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The Outlook For U. S. Labor In '52 Elections

An Editorial

What is the American labor movement going to do in the 1952 elections? According to the AFL Executive Council, labor may just sit it out.

"If the Democrats don't come up with decent candidates," the Council stated after its Montreal meeting earlier this month, then labor will just reserve its support, and let the politicians see if they can win without labor's active aid.

The AFL officers are peeved with their Democratic political allies. "They conclude we have no place else to go," says the AFL Council. But these clever tacticians have a place to go. For the time being the AFL political strategists will go to their tents and sulks.

CIO leaders, on the other hand, have no such "drastic" action in mind. They plan to go ahead supporting the Democrats who have stabbed labor in the back, insulted the labor officials, betrayed their promises, and worst of all, ignored the bleats of protest from the union heads.

The workers have nothing to gain from these two "programs" for '52. Both are completely hopeless as a political outlook for labor at a time when politics is decisive in solving basic problems.

Today all roads lead to government: whether it is wages, organizing drives, taxation, prices, adjustments of the cost of living index, housing, or race discrimination. The main power used by the corporations today against the working class to frustrate its demands is the power of government.

The government made up of Democratic and Republican political hacks of the old-line parties is anti-labor to the core. Labor has no real political representation at Washington. It can only beg for favors.

What the Leaders Want

But this state of affairs suits the union bureaucrats. By lobbying for favors they fulfill to some extent their personal interests; they get appointed to many third-line governmental jobs, are sent all over the world to sell imperialism, and in the process they "better" themselves economically and socially.

In exchange for these favors, the union "statesmen" block expression of the independent political power of the organized labor movement. After the walkout from all government posts Feb. 18, they crawled back into the Truman administration as flunkies to serve as "window dressing," accepting a few minor posts as payment for this betrayal.

They betrayed the program adopted by their own United Labor Policy Committee just as Truman reneged on the "Fair Deal" promises of his 1948 campaign.

Thus the labor bureaucracy, pursuing its narrow interests as a privileged group, functions as an agent of the capitalist class in the workers' ranks. Company unionism in politics must be met head on. This can only be done by getting rid of this bureaucracy and building a new leadership from the union ranks. The first step along this road is the organization of a national left wing movement in the unions which can bring enough pressure to bear upon the leaders to force them to act in labor's interests.

The 1952 campaign is on. The AFL leaders threaten to sit it out. However, this is not to be taken seriously. They are only freeing their hands to maneuver for a few more concessions. They will be on the bandwagon of one or the other capitalist party when the chips are down.

The CIO plans an "all-out" campaign for '52 in the same pattern that produced the "terrible" 80th Congress, the "worse" 81st Congress and the still worse 82nd Congress. The result can only be continued blows against labor.

An Independent Labor Party

The only other road open to the union leadership is the formation of an independent political party of labor. This alternative was posed after the ULP withdrawal last February: Back to the Truman administration, or forward to a labor party. They dared not take the road forward.

For years the AFL hierarchy fought against the mounting demands by the workers for industrial unions in the mass production industries. Only when the pressure from below became irresistible did a section of the AFL bureaucracy decide to move.

The subsequent stormy development of the CIO, especially in the auto and rubber industries, left a fearful impression on the present union leaders. The militant actions of these workers, the new leadership they created and the violent struggles in these dynamic unions, were not to the taste of these conservative-minded office-holders.

If the American workers were organized on the political field, their great power and militancy would be even harder to control. Their demands would inevitably be far-reaching. The union leaders would rather depend upon "friends" among capitalist politicians than be politically accountable to a dynamic labor party.

That is why the struggle for a labor party today must take the form of a fight for a new leadership in the unions, just as the fight for industrial unionism had to be conducted not only against the corporations, but against the conservative union heads. A new left wing in the unions with its foremost objective a labor party, can and will crack the conservative crust of the union bureaucracy and break the existing stalemate in politics. That is the task ahead.

MYRA WEISS TO SPEAK ON COAST-TO-COAST TOUR

A coast-to-coast tour by Myra Tanner Weiss, outstanding Socialist campaigner in the 1951 Los Angeles city elections, will begin Friday, Sept. 7 in Newark, N. J., and conclude with the Anniversary

at Los Angeles. She played a prominent role in organizing the agricultural workers of California during the thirties, and was a member of the AFL Cannery Workers Union. She served as a delegate to the founding convention of the Seafarers' International Union, and also to the California State AFL Convention.

Mrs. Weiss is Chairman of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, and a member of the SWP National Committee. She has been SWP candidate for Congress, Mayor and Board of Education in Los Angeles, and received 18,752 votes in the 1951 city elections there.

After her tour opening in Newark on Sept. 7, Mrs. Weiss will go on to Boston on the 8th, New Haven on the 9th, and be in New York on Friday, Sept. 14 after which she begins her westward swing, going first to Philadelphia for a meeting on Sept. 15. A full tour schedule is to be found on Page 2.

Myra Tanner Weiss was born 34 years ago in Salt Lake City, Utah, where she attended the University of Utah before going on to the University of California

Call a Halt to the Korea War Bring the Troops Home Now



CEASE-FIRE TALKS BREAK UP AFTER 43 DAYS; U. S. NEGOTIATORS STALL

Forty-three days of repeatedly deadlocked cease-fire negotiations in Korea have led to another deadlock, proving that peace will not come to Asia by that road.

The first steps toward peace in the Far East would be to withdraw the U.S. armed forces and bring the American boys back home at once. That is what the Asian peoples want. That is what the American people want. That is what everyone, with the exception of the ruling clique of American monopolists and the Pentagon militarists, wants.

THE POOR PEOPLE PAY FOR RICH MAN'S WAR IN SENATE TAX SCHEME

It's a rich man's war, but the poor man has to pay for it. That is the truth about the new tax bills in preparation in both the House and Senate.

A new tax proposal announced by the Senate Finance Committee which would cut the total tax hike to \$412,000,000 less than the House bill, would, like the House bill, lay the heaviest burdens upon low income families.

According to the Senate committee, the House bill was unreasonably "rough" on the middle and high income groups. This bill would apply a straight 12 1/2 percent increase in taxes on all incomes. Such an across the board tax makes further drastic reductions in the purchasing power of the already hard-pressed wage workers, while leaving the high income groups plenty of money to buy their steaks and chops.

Witnesses report that a prowl car sought to make a peaceable group of Negroes move off a street corner near the segregated Federal housing project where the Kelly family lives. When they protested, the cops used this as a pretext to arrest someone they thought was Robert Kelly. When Kelly's mother intervened, and told them their victim was not Kelly at all, they began to beat her. When Kelly interfered, pleading with the cops not to beat his mother, they shot him.

The police arrested five witnesses, including two of Kelly's brothers, and Mrs. Kelly was sent to the hospital with head and back injuries.

For a married couple with two dependents with a \$4,000 a year income, the tax now is \$320. The House bill would take \$360, and the Senate bill would take \$358. Thus, the Senate bill would save the family two dollars a year.

For the same size family with an income of \$100,000 a year, the tax now is \$51,912. The House bill would take \$58,401 and the Senate bill \$53,720. This would save the rich man's family \$4,681 a year, or more than the total income of the \$4,000-a-year man.

For a single person, both the House and Senate bills would increase the tax of a \$1,000 a year income by \$10 a year. But the tax on a million-dollar-a-year income would not be increased a single penny by the Senate bill. The House bill would leave such a millionaire \$100,000 a year to take care of the necessities of life.

Since the Korea war began, more than \$10 billion have been lopped off the incomes of the mass of wage workers. But the new tax bills in preparation would be even rougher on the common people.

As the costs of the Korean war and all-out war preparation mount, the people will pay. The big corporations will continue to get back their taxes in the form of new plants and equipment paid for in tax rebates.

While the monopolists are guaranteed cost-plus profits in the new Defense Production Act, workers wages are frozen. On top of a rent hike of 20 percent provided in this Act, and price rises which government officials predict will reach 10 percent in the next year, higher taxes will take an even bigger bite into the pay envelopes of the American workers.

With Big Business controlled Democrats and Republicans unchallenged by a genuine labor voice in Congress, the shameless robbery of the people will go on. Only a new Congress, made up of labor representatives elected by a Labor Party, can stop the price-tax steal.

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Brutal Policemen Murder Helpless Trenton Negro

A Negro veteran of World War II was killed by police in Trenton Aug. 19 as he tried to prevail upon the cops to stop bludgeoning his mother. Robert Kelly, 26, was shot to death by police who had been intimidating him and his brothers for over a year, ever since police questioned him in connection with an auto accident and found his "attitude" not to their liking.

The cops who killed Kelly have been defended by their acting

Police Chief, James Di Louie. Among these uniformed killers were detectives William Stanley and Henry Miller, both involved in the Trenton Six case. Di Louie, speaking of the accounts of the murder given by witnesses, said: "Naturally, they're going to stick together with this Moore of the NAACP. He's the one stirring up all the trouble."

Di Louie was referring to Clifford Moore, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in Trenton, and also attorney for two acquitted defendants in the recent frame-up trial of the Trenton Six.

