Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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THE VATICAN AND SOCIALISM

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PENTAGON AIMS TO KEEP GI'S IN ASIA

Congress Pushes Record Tax Bill To Soak the Poor

By John G. Wright

Still another soak-the-poor tax bill is now being readied by Congress. Since Korea, the hikes in income tax payments, in excise and similar taxes have already lopped off more than 10 billion dollars from the take-home pay and the purchasing power of the mass of the people. Now comes a new assault, more savage than the preceding ones.

The House has already passed a tax bill, HR 4473, which will take away another $7,200,000,000. The Senate Finance Committee is now "studying" this House bill. It is virtually certain that the final tax version will be in the neighborhood of 7 to 8 billion. Truman has demanded an even steeper tax boost. He wants more than 10 billion. Anything less than that, shout the administration spokesmen, will be dangerously "inflationary."

As matters stand, the mass of the American people will pay over 17 billion dollars more in taxes in a single year! And most of it will come out of the pockets of those earning less than $5,000 a year. This is by far the biggest tax grab on record.

The biggest single item in the new taxation is a flat increase of 12½ percent in individual tax payments. For every two dollars previously paid in taxes, the workers will henceforth pay $2.25. So will the billionaires. All pay the "same." The simple fact of course is that the bulk of the tax payments will be made by the poor.

This is admitted by so conservative a capitalist politician as Rep. Martin of Iowa who stated on the House floor: "If enacted into law, this increase (of 12½ percent) in individual income taxes will strike hardest in the lower brackets of income where the pinch of inflation already is hitting the hardest today."

PROFITS UP, TAXES DOWN

As against the steep increase of one-eighth on the incomes of the poor, the proposed House bill increases taxes on corporation income by only one-twentieth, or 5 percent. Never have the trusts made such profits as they have since Korea. Their profits are now running at 50 billion dollars a year. Yet these corporations paid less in taxes in 1950 than they

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Trusts Triple Pre-War Assets

"How big is big business?" asks **Racine Labor**, AFL and CIO newspaper of Racine, Wis.

"Well," answers the paper, "U.S. corporations, all added together, are three times as large now as they were in 1939. Total corporate assets at the end of 1950 were $150.5 billions, as compared to $54.5 billions in 1939.

"There are 22 individual corporations with assets of a billion dollars or more now, compared to 12 in 1939.

"In 1939, there were only two corporations with annual sales of a billion dollars or more. Now there are 19."

To which we can add that at the present rate of profits, some $50 billions a year, those colossal assets aren't suffering any danger of sudden shrinkage.

Bevan Manifesto Hits War Ties With Washington

Group Challenges Attlee Policies

In a manifesto to the British people made public July 9, the left wing of the British Labor Party headed by Aneurin Bevan called upon the Attlee government to use England's geographical position to apply the brakes to U.S. rearmament lest the "giant" be tempted to "use his strength even though he is not attacked."

Demanding a reduction in the British scale of rearmament and an increased social welfare program as the only road to avert economic collapse — the basic cause for the recent split with the Attlee-Morrison program — the left-wingers laid down in their manifesto a series of objectives that should be attained by Britain in the coming months.

Their manifesto also called for a negotiated settlement in the Far East, abandonment of the idea of restarting the war in Korea after an armistice; abandonment of German rearmament; opposition to including Franco's Spain in the Atlantic pact; a fairer allocation of raw materials and the application of a world-mutual-aid program on a vast scale.

Nowhere in the manifesto does Bevan actually demand a break with American imperialism. But he does call for strict control over American air bases in Britain; and the manifesto places special emphasis on Britain's playing an independent role on the world arena.

Among imperialist spokesmen on both sides of the Atlantic the manifesto has evoked immediate response, with undertones of concern. The London **Times**, denouncing the manifesto, said: "At the moment the rank and file of the Labor Party is troubled and depressed by the course of events. Mr. Bevan's part truths and promise of another and easier way will have their appeal."

The Big Squeeze

Loyalty Purge Wrecks Democracy, ACLU Says

Two weeks after James Kutcher's appeal for reinstatement was turned down by a Federal judge in Washington, the American Civil Liberties Union asked President Truman to substitute a specific security program "with fair standards and procedures" for the present loyalty program under which the legless veteran was fired from his Veterans Administration job.

The ACLU charged that the "all-inclusive loyalty program has resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of repression, highly dangerous to democratic government." It had "envenomed and terrorized" government employes and prospective employes who were "afraid of the good old American habits of speaking one's mind and joining organizations one believes in" for fear some administrator might accuse them of disloyalty.

In its letter to Truman the ACLU said that two recent rulings by the Supreme Court and the change of standards adopted for judging the loyalty of Federal employes necessitated a reexamination of the entire program. It cited the decision in the case of Dorothy Bailey dismissed for "questionable loyalty." Although she lost her appeal by a tie vote, half the justices of the nation's top tribunal held it was unconstitutional for the government to deny its employes in non-sensitive positions the right to cross-examine witnesses and to confront accusers.

URGE HEARINGS

The court's decision in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and two other groups which challenged the constitutionality of the Attorney General's subversive list "makes it obvious that hearings should be held before any organization is put or continued on any list prepared for any security or loyalty program." The ACLU urged that immediate hearings be held for all existing organizations included on a subversive list.

This group of liberals does not contest the basic principle of an official loyalty program or even of a political blacklist but confines itself to criticizing the most flagrant abuses of law and civil rights in the current setup.

MAY BE KEY TEST

The outstanding example is the Case of the Legless Veteran which is now being taken to the Federal Court of Appeals. The only case involving the loyalty program now pending in the higher courts, it can well turn out to be decisive in determining its constitutionality. The American Civil Liberties Union prepared a brief as "friend of the court" in recognition of the fact that Kutcher's case may provide a key test of the legality of the entire loyalty purge.

Ignores Nation-wide Demand To Bring Troops Back Home As Casualties Keep Mounting

While people the world over watch the caese-fire negotiations at Kaesong, hoping against hope they might open a road to enduring peace, the Truman administration is plotting to keep U.S. troops indefinitely in Asia no matter what comes of the discussions with the Korean and Chinese representatives. This is clear from "off the record" declarations made by top policy-making circles in Washington.

For example, in their latest hand-out to the press, described by the authoritative **N. Y. Times** (July 12) as a "careful survey" by "United States officials," the Truman politicians and Pentagon big brass reveal their intention "to maintain formidable forces in that part of the world" until a "general settlement of outstanding political problems in the Far East" is reached. The "negotiation of such a settlement," continues the statement, "is likely to take years."

But the Truman administration has refused to even discuss any "political" issues whatsoever at Kaesong. Thus the negotiation of a "general settlement" is not within sight so far as the White House and the Pentagon are concerned.

Even if an actual cease-fire agreement is reached and the big brass and striped-pants State Dept. diplomats decide to take some troops out of Korea, they do not intend to bring them home. They plan to "deploy" these forces to "areas more vital to the security of the United States."

A news letter circulated among business men says: "Our troops will not be brought home at once . . . they must stay on. Many of them will be sent to Europe before the end of the year."

STARVED FOR NEWS

Such information, of course, flagrantly disregarding public sentiment, has not been relayed to the troops in Korea. In fact, they have yet to be informed of the progress of the cease-fire negotiations. Listen to this dispatch from Seoul: "While front-line troops are starving for news of the negotiations that would mean the difference between life and death for many last night, the Armed Forces Radio Service, the only allied broadcast service that can be picked up by most sets in Korea, chose to cancel the news broadcast in the belief that the troops were more interested in the broadcast of the All-Star baseball game in Detroit."

While U.S. representatives were presumably discussing terms for a truce, U.S. battleships continued to pound coastal areas, planes continued to attack, and ground forces were ordered into assaults on North Korean positions. The continued fighting did not sit well with the American people. "Some officials confess to concern over the public reaction to continued casualties during the negotiations." **Times** correspondent Austin Stevens reports from Washington.

In addition, the Truman administration "has no intention of removing the Seventh Fleet (from Formosan waters) when and if an armistice is signed" although Truman's original excuse for thus intervening with armed force in internal Chinese affairs was as "flank protection" for the forces in Korea. However, "agitation to remove it (the fleet) is expected as soon as a cease-fire is negotiated."

THEY FEAR THE PEOPLE

One major fear of the Truman administration is that the American people will step up "agitation" to get the troops out of Asia and bring them back home as they did in 1946. We reported last week how the generals, diplomats and politicians in Washington quail at thought of this possibility. The **N. Y. Times** reports why they fear the voice and action of the people: "Most important of all, officials here fear a letdown in the rearmament drive both at home and within the Atlantic alliance."

But it is the duty of the American people to demand an immediate end to the war in Korea. As a step toward enduring peace, all American troops ought to be brought home immediately so that the peoples of Asia can settle their own affairs. **Let's get American troops out of Korea and out of Japan and out of all Asia.**

Two CIO Councils Donate to Kutcher

The Michigan CIO Council which contributed $25, and the California CIO Industrial Union Council which gave $10, were among the first labor organizations to respond to the call for funds to help defend the rights of the victimized legless veteran, James Kutcher.

The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has launched a national campaign to raise funds to carry his appeal through the higher courts. Contributions should be sent to 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Only Wages are Frozen Time for Labor to Act!

An Editorial

United Labor Policy Committee representatives of the CIO, AFL and independent unions meeting this week in Washington complain that the Defense Mobilization Act now in the process of enactment by the House and Senate will "raise the cost of living a dollar a day for each American family." They are, no doubt, right.

But all the labor bureaucrats have done to express what they call their "grave dissatisfaction" with Congress' failure to stabilize the cost of living is to urge people to write or wire their congressmen. The Big Business-controlled Congress has so disgusted the workers that they feel this pressure-by-mail campaign is useless.

