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Cannon Stresses Role of SWP in 1952 Election

(The following speech was delivered by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary James P. Cannon to the convention of Local New York on Sunday, Feb. 3. — Editor.)

Comrades,
Your sessions will naturally be devoted primarily to a review of your experiences during the past year and the organization of your practical work for 1952. But you recognize that all local work, all practical activity, must be geared in with the main line of the party, and subordinated to it. Only in that way can energy be fruitfully expended.

The decisive consideration regulating all our activity is our international analysis and outlook, which perceives an approaching war in the course of which the issue of socialism and capitalism on this entire planet will begin to be finally resolved. We proceed from that governing premise which distinguishes us from all other parties and political tendencies. It follows that, on a national scale, we have to establish more clearly than ever the independence of our party as against all other parties; the sharp demarcation of its program from the programs of all other parties in the political arena. That is the supreme task confronting the party in 1952.

In the view of the National Committee, the best opportunity and the best field to serve this aim at the present time is the 1952 presidential election campaign. So convinced is the party leadership of the transcendent importance of this campaign that the Labor Day Plenum unanimously adopted a resolution to recommend the entrance of our party again this year.

As you know, preparations are already underway throughout the country. All the branches have taken note of the decision of the Plenum, have responded to it and are making practical preparations. They are moving forward to the great task with sure-footed confidence. In some states, which have earlier nominations and primaries, the branches are already engaged in the practical work of gathering signatures on the petitions. The work is proceeding in New Jersey, and beginning next week, I believe, the work of getting the petitions signed will be underway in Pennsylvania where it has to be completed within the space of three weeks.

Most Fundamental Task

I am speaking today only in the most general terms. Once they are well understood the particulars easily fall into place. The first and most fundamental task of the revolutionary vanguard, always and everywhere and under all conditions, is to establish its own independent party which speaks in its own name; appeals to the workers with its own program; and contests all other parties for the leadership of the working class. To succeed with this task, or even to make serious headway toward it, we must make ourselves heard and known.

The presidential election this year presents the best opportunity to advance our struggle to establish an independent revolutionary party and make it

known to the workers. Here we benefit from one of the many contradictions of American capitalism in its imperialist stage of decay. The over-all objective of American imperialism is to conquer the world and thereby destroy the labor movement everywhere. Its program on a global scale is counter-revolutionary and anti-democratic through and through.

But in the course of this planetary undertaking, which will never reach fruition, American capitalism is still obliged to maintain some democratic forms at home. This gives us an opportunity to utilize them for our own socialist propaganda. And it would be very foolish indeed for us to neglect such an opportunity. The decisive importance of the struggle for the independence of the revolutionary party has been demonstrated in the most grandiose experiences of the international working class. On the positive side, that is the supreme lesson of the Russian Revolution and the policy of Lenin in the years that led up to it.

The same law has been demonstrated negatively by the defeats of the Chinese revolution of 1925-26, and the Anglo-Russian Committee of the same period — so brilliantly illuminated in Trotsky's great programmatic work, "The Third International After Lenin," especially that section dealing with strategy and tactics in the imperialist epoch. I don't believe one could make a better preparation for doing practical work with redoubled energy in the 1952 election than to study (Continued on page 2)

SWP Nat'l Secretary



JAMES P. CANNON

Clarke in Radio Debate With Minnesota Senator

The following is the text of a radio debate between George Clarke, editor of the Marxist magazine Fourth International, and Minnesota State Senator Fay George Child over Minneapolis station WOGO on Sunday, Feb. 3, 1952. The program, Editorial Roundup, is conducted by moderator James Bormann.

Moderator James Bormann introduces George Clarke who publishes Fourth International, theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party in America and Senator Fay George Child, publisher of the Maynard News. He says editor Clarke recently returned from a trip to England and opens the discussion by asking him to describe socialism as he observed it there.

Mr. Clarke: I was over in England, but I didn't see any socialism in England. What I saw in England was capitalism in a state of decline. It is called socialism by some but in reality that is only in the minds of the people who want it. The people there suffer, however, from the miseries that come from the decline of capitalism in England and all over the world.

Moderator: And now Fay Child. Child: We have been led to believe, especially those members of Congress that had to vote appropriations that we were helping to finance a socialist experiment. As a matter of fact, John Strachey, now British Minister of War, just recently said that like all social-

ists I believe that the Socialist party evolves in time into the communist society.

Moderator: We probably ought to define socialism. I presume there also must be some difference between the Socialist Workers Party and the socialism of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party that most of us know.

Clarke: That is a good question. Socialism is based first of all on the ideas of Karl Marx. It goes back further than that in actuality. It signifies the Brotherhood of Man. And the Brotherhood of Man in modern times, in its economic form, means the socialization of all wealth and property, that is to say, the big wealth and property of the country — the banks, the natural resources and the industries, not the toothbrush, or the automobile or a person's home. We have no such socialism as that anywhere in the world. Socialists and the working people now on a world-wide scale are striving to bring that into being. Our difference with Norman Thomas is this: Norman Thomas has left the ideas of socialism and he now wants to reconcile socialism with the ideas of Harry Truman and other liberal capitalist politicians, not the ideas of Debs, not the ideas of Marx that we stand for. Take the question of war. We are uncompromising opponents of wars conducted by the capitalist state, the war in Korea, or a war against China, or a war against the Soviet Union, or war any-

where in the world conducted for profits and capitalist investment and for the exploitation of colonial peoples. Norman Thomas is willing to go along with all of these wars, and that is the opposite of socialism. In fact, it is a betrayal of socialism. Child: I would like to ask Mr. Clarke if his brand of socialism were also known as the Trotsky communist variety, and whether or not the ideals and principles embodied in the party aren't taken to a large extent from Karl Marx, Lenin, Engels and Trotsky. And you advocate the taking over of all industries and the means of production, putting them into the hands of the worker, but I notice that you leave the farmer out of that picture. And what is the difference between the man who owns a small industry and has someone working for him and a farmer who owns a farm and has a hired man and a hired girl? Would you also advocate that this farmer be subjected to the same socialization as the small industry owner? Clarke: It is true as you say that our ideas stem from the greatest geniuses of human thought in modern time, the Germans, Marx and Engels, and after them the Russians, Lenin and Trotsky. Of course, you may want to give the appearance that these are ideas that come from foreign sources. America, in effect, is a country which came from foreign origins. Today we (Continued on page 3)

Move to 'Junk' Price Control As Cost-of-Living Hits Peak

No End in Sight



District 65 to "Explore" CIO Reaffiliation

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—A stormy meeting of the General Council of District 65, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (Independent), voted last night to sanction "exploratory" talks between the union leadership and CIO officials for a return of the organization to the CIO.

LEAVE IN PROTEST

In 1949 Local 65 walked out of the CIO in advance of the expulsion of ten other Stalinist-controlled unions in protest against the attempt to deprive the union of its autonomy and democratic right to decide domestic and foreign political policy.

MEMBERS WILL DECIDE

The General Council meeting, attended by approximately 1,000 stewards, organizers and staff members, heard a report by District 65 president David Livingston that top union officials had been engaged in preliminary talks with CIO officials. He reported that the basis of the discussion was the retention by the union of its autonomy and right to formulate policy on political questions. Livingston asked the Council for a vote of confidence in the leadership and permission to continue the "exploratory" talks with the understanding that the final decision would be made by the membership. The report was accepted by better than a three to one vote despite the vigorous opposition of the Stalinists.