FREEDOM TO KILL

Chief Di Louie's vicious reference to Attorney Moore can only be taken to mean that the Trenton police, bitter over the blow-up of the lynch scheme in the case of the Trenton Six, want freedom

to kill, maim and frame Negro victims without being hampered by defense counsel for their victims. Moore stated he will take the case to the U.S. Attorney General.

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Trenton Two



Above are the Trenton Two, frame-up victims in the famous trial of the Trenton Six. While four of the defendants were acquitted, Collis English (at top) and Ralph Cooper were found guilty. The case is being appealed to the higher courts by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Princeton Defense Committee.

What Truman Could Do If He Really Opposed the Witch-Hunt

In an article entitled: "Give us deeds, not words in the fight on McCarthyism," I. F. Stone, columnist for the N. Y. Compass says: "President Truman's favorite rejoinder, every time the Russians speak of peace, is to ask them for deeds, not words. I would like to see Mr. Truman give us deeds, not words, in the fight against McCarthyism."

The liberal columnist points out that Truman's civil liberties record is as bad, if not worse, than that of his Republican opponents whom he attacks. In 1947, Truman opposed a Republican bill for loyalty procedures for government employees, but he himself "wrote an executive order establishing such procedures which was less fair to government employees than the Republican bill to which he objected." Truman has said repeatedly that he would never allow another "alien and sedition law" but he himself has instructed his attorney general to initiate the deportation raids against aliens and the seditious-conspiracy trials.

Truman challenged Stone to "demonstrate his sincerity" in his statements against McCarthyism "with some good concrete action."

As a "starter" Stone proposes the following three actions to Truman:

1. MR. TRUMAN CAN RE-INSTATE DOROTHY BAILEY. For Miss Bailey was branded disloyal and ordered discharged (from her job in the U.S. Employment Service) in one of the weirdest trials ever held in this country.

"Everything on the record was in her favor. The only 'evidence' against her was evidence which was never disclosed to her and even her judges were never told the source of this evidence. . . . That is hardly a fair trial. That is McCarthyism in action. But this was done by the Truman administration's loyalty agencies, not by the Wisconsin Senator.

2. MR. TRUMAN CAN RE-INSTATE JAMES KUTCHER. Like Miss Bailey, Kitcher's job was far removed from any contact with security matters. He was a \$45-a-week clerk in the Veterans' Administration in Newark. He is a Purple Heart veteran who lost both his legs in combat in Italy. The ground for his discharge was his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

"This case is the reductio ad absurdum of the entire Truman loyalty program, since SWP is Trotskyite and therefore bitterly anti-Stalin. The President should have reinstated Kitcher a long time ago. His discharge was about as ungrateful, cruel and senseless an action as anything which has happened during this period of hysteria.

3. MR. TRUMAN SHOULD REVISE THE EXECUTIVE ORDER GOVERNING LOYALTY INVESTIGATIONS. The procedure he established does exactly what he attributes to McCarthyism. It permits conviction on

undisclosed, evidence, 'guilt by association' and the smearing of whole organizations without a hearing."

In a follow-up column the next day, Stone showed how Truman's executive order is worse than McCarthy-McCarran legislation.

In his 1948 political campaign Truman made a big point of his civil liberties program. But he has not taken a single step to carry out the promises he made to fight for preservation of the constitutional rights of the people.

Instead Truman himself initiated the drastic government purge of Federal employees, in which the smear tactics, later copied by McCarthy, were first used. And it is Truman who is responsible for the Palmer-raids type of wholesale arrests and indictment of Stalinist leaders, imprisoning people for their ideas alone.

The hounding of all critical opponents of U.S. government policies was begun by Truman, and it is being continued by him and his administration.

As the costs of the Korean war and all-out war preparation mount, the people will pay. The big corporations will continue to get back their taxes in the form of new plants and equipment paid for in tax rebates.

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The Militant has stated from the beginning that American troops should be withdrawn from Korea; they had no business there in the first place. The present breakdown of cease-fire negotiations has shown that this is the only way to achieve peace in Asia, to guard against the spread of the Korean War, and the outbreak of World War III.

The peoples of Asia will no longer tolerate any foreign intervention. The day of the so-called "white man's burden" in Asia is definitely over. Troops of foreign intervention cannot be maintained in that portion of the globe without continuous and bitter warfare. The Asian peoples, held down for so long by foreign imperialisms are moving out on their own at last.

The fallacy behind the cease-fire negotiations as conducted by Washington is that they have been carried on with the very same end in view as the war itself. The conferences, like the war, were intended to see to it that U.S. troops stay in Korea, and that these troops occupy the strongest possible military positions.

But the true situation is that either warfare or peace negotiations which are based upon the presence of foreign occupying armies in Asia must end in failure. The Asian peoples will never stand for it, and the American people are opposed to it.

DELIBERATE STALL

Truce negotiations which broke down last week have been deliberately stalled by the U.S. negotiators. The Chinese proposed that all non-Korean armies be withdrawn from Korea and the people of Korea be left to decide their own fate. The U.S. general demanded instead that American armies stay in Korea, and even that the native Asian armies withdraw from their present positions and yield more of their own native land to the intervening army! Should negotiations begin again, the same problem would exist.

Pentagon policy in the Far East is guided at the present time by the imperialist idea of maintaining large military forces in Korea, Japan, in Pacific islands throughout the region, and maintaining a powerful fleet and air force in Asian waters and the Asian sky. The coming Japanese treaty conference, which opens in San Francisco on Sept. 4, will be bludgeoned into approving a pact that guarantees this Pentagon objective. For this reason, the U.S. truce team at Kaesong has been deliberately stalling negotiations. They apparently have been instructed not to arrive at a peace agreement that might remove warlike tension at least during the period of the San Francisco conference.

Behind the Deadlock

This stalling by the U.S. was confirmed by the Wall Street Journal, which carried a dispatch from Washington on Friday, Aug. 17 appraising the truce deadlock as follows:

"The U.S. reaction is to demand more than we expect the Communists ever to concede. Barring a complete cave-in by the Reds, the State Dept. would prefer no cease-fire deal until after the San Francisco conference ends."

Pentagon stalling designed to build up imperialist strength in the Far East can never bring peace. Bring the troops back home! That's the way to end Korean fighting.

Notebook of an Agitator

SPEAKING OF TRIALS AND CONFESSIONS

American newspapermen, who are known for their capacity to report the troubles of others, however grievous, with objective detachment, are showing more than a casual interest in some troubles of their own that have come up in Czechoslovakia. William N. Oatis, correspondent of the Associated Press in Czechoslovakia, was arrested on a charge of espionage, and after a short imprisonment, was brought into court where he confessed and was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. There have been other cases of this kind, and the imperturbable journalists managed to take them all in stride. They calmly reported such facts as they found and thought worthy of notice without intruding any personal opinions. But in their accounts and comments on the case of Oatis they strike the emotional note of partisans. They are disturbed about the fate of their colleague, and they want something done about it. This, they seem to be saying, is going too far. This trial of Oatis involves us; it involves everybody.

Similarly, a short time ago the case of Cardinal Mindszenty started the Catholic hierarchy in the United States off on a holy crusade for justice and fair play, with Cardinal Spellman, the bull-necked prconsul of the Roman pope, bellowing in the lead. Their fellow prelate, they said — whenever they caught their breath — had been falsely accused of crimes to which he had falsely confessed. These sons of the Holy Inquisition protested with excited violence against such an outrage, as though they had made a sudden discovery of something that had never happened before. The trial of Mindszenty is everybody's case.

In the same way, American businessmen discovered hitherto unsuspected capacities for moral indignation within their own breasts when William Vogeler had his turn in a Stalinist court in Hungary. They also protested in the name of justice. They contended that the affair of Vogeler is everybody's affair. To be sure, their concern for justice was somewhat belated, and did not occur until a member of their own community was directly involved. But late converts often make up for their tardiness by excessive zeal.

THE LONG HISTORY OF FRAME-UPS

Apparently they all have just discovered the importance of justice, but it has been needing defense for a long time. The right of each and every individual under accusation, whoever he may be, to a fair trial and an honest verdict has been brutally violated many times in many places. Crimes against justice have not been confined to any one country or social regime. For fifteen years now the whole world has known that justice has no dwelling place in the domain of Stalin. The Moscow Trials of 1936-37 revealed for all to see the main features of the standardized juridical technique of Stalinism — the staged trial, the frame-up and the false confession. Nobody among the better people got excited about it as long as honest revolutionists or pure and simple scapegoats were the defendants in the dock. Show trials of this sort, usually culminating in the summary execution of the victims, evoked neither surprise nor protest from the editorial and ecclesiastical keepers of morals in the countries of Western civilization. Their concern for justice for its own sake, for any man whatever, was sound asleep in these cases. They didn't bother to inquire whether the victims were innocent or guilty. They didn't care.