The workers would like to see some real action to control prices. They agree with the statement made by the three labor members when they withdrew from the Wage Stabilization Board last Feb. 16: "The Stabilization Program is a cynical hoax on the American people." It was a hoax in February and it is still a hoax.

When the ULPC pulled all labor representatives out of government boards last Feb. 28, it proposed the establishment of local consumer committees of housewives, unionists, farmers and small businessmen in a fight against high prices. This program died aborning. Not a single top labor leader moved a finger to bring it to life.

Now the ULPC has delayed withdrawing from the government boards again, as proposed by CIO representative Emil Rieve, until the Defense Mobilization Act is passed. Then they'll see.

It is obvious to any observer that Congress will not pass a genuine price stabilization law. It won't even pass a law as good as the one enacted a year ago. And under that law prices have shot upwards while only wages were frozen.

It was an excellent idea last February to organize consumers committees to fight high prices. Had this proposal been put into effect, labor would not be getting the short end of the stick today.

Today this kind of action is long overdue. A series of militant demonstrations by local consumers committees of irate housewives, small farmers, independent businessmen and unionists would do more than mountains of letters to Congress.

In every city mass meetings of consumers should be called by the AFL, CIO and independent unions. These mass meetings, if democratically run, would produce plenty of suggestions for further actions, including demonstrations of every kind to show the government how the people feel about the big steal.

After a series of such local demonstrations, a national congress of consumers committees should be held in Washington, with delegates from every city and town where labor has a local union. The bigger the better.

This tremendous congress of consumers, organized by labor, should parade in Washington, and stage a sitdown in the halls of Congress, refusing to budge until a program favorable to the majority of the people is put into law.

The consumers committees should demand that Congress give them legal power to enforce fair prices and prevent profiteering. This job cannot be left to local politicians appointed by the ward-heeling party bosses. They are all bought and paid for by the money interests.

Only the housewives, unionists and low-income groups themselves can be entrusted with enforcing price controls.

If the ULPC is serious about fighting for "equality of sacrifice" this is the program they should put forth. But the labor leaders fear to organize such genuine mass pressure.

It is up to local union militants to push such a program, to introduce it into local union meetings and central labor body meetings, and to rally the spirit and hopes of the workers with practical proposals.

Walter Reuther said at the time of labor's break with the government boards, "It's not a grievance settlement but the negotiation of an entire new contract that we seek."

Well, they negotiated, and they did not get a new contract; they didn't even get a single concession of any importance. When you fail to get a contract, it's time to act.

Campaign for Socialism

Sell 'The Militant!'

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

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

Real Losers -- Korean People

By Fred Hart

Ruins, from one end of the country to the other, starvation, disease and death — that is the condition of Korea, one year after Truman's "police action."

Joseph Fromm, Far East editor of the weekly **U.S. News**, who has followed the Korean war from the very beginning, sums up one year of Korea in the July 13 issue as follows: **"Real Losers in Korea: The Koreans."**

This estimate confirms the answer given at the Senate MacArthur hearings by Maj. Gen. Emmet (Rosie) O'Donnell in reply to the question of how much damage was caused by bombing in Korea: "I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name."

Fromm says that on North Korea alone "almost as many tons of bombs were dropped . . . as were dropped on Japan during the whole of World War II." A similar treatment was accorded to South Korea. In addition to air bombing, Korean cities, towns, villages and farms were also subjected to ruthless artillery barrages.

Coastal and offshore areas were pounded day and night by huge flotillas. The customary response of the U.S. high command to guerrillas and infiltration tactics was to "shoot everything in sight" and to raze everything in the vicinity to the ground.

"The average Korean," explains Fromm, "doesn't understand the purpose of saturation bombing that obliterates his village." He reports the question of a South Korean peasant: "Why is it that the democratic armies cause more destruction than the Communist armies?"

Fromm's estimate is that in South Korea alone 50 "fair-sized towns" and 12,000 villages have been wiped out; and some 3½ million men, women and children left homeless and destitute.

The capital city of Seoul, originally with more than one million population, is a total wreck whose ruins are inhabited by "fewer than 100,000 people — mostly old men and women. . ."

According to Fromm those refugees are "luckier" who find their way into a camp. But here is an official description of some of these "lucky" camps by Col. C. R. Munske, chief of UN "civil assistance squad": **"You never saw people in such a state. They are the worst lot I have ever seen. They have not had anything to eat for months, and too many of them are on the verge of death. Many of them have typhus, too." (N. Y. Times, July 8.)**

Col. Munske's observations cover some 350,000 to 400,000 Koreans "evacuated from both sides of the (38th) parallel in the last twenty days." What about the millions of others who have been wandering the countryside for months, depending solely on "charity"?

Fromm estimates the number of civilian casualties at anywhere from one person in six to one in four out of a total population of 29 million. He gives the **official** list of casualties and refugees as five million and comments that **"the over-all figures could easily run as high as seven or eight million."**

In the winter months the bodies of frozen children and adults lay strewn "by the hundreds" along the highways. The air over Korea reeks from the decay of corpses.

And amid all this horror there is a "withering inflation." South Korean prices have "shot up 800 percent, leaving wages far behind." A polite underestimate! Only the black market is functioning.

If any country was ever reduced to a total wreck — it is Korea. Even if there is enough food to feed the survivors, which is by no means assured, it will take years, conceded Fromm, to wipe out the "bitterness and ruin."

And whom do the Korean people blame for this endless horror? The Koreans, cautiously reports Fromm, "find it difficult to identify the UN forces as an army of liberation." A little more outspoken is the comment of an American who lived 20 years in Korea: "The Koreans can't understand that we are here to help them. Therefore, they distrust us."

No people will ever accept as "liberators" those who have turned their country into a wasteland. There is almost a note of irritation in the recognition that the Koreans "distrust" us. The simple truth is that the Koreans must hate the perpetrators of the greatest atrocity in history. By their Korean adventure the American imperialists have built up a record of "bitterness and ruin" it will indeed take years to wipe out from the memory of all the Asian peoples.

Notebook of an Agitator

FROM KARL MARX TO THE FOURTH OF JULY

I'm a Fourth of July man from away back, and a great believer in firecrackers, picnics and brass bands to go with it. You can stop me any time and get me to listen to the glorious story of the greatness of our country and how and when it all got started. The continent we inhabit has been here longer than anyone knows — but as a nation, as an independent people, the darlings of destiny favored above all others, we date from the Declaration of Independence and the Fourth of July.

The representatives in Congress assembled 175 years ago were the great initiators. When they said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident," they started something that opened up a new era of promise for all mankind. That's what I am ready to celebrate any time the bands begin to play — the start and the promise. But nobody can sell me the Fourth of July speeches which represent the start as the finish and the promise as the fulfillment. I quit believing in them a long time ago. As soon as I grew old enough to look around and see what was going on in this country — all the inequality and injustice still remaining — the beneficiaries of privilege, claiming the heritage of our first revolution, struck me as imposters. I recognized the standard Fourth of July orators as phonies, as desecrators of a noble dream. They didn't look to me like the Liberty Boys of '76.

But that never turned me against the Fourth of July, as was the case with so many American radicals and revolutionists in the past. I thought the Fourth of July belonged to the people. I always regarded its renunciation as one of the biggest mistakes of American radicalism. It is wrong to confuse internationalism with anti-Americanism; to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of our country to the reactionaries; to let the modern workers' revolutionary movement, the legitimate heir of the men of 1776, appear as something foreign to our country.

A POWERFUL WEAPON

That is why it did my heart good to see **The Militant** blossom out this year in a special Fourth of July issue, with its front page manifesto greeting the people of Asia, fighting for their national independence, in the name of our own revolution of 1776 — and a whole page of special articles devoted to this revolution and its authentic leaders. The articles in this special issue are obviously the result of serious study and historical research. They throw new light on the most important features of the revolution which have long been obscured, and even deliberately hidden, to serve the special interests of the present-day Tories. These revelations put a powerful propaganda weapon into the hands of those who see in the coming revolution of the American workers not a negation, but a continuation and completion, of the revolution for national independence of 175 years ago.

The authors of these remarkable articles were guided in their research by a theory which required them to look for the essential facts and to study them in their interrelationship. They sought to uncover the motive force of the class struggle — the key to the real understanding of all history. The theory which inspired the authors of these articles to study the first American revolution, and guided them in their work, is Marxism — which Congress and the courts would outlaw as a "foreign" doctrine, and the teaching of which in the schools is now virtually prohibited.

STUDENTS OF MARXISM

The procedure through which these articles in the Fourth of July issue of **The Militant** finally took shape is an interesting story in itself. They are the work of students in our party school of Marxism. We are committed to the proposition that the cadres of our party have a historical task to accomplish. That task is to organize and lead the coming revolution of the American working class. How better can one prepare to take effective part in such a colossal enterprise than to study the revolution out of which this nation was born? And how can one study revolutionary history seriously and profitably without the aid of the only revolutionary theory of history there is? That's our point of view anyway. And we are serious enough about it to take a group of our leading people of the younger generation out of everyday activity for six months every year to study the history of their country and this "foreign" doctrine which alone explains it.

You will never find two subjects which fit better together. Marx sketched the whole broad outline of American capitalism as it is today in advance of its development. In return for that, American capitalism in all its main features is the crowning proof of Marxism. Our students go to Marx to study America, and study America to verify Marx.

DISCOVERED AMERICA IN MARX

Marxism is a hundred years old, and has been refuted a thousand times by professorial pundits. Not satisfied with that, its opponents — who have far more than a scientific interest in the matter — continue to refute Marxism daily, weekly and monthly in all their publications and other mediums of misinformation and miseducation. Our students know all about that, and examine all the refutations conscientiously as part of their study of the doctrine itself. In the course of this examination and counter-examination they become real Marxists. They learn their doctrine thoroughly, and in learning they proceed to apply it. Marxism is not a dogma to be studied for its own sake, but a theory of social evolution and a guide to action in the class struggle. It is not a substitute for the knowledge of concrete reality, past and present, but a theoretical tool for its investigation and interpretation. Our students understand it that way. They went to Marx — and discovered America.