BREAK WITH STALINISTS

The action of the Council, which represents some 35,000 members in the New York area, confirms repeated rumors that the top officials of District 65 had broken with the Communist Party and were heading their organization back into the CIO. Both Livingston, president of District 65 and Arthur Osman, president of the DPWA parent organization, have been under attack in the Daily Worker.

KOREA "POLICE ACTION" OUTLASTS U. S. FIGHTING IN FIRST WORLD WAR

By Art Preis

On Feb. 2 the U.S. intervention in Korea entered its 584th day — as long as America's participation in World War I. Historians at the Far East naval headquarters observed the occasion by putting the "little war" in Korea in second place on their list of wars this country has fought since 1865.

This is the war, we all recall, that Truman called a mere "police action" when he first announced, on June 28, 1950, that he had ordered U.S. armed forces to intervene in the Korean civil war on the side of the Syngman Rhee capitalist-landlord dictatorship in South Korea.

TRUMAN'S "POLICE ACTION"

Truman called his imperialist invasion of Korea a "police action" in order to get around the Constitutional provision respecting a declaration of war. He plunged this country into its second longest war of the century without consulting Congress and without consent of the people.

Although noting that the Korean war had reached the

duration of World War I and was still going strong, the capitalist press commentators tried to soften the comparison. They emphasized that our casualties in 1917-18 were "three times" as great as those in Korea for an equal time. They cited World War I losses at 364,800; the present war, at 105,000. This is supposed to console us.

The figure of 105,000 does not, however, include so-called "non-combat" casualties, while the World War I figure does. Actually, U.S. losses in Korea are more than double those admitted by the Pentagon. Last May, speaking to a business group in Washington, the then Secretary of War George Marshall confessed that "men who need replacement because of illness, principally pneumonia and frostbite, far exceed the number of combat casualties." (N. Y. Post, May 6, 1951.)

TWICE AS HIGH

In reality, the rate of U.S. casualties in the Korean war is twice as high as in the first world war when there were more than two million ground troops sent

to France compared to a half million so far sent to Korea.

In addition, the South Korean military losses, as announced on Jan. 16, are 301,864 and those of 15 UN nations add another 8,698. Thus, the total armed forces losses for the U.S., UN and South Korea are more than a half million. Chinese and North Korean casualties, the Pentagon claims, number 1,500,000. The grand total for both sides in this "police action" has passed two million.

SYSTEMATIC DESTRUCTION

This "liberation," which the Korean people themselves never asked for, has meant the cold-blooded and systematic destruction of the Korean nation, city by city, village by village and hut by hut on orders of the U.S. high command. Even hard-boiled war correspondents of the capitalist

(Continued on page 2)

Truman's "Stabilizers" Aim To Thaw Prices But Keep Wage Cases in Deep Freeze

Truman's war mobilization officials have set afoot a scheme that may soon lead to the junking of most price controls "in fact, if not in name," disclosed the Feb. 5 Wall Street Journal, daily "Bible" of many businessmen. This scheme is intended, said the Journal, as a "sop" to Congressmen who want to do away with even the pretence of price controls.

The move to defrost prices, while wages remain frozen in the

Why U.S. Marines Are Poised for Invasion of Egypt

Little-known facts about American investments in the privately-owned Suez Canal Company, which operates the canal for profits, have been disclosed by Washington columnist Robert S. Allen in the Feb. 2 N.Y. Post. "The American stake in this strategic waterway," he says, "is far greater than generally realized."

SECRET PLANS

Allen's information reveals part of the true reasons — which are strictly imperialist — why Washington has been secretly preparing for armed intervention against the Egyptians and has been putting tremendous pressure on Egypt's government to come to terms with British imperialism.

AMERICAN OIL

About one-fourth of the stock of this company is now owned by American citizens. "More American-owned oil passed through the Canal in 1950 and '51," reports Allen, "than that of any other country, including Britain, heretofore the leading oil power in the Middle East." The Rockefeller-controlled Standard Oil interests are directly behind the threats and economic blackmail Washington has been using on Egypt.

MARINES READY

"Only a few hints have leaked out so far," states Allen, of the "strenuous U.S. efforts" to beat the Egyptians into line. Allen repeats his previous statement, reported in last week's Militant, disclosing that 6,000 U.S. Marines have been ready to move into Egypt "within a few hours."

Wage Stabilization Board refrigerator, comes as the cost-of-living index has soared to a new all-time peak. On Jan. 25 the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that from mid-November to mid-December 1951 the index rose another .5 of a point to 189.1. This is 89.1% above the pre-World War II base of 100.

HUGE BACKLOG

While the OPS would permit prices to rise unimpeded, the Wage Board would continue to stall and delay decision on thousands of cases in which unions are seeking wage boosts to compensate for past cost-of-living rises.

The backlog of wages cases where unions and employers have already agreed to terms but are merely seeking WSB approval has risen to the staggering total of 17,124, the WSB reported on Feb. 5. One case involves more than 100,000 General Electric Workers. There are 15 major disputed cases before the WSB, including that of the 750,000 CIO steel workers.

JUNK EVIDENCE

Here is how the price decontrol scheme would work.

The top moguls of the war mobilization agencies plan to examine the OPS reporting and record-keeping requirements "to see whether a lot of them can't be junked," reports the Journal. "If this went far enough, it would mean businessmen who are allowed to figure their own ceilings — and that includes most businessmen — wouldn't have to keep any documentary evidence to show whether they were obeying price regulations."

NO PRICE CONTROL

The inference is clear that few manufacturers or merchants would fail to fix as high prices as they could and claim they were within regulations. Who'd be able to prove differently from non-existing records?

It was the OPS Director Di-Salle himself who gave the tip-off on the way to have "price control" without controlling prices. He set up a committee to "study" decontrol and the question of "eliminating unnecessary record-keeping." This was done "to calm Congressional criticism," reports the Journal.

Primaries Are 'Eyewash,' Truman Admits

By George Breitman

The labor leaders are urging the American people to pay special attention to the presidential primary elections in several states, to register for them and to participate in them as a means of seeing "that your choice for President of the United States is nominated by his party." (Editorial, AFL News-Reporter, Jan. 23.)

But President Truman, at his press conference on Jan. 31, called the presidential primaries "eyewash" and promised that this would be proved by what happened at the national conventions. The dictionary defines eyewash as "misleading . . . intended to deceive."

HOW IT'S DONE

The answer is supplied by a cynically blunt article printed in the Feb. 1 U.S. News and World

Report. The article, "How A President Is Chosen," makes it abundantly clear that the choice is made not by the rank and file voters participating in the primaries (as the labor leaders pretend) but by the political bosses of the capitalist parties. Here is the U.S. News' summary of how nominations are made:

"1. A few politicians get together in each local area and pick delegates to a county or district convention. The general public rarely knows about or attends these local meetings. This happens in 32 states.

"2. The hand-picked delegates to county and district conventions meet and choose delegates to state conventions. The public may attend these county or district conventions but has no voting power in them.

"3. State conventions in these 32 states pick delegates to national conventions. In each state, about half a dozen men — state

and national party officials, Senators, the Governor — make the real decision as to what presidential candidate the delegates will vote for.