The novelty of this monstrous business in the USSR wore off a long time ago. Even the extension of the system of frame-ups and forced confessions to the countries occupied or controlled by the Kremlin was accepted as a matter of course. But, if one is to judge by the present trend of public opinion, as it is currently being manufactured, things are different now. It seems that even in matters of justice and morals, it makes a difference whose ox is gored. When representatives of Western culture were caught in the steel net of the Stalinist police state, it became Page One news. Pulpits and editorial pages barked like angry guns. Diplomatic intervention by Washington followed right away, and restrictive economic meas-

ures have already been taken in retaliation. Even conventions of merchants and manufacturers — for the first time in their existence — put justice on the agenda, and adopted resolutions in favor of it.

The immorality of the Stalinists, it would appear, consists in the fact that they don't know how to put reasonable and proper limits on their perversions of justice. They think frame-ups and fake confessions are good enough for everybody, and are proceeding accordingly. They are now persecuting and framing up the wrong people, and extracting confessions from them. No social category is spared. Just consider again some of their latest victims. A prince of the Holy Roman Catholic Church is brought into court after some months of "conditioning" in solitary confinement. There he confesses to specified offenses ranging from the high crime of treason to the petty misdemeanor of mean and sordid speculation in the black market for personal gain: Going still higher in the scale of human personality, the Stalinist gang in Hungary dared to lay hands on an American businessman, a vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. They got a confession out of him too. And now, worst of all, as this is written, no less a man than the correspondent of the sacrosanct Associated Press of the United States has been arrested on a charge of spying and dragged into court at Prague. He also confessed.

A NEW HUE AND CRY

Confessions, all patterned to fit the current political requirements of the ruling Stalinists, are rolling out of the courtrooms in the Eastern European countries like identical automobiles from a Detroit assembly line. They are the same kind of confessions as those made by other victims of the Stalinist police system before Mindszenty, Vogeler and Oatis; and the methods of extracting them were very probably the same as those used against the others. Everything is just about the same except the public reaction in the United States. That is what is new and different.

There is no nonchalance in the report and discussion of these new confessions. There is no indifference to the fate of the victims. Far from it. The noble ideal of justice, sadly neglected in the consideration of other cases with other victims, steps forth now in the flesh and blood of a different kind of people. There is a hallelujah and a hue and cry; and a widespread, excited demand that something be done about it. The protests are all built around three main contentions:

1. The confessions are false. The prisoners who made the confessions are not to be condemned on any grounds whatever. On the contrary, they are to be elevated as heroes and martyrs.

2. Prisoners in the hands of police (in a Stalinist country) can be forced by various means of physical and mental torture, perhaps even by the use of drugs, to make false confessions. This is a new practice invented by the Stalinists.

3. It is morally wrong and reprehensible to frame up innocent people and force them to confess to crimes they did not commit. We must protest against this ghastly practice in the name of humanity.

This new campaign for justice invites a discussion in which others can join, and which can be fruitful. Right now, public opinion is concerning itself with these particular trials and confessions. But if moral principles are at stake — and I think they are — the discussion should not be limited to the cases of the Catholic ecclesiastic and the American businessman in Czechoslovakia. Why not include other cases in the discussion? And trials and confessions in general, and the social environment in which they take place? The elemental questions of justice and humanity are at issue in the trial of any man, and so is the social regime under which the trials take place. This is a wide field, well worthy of examination and discussion at this time.

— J. P. C.
(Next Week: The Matter of Justice)

Europe Bitter Over Marshall Plan Failure

Cry 'Eisenhower Go Home' to General

By Thomas Raymond

Why did 50,000 Parisians greet General Eisenhower upon his arrival in Paris last year with cries of "Eisenhower, Go Home," and pelt Supreme HQ with handfuls of garbage?

Why did half-a-million workers shouting the same slogan parade through Paris on May 1st?

Part of the answer is to be found in the urgent desire of the European people for peace. They know that Eisenhower is there to make, not peace, but war. But that is not the whole answer. The remainder is to be found in the fact that American capitalism has failed to do what it has promised. It has failed to bring prosperity through the Marshall Plan.

If the Marshall Plan had been able to accomplish even a part of what it promised when it was inaugurated in 1947, the people of Europe might have been imbued with a martial spirit, a desire to defend capitalism. But the key to the difficulties of the Allied High Command in Europe is in the fact that the Marshall Plan has been a miserable failure, as we have shown in two previous articles in *The Militant*. It has been a partial success only in one respect: in the armaments field. But in so far as its chief expressed aim was the raising of the standard of living of the European people, it has had absolutely no success.

As a matter of fact, the very opposite results have come from the Marshall Plan. The standard of living of the French workers, as the chief instance, is probably somewhat lower than pre-war, and also than post-war pre-Marshall Plan. And for this lower standard of living, the worker must work longer hours than previously.

WORKERS' PLIGHT

Butter, cigars, coffee, and numerous other items cost the French worker more hours of labor, in many cases two or three times as many hours of labor, than these same items used to cost him in 1938. In addition, the worker pays almost one-third of his pay for social-security, and another big chunk for income tax, while huge capitalist firms pay very little.

With these results from ECA, is it any wonder that the French are so hostile to Eisenhower? This hostility has compelled Eisenhower to move his home residence out of Paris to the hunting lodge of President Vincent Auriol, and to move his headquarters from the Champs Elysee to the tiny village of Roquencourt, 15 miles out of Paris.

Eisenhower has given orders that the five-star insignia of his limousine be covered over whenever a trip to Paris is made. Can the fear of further anti-U.S. demonstrations have anything to do with this? The fact that GIs are warned against walking alone in Paris is a symptom of the same fear. A U.S. corporal, interviewed by a French newspaper, was asked why he never dated French girls, and answered: "I tried, but I got my face slapped."

This is a far cry from the popular American-in-Paris legend, and the cause of it is the failure of the Marshall Plan, the obvious warlike mood of American imperialism, and the consequent hatred of American troops.

ing to Allen, is now preparing "sweeping changes in the Atomic Energy Act."

But everything is not going so smoothly. There is an opposition in the ranks of the Joint Congressional Committee. The reported leader of this opposition is Representative Henry Jackson, Democrat of Washington.

Allen cites Jackson as having "voiced strenuous hostility" to the power grab by the utilities "in closed door meetings." Jackson is opposed to "letting the private utilities carry off the prize of the century, making electric power by atomic energy."

"It is the money of all the people that is making these things possible," Jackson is quoted as saying. "And it would be an outrage and a scandal to turn them over to the utilities to exploit for their own profit."

The whole history of capitalism has been a series of "outrages and scandals" whereby a tiny minority has monopolized for its own private benefit and to the great injury of the majority not only the vast natural resources but also each and every conquest of science.

Hounding the Foreign-Born



Foreign born men and women about to board a New York ferry for Ellis Island and possible deportation are among 39 rounded up in four cities. Their bail was revoked on order of the Justice Department, as the Truman administration expanded its witch-hunt.

Poor Peasants In India Fight Against Evictions

Behind the widely known news about the earthquakes, floods and famine in India is the lesser known, but even more important news that the mass of Indian peasants are seething with anger and revolt. Rural India has become a volcano whose eruption may not long be postponed.

On June 3 the mass ferment among India's peasants, workers and other poor took the form of a huge demonstration at Delhi, under the auspices of the Indian Socialist Party, the Hind Kisan Panchayat, a peasant organization affiliated to the SP and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

50,000 peasants, workers and students, wearing red caps, marched in a ten-mile long procession from the banks of the Jumna River to the Imperial Secretariat at Delhi to formally make their demands upon the government and to present a "People's Charter" calling for bread, clothes and shelter to the hungry and the naked of India. Hundreds of thousands watched and cheered the demonstrators who shouted such slogans as: "Hungry and Naked India Demands Bread, Clothes and Shelter!"

"A Government that Cannot End Blackmarketing and Corruption Has No Right to Exist!" "We Cannot Go Ahead Until We Change the Government!"

The demonstrators had gathered from every part of the country. From Punjab came Sikh peasants who marched shoulder to shoulder with Muslim workers from the United Provinces. Peasant men and women came by the thousand from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, East Punjab and other provinces; many women walked on foot from areas as far as 150 miles from Delhi.

Strong contingents of workers from Delhi unions brought up the rear of this dramatic march.

The disillusion and growing discontent with the Nehru regime, which pretends to be a friend of the peasants, expressed in the slogans and moods of this demonstration at Delhi, has its roots in the perpetuation of the rule of the landlords in India.

Added to the old evils and oppressions has been the wave of evictions that has swept over India in the last four years.

A resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the India Socialist Party on July 2 of this year states that these evictions have been taking place "practically in all parts of the country" and that "While more than a million of cultivators have been ejected in the last four years, hundreds of thousands of them were not allowed even to reap the harvest sown by them."

Among those evicted are not alone tenant farmers but also agricultural workers who were "forced out of their homesteads, too."

Many of these evictions take place without even formal legal procedure. Landlords and their agents have "freely resorted . . . to brutal assaults." The officials locally connive with the landlords and wink at their "brutal high-handedness" while any peaceful attempts by the peasants to resist are "crushed by officials with a heavy hand in the name of law and order."