And that, in my opinion, is a very important discovery. We have nothing to do with jingoism, or any kind of vulgar national conceit and arrogance. We are internationalists, and we know very well that our fate is bound up with that of the rest of the world. The revolution which will transform society and bring in the Socialist order is a world-wide affair, a task requiring international cooperation to which we contribute only a part. But our part in this international cooperation is the revolution here at home. We must attend to that, study it and know it. And we can't do that properly unless we know our country and its history and traditions. They are, for the greater part, good. The country itself is good, and so are the great majority of the people in it. Their achievements are many and great. There is nothing really wrong with the U.S.A. except that the wrong people have usurped control of it and are running it into the ditch.

THIRD AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The cure for that is not to throw away the country and its traditions, but to get rid of the usurpers by the process popularized by our forefathers under the name of revolution. This new revolution will have to complete the work started by the men of 1776. They secured the nation's independence. The Second American Revolution of the 60's, known as the Civil War, smashed the system of chattel slavery, unified the country and opened the way for its unobstructed industrial development. The task of the Third American Revolution is to take this great industrial machine out of the hands of a parasitical clique who operate it for their own benefit, and operate it for the benefit of all.

That's the general idea. But it is not quite as simple as it sounds. There are complications and complexities. The workers have to make their way through a jungle of traps and deceptions. They need a map and compass. They need a generalization of the experiences of the past and a theoretical guiding line for the future. That's what Marxism is. The American workers will come to Marx, and with him they will be invincible. "Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers," said Trotsky. We have the same opinion, and we are working to realize it.

Karl Marx, the German Jew, who lived and worked out his profound theory in England, is native to all countries. The supreme analyst of capitalism is most of all at home in the United States where the development of capitalism has reached its apogee. Marx will help the American workers to know their country, and to change it and make it really their own. — J. P. C.

Vatican Spreads Anti-Socialist Falsehoods

By Murry Weiss

Last week the Pope addressed to the Roman Catholic Congress on Rural Problems, meeting near Rome, a solemn declaration on the harmful effects of capitalism and Marxism on the "principles of rural life." In case you're worried about the Pope's getting too radical, let me hasten to reassure you; the Pope didn't really attack capitalism.

As the **N. Y. Times** of July 4 reported, he merely delivered a "warning" that capitalism gives rise to the "danger" of the subjugation of the agricultural population by the industrial city. He then goes on to attack his real enemy: Marxism and Socialism.

Said the Pope: "Marxism has fallen into a superstition of technicism and of industrialization pushed to extremes. The 'collectivization' of agricultural labor on the pattern adopted in factories and the degradation of the country, which is reduced to being nothing more than a reserve of manpower for industrial production — this is to what Marxism leads."

Here we have it. Capitalism is not to be criticized for its effects on the agricultural people; Marxism is to blame. Marxism has turned the countryside into a source of manpower for the industrial city. Can anyone but the Pope make such ridiculous assertions? **That is, can anyone not protected by the doctrine and practice of infallibility risk the exposure of such breath-taking ignorance and falsehood?**

The Pontifical declaration is the exact opposite of the truth, both as to what happened in the past and what is taking place today before our eyes.

SEIZURE OF LAND

The rise of the capitalist system 450 years ago was marked by bloody seizure of the lands of independent agricultural workers. The capitalists changed these lands into sheep-grazing pastures to supply the textile mills of England with wool. At the same time they also created a large supply of "free" labor power from the ranks of the dispossessed peasants.

Karl Marx in his book **Capital** proves that this was the way the capitalist system arose and first accumulated great wealth. In his monumental chapter on "Primary Accumulation," Marx shows how ". . . great masses of human beings were suddenly and forcibly torn away from the means of subsistence, and hurled into the labor market as masterless proletarians. The expropriation of the agricultural producers, the peasants, their severance from the soil, was the basis of the whole process."

Marx shows in rich detail that capitalist wealth originated in this process of expropriating (robbing) the agricultural producer of those early times. He tells how the "history of this expropriation is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire."

HORRORS OF CAPITALISM

The peasants were driven from their lands, pauperized, subjected to the most horrible vagrancy laws, including execution for not having any visible means of support. Herded into the cities, these propertyless masses were turned into wage slaves. They were packed into slum dwellings not fit for cattle, mercilessly exploited 18 hours a day. Little tots of five and six years of age were not exempt from this cruel exploitation in the manufacturing establishments and later on in the factories of machine industry.

Marx shows, again with irrefutable evidence, how capitalism creates a surplus agricultural population tied in with its own needs for labor power. This surplus population in turn becomes the reservoir for the Industrial Reserve Army which then becomes a permanent feature of capitalism. This Industrial Reserve Army operates to keep the wages of the industrial workers down and to maintain the domination of capital over labor.

This is the real history of the relation of capitalism to the agricultural producer at the dawn of the capitalist era. The Pope would be hard pressed to explain this, if he wasn't protected by his Papal infallibility, because this was hundreds of years before Marxian Socialism appeared as a devil upon whom the evils of capitalism could be blamed.

MODERN TIMES

But the history of capitalism in our own times only repeats on a larger scale this early method of accumulating wealth and transforming the agricultural population into manpower of industry. This is strikingly evident in the United States.

Unless the Pope wants to declare the capitalists of Steel, Textile, Rubber, Auto, Mining and other industries to be Marxists, he will have to admit that the capitalist class of the United States destroyed the independent agricultural community, instituted factories in the fields and recruited its army of factory workers from the farms.

As a matter of fact, the capitalist "principles of rural life," as the Pope calls it, have an additional feature worthy of note in the history of our country. The greatest part of the wealth-producing rural community of the United States was operated by slave labor in the early history of this country.

After the Civil War this slave labor was at first gradually, then on a vast scale, transformed into "free" factory labor. **The great influx of the Negroes into industry shows how capitalism in the United States exploited the toiler first as a chattel slave and then as a wage slave.**

Don't we all remember the recent experience of the Southwestern dust bowl? Tens of thousands of independent farmers were expropriated by the big banks, driven like paupers onto the highways of the country, first to swell the surplus agricultural population of California, then to feed the maw of the war industries.

The "Joads" would be puzzled by the Pope's declaration that this was the work of Marxists. They know it to be the work of the capitalist banker who robbed them of their land, the big capitalist farmer of California who lured them west with fake stories of plentiful work in the fields, the capitalist sheriffs and vigilantes who beat and tortured them when they tried to fight for a decent living and some human dignity.

And who is responsible for the present plight of the agricultural worker in the gigantic "factories in the field" of Southwestern United States? **Isn't it true that in the richest capitalist country of the world, the authorities regularly report that babies die of starvation in the agricultural valleys of California?**

MEXICAN LABOR

More than 80 years after the publication of **Capital**, the big ranchers and Associated Farmers of the Southwest are still up to the same barbaric practices described by Marx as the early methods of capitalist accumulation. These big ranchers continually import surplus labor from Mexico illegally to increase the already swollen ranks of the army of field workers and thereby keep the wages and conditions of the agricultural worker at starvation level.

And this method is defended and supported by all the prominent political spokesmen of the ranchers as the only possible method for a profitable capitalist agriculture.

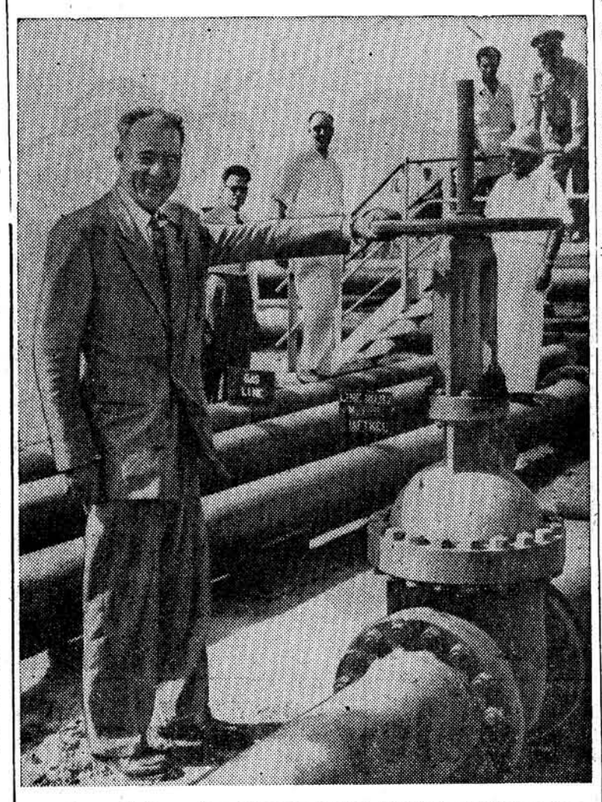
Let the Pope make a tour of the fertile agricultural valleys of California, the "salad bowl" of the United States. Let him see how the "principles of rural life" are practiced by the capitalists. Let him see the inhuman treatment of racial minorities herded into jails on Saturday night, so that the sheriff and judge can fleece them of their meager wages on trumped up charges. Let him see the little corpses of infants who died of starvation in the richest food-producing area of the world — and then let him tell the world that this is the fault of Marxism.

The real solution of the horrible plight of the agricultural worker and independent farmer is provided by the very Marxist-Socialist program that the Pope so clumsily seeks to blame for the conditions produced by the capitalist system.

The Socialist solution is based on the tremendous achievements of mankind in the development of science and technology. These achievements now permit the reorganization of both industry and agriculture according to a rational plan. This socialist method would raise the living standards of all to undreamed of heights and remove the domination and exploitation of man by man, of the industrial city over the agricultural areas, of the "advanced" country over the "backward," of the white race over the colored races.