"4. In the other 16 states — instead of steps 1, 2 and 3, primaries are held to elect delegates to national conventions. Even here the vote of the people does not finally bind the delegates. It is only a guide to public thinking. The delegates may turn to another candidate when the showdown comes in convention.

"5. National conventions of delegates meet and choose candidates for President and Vice President after a great deal of vote trading, in which a small number of party leaders usually dictate the final choice."

In other words: "Politicians, not voters, decide who gets a chance to run for President of the United States. The voters, every four years, as in 1952, only get a chance to decide which

man, of those selected by the politicians, they prefer for the job."

That is correct, except for those voters who see through the fraud that is being perpetrated, refuse to be limited to the choice offered by the capitalist politicians, and cast their votes for independent candidates, like those presented by the Socialist Workers Party.

In order to minimize Senator Refauver's campaign for the Democratic nomination, Truman blurted out the truth. Primaries are intended to mislead and deceive the people into thinking they have a choice that is really not theirs.

THE SHELL GAME

It's a sad commentary on the quality of the present labor leadership that the Philip Murays and William Greens contribute to the continuation of this shell game when even a

Pendergast politician and a Big Business magazine find it convenient on certain occasions to speak truthfully about it.

The reason for the difference is that Truman and U.S. News know what they are doing and where they stand politically, while Murray and Green don't know where they are going to line up in the election and won't know until after the capitalist political bosses have held their national conventions and limited the choice down for them as they do for millions of other "eyewashed" voters.

Meanwhile, the only thing Murray and Green are sure of is that they don't want an independent labor party which would run candidates free of capitalist ties, on a program in the interests of the working people. From this standpoint they are at least acting consistently when they urge the workers to enter and get lost in the capitalist primaries.

Senate Committee Rules Out Ban on Filibustering

The movement to stop filibustering in the U.S. Senate suffered another defeat on Jan. 29, when the Senate Rules Committee adopted a resolution which pretends to alter the present situation but actually leaves it unchanged.

Under the regulation now in effect (Senate Rule 22) debate on any motion or bill can continue indefinitely in the U.S. Senate unless a "constitutional" two-thirds of the Senate membership (64) votes for closure.

This means that a minority of the Senate decides what that body can vote on. This filibuster power enables the Southern bloc, a definite minority in the Senate, to prevent even a vote on civil rights bills. Wherever else it may be applied, democracy is definitely not applied in the U.S. Senate.

The new resolution, introduced by the late Senator Wherry (R-Neb.), provides that two-thirds of the Senators present and voting could impose closure to cut off a filibuster. It would not be necessary to get 64 votes for closure unless all of the 96 Senators were present.

CHANGE MEANINGLESS
But this apparent slight improvement does not mean anything, for three reasons:

1. There will be no limit on filibustering when the proposed change in the Senate rules comes up for debate. That is, the Southern bloc will be able to talk indefinitely and thus prevent even this small modification — unless the Truman administration really determines to wear out their filibuster, something it has never even tried up to now.

2. The Wherry resolution would apply only to forcing a vote on a "measure" — but not on a "motion to take up a measure." Thus filibustering would have the same hampering effect as before.

3. The decision on all questions would still be left in the hands of a minority.
On the same day, the Senate Rules Committee rejected proposals by Lehman (D-N. Y.), Morse (R-Ore.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) which would permit closure by a simple majority. These were backed by labor, liberal and minority groups.

LIBERAL CONFERENCE

Before the Wherry resolution was approved, the CIO, AFL, NAACP and almost 50 other national organizations had called a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in Washington on Feb. 17-18 for the specific and sole purpose of lobbying against Senate Rule 22.

The NAACP calls the Wherry resolution "inadequate." Walter Reuther, pres. of the CIO United Auto Workers, denounces the "bipartisan majority" in control of the Senate and says that now: "The entire issue of majority rule in civil rights must be appealed from the 82nd Congress to the people in the 1952 political campaign, primaries and elections." This seems to put a question mark over the whole matter of the "Leadership Conference."

If the filibuster must be "appealed" to the people in the 1952 campaign, then there is not much

point in spending time and money travelling to Washington to buttonhole Congressmen against whom such an "appeal" must be made.

THE ONLY WAY

In that case, a different kind of conference should be held in Washington — a political conference of the labor and minority groups, aimed at kicking out the "bipartisan majority" that obstructs civil rights laws.

The way to do that is by forming a new party, an independent labor party which would serve as

an alternative to the two capitalist parties that control the 82nd Congress and which would run its own candidates for office.

Political action of this type is not in conflict with putting pressure on the present Congress around filibustering, lynch-terror and other civil rights and labor issues. Both can and should be done.

But not much pressure can be exerted through a "Leadership Conference" of several hundred polite delegates telling Congressmen what they already know. It would have been far more effective

if the 50 labor and liberal organizations had summoned a mass march on Washington, such as Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, suggested to them.

The coming conference still deserves support, even though its sponsors are not interested in getting a large turnout. If nothing else, it will serve to give further publicity to the minority rule that prevails in Washington and to prove once again that there is no substitute for mass action.

Korea 'Police Action' -- 2nd Longest War

(Continued from page 1)
press have been moved to express their concern about the pitiless and ruthless bombings of the civilian populace.

Thus, for instance, a United Press staff writer in Tokyo, Charles Moore, was moved on Jan. 8, 1951 to ask: "How much more 'liberation' can the people of Korea stand?" He reported that "the Korean equivalent of John Q. Public is taking a terrific beating because of the war. His home has been destroyed. His job has disappeared. He and his family have become ragged, cold, hungry wanderers." Moore added:

"It is a hard fact but true fact that most of the destruction was done by the Americans. . . . The Communists can assert that they have not wrecked Korea. . . . The Chinese have avoided destructive assaults on cities and towns. . . . The UN forces have destroyed everything of value to the enemy." And, also, of value to the Korean people.

U.S. saturation bombings and "scorched earth" policy in South Korea have been more horrible than anything of similar nature during World War II, with the exception of Truman's A-bombing

of two Japanese cities. Paul C. French, executive director of CARE, recently returned from an inspection tour in South Korea, said: "In my travels all over Europe, I saw the appalling devastation of war and the resultant suffering of human beings. But far worse than anything I have ever seen anywhere are the destruction and destitution I found in Korea."

As for North Korea, where a third of Korea's population of 30 million live, General James A. Van Fleet, U.S. 8th Army commander, noted: "I am satisfied the northern part of Korea is so badly destroyed that the Red lack food, clothing and shelter and the population of North Korea is in a very critical condition."

On Dec. 6, 1951, a South Korean government spokesman told the United Press that in the southern half of Korea alone "approximately 1,000,000 civilians had been killed. . . . another 1,000,000 were wounded, ill, injured or missing and 8,000,000 were homeless and suffering."

Walter Sullivan, N. Y. Times correspondent in Korea in 1950 and now on that paper's UN bureau, writing in the Feb. 2 N.Y. World-Telegram. Reporting from Pusan, Korea, she tells about "some of the most tragic victims of this war — Korean children wounded by American

bombs" whom she saw on the Danish hospital ship Jutulandia in Pusan Harbor.