The Socialist Party resolution then goes on to condemn the "Congress governments" for "bureaucratic indifference" to the plight of the poor peasants; for delaying the passage of laws to halt the evictions and failing to carry them out after these laws had been "passed under pressure."

The Indian share-croppers who cultivate about one-half of the country's arable land have been left without any protection at all. "They have neither security of cultivation nor fixation of a fair rent. Rents range between 40 and 60 percent of the gross produce." It is clear from the above that the conditions in India today parallel those in China under the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. The role of the Nehru government, despite its loud protestations of the need of reforms, likewise comes quite close to a repetition of Chiang's course.

The Hind Kisan Panchayat and the India Socialist Party have been in the forefront of the struggles in defense of the poor peasants, in particular against the evictions of the tenant cultivators and the agricultural laborers.

In a letter of July 8, Ramnadan Mishra, General Secretary of Hind Kisan Panchayat, writes to *The Militant*: "About 20,000 persons have been arrested in the struggles of resistance conducted by the Hind Kisan Panchayat and the Socialist Party during the (last) three years. . ."

"It is high time," continues Ramnadan Mishra, "that the international Socialist movement takes note of this grave problem facing rural India. . . Please let the people of your country know of this peaceful struggle of the village poor. I hope you will induce the organizations of agricultural workers and poor farmers to lend their support to this struggle."

Letters from Readers

The Militant welcomes every expression of opinion, whether pro or con, and will make an effort to print all letters received from readers as promptly as possible. Names will be withheld upon request.

"Many Thanks to a Very Brave Woman"

EDITOR: Jean Blake's article, "Effective Defense Against Mobs," in the July 23rd issue of the Militant, is the most provocative, logical, and sensible plan of action for Negroes to retaliate against violence I have ever read. It is also the most honest. Every Negro publication should carry a reprint or comment on it.

The Militant is the only paper outside of the Negro publications that rightly criticizes and blasts the mis-leadership of Negro leaders and their organizations. Other well-meaning persons and organizations seem afraid to point out the bad side of the Negro struggle.

Jean Blake has outlined the ONLY course of action for we Negroes that are living in fear of bombings, lynchings, mobs, and other forms of violence. Her plan may seem extreme to those that haven't read of the uprisings and insurrections of the Negroes and white in slavery times, that led to the present day of "freedom" for the Negro.

But, to the Poor-and-Rich-White Trash alike, who think the Negro life should be destroyed, violence is the only thing he

understands. The capitalist uses everything to get and retain himself in power. Killing is one of his methods. The Capitalistic system is blood-thirsty, and Negroes for one is first at its mercy. The Negroes in particular, and the white workers in general, man, woman and child are being destroyed indirectly and directly, so why not fight back?

The capitalistic system glorifies attacks on other persons. Take your movies for an example, notice how the hero "shoots it out" to build a railroad or bridge, or how the white man just glorifies himself for "fighting back."

Many, many thanks to a very brave woman that has the guts to put the finger on a spot that is the only answer to the white chauvinists killings.

I see now why Big Business is making more inroads into religions. In the South through the Negro churches we have been kept docile, humble and strongly for the non-violence part of religion. The preachers are repetitious on "give the white man the money, and the Negro, God!" So as to conquering the white militant and progressive spirit, which they have carried over to the Negro, they are encouraging them to get more religious like the Negro. The white churches are breaking down segregation, a part of the unite and conquer.

Good-luck!

F. W. Seattle

Papal Infallibility

EDITOR: In an article entitled "Vatican Spreads Anti-Socialist Falsehoods" (*The Militant*, July 16) by Murry Weiss it appears that a basic error has been set forth which causes an otherwise excellent article to lose some of its effectiveness. That error centers about the doctrine of infallibility. This doctrine is applicable only when the Pope deals with faith and morals, and speaks ex cathedra. It is highly doubtful that the address given at the rural congress would fall in this category. Unless the Pope was speaking ex-cathedra and on faith and morals he is liable to err as well as any other human.

One can easily imagine how the Catholic press would play up this error in order to destroy the effectiveness of this article.

If the Pope did speak ex-cathedra then consider my criticism withdrawn. Articles of this type are sorely needed to combat the lies ground out by the Vatican propaganda machine.

Chicago E. M.

Art Preis Home After Operations

Art Preis, veteran labor journalist and Labor Editor of *The Militant*, who was stricken with a perforated ulcer last June 21, is now convalescing at his home. After having undergone two major operations, Comrade Preis was released from the hospital in improved condition.

Long noted for his coverage of major labor news, Preis has been an outstanding socialist journalist for many years. His background, as a leader of Ohio unemployed workers during the depression of the thirties has equipped him for understanding class struggles and the men and women who participate in them.

Messages for Comrade Preis may be addressed to *The Militant* and will be forwarded to him.

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!

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-8 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month, 8 P.M.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 622 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3-990.
CHICAGO—734 St. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0405.
CLEVELAND—10609 Superior Ave. Detroit 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6257.
FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22492.
LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4853.
MILWAUKEE—217 N. 2nd 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.
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NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.
NEW YORK CITY—116 University Place. Phone: AD 5-7822.
BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 538 Broadway, near Low's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.
HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Pm 22 Open discussion every Thurs., 8 P.M.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1905.
PHILADELPHIA—1203-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5220.
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Myra Weiss Tour Schedule

Friday	Sept. 7	Newark	Thursday	Oct. 11	Travel
Saturday	8	Boston	Friday	12	Twin Cities
Sunday	9	New Haven	Saturday	13	"
Friday	14	New York	Sunday	14	"
Saturday	15	Philadelphia	Monday	15	"
Sunday	16	Travel	Tuesday	16	Travel
Monday	17	Buffalo	Wednesday	17	Salt Lake City
Tuesday	18	"	Thursday	18	"
Wednesday	19	"	Friday	19	"
Thursday	20	"	Saturday	20	"
Friday	21	"	Sunday	21	"
Saturday	22	Cleveland	Monday	22	Travel
Sunday	23	"	Tuesday	23	Seattle
Monday	24	Akron	Wednesday	24	"
Tuesday	25	"	Thursday	25	"
Wednesday	26	Youngstown	Friday	26	"
Thursday	27	"	Saturday	27	"
Friday	28	Pittsburgh	Sunday	28	"
Saturday	29	Travel	Monday	29	"
Sunday	30	Detroit	Tuesday	30	Travel
Monday	Oct. 1	"	Wednesday	31	San Francisco
Tuesday	2	Flint	Thursday	Nov. 1	"
Wednesday	3	Detroit	Friday	2	"
Thursday	4	"	Saturday	3	"
Friday	5	Toledo	Sunday	4	"
Saturday	6	Chicago	Monday	5	"
Sunday	7	Milwaukee	Tuesday	6	Travel
Monday	8	Chicago	Wednesday	7	Los Angeles
Tuesday	9	"			
Wednesday	10	St. Louis			

Monopolists Out To Grab Atom Electric Power

Electric power from atomic energy is an already accomplished fact. An experimental plant is reportedly already operating at the reactor stations of the Atomic Energy Commission's installations at Arco, Nevada.

This truly sensational news was made public by columnist Robert S. Allen on Aug. 20. But the news is being kept secret. According to Allen, no official announcement will be forthcoming until next month.

Why the secrecy and the delay? Because as matters stand now the private monopolists, the utility giants in particular, are barred by law from engaging in or making profits out of any of the various atomic fields. Frantic maneuvers are now on foot to drastically alter the existing laws, with the monopolists, of course, pushing the hardest for it.

ATOM GRAB

The Atomic Energy Commission is already on record in favor of revising the laws so that the profiteers can immediately grab the boundless reserves of power from atomic electric plants. The utility magnates are, naturally doing everything in their power to push this revision through before the public awakens to the magnitude of the contemplated steal.

The Truman administration is eagerly going along and, accord-

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Monday, August 27, 1951

The Heritage Trotsky Left To Labor Here and Abroad

By John G. Wright

The great heritage Leon Trotsky left to the American workers and their brothers throughout the world is his system of political ideas, the most advanced of our times.

The heart of Trotsky's ideas is contained in his analysis of the decay of the capitalist order, still dominant in the world today as it was in Trotsky's lifetime; and in his conclusion of the inexorable need to replace capitalism by socialism.

In the days of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, capitalism was still in the ascendant. With the provision of geniuses and with the aid of the scientific method of thinking they had discovered, Marx and Engels were able to outline the main tendencies and forces within capitalism leading to its downfall, and the eventual triumph of socialism. Lenin who lived through the first stage of capitalist decay, brought their doctrine to date, analyzing the final, or imperialist stage of capitalist development.

