, while barring "those who follow the Communist line," the resolution states "that mere criticism of the local or national officials . . . is not alone and of itself ground for exclusion or rejection." This section shows the fear of the delegates for their democratic rights. Besides this safeguard, an amendment from the floor to start an investigation of "communism" in the organization was decisively and emphatically voted down. While it was, therefore, undemocratic to exclude even Stalinists, never-

theless the delegates shied away from witch-hunts and sought a protection for their democratic rights.

In addition, the convention went on record to defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Negro leader being persecuted by the government as a supposed "agent of a foreign power." It declares that "this action against one of the great champions of civil rights lends color to the charge that efforts are being made to silence spokesmen for full equality of Negroes. . . . Thus, while the NAACP undemocratically seeks to bar Stalinists, it is compelled to defend a man like DuBois, who is associated with the Stalinists.

The 552 delegates of the convention — almost all middle-class, with a sprinkling of youth — represented a membership of 92,000. This is only about a third of the goal of 250,000 for the year. Yet the panel on this question had nothing to offer. No ways to electrify the campaign, no plans for mass mobilization around a concrete issue. Just the same old day-to-day plugging. There was even a proposal on the convention floor for a cut in dues — maybe, someone thought, this might gain some recruits.

THE YOUTH

So bad is youth morale that the youth want to break away and become independent of the parent group. They think the

elders are stifling their attempts to do things. Needless to say, the proposal was defeated. But there was considerable discussion, and considerable justice to the complaints of the youth.

To be independent of both capitalist parties, to find allies in and with the labor movement and progressive sections of the middle-class, to utilize its power in mass actions that will mobilize millions and spur other millions to join with them — all for the purpose of gaining full rights for Negro people. This is the program that should be followed. This program inevitably will lead to the formation of a new party of the oppressed, a Labor Party, in America. This program of militant, bold and decisive action will answer the problems of membership, finances, and jim crow treatment of the Negro people.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

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Bartell Denounces N.Y. Police Outrages; Says Minority Groups Hit by Cop Brutality

TRENTON 6 TRIAL FACTS OPEN REPORTER'S EYES

What goes on in the mind of a prejudiced white reporter at a Negro frame-up trial? This week, we have facts to show that such a reporter can be convinced of the truth by the very frame-up itself, and by the way the defendants conduct themselves.

Henry Beckett, staff reporter for the New York Post, admits that he was prejudiced against the frameup victims when he was sent out to cover the trial of the Trenton Six — the six Negro men who were in prison for three years while on trial for a murder they didn't commit. Two of these men have been convicted and four acquitted in a compromise verdict intended to appease the blood-lust

of the white-supremacy fiends of the State of New Jersey.

NO EVIDENCE

Beckett admits he was prejudiced because he felt the Trenton Six must have been guilty of something or they would not have been prosecuted so bitterly by the State of New Jersey for three years. But, he says, he "listened vainly for evidence" to prove the guilt of the Six, and heard none. He came away convinced the men were innocent.

The reporter told this story in a memo to the city editor of his paper, printed in the New York Post of June 14, and reprinted by the Pittsburgh Courier of June 30. He says:

"At first, I thought the six Negroes must be guilty of killing the elderly storekeeper early in 1948. Otherwise, why would any prosecutor try so hard to get them to the electric chair. . . . Surely the prosecutor knew whether they were guilty and surely no prosecutor would press a case against six innocent men." But Mr. Beckett was to learn more about the workings of white boss justice in the United States as he sat in the Trenton courtroom. "As weeks passed," he says, "I listened vainly for evidence which would prove the case beyond reasonable doubt. It seemed the men and their car had been identified with the murder, although both were unlike the men and car seen by persons near the murder store."

FALSE CONFESSIONS

"The men were picked up, held unfairly, and worked on by the police until some of them confessed to a crime they didn't commit. Of this, I became convinced. It was a crime they could not have committed because they weren't there, judging by the word of reputable witnesses, whom I believe.