Among the "typical cases" was "11-year-old Neuk-Hyun Chung, obviously a once pretty girl. A bomb fragment had ripped open the right side of her face. . . . the child will be scarred the rest of her life." She saw a 12-year-old boy, Yong Phi Ha, with his "sightless eyes fixed on the ceiling. . . . Caught in a bombing at Seoul, he lost one arm, suffered severe injury to the other, was permanently blinded, and suffered horrible mutilation of the face from bomb splinters."

"Most pitiful of all," she wrote, "are the fire (napalm) bomb victims." One child, Yong-Nam Ham, "had no treatment at all for a long time after the fire bombs struck his village." His eyes "were held constantly open by drawn scar tissue above and below the lids. Scar tissue under his chin draws his lower lip down. His hands are scarred stumps. . . ."

And Miss Fitch cannot help noting "the terrible irony that these children — and there are thousands of them besides those treated on the Jutulandia — were injured by the bombs of their protectors, the Americans." How much the beneficiaries of this "protection" appreciate it,

was told by W. Macmahon Ball, whom the Jan. 30 Christian Science Monitor describes as "Australia's Far Eastern expert." Ball stated: "As the air strikes become less selective they arouse a wider and deeper hostility among the civilians, whatever their political sympathies, if any, at the beginning of the campaign. It would be hardly possible to exaggerate the hatred for the West that its military airplanes have sown in the hearts of Asian civilians."

AMERICANS HATED

These atrocities and abominations against the Korean people are not the fault of the American people, who have detested the Korean war from the start. The guilt lies with a handful of evil men in Wall Street, Washington and the Pentagon who have tried to conceal their frightful deeds and stifle the voice of opposition.

But now, as American imperialist schemes to intervene against Democratic uprisings in Southeast Asia and North Africa as well as Korea, it becomes even more imperative for the American people to speak up through their mass organizations, particularly the unions, and make heard their demand: Get out of Korea! Withdraw the U.S. troops at once!

Cannon Stresses SWP Role in '52

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again carefully this great work of Trotsky's.

The 1952 campaign has exceptional importance and presents an exceptional opportunity to our party. It is not just an ordinary election year. This is the presidential election year on what probably will be the eve of the Third World War. This may well be the last time before the war that we will have the opportunity to speak openly and clearly to vast audiences who have never heard our voice before.

And whatever may be the immediate outcome of the election in terms of votes, we are sure to gain. Tens and hundreds of thousands will hear us for the first time on radio and television — the facilities of which imperialist capitalism, under its own laws and regulations, is obliged to provide for all candidates. Many who hear us will remember, even though they aren't prepared to act upon it at the moment, they'll remember our warning and our name and our program. That memory will be our capital, stored up for the future, when our warnings come true.

Under the pressure of all the difficulties and hardships which

the war will bring to the American people, our program will appear to hundreds of thousands and eventually to millions as the only realistic one. Then the people who have heard us will begin to look up. We need have no doubt of that.

There's another practical aspect which gives this particular campaign an exceptional importance. We have been warning since 1948 of the inherent drive of American imperialism to impose a police state upon this country. But the drive toward a police state which we note, and the innumerable laws and measures which have already been taken in that direction, do not mean that the police state has already arrived. It is only in the process. In the meantime, there is an area of democracy which we must utilize. We do not accept the dictum of Truman's Attorney General that we are "subversive" and therefore deprived of all rights as citizens.

We must fight for the legal rights of our party every inch of the way. There is no better way to protect the legality of the party, even from a practical point of view, than the nomination of our own candidates for president and vice-president in 1952.

obstacles in the way of all dissenting groups. There is a combination of pressures upon us. First of all, we have been living and trying to build a revolutionary party in a continuous twelve-year boom period of virtually full employment and comparatively high wages. Nobody ever succeeded in building a revolutionary party rapidly in the face of such conditions. I mentioned at the last national party convention that not even Marx and Engels, the greatest of all revolutionary leaders, were able to build a big party in England in the last half of the Nineteenth Century in the heyday of its development and expansion. And England never had anything approaching the relative prosperity of American capitalism in the past twelve years.

Ground for Confidence

Previously, in the classic period of the development of capitalism, no boom ever lasted twelve years or anything like it. There was, approximately, a ten-year cycle in which there was a boom, then a depression, then a crisis, then a gradual recovery, then prosperity, then a short boom, then crash again — all within about ten years. These fluctuations kept the workers in a constant state of uncertainty and insecurity which made them more attentive to radical agitation than has been the case under this twelve-year boom in the United States.

And then, combined with the difficulties of the abnormal, and artificial and prolonged prosperity and full employment, we have had to buck the witch-hunt with its constant pressure of intimidation. On the one hand, many workers are inclined to passivity because of relative satisfaction with economic conditions. On the other hand, dissatisfied workers are intimidated. We get hit from both sides, like a boxer in the middle of the one-two punch. It isn't surprising that all radical organizations get a little groggy after that kind of bombardment.

The times we have worked and battled through have not been favorable for radicalism, and we

shouldn't blame ourselves for objective circumstances beyond our control. We should only ask ourselves, did we do all we could within the limits of the objective possibilities before us? Did we stand our ground and keep our program clear? That was our historic task, and that is what we did. That is our victory.

These conditions have played havoc with all our rivals. Even we have suffered losses, as you know. But our party alone has stood firm under all the pressures. The basic cadres, in the ranks and in the leadership, not only here but all over the country, have stood firm under all these pressures and we have continued to recruit new people. That is the ground for our confidence in the future growth and eventual victory of our party.

The Bolsheviks always considered the great days, the heroic period, of their party not the time they rode the crest of the mass movement of the revolution, but the long period of reaction from 1905 to 1917 when the Bolsheviks fought and stood firm, sharpened their program and prepared for the future. That's when the Bolshevik party was really formed and prepared its future victory.

The Coalition Policy

The Socialist Party, as you know, has succumbed to the pressures and contradictions of the time, with the assistance of its own program and its miserable leadership. From all indications, the SP will have no candidate for president in 1952. That's a good thing. It is a correct and logical decision for them to make. They have no program on the fundamental question of foreign policy seriously different from that of the Truman administration. These "socialists" are in the camp of the imperialist war mongers. There is no good reason for them to have their own presidential candidate. I think we should salute them on their intelligence in recognizing this fact, even belatedly.

The ignominious withdrawal of the Socialist Party from the electoral field will eliminate some of the confusion that we had to face in 1948. It will help to clear the field for the SWP as the only party of socialism, which is indeed the real case.

hailed out of this disabled airship. Wallace didn't even wait to fix his parachute. He's somewhat of a mystic, you know, and he just flew out on the wings of the morning. And practically all the other bourgeois demagogues, whom the Stalinists so shamefully recommended to the workers, followed Wallace or jumped ahead of him.

That's not all. Every one of the important unions which supported the Progressive Party in 1948, headed by the United Electrical Workers, whose president was the chairman of the nominating convention in Philadelphia — every one of these unions has withdrawn its support from the Progressive Party, leaving it only with the New York Furriers, who have no social weight.

The Progressive Party has lost its mass base insofar as it had one, but it has not improved its program from a class point of view. The program now, as we see it elaborated in the Daily Worker, is "peaceful co-existence" between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union and revolutionary China and Eastern Europe. That program in itself is a lie and a deception and betrayal of the workers, which we must expose and fight with all our power.