DEATH AGONY

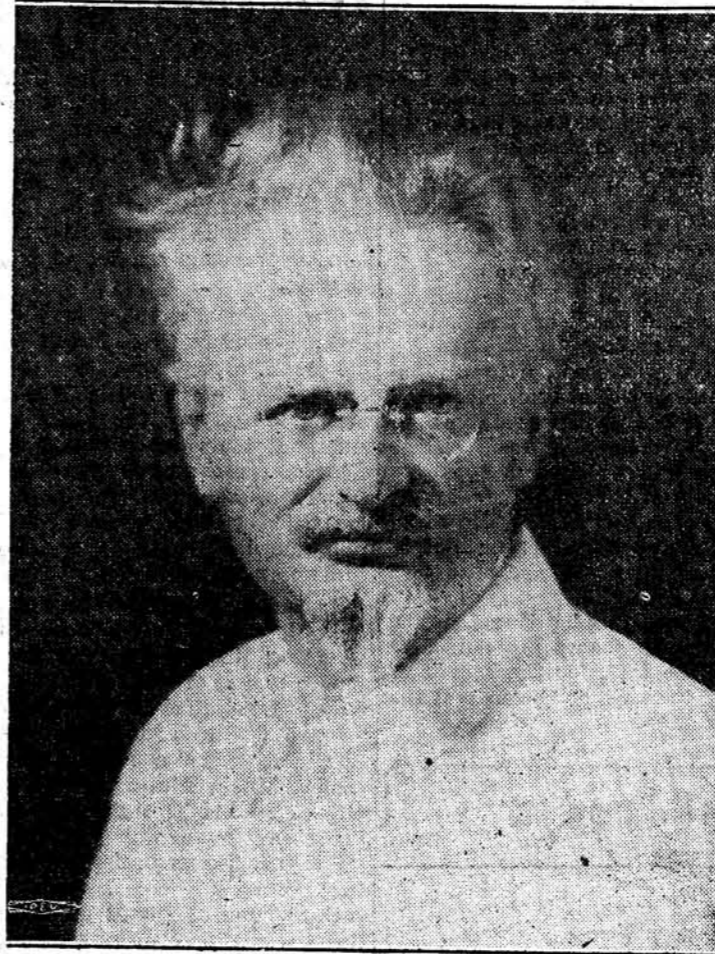
Trotsky was the foremost theoretician of the final phases of this decay, or, as he called it, "the death agony of capitalism."

In this phase of its development the capitalist system shows in every field of social activity how completely outlived it is, turning into an absolute obstacle to human progress.

In the first stages of imperialism, at the turn of our century, the capitalist system still appeared to afford the opportunity for a world-wide development of the productive forces, the material premise for all progress. But that was the only appearance. The reality proved just the opposite.

With the rise of imperialism, the capitalist system has tended more and more to global destruction. It papered the world and the individual peoples under its sway. This did not preclude the growth of this or that branch of industry, or of an individual imperialist power, like the United States for example. But this could take place only at the expense of world economy as a whole and in the case of individual industries

Leon Trotsky



1879 - 1940

at the expense of other branches in the respective economies.

NO FUTURE

Bereft of any future for itself, capitalism has deprived the individual peoples and the whole world of any future other than a series of catastrophic crises, economic, political and social.

Unable any longer to run the productive forces either on a national or world scale on a peacetime basis, capitalist production becomes geared more and more closely to war production and thereby to war itself.

Thirteen years ago in his classic document, *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, Trotsky wrote: "The whole world outlook, and consequently also the inner political life of individual countries is overcast by the threat of world war. Already the imminent catastrophe sends violent ripples of apprehension through the very broadest masses of mankind."

APPLY TODAY

These words are just as applicable today as they were on the eve of World War II. And for the very same reason, namely, because the destinies of mankind are still being determined by imperialism thanks not so much to the inherent power of American capitalism as to the betrayal of the struggle for socialism by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, still the traditional leading parties of the workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

"The capitalist world is mortally wounded. In its agony it exhales the poisons of fascism and totalitarianism. . . Capitalism is utterly incapable of assuring the well-being of the masses and equally incapable of assuring peace. Less than a generation has passed since the last 'war to end war' and we already find ourselves on the threshold of a new world war, infinitely more horrible than the last one."

To these words, written in the above-cited document, we need only add that the intervals between imperialist wars have grown so short that today one and the same generation, within a span of six years, again confronts another threat of war "infinitely more horrible than the last one."

Thirteen years ago, when Trotsky wrote of the capitalist world as "mortally wounded," there was no lack of scoffers, especially in the so-called "democratic" camp. Observe the world picture today.

There is only one sector of world capitalism that can even pretend to solvency and temporary stability, and that is Imperial America. Capitalist

this farce, the same general reviewed and upheld the finding of the court, and later the Board of Review in Washington did the same. Finally, the Judge Advocate reversed the decision, but not before the unfortunate captain had made a name for himself as a "Bolshevik" which is what they call his sort in the armed forces.

WAR END-RESULT

The record "peace-time" arms program at home and abroad can have no other end-result than war. Only scoundrels or fools are capable of denying this.

And in order to unleash this war, unless the American capitalists are beaten back by labor, they will extend the current witch-hunt and the assault on civil rights until the workers and farmers everywhere are subjected to a new and horrible enslavement similar to fascism.

KREMLIN'S ROLE

That capitalism has been able to survive at all in Europe is due not so much to Washington's intervention as to the really decisive services rendered by the Kremlin to its former "democratic" allies following World War II.

And that is why the whole world is again being poisoned with the fumes of reaction and totalitarianism, of which the fountain-head is the American capitalist class.

CONDITIONS IN INDIA

The lot of the Indian peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, remains by and large what it was under British rule. And what has been the record of India's industrial expansion? In the last three years there have been built and have begun production in India the following: 24 textile mills, 10 cement factories, 40 plastic manufacturing and molding factories and a single paper mill. The total capital investment all these represent is approximately Rs 160 million or about 34 million American dollars.

At that rate it would take several centuries before India becomes a major industrial power and it would be possible to even talk realistically of raising the living standards of the hungry and naked millions there.

By weighing down most heavily on the colonial people, capitalism has made the abolition of its rule the precondition for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"By its very creation of enormous difficulties and dangers for the imperialist metropolitan centers, the war opens up wide possibilities for the oppressed peoples. The rumbling of cannon in Europe heralds the approaching hour of their liberation," wrote Leon Trotsky at the outbreak of World War II in his last programmatic document entitled: *Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution*.

We have seen this forecast verified before our very eyes. The

great bulk of mankind, the vast masses of colonial Asia, Africa and Latin America, in a condition of abysmal degradation. As a matter of fact, the flowering of capitalism would have been impossible without the colonial enslavement of most of the earth's population.

Nowhere is the bankruptcy and decay of capitalism more evident than in the former and still surviving colonial areas.

While appropriating scores upon scores of billions for arms, Washington has never entertained spending more than a few million dollars for the development of backward countries. In fact, even Truman's ballyhooed "Point Four" still remains on paper.

COLONIAL EMPIRES

The very existence of imperialism depends on the perpetuation of colonial empires, draining away from them as much as possible and giving them as little as possible in return.

That the native capitalists have just as little to offer the colonial peoples is illustrated strikingly by the case of India, where the native capitalists have been in the seats of power for the last three and a half years.

DEATH OF A SYSTEM

The disintegration of the world capitalist system is being most dramatically underscored by the mounting successes of multiplying colonial struggles. This process is an irreversible one. Colonial slaves who refuse to be slaves any longer will never again be subjugated by imperialism. Nor is it possible for capitalism to recover from so mortal a wound as the loss of its colonial empires.

There are no hermetically sealed divisions between the retarded and the advanced countries, Trotsky taught this throughout his life. Developments in one mutually influence and combine with the developments in the other.

Nor are the democratic revolutions of the oppressed peoples sealed off from the socialist revolutions. On the contrary, they tend to combine with one another, with the first being consummated only by the second. This was the cardinal precept of Trotsky's entire theoretical approach to the socialist transformation of society.

Because of a peculiar combination of historical circumstances, the proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries have been retarded in the first half of the Twentieth Century. The chief responsibility for this also falls on the shoulders of the old working-class parties, the Stalinists on the one side, the Social Democrats, on the other.

AN EPISODE

But this retardation, important as it has been, is purely episodic. The Socialist proletariat of Europe, shoulder to shoulder with the awakening workers in America, will bridge the existing gap by breaking irrevocably with the traditional parties not alone of capitalism but those inside labor's ranks who remained tied up with the exploiters, who are interested in privileges for themselves and who are congenitally incapable of carrying out a consistent policy in the interests of the exploited workers and the oppressed peoples.

Once this historic leap takes place, as it inescapably will, the democratic revolutions now sweeping the colonial world will prove to have no independent meaning or life of their own, but will merge with and will be consummated by the world socialist transformation. Then and only then will the bell finally toll for capitalism. As Trotsky said "For mankind to live, capitalism must die."

Why Stalin Murdered Leon Trotsky in 1940

By Charles Hanley

By Charles Hanley

The mere existence of Leon Trotsky spelled a terrible threat to Stalinism.

Leon Trotsky was a renowned theoretician of Marxism, world famous as co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution in 1917, organizer and leader of the Red Army throughout the years of the Civil War, a writer of genius, a working class leader of uncompromising integrity.