These conditions of exploitation and domination belong to the museums of the past, along with the Catholic hierarchy. They are perpetuated only so long as the capitalist profit system is perpetuated. By eliminating this decaying system of capitalism, socialism will for the first time introduce a true system of equality under the great Socialist Commonwealth of Associated Producers.

Set for Action



In symbolic gesture, Hussein Makki, member of Iranian committee set up to take over British oil interests, holds a hand on an Abadan oil valve. Iran stands firm on nationalization in the face of British threats to use armed force.

Charge 'Secret Talks' With Churchill As Left Wing Hits Attlee on Iran Oil

There is a strong and mounting opposition inside the British Labor Party to the reactionary policy followed by the Attlee government in the Iranian crisis. Attlee and his ministers have been carrying out the line laid down by the monopolists of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. (AIOC), and have naturally received the wholehearted support of the British Tories, the avowed party of imperialism headed by Churchill. Among the developments that have aroused British workers were the threats to employ armed force against Iran and a series of secret talks between Attlee and Churchill.

Leading the opposition to this treacherous course of the official Labor leaders are the British Left Wing Socialists who publish the periodical **Socialist Outlook.** In the July issue, just arrived in this country, a leading article exposes the sham and hypocrisy of the Laborite ministers.

Pointing out that Foreign Minister Morrison has publicly "accepted" in principle the right of the Persians (Iranians) to nationalize their own oil, the **Socialist Outlook** pertinently asks:

WHY CRUISERS?

"Then what is all the trouble about? Why are cruisers being sent to the vicinity of Abadan and paratroopers being held in readiness on the island of Cyprus? And why does Mr. Shinwell (Defense Minister) — in a statement which for sheer imperialist arrogance has seldom been equalled — say that 'we shall never surrender'? Never surrender what? Why all these threats if everybody is agreed that the Persians have an inalienable right to dispose of their resources as they alone see fit?"

The British Left Socialists then go on to expose point by point the main lies that are being spread by the oil trust and their backers. Their property is being "confiscated," they falsely claim. "No, it can't be that," replies the **Socialist Outlook,** "because the Persian government has specifically stated that it **WILL** pay compensation." The Iranian nationalization law specifically provides for this.

OIL SUPPLY GUARANTEED

Next is the lie that Britain — and the West — will lose its oil supply. "No — here again, they (the Persian government) have expressly stated that all of AIOC's customers will continue to get priority in deliveries."

Do the oil employees, perhaps, need to be "protected" against 'the wicked Bolshevik government of Mr. Mossadegh"? "But that government — which is a government of landlords and capitalists — has offered all AIOC employees the same wages and privileges, and has even said that the Persian people will 'love and respect' them if only they will stay and work for the nationalized oil company."

"OLD BUZZARD"

The **Socialist Outlook** then poses the following pointed questions: "Then why all these troop movements and naval maneuvers? Why these **SECRET** talks with Mr. Churchill? What interest has that old buzzard in the principle of nationalization? Are we going to have a **coalition** because of Persian oil? Why does the press talk hysterically of a crisis in Persia? What's it all about if, as Mr. Morrison says, everybody recognizes the principle of nationalization of Persian oil?"

The only possible explanation, concludes the **Socialist Outlook,** is that the recognition of principle is here a **"recognition in words only":** that the Laborite ministers simply do **"not** recognize the Persian people's right to do **anything at all** without the permission of the British government and the British capitalists."

SUPPORT IRANIANS

The British Left Socialists take their stand unequivocally on the side of the Iranian people. "There is no **socialist** reason why the Persians should not nationalize their own oil. There is no **socialist** reason why the Labor government should not **INSTRUCT** the employees of the AIOC to remain at their posts and help the Persians to overcome their present difficulties. No reason at all — except that, on this question as on so many others, too many members of the Labor government are brothers under the skin to the worst kind of 'show-'em-the-whip' Tories."

It is a guarantee for the future of the British labor movement that the genuine voice of socialism is making itself heard so clearly and firmly within the ranks of the ruling party itself, even though today it is still a minority viewpoint.

Ceylon Socialists Greet Cannon Letter on Asia

A letter by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed to **Janata,** organ of the Socialist Party of India, has met with a favorable response, according to our correspondent in Colombo, Ceylon.

The letter was printed in the May 13 issue of **Janata** and also appeared in the May Day issue of **The Militant** under the title, "Who Are the Friends of the Asian People?".

Cannon wrote the letter in reply to the agents of American imperialism, Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, James T. Farrell and others, who had attempted in a communication of their own to **Janata** to convince the working people of Asia that Wall Street is not imperialistic. These propagandists pictured American Big Business as peace-loving and therefore deserving of support in its preparations for another world war.

Cannon told the readers of **Janata** not to be taken in by these arguments from the arsenal of the U.S. State Department. He proved that U.S. capitalism is imperialistic, that it seeks to convert the entire world into its empire and is quite prepared to risk another world war to achieve this predatory aim.

The Asian people, said Cannon, should place no confidence in American imperialism or its salesmen. He pointed to the mutual interests of the American labor movement and the Asian masses, who face a common enemy in American Big Business; and he reaffirmed the solidarity of the American Socialists with the struggle of the Asian people for freedom and independence.

"We of the Socialist Workers Party," he said, "believe that the duty of all true friends of Asia and all genuine socialists in America is not to solicit support for this imperialist aggression among its victims in Asia, but to expose and denounce these crimes right here in the United States."

Our Ceylon correspondent expressed his appreciation for Cannon's forthright statement: "Ever since the war in Korea, the word 'American' has received the hatred that should really have gone to 'American imperialism.' James P. Cannon's letter to the Asian people is therefore a welcome message."

"The people of Asia," he continued, "are mighty glad that our class brothers in America and their leadership are not silent while the imperialists run riot in the East."

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THE MILITANT ARMY

After the hard pace of the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign, we suppose every one is inclined to take a rest. Well, not every one. Our national champion, **Paul** of the **Twin Cities** got four more subscriptions this week. One of those last hurry-up chores, we suppose, before packing his bag for the National Militant Champions Banquet at Mt. Spring Camp where he'll be the star attraction

Along with relaxing, most of those who participated in the campaign are now holding their Monday morning quarterback sessions; and there's plenty to mull over. We hope the results of the discussions will be sent in promptly so that we can pass on the consensus of opinion concerning the lessons of the campaign.

This week we'll turn the mike over to **Lou Cooper of Akron,** who won the national championship in the Kujac League:

"I'll take this opportunity to make a short speech. To my recollection, this seems to have been the outstanding case of the competitive branch spirit taking hold during a national party campaign. The feeling at the beginning was that if the Twin Cities could find receptivity among the workers so could our branch.

"After a few weeks almost all the branches became conscious of the fact that they were able to sell **The Militant** and then it simply became a question of how well we would do **this week** in our life-time chosen profession. And since our national firm was giving out prizes and honor scrolls, naturally all the sales units and individuals tried harder.

"My points in Akron helped put Akron and me over the top, and for my salesmanship know-how I am originally indebted to Winifred Nelson's letter about the second or third week of the campaign. Comrade Winifred said that the Twin Cities were selling six-weekers to homes for 25 cents and delivering them personally. So we tried it out and started to make some points.

"In a few days I lost my timidity and remembered our original idea, that you start by asking for a one-year subscription and then go down the ladder if necessary until you get to a single copy. During two weeks, in between looking for work, I spent about 10 to 12 hours minimum a week selling door to door and sold quite a few subs.

"Once or twice a week, **Doris** and **Sally** went out, and one Sunday Sally and I sold 5 six-month subs together in about 3 hours. **George** also went out and, lo and behold, sold a six-month sub his first hour out. **Dave's** score too kept growing.

"This is a great way to get to really know a town. I met dozens of workers, some of them on strike and heard all about their problems. I ran into servicemen on leave and even a veteran of Korea who corroborated a good deal of what **The Militant** says about the fighting there.

"He said that the Chinese fight because they have food now, something to fight for. He told me about the 'waves' of attack from Chinese infantry and how the second line of attack picks up the weapons from the dead victims of the first-line fighters, since they don't carry any originally. He didn't seem to have any deep hostility toward the Koreans or Chinese.

"We now have a promising circle of **Militant** readers in Akron. Since this is a one-newspaper town, it's our obligation to give the local sheet some serious competition. This campaign has been a tremendous push-off for the day when **The Militant** leads all the rest."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-960.

CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 PM. Phone HArrison 7-0403.

CLEVELAND — Croation Home, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6267.

FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22496.

LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4953.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.

NEW YORK CITY—Eng.: 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.

BROOKLYN — De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.

HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

PITTSBURGH—For information, write P. O. Box 382.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.

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SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 9278.

TOLEDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1502.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St. Call 3-1779.

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Layoffs and Ford Local Plan

Two hundred thousand auto workers are being laid off by major companies in what is reported as a "conversion" crisis. While these mass lay-offs occur, the companies are pushing a brutal speed-up, doubling up jobs, slashing piece-work rates, violating union agreements.

Thus, the auto industrialists are trying to use the threat of lay-offs to bring back sweat-shop conditions.

Ford Local 600 has proposed an excellent program to combat this campaign. The local union Executive Board has demanded that the federal government provide $60 a week unemployment compensation. Supporting this demand the local union board stated:

"Neither do we feel that industrial workers should be the only group to suffer because of conversion. . . We point out that the corporations are subsidized for converting their present plants, and are grabbing new ones by a tax amortization scheme that allows them repayment in full in five years."

This states the case mildly. The Truman administration has taken care of Big Business as it has never been taken care of before. The corporations are given billions of dollars worth of plants, and guaranteed a profit; they are allowed one price increase after another. The Department of Internal Revenue allows them to set aside more billions in "contingency reserves," to write off more billions in "depreciation" of machinery that has been paid for thousands of times.