In furtherance of this false and treacherous program of "peaceful co-existence," the Stalinists have concocted a political tactic known as "the coalition policy." That is, instead of presenting independent candidates of the Progressive Party against the Republicans and Democrats, they offer to make a coalition with any capitalist politician, any Republican or Democrat who will give even lip service to the idea of a meeting between the representatives of the Big Five Powers. That means that instead of running independent candidates they are going to work in the primaries of the Republican and Democratic parties in support of the so-called peace-loving capitalist demagogues.

Now there is no basic difference in that policy from that of 1948. The program is the same. In 1948 it offered a bourgeois program of progressive capitalism as an independent party. Today it is very obviously moving to support the same program of progressive capitalism and the Big Five pact as a faction in the two old capitalist parties. That might seem like a terrible retrogression to some people. But what fundamental difference does it make whether a bourgeois party with a bourgeois program runs its own candidates or acts as a faction in the Republican and Democratic parties? From a principled point of view there is no difference.

Party's Main Line

But there is a tactical difference which is all in our favor. The elimination of the Progressive Party as an independent party, like the elimination of the Socialist Party, helps to clear the field and clear up a lot of the confusion that worked against us in 1948. And here, as a while ago we congratulated the Socialist Party on their intelligence in lying down and dying, we should congratulate the Stalinists for their "coalition policy"; for unwittingly doing us a favor whether it was from intelligence or stupidity. At any rate, it's a great favor to us. Both the SP and the Progressive Party, with its Stalinist backers, have been working without their intention to aid the campaign of the SWP in the 1952 elections.

Our politics is the politics of principle, the principle of the class struggle, always and everywhere and under all circumstances. Our policy of the day is the policy of main lines which govern all practical activities. The tactics of the moment must always serve the main line and never replace it, never substitute for it and never contradict it. That's what we have to have in

mind in determining our activity in the smallest and most practical questions.

The main line of our policy in the United States in 1952 is our presidential campaign. And I might say, from reports I have heard, that is one of the main lines of the entire Fourth International. The whole Fourth International is greeting with ardent sympathy and fraternal support the decision of the Socialist Workers Party to present the program of socialism in the 1952 elections in the face of American imperialist aggression leading to war.

Everything we do in 1952 must be coordinated with the main line of our presidential campaign and subordinated to it. All tactics and practical activity must serve the main line. If we bear this fundamental law of Marxist politics in mind and act accordingly in the coming months — then, whatever the immediate results, 1952 will be for us a year of historical achievement in the face of adversity. The year 1952 will be our greatest year of preparation for the future which, in America — as everywhere else in the world — will be a revolutionary future.

SWP Fund Sets Stage for 1952 Election Drive

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The Socialist Workers Party three-month campaign to raise an \$18,000 Organization and Press Fund has ended. On Feb. 4 when the scoreboard was posted for the last time, the grand total was \$17,596 or 98% — 2% short of the \$18,000 goal.

This showing, in the face of adverse conditions, represents a great victory for the party. Every branch scored 100% or better on its local quota with the exception only of San Francisco and Allentown, and this was due to circumstances beyond their control.

The campaign finished with Connecticut in first place and a score of 140%. Cleveland, Toledo, Milwaukee, Flint, Youngstown and Akron likewise oversubscribed their quotas. But each and every branch wins top honors for the extra push and effort that brought the campaign so near the goal.

Comrade Stein wrote in the article launching the campaign: "The party's presidential campaign will depend in large measure on the successful completion of the \$18,000 fund campaign. We are fully aware of the difficulties we face. The workers to whom we are appealing for funds are squeezed hard from two sides — by exorbitant taxes and skyrocketing prices. But we count on the devotion of our members and friends to make the fund campaign a success because we know they fully appreciate its political necessity."

The whole party responded splendidly to this call. We can now move forward confidently toward the great campaign. Organizational steps are already under way to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in the 1952 presidential elections.

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	75	105	140
Cleveland	300	400	133
Toledo	50	60	120
Milwaukee	250	275	110
Flint	350	360	103
Youngstown	350	360	103
Akron	150	152	101
Boston	550	550	100
Buffalo	1,000	1,000	100
Chicago	1,000	1,000	100
Detroit	1,500	1,500	100
Los Angeles	2,800	2,800	100
Newark	500	500	100
New York	5,000	5,000	100
Oakland	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	400	100
Pittsburgh	50	50	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	1,000	100
Seattle	400	400	100
San Francisco	1,000	850	85
Allentown	75	60	80
General	1,150	724	63
Total through Feb. 4	\$18,000	\$17,596	98

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York is preparing well in advance for the presidential election campaign. Understanding the value of The Militant as a campaigner several branches have begun to build Militant reader routes in working class neighborhoods.

Joyce is head of a committee which has been working in one of the projects for the past two weeks.

New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports an encouraging response here with a sale of 25 single copies, nine 25c. delivery subs, and one six months subscription. Previous to visiting the homes, members of the committee distributed a leaflet dealing with the Moore case and announcing that a Militant salesman would visit them in the next few days with a paper which tells the truth about such outrages. In one home they visited the man was waiting with his dollar for a sub when they arrived.

Harlem comrades have begun a similar project in another neighborhood and report first results of nine single copies, four 25c. subs, and one six months sub. In Brooklyn Julie has for many months been building his own route of Militant readers with very good results.

to her and ask for The Militant. She also sold one copy of a truck driver who was delivering beer to a building nearby.

Literature Agent Bea Allen sends in eight more renewals for Detroit and reports that the work on subs will be continued until the beginning of the petition work for the election campaign. Bea tells about the persistence of the comrades in selling the paper in spite of freezing temperatures. "We also went to a union meeting and sold eight papers and 15 copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality,'" she writes. "Marge was selling the pamphlets and she froze her feet almost for it was so cold. She wouldn't quit until the last one was gone. Many people commented to Gil about the persistence and belief they must have to brave such weather to sell."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON**—For information, write P. O. Box 1842.
- BOSTON**—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. 10 A.M.-8 P.M. Library every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- CHICAGO**—756 Madison Ave., Open daily except Sunday, 12-8:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.
- CLEVELAND**—10669 Superior Ave., DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TX 7-6867.
- FLINT**—SWP, 1307 Oak Street, Phone 22490.
- LOS ANGELES**—1702 East 4th St., Phone ANetels 6-4053.
- MILWAUKEE**—317 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.-8 P.M. Library, book store, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN**—For information, write P.O. Box 3018.
- NEWARK**—623 Springfield Avenue.
- NEW YORK CITY**—116 University Place, Phone AL 5-7852.
- BROOKLYN**—De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting 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.
- ST. LOUIS**—For information, Phone MO 7104.
- ST. PAUL**—Phone State headquarters, MAin 7781.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—1736 Fillmore St., 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-3:30 P.M. Phone FT 6-0410.
- SEATTLE**—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-3 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 0278.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—294 E. Federal St.

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THE MILITANT

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Herald-Tribune's 'Red Underground'

Publications of Big Business, from the conservative and "fact-reporting," to the lowest gutter sheets, are vying with one another in whipping up hysteria and hate to the point, they hope, where critical voices will be silenced, above all the voice of anti-war, pro-civil rights socialism. This, naturally, is an indispensable part of preparing the home front for global war and a police state.