"They were not the men she saw, said the common-law wife of William Horner, the murdered man, when they were paraded before her while memory was fresh. "But it wasn't because of such testimony that my feelings got the better of me. It was from watching the men and their families, day after day, and hearing their responses on cross-examination. "Because a grandmother took care of me as a child, I lost some objectivity when James Thorpe's grandmother told how she took care of him. As you know, I have a weakness for daughters, too, and I choked up telephoning the story about McKinley Forrest crying from his cell, 'That's my daughter out there; I'll never see her again.' "For three years, until yesterday, Forrest has seen Jean, a shy, motherless, only child of 14, from within prison walls. From time to time, during the trial, I have brought boxes of candy for Jean, a gift book and catnip for her cat. They don't go on the expense account, either. I have had to do something so as not to be ashamed of being a white man."

Mr. Beckett describes how the friends and family of the imprisoned six reacted to the verdict: "They made no outcry. Passing from the building later, Mrs. English wept silently, nodded and tried to smile as three of us reporters rushed up and patted her thin shoulders and assured her that her boy Collis still would be freed.

"Currently, hard labor for life is the sentence for Collis, a man with a heart condition so grave that court was recessed repeatedly on his account." Mr. Beckett continues: "There was much talk about how strange it was that Forrest was acquitted and Collis and Ralph Cooper were sentenced to life. Not that anyone who ever knew Forrest could imagine that he would kill, but, according to the state, he had wielded the murder weapon. . . . "But a compromise verdict, as this one was, means that some jurors finally yielded to pressure, although they remained sure of the innocence of Negroes they voted to convict. That is no way to trifle with human lives, and it makes me more non-objective than ever.



MICHAEL BARTELL

ACLU Hits Jailing Of CP Heads; Asks Fight on Smith Act

"Fundamental disagreement" with the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act was expressed last week in a statement by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU called the decision "an unfortunate defeat for democracy" and announced a three-point program of action to fight the Smith Act in future cases.

This program will consist of court, legislative and public action. The ACLU proposes, it is announced, to participate in future cases arising under the Smith Act. Legal briefs and arguments will be presented, with the object of helping to "obtain an overruling of the June 4th (Supreme Court) decision." The ACLU will insist that the defense in all future cases be given the opportunity to "present evidence on the issue of the existence of a clear and present danger."

FOR REPEAL

In the field of legislative action, the ACLU proposes to work for the repeal of sections 2 and 3 of the Smith Act, and all other state and local legislation of a similar type. The public action proposed by the Civil Liberties Union includes an educational campaign, in collaboration with "other anti-Communist organizations" to "educate the people as a whole to support the above actions."

The ACLU statement makes it clear that the Supreme Court decision which finds it illegal merely to express opinions, can be the signal for a thought-control witch-hunt. "The most frightening aspect of this decision," the statement says, "is that judges, legislators, executive officers of the government, and the public generally may take it as a precedent and authority and encouragement for prohibiting the free speech of many other people besides the Communist Party leaders — perhaps including even people who merely want to discuss, as individuals, under non-dangerous circumstances, ideas far less explosive than the idea of revolution. The American people should stop that tendency and reverse it."

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SWP Choice As Council Head Pledges Fight on Lynch Law

NEW YORK, July 5 — Michael Bartell, who has entered the race for President of the City Council as the nominee of the Socialist Workers Party, today began his campaign with the charge that "There are two different standards by which justice is administered in this city. There's one kind for the rich, and a completely different kind for the poor."

"Here is just one example of what I mean," he continued. "The other day a New York detective beat up the wife of a wealthy oil magnate after an all night drinking bout while her husband was out of town. Within a few hours the top police officials were personally conducting a thorough investigation, the detective involved was immediately suspended from the force without pay, and arraigned on a felonious assault charge."

"Now just compare how smoothly the wheel of justice turned for a well-heeled Park Avenue play girl with what happened in the case of Henry Fields out in Brooklyn."