But high prices and heavy taxes make it impossible for workers to set aside savings for emergencies. They have no "contingency reserves." They are not allowed to write off "deterioration" of their overworked bodies. When a worker is cast aside in lay-offs he is expected to support his family on $20 or $30 a week.

We wholeheartedly support the proposal of Ford Local 600 for a $60 weekly unemployment benefits law. The costs of such a program could easily be met by dipping into the record-breaking profits of the monopolists through taxation.

Such a program would serve a double purpose. It would provide a decent minimum income for unemployed workers; and it would remove the fear of unemployment as a weapon of intimidation in the hands of the corporations.

We hope that all labor will rally behind the Ford Local's plan.

Washington's Squeeze on Iran

Iran has rejected, as it warned in advance it would, the decision of the so-called "International Court of Justice" in favor of the British in the case of the nationalization of Iranian oil. The Iranian government then withdrew from this UN body. What other answer did such a decision merit?

But the arrogant American imperialists are demanding that this "decision" of the "World Court," dominated by them, be accepted by the Iranians as the basis for "further negotiations." That was the gist of Truman's latest letter to the Mossadegh government and his offer to send his adviser W. Averell Harriman as an intermediary to Teheran.

Needless to say, the position of the Truman administration is being backed by the decisive capitalist circles in this country. The **N. Y. Times,** which plays the role of a semi-official mouthpiece of Washington, carried on July 11, the most bitter attack yet on the Iranian government, denouncing its action as "reprehensible both legally and morally."

The decision of the "World Court" would prohibit the Iranians from carrying out their nationalization and restore the rule of the British oil monopolists. By what "legality" and by what "morality" is any legal body outside Iran's jurisdiction empowered to impose its will on the people of Iran? What right, legal or moral, have the American capitalists, from Truman down, to try to dictate to the Iranian government?

The **Times'** own reporters have cabled again and again that the entire Iranian people are behind the nationalization law and, indeed, that it was this mass pressure that forced the passage of the law, in the first place.

They know that the actions of Premier Mossadegh have been fully supported by the entire Iranian nation and that it is, above all, the pressure of public opinion that has forced Iran's withdrawal from the "World Court."

Have either London or Washington the backing of their respective peoples for their stand? Have either the British or American peoples been even consulted as to their opinion or wishes in the matter? Perish the thought!

Between Washington and London there is a "private understanding." This "private understanding" according to the July 9 report of columnist Joseph Alsop goes so far as to assure the British of "American support for a troop movement into the Southern Iranian oil region" whenever such a move is finally decided upon.

As the whole world knows, the British have been guilty of a whole series of overt acts of military and economic aggression against Iran since the nationalization law was passed. "Aggression" was the pretext upon which Truman plunged this country into his Korean adventure. But observe the difference in the case of Iran!

The Iranian government and the Iranian people stand on unassailable grounds. They and they alone have the right to dispose of their oil wealth as they choose. It is the duty of American labor to support them. HANDS OFF IRAN!

Hails I. F. Stone's Stand on Civil Rights

July 11, 1951

I. F. Stone
c/o Daily Compass
164 Duane Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Stone:

You have done a great service to the fight to preserve the Bill of Rights by your columns showing that the government attack on the Communist Party is also an attack on freedom of the press, and by your appeal to newspapermen to join with you on a committee to support a rehearing in the case of John Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker** who was convicted and jailed under the notorious Smith Act.

I would be glad of the opportunity to serve with you on such a newspapermen's committee. Please notify me what I can do to help.

Neither **The Militant** nor I has the slightest sympathy for the politics of Gates or the other Stalinists. A fundamental feature of their politics, as you know, is bitter opposition to defense of the civil liberties of their revolutionary socialist opponents, including **The Militant** and the Socialist Workers Party.

They denounced and smeared everyone in the labor and liberal movements who was disposed to defend us when we were subjected to persecution under the Smith Act.

Leading Stalinists like Louis Weinstock, ready to use any stick to beat us, circulated to the press statements from government officials contending that the Supreme Court's refusal in 1944 to review the convictions of the 18 defendants convicted in Minneapolis under the Smith Act proved that the Smith Act was "not unconstitutional."

THE KUTCHER CASE

More recently, the Stalinists disgraced themselves throughout the country by refusing to defend James Kutcher, the legless veteran purged from a VA job in Newark because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. And less than two years ago, in the midst of the trial of the 11 Stalinists, the **Daily Worker** editorially assailed you and other prominent liberals as "disrupters" because you had the courage and the wisdom to demand that the Bill of Rights Conference, held in New York July 16-17, 1949, should defend the civil liberties of **all** groups and individuals victimized by the Smith Act.

By such methods the Stalinists alienated and repelled a great many people who would otherwise have been ready to defend the Communist Party's rights when they were jeopardized. By such methods the Stalinists helped to undermine the admirable traditions of solidarity in defense of free speech and set the precedent, now being followed or utilized by most labor and liberal leaders, which has so isolated and weakened the struggle to preserve the Bill of Rights.

EMULATING STALINISTS

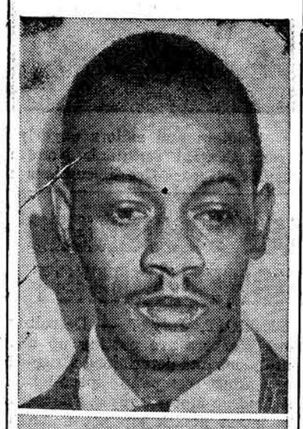
These labor and liberal leaders may or may not be conscious of what they are doing, but the truth is that they are emulating the worst practices of the Stalinists when they turn their backs on the fight for free speech merely because the immediate victims are political opponents of theirs. The outcome of a policy of this nature (as the record of the Stalinists who followed it proves) is the strengthening of the witch-hunt and the preparation of the day when the labor and liberal leaders themselves will be victimized by the forces they refuse to fight against today.

These are the reasons why I welcome the opportunity to work with you on a committee on the Gates case, and why I take the occasion to salute you on your forthright support of the principle that it is necessary to defend **all** victims of the witch-hunt, no matter how much we oppose their political views.

Incidentally, you made a factual error in your July 3 column when you wrote that "Gates is the first editor to be prosecuted for sedition in America since the days of the Alien and Sedition laws," etc. Although neither of them is now associated with **The Militant** or the Socialist Workers Party, I think I should tell you that the first editors prosecuted under the Smith Act were Felix Morrow, then editor of **The Militant,** and Carlos Hudson, then editor of **The Northwest Organizer,** paper of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, both of whom were defendants in the 1941 Minneapolis case.

Sincerely,
George Breitman
Editor, **The Militant**

'WILL BE FREE'



Writing from Trenton Jail, Collis English, speaking for himself and Ralph Cooper, the Trenton Two who were framed on a murder charge, is confident they will eventually win their freedom.

English wrote to a member of Local 65 of the Distributive Workers Union, telling him: "I am very pleased to hear from you and to know that there are people like you. . . Because there are people like you who are helping us to get our freedom, we know that not only will we be free, but others also. . . . It is good to know that there are people who still believe in us, and believe that all men are equal."

The Stalinist Peace Program -- V

The Teheran-Yalta Agreements

By James P. Cannon

Any serious consideration of the prospects of the campaign for "negotiation and agreement" between the Western imperialist powers and the Soviet Union must start from the fact that there was a previous agreement, and that this agreement was broken and followed by the present relationship of cold war. An examination of the terms of the previous agreement, and what happened to it, should be in order at this point.

At Teheran, with victory over the Axis powers in sight, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin outlined their plans for collaboration in the postwar period. They concluded there a solemn agreement "that our nations shall work together in the war **and in the peace that will follow.**" The basis of the agreement was exactly the same as that now offered in the current peace campaign of the Stalinists — that the Soviet Union and Western imperialism should live and let live in "one world." As to the peace, the three heads of state said in their Joint Declaration, "we are sure that our concord will make it an **enduring peace.**"

The American Stalinists hailed the agreement with alacritous delight. Browder, then their official spokesman, with a direct pipeline to Moscow, said the Teheran declaration opened up "in the most realistic form a new perspective to the world." The agreement meant, he said, in his now suppressed pamphlet, "Teheran and America," that "Capitalism and socialism have begun to find the way to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the same world." For America this meant, said Browder — with the unanimous approval of "the plenary session of the Communist Party National Committee" to which he reported on January 7-9, 1944 — "the consolidation of national unity in our country, **and its extension into the post-war period.**" To that end, "we must find the way to minimize, and to place definite limits upon, the settlement of inner differences in the country by conflict (he meant the class struggle) in the post-war period."

SHAKE HANDS WITH J. P. MORGAN

He offered American capitalism the services of the Communist Party "to cooperate in making this capitalism work effectively in the post-war period." At the same meeting of the National Committee, with his enthusiasm for the Teheran compact rising to orgiastic frenzy, Browder repeated his famous offer: "If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand." His report was unanimously approved. The American Stalinists well understood, then as now, that their part of an agreement on the basis of "peaceful co-existence" was to sell out the class struggle of the American workers, to "minimize, and to place definite limits" on any "conflicts" such as strikes. And they were ready and eager to get on with the treacherous job. Bridges, the number one hatchet man in the unions, jumped the gun with a public proposal for a **post-war** no-strike pledge.

The basic Anglo-American-Soviet Union agreement of Teheran was later reaffirmed and concretized at Yalta, and the notorious theory of "peaceful co-existence" got a real work-out in practice in the immediate period following the collapse of Nazi Germany. Then the agreement itself collapsed and the cold war started. What happened? The most important concrete details of the Yalta agreement were not published, but they can be read in the events which unfolded right after the war and in some of the subsequent revelations of participants.