The N.Y. Herald Tribune, "progressive Republican" daily, which not so long ago prided itself as a model of sober, conservative, objective journalism, is now helping promote this drive to plug the ears, put blinders on the eyes and hollow out the brain-pan of American people.

For some time now this daily has spiced its columns with the revelations of FBI stoolpigeon Philbrick. In addition, it has been offering a weekly column of alleged conspirative, "secret," and "subversive" operations of "The Red Underground."

This concoction of venom, hate and innuendo, out-Hearsting Hearst, is not signed by some penny-a-liner liar, but by Ogden R. Reid, in person.

Recently Mr. Reid decided that it was imperative to include among his "underground" researches a tid-bit beyond the Communist Party's alleged training courses on how to blow up bridges, plants, sewers, etc. There are, you see, equally mysterious "underground" doings of the Socialist Workers Party. Thereupon Reid prodigiously "uncovered" — from the daily releases, advertisements, etc., issued by SWP branches — that "underground" George Clarke, editor of the Marxist theoretical magazine Fourth International and "expected to serve as national campaign manager" for Farrell Dobbs, 1948 SWP Presidential candidate, is doing — what?

This "sinister" Clarke, in addition to his radio appearances, debating a Republican State Senator and otherwise publicly engaged on his national tour, is — FLASH! — scheduled to speak in Los Angeles Feb. 19-24 and that the annual conference of the Los Angeles SWP voted to campaign in 1952 on an anti-war, pro-civil liberties, platform.

The SWP runs in every election campaign, national, state and local that its forces and resources permit — in the face of legislative requirements that virtually bar minority parties from the ballot in most instances. The SWP has year after year made known its anti-war, anti-witch-hunt, anti-capitalist views over radio, television, at forums, rallies, etc.

SWP candidates have used, as they will use, every available medium for presenting their views — from publications, pamphlets, leaflets, sound-trucks down to press releases which, the Herald Tribune, incidentally, has studiously ignored. They prefer instead to "expose" what is in these SWP releases in their "underground" department.

These gentlemen who glorify FBI stoolpigeons, when not play-acting the role publicly themselves, will be hard put to convince the American people that the open and public presentation of socialist ideas is "conspiratorial" or "underground." As hard put, as Truman's Attorney General has been to convince the labor movement and civil rights' defenders that legless veteran James Kutcher is not a member of a legitimate, legal, open, socialist party, the SWP.

By this we do not mean to say that this red-baiting, hysteria whipping crew, plagiarizing from the vilest of dictators, past or present, are something harmless and to be ignored. No, it is necessary to expose them for what they are: Subverters of the democratic traditions of this country, capitalist enemies of the American people.

Runaway Textile Mills Peril Union

By Thomas Raymond

Bargaining is opening this month between the CIO Textile Workers Union of America and the woollens and worsted industry in the midst of the worst atmosphere of crisis confronted by the union since its foundation. The union faces a wage-cutting and speed-up drive spearheaded by American Woollens Co., chief firm of the industry, employing about one out of five of all woollens workers.

The crisis stems from the movement of the industry southward in an effort to escape the union, and from the failure of the union, up to the present time, to organize the Southern mills. The Wall Street Journal of Feb. 4 reports that while woollens production is booming in unorganized, low-paying Southern mills, woollen and worsted mills in New England where the bulk of the industry has traditionally been located, are running at a scant 40% of capacity.

DEMAND CUTS

The American Woollens Co. has presented the Textile Workers Union with a series of 15 demands, all of them of a wage-cutting and speedup nature. The company has refused to extend the present contract, asking instead that the cost-of-living escalator clause, paid holidays, Saturday and Sunday overtime pay and similar union-won benefits be eliminated from the contract or reduced. The American Woollens Co. has been joined by 20 other woollen and worsted mills in giving notice to the union that the present contracts will not be extended beyond the March 15 expiration date.

The union has announced that it will not agree to any wage cuts. However, officers of the union have agreed to permit the companies to pile additional work loads on the textile workers. The CIO textile union at Wyandotte, Worsted in New England has permitted a 50% work load increase in that mill.

HOISERY WAGE SLASH

Meanwhile the AFL's American Federation of Hosiery Workers has agreed to a series of wage reductions ranging up to 25% for about 20,000 hosiery workers. The AFL union has covered this retreat by participating in an industry-labor-public "tri-partite" tribunal, which voted the wage-cut by a two-to-one majority. The AFL representative voted against the cut, and can thus disclaim responsibility for it. However, there was no question about what this tribunal's recommendation would be, and so the AFL, by agreeing to participate, actually agreed to the wage cut.

The plight of the unions in the Northern textile regions can be clearly seen from the marked "runaway-shop" trend. American Woollens, which will shortly open a new plant at Raleigh, N. C., intends to move much more of its work to the South; and

even all, according to the president of the company. An important manufacturer of mill machinery reports that he is selling four times as much new equipment to be used in Southern regions as in Northern. Further, many Northern mills are closing down: In the last three years, of 67 woollen and worsted mills that have closed, only three were in the South, all the rest in the North.

It has been estimated that, if the present trend continues, one-quarter to one-half of all New England jobs will have vanished within another year.

MOVE TO SOUTH

Government and big business are assisting and encouraging the trend. For example, certificates of necessity which entitle corporations to free plants, built at taxpayers' expense, have been issued to textile companies to the extent of \$28 million. The concentration is in the South; the South, as a matter of fact, has gotten 25% of all such certificates, compared to 4.3% for New England. The CIO News for Jan. 14 reported

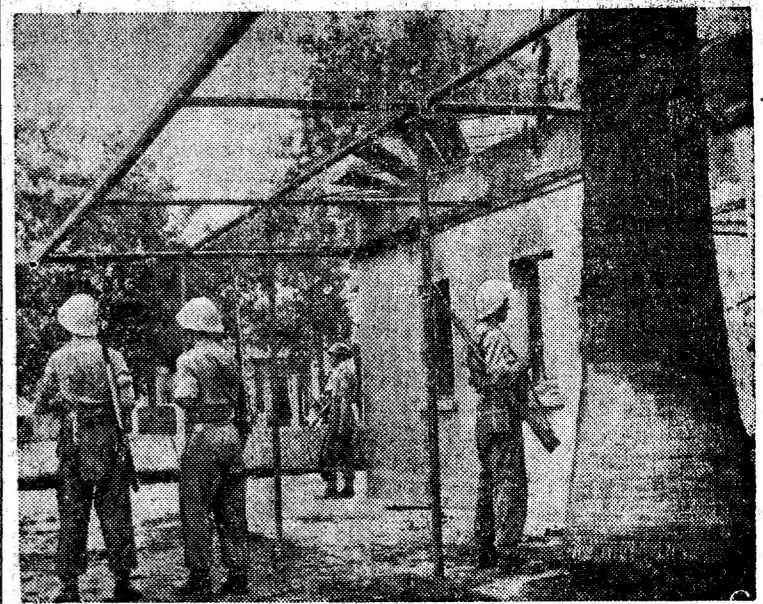
that big New England banks and mill equipment companies are liberal in issuing credit to companies for mill construction in the South, very rigid about the same type of credits for Northern construction. Thus the anti-union drive appears to be carried on with the concerted backing of finance-capital and the U.S. Government.