Stalin's main political motive for murdering Trotsky was to silence the voice of the single accuser whose words kept ringing throughout the world denouncing the successive betrayals and crimes of the Kremlin against the toilers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world.

IDEAS OF SOCIALISM

To Stalin personally and to the privileged bureaucracy he leads and represents nothing could be more dangerous than the ideas which Trotsky stood for — the true ideas of socialism.

Trotsky not only exposed the anti-socialist, predatory and rapacious character of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its corrupt and dictatorial regime, but supplied the political program for the overthrow of Stalin's dictatorship, the abolition of the outrageous privileges and power of the

bureaucracy and the restoration of genuine workers' democracy.

He summoned the Soviet people to rise up against Stalinist rule, to resume the road of Lenin, to pin their faith once again on the international working class and the spread of the socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries and among the oppressed colonial peoples. The Kremlin could not but view him with fear and hatred.

Stalin's course, then as today, was for a compromise with imperialism. He had then already paved the way for the consummation of his pact with Hitler in 1939 by the most monstrous blood purge in history for which the Moscow Frameup Trials of 1936-38 provided the legalistic cover.

The assassination of Trotsky in August 1940, after a previous abortive attempt in May of the same year, came as a climax to this blood purge and its frame-up trials in each of which Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov, had figured as the principal defendants in absentia.

Stalin's long-range reason, namely to behead the movement Trotsky personified and thus assure the perpetuation of the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy will not pay off either. The Kremlin and its political underworld will never succeed in liquidating the world socialist movement, whose foremost leader in our times was Leon Trotsky. Instead, the great socialist flood will, in the end, engulf Stalinism.

Stalin's immediate reason for killing Trotsky, namely the reinforcing of his alliance with Hitler, did not pay off. As everybody knows, less than one year after the murder of Trotsky, Hitler struck, invading the USSR on June 22, 1941.

DOUBLE PURPOSE

For Stalin the murder of Trotsky was intended to serve on the one hand, as a means of preventing the growth of an independent socialist movement outside and inside the Soviet Union; and on the other, as a means of

Iron-Heel "Justice" Dispensed By U. S. Armed Forces Courts

By Harry Frankel

A 19-year-old boy not long ago tried to marry a bobby-soxer, and found that she was too young to get a license. They exchanged rings anyway, promised to marry as soon as they could, and settled down to live together. When he had to leave for a while, the youth, a Navy sailor, obtained financial help for his wife in the form of a dependency allotment.

As an outgrowth of these events, this lad was charged with fraud against the government, transporting a woman across state lines for immoral purposes, and fornication. He had no effective defense counsel, and was brutally sentenced to 18 years at hard labor!

NAVY JUSTICE

You will say that this is impossible, that any court in the United States would have thrown out the charges on the ground that the girl and boy were united by a common-law marriage. But you would be wrong. Because this boy was a sailor. His case was tried by a Navy court-martial egged on by a vindictive admiral with his own ideas of "law" and "justice." Things happen every day in the courts of the armed forces that would be impossible even in the biased and crooked civilian courts of capitalism.

The new Uniform Code of Military Justice, which was passed by Congress last year and put into effect May 31, 1951, was supposed to "reform" the court-martial system. Actually, it makes very few changes in the Articles of War which John Adams copied almost verbatim from the harsh British military codes of 1749 and 1774, changing only the word "King" to "Congress." But one thing it does do is give the courts-martial a more sweeping jurisdiction.

NEW DANGER

The old military code gave the military courts explicit jurisdiction over the armed forces only. By custom, this jurisdiction became extended to persons ac-

companying the armed forces, such as correspondents, etc. But now, the new Uniform Code provides that, in the event of war, not only members of the armed forces and persons accompanying them, but also everyone working at any job whatever in a plant under contract to the armed forces, will be subject to military law.

This little-known provision means that probably the majority of the country will go about daily duties with such "Articles" as this one hanging over their heads: "Any person subject to this code who uses provoking or reproachful words or gestures towards any other person subject to this code shall be punished as a court-martial may direct." This is the Article under which the entire military establishment was recently prohibited from discussing the MacArthur controversy.

An article entitled "Drum-head Justice: A Look at Our Military Courts," in the August Readers Digest gives an inside glimpse into the court-martial system of the armed forces. The author, Arthur J. Keeffe, Professor of Law at Cornell, served as president, during 1947, of the Navy General Court-Martial Sentence Review Board. From his own experience he is able to describe the "justice" of military courts, whose findings are almost always tailored to fit the "requests" of the superior officer who orders and arranges the court-martial.

A young boy who drove a jeep off a naval base and smacked it up, is sentenced to four years at hard labor because a bottle of beer was found in his pocket. The damage to the jeep was not at all serious, but the commanding admiral had been sore, and instructed his executive officer to "make an example" of the youth. Thus the case was not tried on its merits, but under instructions to get a certain result — instructions passed down by the "boss" who has great powers over every man involved in that court-martial, including even the

"defense attorney." That is the way most cases are tried in a military court. The "trial" is merely a formal way to put into effect a decision that has been made before the "trial" opened.

ONE MAN CONTROL

Mr. Keeffe reports that the higher officer is policeman, juror, prosecutor, judge and also presides over the first appeal court. Thus courts-martial which are conducted in secret will generally bring in the verdict of guilty even when there is a strong presumption of innocence, or, in many cases, even where there is a certainty of innocence.

That is so because the object of the trial is the preservation of the "authority" of the superior officer and has nothing to do with the guilt or innocence of the accused. It is a notorious rule of armed forces "discipline" that absolute obedience must be exacted whether the officer's commands are right or wrong. This tradition has permeated the system of military law, where punishment for the purpose of "setting an example" has come to be primary, and guilt or innocence secondary.

TORTURE DEFENDANTS

Thus after two women of Oahu, Hawaii, of shady reputation, complained of "rape," orders went down to "make examples." A reign of terror was instituted in the Marine stockade at Aiea that, Mr. Keeffe says, was worse than the notorious hellhole at Litchfield, England. About 60 arrests were made, and absolute proof was later obtained of the use of the most extreme torture to extort confessions. Beatings, burning faces with lighted cigarettes, etc., were among the methods employed. Five clearly extorted confessions were obtained, and accepted by the court-martial with no questions asked. After the war, the Navy Review Board in this case pressed for a complete reversal, since it found the convictions to be based upon such flimsy evidence that injustice had plainly been done. However, the

AIR FORCE CAPTAIN

Keeffe cites the case of an Air Force captain with a shining World War II record, who was assigned to defend an enlisted man accused of desertion. He became convinced that there had been no intent to desert, and, being an honorable man as distinct from the vast majority of Army officers (West Point ballyhoo to the contrary notwithstanding) he put up a stubborn defense.

For doing what any defense attorney owes to his client, he was reprimanded by a general. When the captain refused to accept the reprimand, but demanded a court-martial, he was tried before a court appointed by the general. The general appeared before the court in a rage, and told the court how to find. After

office of the Judge Advocate General preferred to uphold the court-martial, as is usual in such cases.

INJUSTICE RAMPANT

The Navy General Court-Martial Review Board found flagrant miscarriages of justice in over half of the more than 2,000 cases brought before it after World War II. The Army mercy board uncovered more thousands of such cases. These were only the rarer cases where soldiers found it possible to break through the restrictions and get their cases reviewed. Moreover, the boards were so limited in both facilities and time that only a few of the cases of injustice could be reviewed. And even in those cases where the injustice could be reversed, the soldier had already passed through years of imprisonment with no recourse, no compensation for wrecked lives.

In most courts-martial cases the best available talent is appointed to prosecute, while defense counsel is generally an inexperienced and frightened shavetail. (Records of World War I courts-martial shows that defense counsel were second-lieutenants in almost 80 percent of the cases.)

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Two "Averages"

By Tom Conlan

Two significant sets of figures were recently released by Washington. The first was by the Commerce Department, presumably reporting a record "average income" in the U.S.; the second was the Commerce Department and had to do with federal tax collections last year.

The first has received wide publicity with its incredible claim that every man, woman and child in the U.S. "averaged" last year an income of \$1,436, or over \$5,700 for a family of four. The second item was generally buried by the press. It reported that federal tax collections last year averaged \$248 for every man, woman and child in this country, or a shade under \$1,000 for a family of four.

The first set of figures is an outright fraud. The second set mirrors a grim reality and bears ominous tidings to the mass of the American people.

The fraud of the Commerce Department claim is self-evident. The statisticians here simply took the round figure of 217 billion dollars, the estimated "personal income" for 1950, and divided it by the total population, as if the annual wealth of this country were equally divided among all the families.

The truth, of course, is just the opposite. The top one-tenth of the population grabs the lion's share of the national income. According to the last Census figures, this richest one-tenth takes one-third of the total annual money income, as against the lowest tenth that gets 1 percent, the next tenth that gets 5 percent, the third tenth that gets 10 percent, and so on.