This is as good a place as any to right a historical wrong and accord justice to two much-maligned horse-traders — Roosevelt and Churchill — who have been falsely accused of making a bad bargain in the Teheran-Yalta deal. They are not guilty. Roosevelt and Churchill didn't give away anything that wasn't already gone; and they got many things of priceless value at the conference table which, in the given situation, the Western powers they represented could not have gotten in any other way. I am no friend of the American demagogue and the British tory and what they represented. But right is right, and from that standpoint I am bound to admit that they brought back to Western capitalism from Teheran and Yalta the guaranteed benefits of one of the greatest betrayals in history, and they didn't exchange anything of real value for them.

Those American politicos and public opinion makers, whose distinguishing attribute is belligerent ignorance with a complication of "commie horrors," accuse Roosevelt of giving away the world in a fit of unbridled generosity induced by vodka at a wild Yalta party. Roosevelt's accusers ought to take a few swigs of that same vodka and sober up. The territories and spheres of influence accorded to Stalin at Yalta — the buffer states of Eastern Europe — were simply those already occupied by the Soviet armies or about to be occupied by them. In "giving" them to Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill did no more than recognize and reconcile themselves to military reality — the basis of all diplomacy. The most they could hope for in such a situation was that Stalin would agree to stop his armies at a certain line and go no farther. They got this agreement, plus an agreement to maintain the existing social system in the occupied territories, and both agreements were carried out.

REVOLUTIONARY FERMENT IN EUROPE

In addition, and most important of all, they got an understanding which meant salvation for the tottering structure of capitalism in Western Europe. Capitalism in Western Europe was too weak to save itself in the first post-war period. It was the Stalinists, executing the Yalta agreement, who did the job for them. Both Italy and France were seething with revolutionary movements. When the regime of Mussolini "fell apart like a rotten apple," as Badoglio described it, it left a power vacuum which no bourgeois party could fill. The Italian workers emerged from 20 years of fascism as though it had never existed. The great majority of the working class — almost the entire class, in fact — proclaimed themselves communists or revolutionary socialists, and gave their allegiance to these parties. (There is a lesson here for those who think police terror can destroy the socialist consciousness of the workers.)

In France the situation was analogous. The old bourgeois parties, discredited during the war, had lost their mass following. The Radical Socialist Party, the traditional ruling party of French imperialism, was a hollow shell. The reformist French Socialist Party was deserted by the workers. The Communist Party of France emerged in the immediate post-war period with the support of the great majority of the workers in revolt against the old order of things. A revolutionary situation existed in both Italy and France. The time and the conditions were ripe for the extension of the Russian Revolution to the shores of the Atlantic.

But this was precisely what the Kremlin bureaucrats feared most. The very existence of the historical monstrosity known as Stalinism depends, and has depended since its inception, on the simultaneous existence of imperialist capitalism in the rest of the world, "peaceful co-existence" with it, and collaboration with the imperialists against the workers' revolution. That is what the theory of "Socialism in One Country," promulgated by Stalin in 1924, meant. And that is the way it has been carried out in practice ever since.

An independent revolution of the mighty working class in Western Europe, smashing the enfeebled bourgeois regimes like so many eggshells, would have broken out of Moscow control — as the example of Yugoslavia strikingly demonstrates — and would have brought immediate repercussions in the Soviet Union itself. The workers there, freed from the danger of capitalist restoration through military intervention of the Western powers, would have risen to their feet and overthrown the hated police-rule of the Stalinist bureaucrats in short order. The fate of Stalinism as well as that of capitalism was at stake in the profound post-war social crises of Western Europe.

Next Week: The Results of the Teheran-Yalta Agreement.

Rebuilding Nazi War Machine

By Joseph Hansen

On July 9, Truman asked Congress to end the state of war that still exists technically between the United States and Germany. The request was timed to coincide with similar action by Britain, France and Australia.

Truman's step was at once hailed in the capitalist press as a significant move toward peace.

Certain suspicious circumstances, however, prevent me from tossing my hat in the air and breaking into cheers.

1. A secret agreement was reached among the Allied powers on this action. This is obvious from the joint timing of the announcement by the various powers. Secret diplomacy has always been directed against the interests of the people. This instance is no exception.

2. After a three-weeks visit to Washington, the U.S. High Commissioner of Germany, John J. McCloy, returned to Bonn, Germany, to inform the puppet Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, of certain decisions concerning this conquered country. What secret decisions did the State Department and Pentagon make? McCloy guardedly told the press, "the rearming of Germany will be undertaken as soon as possible, taking into consideration all attendant circumstances."

3. Ex-Nazi military experts are now in Paris, discussing participation of West Germany in the North Atlantic military pact, the far-reaching alliance which General Marshall and President Truman have woven together in preparation for another world war.

4. On July 9, the same day Truman asked Congress to declare an end to the state of war with Germany, Chancellor Adenauer delivered a saber-rattling speech to 3,000 members of the reactionary Christian Democratic party at Essen. The Chancellor declared that capitalist Germany must "become strong again." He officially announced that an army of 250,000 men will now be mobilized. These of course are intended as cadres for a future mass army.

DROPS CAUTION

The press reported that Adenauer was in a "militant and aggressive mood," that he "discarded" the caution that has "cloaked" previous utterances, and that he spoke as if Germany were the "leader" of the European coalition that is being organized for assault on the Soviet Union.

Adenauer was even so brazen as to charge that the "greatest error" of the Allies when they defeated Germany was failure to recognize "Russia was the real enemy." Drew Middleton, **N. Y. Times** correspondent, referred to this attempt at justifying Hitler's war policies as indicating "as much as anything else the positive nature of the Chancellor's speech."

"Thunderous applause" greeted Adenauer's remarks, which were "well calculated to match the atmosphere of the nation, whose governing classes were impatiently waiting the return of complete sovereignty and a more decisive role in European affairs."

WHAT FACTS REVEAL

Now, let's put these significant facts together. What do they reveal? I think the following conclusion is inescapable: The declaration of an end of hostilities with Germany in World War II is another step toward converting Germany into an ally in World War III.

The German rulers have been demanding "equality" in the Atlantic Pact as their price for cooperation in gearing Germany's war potential to Washington's military blueprint. Concession to this demand was in the cards all along. It was just a question of the timing.

The cease-fire negotiations in Korea impelled action. On the chess board of international politics, Washington aims to help balance the cease-fire negotiations in the East by pushing Germany forward in the West. The full rehabilitation of the German ruling class that backed the Nazis and the announcement of new steps to reconstitute the German war machine is designed to assist in counteracting any "lulling" effect the cease-fire negotiations in Korea may have and to put fresh pressure on the Soviet Union.

PEOPLE WILL NOT APPROVE

Will the German people acquiesce in becoming catspaws in Washington's reactionary game? I don't think so. The prospect of converting Germany into a major battlefield in an atomic war draws no applause from these victims who are still living in the rubble left by World War II.

The American people, too, I think, will show in emphatic terms that they have no stomach for revival of the Nazi war machine or new Expeditionary Forces to fight side by side with regenerated Nazis to "make the world safe for democracy" once more.

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THE MILITANT

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"Play Ball!"

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, July 9 — There's no doubt that Clevelanders are "caught up in the excitement that goes along with the home baseball team climbing up to a place where it is in the thick of the pennant fight," as the **Plain Dealer** says. But that capitalist paper's wishful thinking that the class struggle will move over is all wet. The headlines about the progress of the ball game had to share space this week with the report of the militant struggle of the local truck drivers — against their own union bureaucrats as well as the employers — for a better contract.

In an editorial yesterday, Cleveland's only Sunday paper bemoaned the fact that baseball is not as popular all over the world as it is here.

"Sports let off steam," the editorial concluded. "They nurture a sense of humor. And they are harmless. You can argue furiously over whether Bob Feller is a greater pitcher that Cy Young was — and you don't have to stake the lives of your sons and your fortunes on the decision.

"Play ball! Batter up! And throw those copies of Karl Marx into the baskets the hot dog boys carry!"

Now, most of the local teamsters are probably as rabid Cleveland 'Indian' fans as anyone else. But their sons and brothers continued to die in Korea and the teamsters didn't "throw their copies of Karl Marx" — symbol of the class struggle — into the waste baskets this week end.

Local 407 held a stormy session Saturday night, with 1,000 members present to debate the ending of a strike called Thursday and continued despite a truce agreed on by union officials and management representatives which was supposed to end the strike Friday night.

John H. Rohrich, president of the Teamsters' District Council, who put the heat on the men to return to work first and negotiate afterwards, was introduced by a member of the negotiating committee who urged the members to listen but not be "kidded into anything."

The meeting finally voted to go back to work but elected a rank and file negotiating committee which included at least one member who had urged the men to continue the strike until they got what they wanted.

Interesting thing about the strike just concluded was that it was originally called in defiance of the leadership as a protest against a contract signed by the union officials. The contract provided for a 5-cent hourly increase and continuation of a six-day, 48-hour week.

The membership instructed the new rank and file negotiating committee to seek a 25-cent hourly increase, a 40-hour week with time and a half for overtime, and other improvements in working conditions and vacations.

The meeting Saturday night voted to go back to work and continue negotiations on the new basis only after Rohrich threatened them with the fact that the strike was unauthorized by the local or international union officials, that the employers could secure a court injunction, and that the government might step in to end their strike in view of the "present emergency." But in the face of the militant opposition of the ranks, he couldn't begin to make the men accept the contract the union officials have already signed.

It is quite likely that not a single one of the union members owns a copy of Karl Marx's **Capital**, so they could not very well take the advice of the **Cleveland Plain Dealer** and throw it into the waste basket. But the class struggle goes on — even at the height of the baseball season.

Organizing Europe

By Tom Conlan

On July 3 at London Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower delivered, half in frustration, half in anger, a speech the gist of which was an appeal for the political unification and economic integration of Europe.