The CIO Textile Workers has only 2,500 of its 70,000 members in southern mills. The result is that wages are from 30 to 40 cents an hour lower, vacations, overtime and other union benefits do not exist, and work loads are twice and three times as high. The non-unionized Southern workers are driven to tend as many as 16 and 24 looms (with some help in bobbin-changing and oiling) where Northern textile workers need tend no more than 4 or 6, according to Wall Street Journal surveys.

MUST ORGANIZE SOUTH

Thus the boss of the Guerin Mills in Woonsocket, R. I., can say: "I've built a spinning plant in Rameur, N. C., where I'm

British Troops in Egypt



British imperial troops patrol Ismailia railway station, which was burned during recent popular demonstrations in the Suez Canal Zone. The British have sent 6,000 more troops to Egypt to protect foreign domination against Egyptian people's nationalist liberation movement.

Baldanzi leading opposing factions. Baldanzi has been charging sabotage of the Southern drive. He claims that personnel allocated to the drive has been

transferred for "factional" reasons, and that this has impaired the chances of successful organization of Southern textile workers.

Clarke Debates GOP Senator on Radio

(Continued from Page 1)

have a lot of foreign ideas of a different kind that come from German and Japanese sources, such as the ideas of thought-control put out by the McCarthys and their kind in this country and the ideas of regimentation of thought, the crushing of dissent in the country, loyalty oaths, spying and the like. These are foreign ideas which are not liberating but enslaving. Our ideas are as American as Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. So much for the first question. Second question: We don't propose to take over the property of any small home owner or even any small business man. That is not necessary in this country. The wealth and resources of this country are controlled by great corporations. They can decide either to go to war or to have a depression, either one. It is that property that we are going to put back into the hands of the people. The other property of the small farmer can remain where it is. It is not the socialists who are taking the property of the small farmer. The capitalists are doing that.

Moderator: Getting down to some of the arguments, Mr. Clarke, you protested against thought-control in America as being sponsored by so-called fascists and I presume you include Senator McCarthy among them.

Clarke: Yes, McCarthy is that type.

Child: I consider McCarthy a very good friend of mine, and I think he is doing a tremendous job to.

Clarke: You are in very bad company, Senator.

Child: I don't think so.

Clarke: You are going to get the animosity of most of the American people.

Child: I think that Senator McCarthy is doing a good job and I hope he has the intestinal fortitude to continue doing that job. I think the most socialist countries in the world are the ones who use the most thought control, and I am talking about Russia. When you talk about part of an economy being socialist and a part socialized and a part of it being free, I don't think that's possible. England is a good demonstration of how that tendency is growing. Once you socialize a part of your economy like your heavy industries, your money and your communications and your transportation, you are automatically going into a situation where the rest of the economy is completely dependent upon those facilities and unless they knuckle down to the will of the socialist government, they too will be absorbed or eliminated. Now in England... the socialist government has passed a law whereby they...

Clarke: Nothing you say here has anything to do with socialism or the ideas of socialism. I think you had better go back and study something about socialism. I have made a lifetime study of this and this is a scientific study.

Child protested at being interrupted.

Moderator: George, I'll have to insist that Senator Fay Child have an opportunity to finish what he started to say because he accorded the same courtesy to you.

Clarke: Shall I tell you what happened? A deficit of 256 billion dollars right now heading for a larger deficit in years to come and primarily because of a lot of social services.

Clarke: That's cotkeyed. The great debt of this country came not from that but from the second world war when you were not making the goods of life, you

were making the means of destruction and destroying them.

Child: In the last six years of Truman's administration which weren't all war years, we spent more money in taxes in this nation than were spent in all previous years by all other presidents up and through Mr. Roosevelt.

Clarke: There's nothing wrong with taxation provided the rich are taxed because the rich don't deserve what they have and the rich don't work for it. Mr. Borahmann, you've got to have a fantastic imagination to say that the New Deal was socialist or anything approximating socialism. The purpose of the New Deal was to save capitalism.

Child: I think that the U.S. is verging on socialism and, as a matter of fact, Mr. Bevan of England has made the statement that Mr. Truman's theories come as close to being socialistic as any previous president. Just as Karl Marx said, he is the man that you quote so frequently with such awe, Mr. Marx himself said that the best way to socialize a capitalistic economy was to tax and tax and spend and spend until only the government would have enough money left to engage in.

Clarke: Marx never said that — Senator Taft said it, Senator. You get your Marx from the Republicans.

Moderator: I think we are not going to be able to do an entirely comprehensive in covering the economics of socialism, but in the few minutes we have left, let's get into the politics of socialism. As I understand it now, Mr. Clarke, the Socialist Workers Party did have a slate of candidates in the last general elections.

Clarke: The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has designated for nomination, to be ratified by our national convention which will be held later in the year, the same banner-bearers that we had last time: Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. Now we hope to get on the ballot in as many states as possible. Unfortunately, restrictive laws have been legislated which are in line with the discrimination against civil liberties in our country to prevent minority parties from getting on the ballot. So I can't say in advance now in how many states we will be on the ballot.

Moderator: How many states were you on in '48?

Clarke: We were on the ballot in eleven states.

Moderator: Senator Child, do you feel that the restrictions that have been imposed on the minority parties in this manner constitute a violation of human rights or rather civil liberties?

Child: No, I don't think so. I find that if you criticize socialists or communists or a member of a minority race, automatically you become a fascist and you become an enemy of academic freedom and all other kinds of

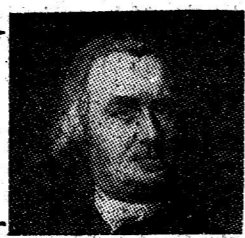
Child: There have been no laws passed since I have been a state senator pertaining to the Socialist Workers Party and I know of no law that prohibits anyone from joining it. Grace Carlson, who is in the studio here now, is a member of that party, and I certainly don't think that she has been ostracized from society because she belongs to that party.

Moderator: We will have to end our session here. Our time has run out and we are grateful to both of you gentlemen. To Senator Fay Child, editor of the *MAYNARD NEWS*, and to George Clarke, editor of the *Socialist Workers Party* paper, *Fourth International*, for appearing this Sunday on our regular weekly edition of "Editorial Roundup," thank you very much.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 14

FROM THE BOSTON TEA PARTY TO CONCORD AND LEXINGTON

By Harry Frankel



Writing to a friend, he reduced the strategy to a single sentence: "Put your enemy in the wrong and keep him there."

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* writes of this period: "In connection with all these events, the Americans claimed to be acting on the defensive. But it was not difficult to perceive that, especially in New England, this claim only imperfectly concealed an intensely aggressive spirit."

This remark is intended to convict the radicals of "aggression," which is the worst sin in the lexicon of supporters of the status quo. However, historically considered, the "aggression" was all on the side of the British ruling class, which was trying to rule a foreign land by force. Adams, in adopting his "defensive" course, was only trying to make this historical truth clear to the timid souls among the colonial oppositoinists. He wanted the British to fire the first shot so that the historic responsibility for the war would show itself in a dramatic and easily comprehensible form.

It must be added that, even if the Adams radicals had fired the first shots, the essential responsibility for the war would still rest on the shoulders of the oppressors. Adams understood this, but he was willing to yield a point to those who did not.