Ironically enough, the Commerce Department's fake claim was released just at the moment when Congress has before it a warning from nine top national welfare agencies to the effect that one-fourth of the nation's families are now living on the verge of disaster, ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed, on gross incomes of less than \$2,000 a

year. (The actual figure is much higher, with not less than one-third of the nation's families living at below subsistence levels.)

While these shocking disproportions exist in the annual distribution of wealth, the capitalists and their political representatives see to it that the burden of taxation is divided far more "equitably." It is those with the lowest incomes who pay through the nose. The "average" tax load is therefore a figure of utmost significance to the mass of the population, who pay the great bulk of the taxes.

Last year's \$1,000 tax load for a family of four was not at all an imaginary figure even for those families who were unable to pay. For those unable to pay these exorbitant taxes, it has meant a drastic reduction of living standards. At the same time, the more families were unable to pay, all the greater proportionately became the tax load on the others.

Last year's tax load was roughly double what it was eight years ago, that is in the midst of World War II. Less than half of it came in direct taxes; the larger part was in hidden or indirect federal taxation, extorted every day, each time the family buys the necessities.

The federal tax figure does not, naturally, include any of the local or state taxes, open and hidden, which take another punishing slice out of an "average family's" dollar for food, clothes and shelter.

For the poor, taxes are blood money in the full-sense of the term. They are being bled white through taxes, which, incidentally, are much higher this year than they were last, and next year are bound to go still higher.

The people are not becoming better off, as the Department of Commerce fakers pretend; they are being pushed to the wall, for the benefit of the tiny minority of the rich, as the federal tax collections glaringly show.

Chrysler and Jim-Crow

By David Lands

DETROIT, Aug. 20 — The Chrysler Corporation has started a cleverly designed propaganda campaign against the Negro people to frustrate the current drive for FEPC legislation. This takes the form of a news article in the July issue of its house organ, Chrysler Motors Magazine, consisting of an entire column headed "Warren Plant Guards Nab Three Gamblers Posing As Workers." The article includes pictures of the three men, all of whom are Negroes.

The corporation selected this case to present Negroes in an unfavorable light as possible. Its aim is to increase and stir up anti-Negro prejudices. This magazine is mailed to the homes of all Chrysler workers.

The article states in part, "The three, who 'just wanted to find a good pay day dice game,' all pleaded guilty the following day to a seldom-used charge of entering without breaking."

"Dearborn Municipal Judge George T. Martin sentenced the gamblers to 30 days."

"All Chrysler people are requested by plant authorities to report to the plant protection office the presence of suspicious characters in the plant."

The Chrysler Corporation is not interested in protecting its employees from being fleeced by big time gambling operators. There is no doubt that in the Chrysler plants supervision is as much involved in the profitable gambling rackets as in the other plants. The only aim of such a "news article" is to fan the flames of race hatred against the Negro minority, and thereby lay the groundwork for opposition to FEPC legislation. Racial

Five Pyramids

By Fred Hart

For anyone brave enough to ascend into these astronomical heights, we publish herewith the over-all picture of war costs per year as they look right now:

- \$56 billion Arms bill of the three branches of the armed forces.
- \$4.5 billion Estimated annual cost of the Korean war.
- \$5.7 billion Military construction.
- \$7.8 billion Arms for U.S. puppets abroad.

This brings to a total of \$74 billion the bill that is being paid for war by the American people every year.

Time magazine calculates cleverly that this is equal, in human labor-time, to the man-hours required to build five Great Pyramids of Cheops, and reports further that it took 100,000 men twenty years to build one such pyramid.

However, Time's calculations are based upon a 12 hour day, seven day week, and upon an average wage in the U.S. at the present time of \$1.75 per hour. In order to get more realistic results, we have re-calculated this problem, assuming an average hourly rate of \$1.50, and basing ourselves upon the 40 hour week, which Time has rather hastily dropped in favor of the 84 hour week. Upon this basis, our pencil tells us that the present arms expenditure of the U.S. equals the labor of more than 24 1/2 million men and women every year.

This is four times what is devoted each year to housing, 14 times what is spent for transportation, and eight times as much as is spent on

medical care annually. It is ten times the amount spent every year on education.

Even the total annual food bill of the U.S. is a good deal (\$7 billion) lower than the present war budget.

The \$74 billion total means that we are beginning to creep closer, says Time, to the peak expenditure of the war years. The U.S. spent \$90 billion in 1945 on warfare. But that was an intensive effort for a limited war period. The present war spending is apparently intended to go on indefinitely, even if there is no war, and perhaps even to increase.

What makes war come so high, even in peacetime? First of all, the war budget must provide not only the weapons, but also, the profits of war, by the billion.

Second of all, "defense" comes high when it is carried on five and six thousand miles away from home shores. Bombers must be built that can bomb any part of the globe and return without refueling. Submarines must be built with atomic energy engines that give them unlimited cruising range. A Navy must be built and maintained that can control every ocean, every sea, all over the world, at the same time. U.S. imperialism must maintain military bases everywhere. And its wars must be fought five thousand miles away from home.

Every American must ask this question: Is this \$74 billion, which represents \$480 per man, woman or child in the U.S. being used in the interests of the men, women and children who have to pay or is it being used in the interest of a tiny imperialist minority?

Short Subjects

The American Federation of Radio Artists convention in Milwaukee adopted one of the most reactionary witch-hunt provisions to be found in any union constitution. Anyone named by the FBI, State Department or Justice Department as a subversive will automatically be expelled from the union. That means they cannot work in the industry. The provision is retroactive to Dec. 31, 1945.

When a boss died in Youngstown, the workers in the plant passed around this story: As the four pallbearers carried the coffin the boss sat up and shouted angrily, "Two of you fellers go do something else; two men is enough on this job."

After a major at Fort Leonard Wood informed new draftees: "I'm here to make killers of you;

I want to make you the worst killers possible." Private Robert M. Wingo, 22, declared himself a conscientious objector. He was sentenced to a year at hard labor.

Iranian-British oil talks have collapsed. British negotiator Richard Stokes announced he would go back to England, and U.S. representative Harriman is also on his way back home. Harriman pressured the Iran government to accept British terms. His proposal would have forced the Iranians to agree to continued British management of the oil fields.

Reports state that the Iranian Premier refused to have Iran workers under a British boss.

"But you can have only one boss," Stokes said. "That's tough," said the Iranian leader.

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THE MILITANT

Rotten Deals, Graft, Eat Up Tax Money

DETROIT—There are probably quite a few workers in the U.S. who are wondering just what happens to their income tax dollars, especially since new raises are being passed all the time. Recent investigations into the business affairs of the Detroit tank center supply a lot of the answers.

Congressional agents have discovered evidence that officials at the tank center with the full approval of top brass in Washington are paying from four to six times the value of hundreds of items purchased by the tank center. These exorbitant prices are paid by tank officials with full knowledge that they are making others rich on your taxes.

Instead of handling war contracts in a legitimate manner by accepting the lowest bids from manufacturers of parts and equipment these officials purchased through dealers and subcontractors. Each time another dealer handled the contract the price jumped up and kept going up as more and more war profiteers stuck their fingers in the rich pie. Some contract holders have made such an immense profit on these items which they do not manufacture that they are building yachts.

DIRTY LINEN

So much dirty linen has been unearthed by federal investigators that it would take weeks of public hearings in order to acquaint the public with all the sordid details. One of the facts of this hearing would undoubtedly concern Selwyn Asquith and Joseph Ardito, tank center officials who are being investigated for accepting bribes in the form of "loans" from companies dickering for war contracts.

Next time you look at your pay check and note what the government has taken out for income taxes you might think of the tank center scandal and be a little bitter. But just think of what the government is doing to stop such dirty deals — they are probing.

They are employing investigators and thus decreasing the unemployment problem. Of course, you're paying their salaries but they are probing. They've discharged the top official at the tank center — of course, he can retire on his army pension supplied by you — but he was removed from this post. A local contract has been cancelled — that's progress — as long as you don't think of all the others that haven't been cancelled.

Gov't Corrupt On City, State, Federal Levels

The Special Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime, popularly known as the "Kefauver Committee" is no longer making the headlines. Its findings nevertheless are well worth recalling, especially in the coming elections.

In its Third Interim Report the committee concluded as follows: "The most shocking revelations of the testimony before the committee is the extent of official corruption and connivance in facilitating and promoting crime. . . . The committee found evidence of corruption and connivance at ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT — FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL. . . ."

"The evidence of corruption and connivance with organized crime in State and local government is present in four different forms:

"1. — Direct bribe or protection payments are made to law-enforcement officials, so that they will not interfere with specific criminal activities.

"2. — Political influence and pressure of important officials or political leaders is used to protect criminal activities or further the interests of criminal gangs.

"3. — Law enforcement officials are found in possession of unusual and unexplained wealth.

"4. — Law-enforcement officials participate directly in the business of organized crime."

The committee itself has sought to minimize its findings as relating "only to a small but disturbing minority" of public officials. But they were unable to deny the extent. It is all-pervasive, involving "all levels of government."