While the General did not say so openly, the tenor of his remarks was that Europe, as it is constituted, is a mad-house, politically and economically. Divided "by a patchwork of territorial fences," Europe, he declared, is strangled by "a web of customs barriers interlaced with bilateral agreements, multilateral cartels, local shortages and economic monstrosities."

What has opened the eyes of this militarist to Europe's economic and political "monstrosities" has been, of course, his own personal experience. Entrusted with the task of building a huge army, Eisenhower has run up at every step against the system of political and economic cages which makes Europe resemble a zoo rather than a rational social order.

Eisenhower has obviously concluded that organizing an effective army under the existing European conditions is a formidable enterprise.

This problem of "organizing Europe" is nothing new. In fact, it is as old as the capitalist system itself. The annals of history are dotted with futile attempts to achieve such an "organization." The German imperialists tried to "organize" Europe twice and failed — first under the Kaiser's scepter in World War I and the second time under Hitler's swastika in World War II.

In the interval between the two world wars, the French diplomats and financiers under Premier Briand sought the same goal, just as fruitlessly. And today the American imperialists are facing this problem, as blind as their predecessors to the real obstacles in the way of achieving the United States of Europe.

Eisenhower sees only "artificial bonds" obstructing the way, and among these "artificial" obstacles he lists "history, custom, language and prejudice."

All these have played their part, to be sure. But the most fundamental obstacle is not included in Eisenhower's list, any more than it was on the list of the European imperialist "organizers" who preceded him. This chief obstacle is the private ownership of the means of production. Europe is the crazy patchwork that today confronts all the Eisenhowers because this pattern benefits the capitalists of the various nations. So long as they remain, political unification and economic integration of Europe is impossible.

The system of private ownership of the means of production happens to be none other than the same capitalist system that Eisenhower represents and ruthlessly defends.

By an accident of historical development the American capitalists had a virgin continent to exploit. If anything could be called "artificial" it was these exceptionally favorable conditions of American capitalist development. European capitalism, on the other hand, developed directly out of the feudal system and thereby suffered many handicaps.

The historic need is for the political and economic integration not alone of Europe but of the whole world. This can be accomplished by abolishing private ownership of the means of production, which benefits only a small minority, and establishing socialized ownership, which benefits the vast majority of the people.

It does not even enter the mind of an Eisenhower that by denouncing the "chaos" of Europe he is in reality denouncing the root cause of it, namely, the capitalist system. It only shows how blind he and the other American imperialists are to the real source of the "prejudices" and "customs" they themselves bewail — in Europe.

Eisenhower believes that the problem of Europe can be solved by the "wisest statesmen, the best economists, the most brilliant diplomats." But it is precisely the "best" and the "most brilliant" and the "wisest" that European capitalism has had to offer all these years who have brought Europe into the blind alley in which it finds itself today. The road to progress in Europe, as here at home, is blocked by capitalism. Only on socialist foundations will there rise the great United States of Europe. Only Socialist America will really help **organize** Europe and the rest of the world into a world society of peace, plenty and freedom.

Wall Street's Washington

By James Walcott

Big Business generally and Wall Street in particular run this government not only by proxy but in person. Here, for example, is a list published by the Washington **Times-Herald** on June 25.

The **STATE DEPARTMENT** is headed by Acheson who is a Wall Street lawyer, as is John Foster Dulles, GOP adviser to the State Department and architect of the Japanese peace treaty. Acheson's deputy is George W. Perkins, a corporation executive and director. Another assistant State Secretary is Wm. L. Thorp who, too, is a corporation director. Still another high State Department official is Paul H. Nitze. He is a former partner of Dillon Read & Co., Wall Street financiers.

The chief diplomatic posts are held by Big Business power-boys. The ambassador to Britain is Walter S. Gifford, former chairman of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. David K. E. Bruce, ambassador to France, belongs to a Maryland family closely associated with Wall Street. The ambassador to Norway is Chas. U. Day, a Wall Street broker.

The U.S. High Commissioner to Germany is a Wall Street lawyer — John J. McCloy; and the assistant to McCloy is B. J. Buttenweiser, former member of the banking combine of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

The **DEFENSE DEPARTMENT** is virtually the private preserve of this same gang.

Defense Secretary Marshall lists himself as a director of Pan-American Airways. His deputy is Robert A. Lovett, one of the partners of Brown Bros., Harriman & Co., investment bankers. Francis P. Matthews, Secretary of the Navy, is a corporation lawyer and director. Air Secretary T. K. Finletter is likewise a corporation lawyer and director. Chairman of the munitions board is John D. Small, a corporation official. And on the Atomic Energy Commission sits Sumner T. Pike, member of a Wall Street mining and oil firm.

The recently appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is Wm. McChesney Martin Jr., former N. Y. Stock Exchange president. The president of the World Bank is E. R. Black, a New York banker, while a N. Y. industrialist, Wm. C. Foster runs the Marshall Plan. The new RFC chief is W. S. Symington who has headed various corporations. The Defense Mobilization Director is C. E. Wilson, former head of GE, and a Wall St. bank director.

The Department of Commerce is run by Secretary Sawyer, corporation lawyer and director and Truman's chief policy adviser is W. Averell Harriman, Wall St. banker.

This long list only scratches the surface. "Hundreds of lesser Wall Streeters hold government posts," says the Washington Times-Herald. "They are particularly strong at policy-making levels."

Short Subjects

Fear that the cease-fire talks in Korea may interfere with the global war plans of American imperialism was voiced recently by Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, in a Senate committee hearing. In warning of the "dangers" of relaxing war preparations, he said: "While we can lay the industrial potential of Russia today waste, or we can lay the Manchurian countryside waste, as well as the principal cities of China, we cannot do both, again because we have got a shoestring air force. We are trying to operate a $20,000,000 business with about $20,000."

S.P.M.L.W. recently held its first meeting in devastated Korea. This organization of men from the U.S. 25th Division is called: "Society for the Promotion of More Love in the World." "We just want to show people by any means whatsoever that it's better to love than to hate," said one member.

* * *

Britain's largest trade union, the 1,400,000 member Transport and General Workers Union meeting in convention on July 10, voted down the government arms program by defeating the resolution which said the $13,160,000,000 military budget had been forced on Britain by the "imperialist policy of the U.S.S.R."

Congress Out To Load Big Tax on Poor

(Continued from Page 1)

did in 1949; and they will pay very little more in 1951 than they did last year.

The truth is that the big corporations actually pay little, if any taxes; they simply pass them on. They act as unofficial tax-collecting agencies for the government and nothing more. Does this sound incredible? Listen to the financiers of the National City Bank of N. Y.:

"Although practically everyone in the United States deals with these large companies in one way or another," states the July "Monthly Letter" of this Big Business institution, "few people have any idea as to the vast amounts of direct and indirect taxes which they are paying through these companies but which are largely hidden in the prices of goods and services purchased. Most types of taxes come in time to be regarded as part of the regular costs of doing business and ARE PASSED ON TO THE PURCHASER WHENEVER POSSIBLE."

"Few people have any idea" that corporations do not pay "vast amounts of direct and indirect taxes" but simply "pass them on" — to whom? "To practically everyone in the United States." What could be clearer?

NEW LOOPHOLE

But even that isn't the whole picture. There are in addition one thousand and one loopholes by which the billionaires and their corporations are able to reduce and evade tax payments. One of the biggest loopholes was recently provided by Congress when it authorized the Defense Production Administration to grant special exemptions to those enterprises which expand their plants "in the interest of national defense."

Any corporation that is granted a certificate by the DPA can then proceed to build a plant, and **deduct its cost in five yearly installments** from their tax payments. They thus not only pay no taxes but are enabled to pocket tax money in the shape of new plants, equipment and the like.

Already more than 7 billion dollars have been stolen by Big Business through this trickery. This outright thieving has assumed such proportions that even the spokesmen of the financiers and speculators have become concerned lest public opinion become aroused. These "defense plant" projects, warns the **Wall Street Journal**, include "a long list of things that doesn't seem particularly warlike — cardboard, lumber, nylon, woolen cloth, to name a few."

This huge sum of more than 7 billion dollars thus stolen since Korea is almost $1.2 billion more than the total federal income and excess profits taxes paid by 100 of the largest industrial corporations in 1950 when these payments amounted to slightly over $4.8 billion.

WANT FEDERAL SALES TAX

But even all this does not satisfy the profiteers. The National Association of Manufacturers, which is a mouthpiece of Big Business, is now demanding from Congress a "consumption tax." What they want is a federal sales tax to be paid by the manufacturers and passed on to the mass of the people. Each one percent of such a federal sales tax would, it is estimated, bring in about a billion dollars. The spokesman of the NAM had the gall to mention a "consumption (sales) tax" of 19 percent!

LET THE RICH PAY

Isn't it about time that organized labor, in the name of the overwhelming majority of the people, demanded from Congress that those pay who are really able to pay?

There are 100 largest industrial corporations who admitted at the end of last year total assets of over $85 billion. A ten percent tax on this vast wealth would alone bring in $8.5 billion, without in the least impairing the position of these fabulously rich enterprises.

Let the rich pay! Not a penny's tax on incomes under $5,000. Put a 100% tax on all incomes over $25,000. Here is a truly equitable tax program, the only one that would safeguard the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people.

Election Shows Labor Party Need; Oakland Socialist Hits AFL Policy

Soldiers' Peace Hopes Raised

Soldiers and sailors eagerly scan headlines in New York's Grand Central Terminal. None are more anxious than they as results of cease-fire discussions are awaited.

OAKLAND, Calif. — The AFL newspaper of this city, **East Bay Labor Journal**, is conducting a "post mortem" on the local elections of May 15. The choice of the term "post mortem" is a good one, since the campaign for AFL-endorsed candidates died in its tracks.