"Fundamental disagreement" with the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders under the Smith "Gag" Act was expressed last week in a statement by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU called the decision "an unfortunate defeat for democracy" and announced a three-point program of action to fight the Smith Act in future cases.

THE FIELDS CASE

"Henry Fields," Bartell said, "who had the bad luck to be born a Negro and poor, instead of rich and white, was shot in cold blood by a notorious trigger-happy, Negro-hating cop. In the face of several eye-witnesses and a Daily News photograph showing Fields lying dead in front of the door of his car, the cop simply explained that he was trying to escape."

"Two all-white Grand Jury panels heard all of the evidence against the cop and both refused to indict him. He's still on his beat, with his gun in his holster, ready to kill again without fear of punishment; no Negro is safe on his beat," Bartell stated.

The Negro Struggle "Little Angelo"

By Jean Blake

"Little Angelo," currently showing in theaters all over the country, is a film produced in Italy, but its false racial theories bear the unmistakable stamp: Made in U.S.A.

American movie-goers will be disappointed by the movie. Because it was filmed in Italy and deals with the little Italian son of an American Negro soldier, they will expect a realistic treatment of a subject taboo in Hollywood, the deep South and South Africa. But they will see, instead, a rather cheap, sentimental story with a climax based upon the crudest kind of propaganda against racial integration.

Matteo, released after spending five years in prison for stealing because he was hungry, finds himself the legal father of little Angelo, whose mother died in childbirth and whose natural father, an American Negro soldier, died on the Italian front.

At first Matteo is repelled by the child, whom he sees as a symbol of all his own wrongs, but after accepting his legal obligations to support little Angelo, Matteo gradually learns to love the child as his own, fiercely opposing any attempts to separate them. At this point the long arm of coincidence intervenes. The brother of Angelo's dead father arrives from America to claim the child. But both men agree that they will subordinate their own desires to Angelo's happiness.

The climax of the picture, Angelo's birthday party, provides one fantastic scene after another: This child, who has been unable to learn to carry a tune well enough to join Matteo as an entertainer, suddenly harmonizes perfectly with his Negro uncle's singing of Deep River. Then, when this same uncle, a prize-fighter, strips off his shirt to entertain the party with a "demonstration bout," little Angelo, who has been unable to defend himself in street fights with Italian children, strikes a professional boxer's pose and puts on quite a show with his uncle.

American Propaganda Lie

The point of this childish sequence apparently is that "blood will tell"; Negroes "just naturally" can harmonize once Deep River is sung — even a child who speaks only Italian and never could carry a tune before; and Negroes are born boxers, even though it may not be immediately apparent.

This Italian version of well-known American caricatures of Negroes concludes with the sad acceptance by Matteo of the fact that little Angelo can never be as happy with him in Italy as with his Negro kin in America. This, of course, is the biggest propaganda lie of all.

If the story continued instead of ending with Angelo's departure from Italy, we would see him arrive in New York, to be taken first to overcrowded, segregated Harlem, then to overcrowded, segregated Negro communities in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit or Los Angeles.

If he grew up to teen age and survived the murderous effects of dope and other scourges of the ghetto, he might quite possibly be brutally beaten, maimed for life, or killed outright by some trigger-happy cop. Or, if his early Italian rearing left enough of an impression to make him expect perfectly normal social relations regardless of color, he would be quite likely to meet his death at the hands of a Southern lynch mob or a Northern frame-up jury.

But the film does not continue with the story of little Angelo in America. It stops with the lie that a colored child would be happier here than in Italy. On the contrary, Negro GI's remember the friendly and unbiased treatment they received at the hands of Europeans until American brass hats instituted jim crow. They know that white supremacy, like capitalism and all its evils, has its strong-hold in the United States. They know that jim crow must be overthrown at home, and no amount of Uncle-Tomming, whether by American or Italian Toms, can change that fact.