UAW-CIO Leaders Force Anti-Union Settlement Upon Hudson Strikers

Hatching a Tax Steal



Here are the members of the Senate Finance Committee, figuring out the best way to make the low income families bear the brunt of the costs of all-out war preparations. In center is Chairman Walter F. George.

THIRD PHILA. MEETING HELD; TURNER SPEAKS

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 17 — The third open air meeting in the 1951 Councilmanic Election Campaign of the Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party was held Friday night. Clyde Turner, S.W.P. candidate for City Council from the Fifth District, together with other spokesmen presented the S.W.P. program to an attentive audience at 28th and Girard Ave.

In her opening remarks Mrs. Turner stressed the need for the unity of all races and groups, if the conspiracy of reaction against the American people is to be defeated. "The time to begin this fight is now," Mrs. Turner stated, "by deciding to vote against the two anti-labor Republican and Democratic Parties in the November elections. It is time to begin to vote for a party which is made up of working people, and dedicated to our fight for a better life. And that party is the Socialist Workers Party."

Pointing out that both major parties promised peace, and have delivered only war and threat of more war, Mrs. Turner proclaimed the most important issue in this election to be the question of peace or war. "All other questions," she said, "are tied to this one today. Our standard of living, already cut into by the ever-growing burden of taxes, will be ripped into shreds unless the drive toward all-out war is halted. Despite promises of the leaders of both parties in Congress, we have yet to see one single piece of legislation defending our wage and living standards, and we will not see one, so long as these representatives of big business remain in power.

"In the name of this fight against so-called Communist 'totalitarianism,' not only our living standards are being smashed, but an attack against the sacred rights guaranteed to the American people by our Constitution is taking place. The McCarran Bill, the Ober Law in Baltimore, and the Pechan Bill in the Legislature of our own state at the present time are a great threat to our civil liberties.

"Truman and his stooges on all levels of our national state and local government present a far greater danger to the American people than do the hungry Chinese peasants, struggling only for their own independence. These people must be replaced with representatives of the working class, dedicated to the struggle to protect the interests of the vast



CLYDE TURNER

DETROIT — Ending a lock-out which had been going for 2 months, 3,000 Hudson workers voted to accept the agreement submitted by UAW-CIO secretary-treasurer, Emil Mazey, at a meeting Aug. 14.

The agreement "settled" none of the main issues involved in the lock-out. It provided that the company "work 8 hours per day, 5 days per week as long as business and material conditions warrant such schedules." And further as long as "any acts on the part of the union don't prevent continuance of the operation." If cars don't sell or workers resist any new company speed-up a new shutdown or short work week will again result.

The main question of speed-up will be settled by the time study negotiations — after the workers return to work. The only protection against future speed-up the agreement seems to contain is that all other jobs, but the forty now in dispute, will not be re-timed for 90 days.

In return for these "concessions" the union put into writing legalized scabbing to break any future departmental strikes. The agreement states that "the Company has the right to loan employees temporarily between departments and districts to cover absenteeism and emergency situations."

The lock-out against the Hudson workers began June 11 after a two week lay off. When workers returned they found that the Company speeded up the job by cutting manpower on 40 operations. When the workers refused to accept the company speed-up, the company sent them home.

The Negro Struggle

More Candidates This Year

By Jean Blake

You wouldn't know it from reading the white capitalist press, but in recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of independent Negro candidates running for local office in communities throughout the country, and it looks as though this may be a banner year in that respect.

In Ohio alone there are Negro candidates for city council, board of education, or municipal judge in Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown and other cities, and in the state capitol of Columbus there has been a Negro candidate for the mayoralty.

In the spring of this year The Militant mentioned the election of six Negro councilmen in a number of Southern cities, and last week we read in the Boston Chronicle of the successful conclusion of a 21-months legal struggle to seat Councilman Laurence H. Banks.

While still organized on a local plane, these independent candidacies represent a growing nation-wide movement for Negro representation.

As our readers may recall, Socialist Workers Party branches in a number of communities have given critical support to independent Negro candidates in the past — participated in their campaigns, advocated support by the labor movement, done Jimmy Higgins work of leaflet distributing and electioneering, and helped get out the vote for them.

To understand why we have supported these candidates who were not socialists, and what "critical support" means, it is necessary to understand what their candidacies represent.

First of all, an independent Negro candidate is not just any Negro who happens to run for office. He is not an independent candidate if he is just a stooge for the dominant Democratic or Republican party machines, under their control and sponsored by them in the attempt to behead the genuine Negro struggle for representation in government.

Nor is any opportunist with personal political ambitions who throws his hat in the ring in order to sell out the Negro struggle for a price, a representative of the Negro people. He just represents No. 1 — himself.

An independent Negro candidate is one who represents the interests of the Negro people, is sponsored and supported by them to oppose Jim Crow in every sphere and to utilize his political position for that purpose — against the policies of the Democratic and Republican politicians.

AGAINST SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP

The election programs of independent Negro candidates vary from city to city and from time to time, depending on local conditions, but they have certain general features in common:

1. Housing. Capitalist private housing has proved a complete failure for providing decent homes and eliminating overcrowded slums. All genuine Negro candidates fight for low-cost public housing for all workers without discrimination, and against discrimination and rent-gouging by private landlords.

2. Jobs. Independent Negro candidates demand fair employment practices in all government agencies, in private industry, and in trade unions. They fight for strong FEPC legislation and enforcement of it. In fighting against the poverty of the Negro mass, they support all attempts of working men and women to improve their standard of living through labor organization, and struggles against capitalist profiteers.

3. Civil rights. These candidates stand for complete equality for all in the enjoyment of civil rights, against discrimination, and against the notorious brutality of local police.

In short, independent Negro candidates represent the protest of the Negro mass against second-class citizenship and the political forces that maintain it, and a determination to use their independent strength to get rid of Jim Crow.

The Socialist Workers Party supports such independent political action because it represents the proper direction toward a solution of the special problems of the Negro people — toward a break with the capitalist parties and self-reliance by the masses.

The "critical" aspect of our support means that we think the demands and program are too limited to achieve their goal, and believe we must tell the truth about them. Only a revolutionary change, that is, a fundamental change that eliminates the basic cause — capitalism — can really abolish Jim Crow.

For forty days the Hudson workers worked from one to three hours per day. The International of the UAW-CIO finally declared that the company action was a lock-out. Mazey stated "the device employed by Hudson to avoid and circumvent the law on unemployment compensation is simply this: to call workers in each day, then send them home, falsely claiming that there was a labor dispute. The workers, paid hardly enough for carfare and lunch, are then left in the supposed position of being neither employed or unemployed."

With this declaration the union stopped the short days. For the past twenty days a complete lock-out was in effect. By this method the Hudson Company was saving \$50,000 a day by non-payment of unemployment compensation. The 35,000 car inventory increased during the period of short work days. The market is obviously glutted with Hudson cars.

During the entire sixty days neither the International nor the local union gave the workers any strike benefits. The only aid they received was one month's payment to the company on the members' insurance policy. Hundreds of Hudson workers were forced on the city welfare.

When Jenny Vicari, chief steward of the women's division, asked Mazey if an "emergency" meant strikes in one department, resulting from company provocation, Mazey replied that it did and that these wild-cat strikes at Hudsons will have to stop. In any case, this was the practice in the industry, he stated.

It appears that the International has become determined to break the resistance the auto workers have shown to the companies speed-up provocation. To our knowledge this is the first time that the union has agreed, in writing, to supply strike-breakers to break any strike the International deems unauthorized.

The handling of the Hudson lock-out demonstrates the complete lack of fighting program on the part of the International officials. This lock-out, the product of conversion to war work and the resultant economic dislocation could only have been defeated by mobilizing the Hudson workers and the UAW as a whole.

Mass pressure designed to show how Hudson and other companies are taking advantage of the re-conversion dislocation to weaken the union and worsen working conditions is the only weapon which can stop the greedy corporations. The Ford local 600 program demanding \$60 per week unemployment compensation, during any week of unemployment and the calling of a national delegated conference to organize the fight against speed-up are a part of a general program needed to bring the company offensive to a halt.

Chicago Picnic Pulls Good Crowd

CHICAGO, Aug. 23 — Over 120 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party enjoyed a day of sports, eating and swimming at the Chicago branch Annual Picnic last Sunday.

Highlight of the program was a softball game between the North-siders and the South-siders. The North-siders were awarded the trophy — a suitably inscribed watermelon.

In a political talk to the picnickers Comrade Frank Roberts referred to the Cicero riot and Henry Luce's "American Century." "The anti-Negro riots in Cicero are a product of the American Century of Henry Luce," Roberts declared. "Although American imperialism couldn't maintain democracy for Henry Clark in Chicago, it is claiming to export it abroad at gun point."

Speaking of the recent wave of price rises Roberts said, "Truman can't call this inflationary process a mere police action. It's all-out war against our standard of living."

A program of three-legged races, sack races, and an egg throwing contest kept both young and old busy. After sunset the picnickers roasted marshmallows and hot dogs around a campfire on the beach, and sang folk songs to the strains of a guitar.