Local labor leaders, responding to the defeat of their slate in typical bureaucratic fashion, blame the rank and file for "lack of class consciousness" among other things.

Replying to the official analysis, Filomena M. Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the city council in the primaries, made the following statement, printed in the July 6 **East Bay Labor Journal:**

"POST MORTEM"

"'Post Mortem' (an editorial in the AFL paper) gave several reasons why Smith, Pease and Sweeney did not win the elections on May 15. Among them: Lack of class consciousness, uncertainty about leadership, labor education is feeble.

"In 1947 the workers of Oakland did not lack class consciousness when they voted in the AFL-CIO candidates, Smith, Weakeley, Pease and Lantz, through the Oakland Voters League. The 1946 Oakland general strike had taught them that in order to break up the strikebreaking City Council they had to have their own representatives. . . They thought that, at last, in the Oakland Voters League they had found their way to independent political action.

"The **Labor Journal** further states that the workers are uncertain about their leadership. This is a gross understatement. The vote on May 15 shows how thoroughly they distrust them. In 1947 the top AFL-CIO leadership could have developed an Independent Labor Party out of the Voters League. This would have educated the workers further along the road of class consciousness. Instead they have discarded the League, and Smith and the others were off on their own and felt no responsibility to the workers who put them into office.

THE RECORD

"Both the AFL and CIO have since continuously urged the rank and file to vote for boss politicians such as James Roosevelt and Truman and Co. Truman has made no bones about his strikebreaking tactics. The Taft-Hartley Law has not been repealed. The railroad workers were openly stabbed in the back. Today there is not one representative in Congress who speaks on behalf of labor. They all represent another class, the capitalist class.

"Discouraged by this, the workers felt they had no one to vote for May 15. They thus expressed their class consciousness as opposed to the class collaboration politics of their leadership.

"As Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-large in the primaries, I called for independent working class political action. Point no. 6 of my program stated: For an Independent Labor Party. . . No support to the bankrupt capitalist parties. Unite the labor movement to bring forth an independent party for labor's own interests.

"Without any backing from the labor bureaucracy, but with a clear-cut socialist program against the war, against discrimination and for an independent labor party, I received 6,855 votes on April 17.

"It seems appropriate that I should add that the title of your editorial should have read, 'Labor Bureaucracy awake! The handwriting is on the wall.'"

VICIOUS SLANDER

In a reply to this statement of Socialist Workers Party candidate Goelman, the **Labor Journal** stated in an editorial: "Fundamentally there is very little difference between the Trotskyist line and the Stalinist line."

This is not an answer. It is only a vicious slander.

It is well known in the labor movement that while the Socialist Workers Party has consistently fought for a labor party for over a decade, the Stalinists have consistently opposed a labor party.

While the SWP has repeatedly advocated an independent political organization based upon the trade unions, the Stalinists, following the dictates of their masters in the Kremlin, have either supported the Democratic Party and its war program, or have pushed a "third party" capitalist candidate of the Wallace type. They are planning a similar campaign for 1952.

Never during the past ten years have the Stalinists supported the labor party idea.

STALINISTS ARE CORRUPT

The difference, among many other fundamental ideas and principles, between the Stalinists and the SWP is that the Stalinists are the corrupt and servile tools of Moscow foreign policy, while the Socialist Workers Party is responsible only to the workers and their interests.

The logical and long overdue course toward a labor party cannot be avoided by slandering its advocates. Nor can a correct appraisal of the election failure in Oakland be made by running away from the truth.

FILOMENA GOELMAN

AUTO WORKERS IN DETROIT FIGHT AGAINST SPEEDUPS

DETROIT, July 7 — Detroit Auto Workers are putting up a courageous and determined struggle against company speed-up. The Hudson Motor Car Co. started this latest attack against union working conditions. Next the Chrysler Corp. launched its campaign at its Dodge, Chrysler and DeSoto plants affecting thousands of additional employees.

This comes at a time when there are widespread lay-offs in the auto industry. In this period of inflationary prices the auto workers are hit with the twin curses of the depression, speed-up and lay-offs.

Ed Grant, president of DeSoto Local 227, UAW-CIO, said, "Chrysler is trying to get more production with less man power."

The auto companies are taking advantage of a shortage of customers and consequent lack of demand for cars to speed-up the lines by reducing the number of workers on production operations. Inflation has priced autos out of the market for most people. The credit restrictions imposed by the Truman administration further cut the buying power of the great mass of people. This condition affects the higher priced cars first. These include Hudson, Chrysler, Dodge and DeSoto.

At the Hudson Motor Car Co. union men and women have now battled speed-up for 18 consecutive working days. This struggle came immediately after a plant-wide lay-off lasting from May 27 to June 11 as well as many months of company-imposed short work weeks followed by permanent lay-offs of thousands of Hudson workers.

Handbills put out by officials of Hudson Local 154, UAW-CIO state: "Brutally, without notice of negotiations, management walked through these departments (18 are listed to date) uttering the same monkey talk: 'We think you have too many men on these operations,' and the wholesale removal of manpower began, using no reason or logic. Again the operations could not be completed, and gleefully the company sent the plants home at 7:43 A.M. (This means 10,000 Hudson workers.) This practice of removing people from various operations without following the contract puts every classification we have in danger. Tomorrow it may be your job.

"By these devious tactics of forced labor trouble, the company is saving $50,000 a day in unemployment compensation, depriving the seniority workers of pension credits, hoping that dealers will have relief, and that the 36,000 cars stockpiled will be greatly reduced.

"The Hudson Motor Car Co. adamantly refuses releases to your seniority employees, so that you may get employment elsewhere. Many employees were forced to quit and have now lost all credits built toward pensions, bonuses and so forth."

These speed-up tactics, taken from the days of the open shop, are now being duplicated in the Chrysler plants. The corporations are trying to starve the workers into surrendering what remains of their hard-won conditions.

To date, the Reuther leadership of the auto union has offered no program to meet the attack. The rank and file in the locals and departments are fighting back on their own. In a situation of this kind, where the industry is not hungry for production, the power of the entire union must be mobilized to fight speed-up. An all-sided campaign of mass public pressure is required, designed to expose the anti-labor conspiracy of the auto magnates.

Many workers remember Reuther's false promise that the five-year agreements would bring peace, stability and a measure of security to the auto workers. The employers have no respect for contracts, unless labor has the economic and political power to enforce them. Unlike Reuther, they do not view contracts as sacred. As long as the employers run the plants there will be no peace, stability or security in the plants, because this interferes with profits.

Stock Market Has Dull Day

The capitalist class fears peace. Even the talk about a possible cease-fire in Korea brought activity on the New York stock exchange last Wednesday to its dullest in two years.

Along with the peace talks, good weather with its promise of good crops had a further depressing effect. Capitalism thrives best nowadays on reports of wars and disasters.

Here's how the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** described the day: "Wall Street was a very peaceful place yesterday. Not even the ticker disturbed the general quiet that prevailed. It stuttered along its way, grinding out the prices at which a paltry 910,000 shares changed hands. Perhaps they should set off firecrackers every time more than a hundred shares go across the tape, just for the excitement."

The only rally in sight was the one scheduled for next Tuesday when Local 205 of the AFL banking and brokerage employes are going to hit the bricks with placards during the noon hour. They are protesting the recently-inaugurated six-day week and also demanding that they be **exempted from the wage freeze.**

Lively Sale of Leon Book

Pioneer Publishers reports lively sales of A. Leon's book, **The Jewish Question.** This Marxist interpretation of the history of the Jewish people and the problems they face today is rapidly becoming a classic in the socialist movement. If you haven't read it yet, you can get a copy by sending $1 to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

The Kaiser-Frazer Corp. which lost $13,250,000 last year making automobiles is not worrying. The company has more than a half a billion dollars worth of war orders.

'GUILTY' OF RAPE BECAUSE HE 'LOOKED' AT WHITE GIRL

Mack Ingram, 44 year-old Negro farmer, father of nine, was sentenced on June 18 to a term of two years hard labor by a judge in Yanceyville, N. C., who found Ingram guilty of "attempted assault on a female." It was brought out in court that Ingram never touched the girl he was accused of assaulting; he didn't even speak to her, and never came closer that "about 75 feet." **All Ingram did, according to the testimony of the girl herself was: "He looked at me."**

Judge R. O. Vernon decided that this was more than ample grounds for finding Ingram guilty and sending him to the road gang. The news of this outrageous verdict was made public more than a month later by a special dispatch to the daily **N. Y. York Post.**

According to the **Post** reporter, Ingram rents a small 20 acre farm in Caswell County, N. C., near the Virginia border. Owning his own mules and tools, he keeps three-quarters of his crop, unlike the majority of other sharecroppers in the area who are fortunate if they are permitted to keep half. This "favored" position is apparently Ingram's real crime.

Last June 4 he came to the Boswell farm, the scene of the alleged assault, to ask if he could borrow a trailer to haul a load of logs to a sawmill. The Boswell farm is two miles away from the place rented by Ingram who drove up in his broken-down jalopy and then walked "through a patch of weeds to a tobacco field where he expected to find the farmer (Boswell) working."

Boswell "wasn't out there," Ingram told the **Post** reporter, "although I did see his two little boys over on the other side of the field. So I didn't want to waste any time, so I went back and borrowed the other trailer."

Later that afternoon, two white deputies "came to his house, called him out and slapped handcuffs on him." It was only then that he learned that Boswell's 18-year-old daughter had also been in the field across the way.

The Ingrams have appealed to the local NAACP to help them fight the case.

"By the end of 1949, the value of U.S. oil investments abroad had risen to a total of $3.7 billions, an increase of 138 percent above the amount at the end of 1945. Nearly half of the amount was invested in Latin America, notably in Venezuela." — **July, 1951, Economic Notes of the Labor Research Association.**