During most of this critical period, Adams was away at the Congress in Philadelphia, and responsibility for guiding the movement fell upon Dr. Joseph Warren, his chief lieutenant in New England. Warren was a young man of great revolutionary character and abilities who was comparatively new in the movement. He died a hero's death at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Warren at the Helm in Boston

Warren, with some help from Adams (Paul Revere employed many a weary week in the trip between Boston and Philadelphia, carrying communications between the two) tried to restrain the movement from an untimely outbreak, and his letters show how difficult this was. He wrote to Adams: "I firmly believe that the utmost caution and prudence is necessary to gain the consent of the province to wait a few months longer for their deliverance." And to Josiah Quincy Jr., a young comrade of his, also soon to die: "It will require, however, a very masterly policy to keep the province, for any considerable time longer, in its present state. The town of Boston is by far the most moderate part of the province; they are silent and inflexible."

On Sept. 1, 1774, seven and one-half months

before the actual outbreak of war, came the so-called "Powder Alarm," caused by a British transfer of military stores. Warren was summoned from his bed, and got out to Cambridge at six o'clock in the morning where he found four thousand armed workmen and farmers threatening to massacre a detachment of redcoats. Warren had to use all his influence to prevent an immediate uprising.

Preparations for Revolt

Adams and Warren did not confine themselves to urging caution and doing nothing else. Adams, in this period, won a majority for radical policies in the Continental Congress. Warren pushed the work of organization and prepared for insurrection and war. He wrote to a Connecticut town committee gleefully about the troubles of the British military governor:

"Mr. Gage finds himself very unequal to the task that is set for him and is at a loss for measures. He sees, and is astonished at, the spirit of the people. He forbids their town meetings, and they meet in counties. If he prevents county meetings, we must call provincial meetings."

By the time Adams returned from the Congress, the radicals had formed a Provincial Congress for Massachusetts, which was to be both the agency for revolution and the basis for a new government.

Adams urged the military preparations. "Inter arma silent leges," he wrote from Philadelphia: "In a resort to arms, laws are suspended. I have written to our friends to provide themselves, without delay, with arms and ammunition, get well instructed in the military art, embody themselves, and prepare a complete set of rules, that they may be ready in case they are called to defend themselves against violent attacks of despotism."

Finally, in mid-April 1775, the tension exploded into open battle. British troops were sent to take a powder magazine and to capture John Hancock and Sam Adams, who were in the neighborhood of Concord and Lexington preparing to set out for the Second Continental Congress. Shortly after they left Boston, the radical committee knew their route, and sent Paul Revere, the Boston metalsmith, to prepare the militia. The next morning saw the first clash of arms.

Sam Adams had brought the ship of revolution safely across a stormy sea. The battle was joined, and a powerful national force stood ready to fight the British.

(Next Week: Democracy and Revolution.)

The Boston Tea Party took place on Dec. 16, 1773, and the initial skirmishes of the Revolutionary War occurred on April 19, 1775 at Concord and Lexington. The first event was the clear act of defiance by the Massachusetts radicals, while the second event marked the outbreak of war.

Sam Adams' task during the intervening 16 months was to make sure that when war began, New England would not fight alone. He applied himself conscientiously to that end, and every policy, every move made under his leadership was considered from this point of view.

It is very easy to rally out to fight tyranny, and get yourself eliminated in the process. The whole trick of great revolutionary leadership, however, is to fight with a mass movement on your side, and thus have a reasonable chance of victory. Sam Adams understood this, and his object was to bring a powerful nationwide movement to a flood-tide simultaneously in all parts of the country.

In 1768, when Adams made his first definite insurrectionary move by calling the extra-legal Massachusetts Convention, he could not get Boston and the surrounding countryside to go along with him. In his anger and disappointment, the rose in the Convention and shouted: "I will stand alone! I will oppose this tyranny at the threshold, though the fabric of liberty fall, and I perish in its ruins!"

Adams spoke that way in a moment of anger. But he didn't act that way. Sam Adams had no intention of standing "alone" and going down to defeat in one grand and glorious demonstration. Not that he lacked the courage to do this; his whole life proves the contrary. But he just didn't play the game to satisfy his personal feelings. He played to win.

Need For Popular Backing

Sam Adams was no adventurer, but a serious revolutionary leader. He expressed the basic thought common to all such leaders when he said the following: "It is often stated that I am at the head of the

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By Jean Blake

Negro History Week will be observed in many communities throughout the country February 11-17. In some cases it will be a ritualistic observance, with meetings and speeches about great men and their achievements in various fields of endeavor. In others it will be marked with "folk festivals" or cultural events such as concerts, displays of books by Negro authors and art exhibits featuring African sculpture and the like.

A more meaningful and fruitful way to celebrate Negro History Week would be to focus public attention on some of the lessons we can learn from the history of the Negro struggle which can give perspective, understanding and guidance in coping with problems facing us today.

One such problem is the current stepped-up campaign of anti-Negro terror, violence and intimidation throughout the country, highlighted by the recent murder of Harry Moore, NAACP leader, in Florida. The Militant has dealt with proposals for immediate action necessary for defense against additional victimizations and we do not intend to repeat them here. Instead, we wish to discuss the inescapable problems facing thoughtful persons who try to see beyond the day-to-day fight for self-preservation.

Are we making progress in the struggle to abolish discrimination against Negroes in the United States? Will it be abolished? When? How?

Some Negro leaders have argued that great gains have been made in the Negro struggle in recent years. They cite Supreme Court rulings against court enforcement of race restrictions in housing, some isolated legal victories against segregation in higher education, passage of a number of state and city fair employment practices laws, admission of a few outstanding individuals to formerly lily-white cultural, sports and entertainment fields, and scattered appointments to government and United Nations posts. Along the path of such reforms they see the eventual elimination of the "Negro problem" in America.

Their conclusion, which is also their premise, is that a radical change in our social system is not necessary in order to win full equality for Negroes in the United States.

But if that reasoning is correct, how do those who defend it explain the murder of Harry Moore? The Supreme Court's failure to rule last month against segregation in schools? The bombing Jan. 29th of the home of Dr. Urbane Bass, a Negro physician who opposed discrimination in the schools of Cairo, Ill.? The failure of government authorities to arrest and penalize the terrorists, the Southern sheriffs who shoot defenseless Negro victims, and other criminals

gully of overt acts of violence against minority groups?

Are all these incidents accidental and inconsistent with the "progress" being made in the Negro struggle? The Socialist Workers Party does not think so. Our analysis of this problem, based on a historical approach to the Negro struggle in this country, may be summarized as follows:

Discrimination against Negroes in the United States stems from the peculiarities of the development of capitalism here, and will not be eliminated until the economic basis for it is eliminated. The first form of Negro discrimination in America, chattel slavery, was instituted by European settlers from nations in which slavery as a predominant economic form had been replaced by feudalism and feudalism by capitalism. Young American capitalism needed a larger labor force to exploit than normal immigration and reproduction of "free" white labor could provide, so slavery was introduced on this continent — black slaves from Africa, who could less easily be united with the white wage slaves who were also essential for the development of production for profit.

When the interests of Northern industrial capitalist development and Southern plantation capitalist development clashed, the Civil War abolished black chattel slavery, but not the historically conditioned division in the working class which was continued to prevent any effective challenge to the rule of the capitalists.

With the emergence of the United States as a major power in the twentieth century world wars, stepped-up production demands made it necessary to tap the Negro labor supply, drawing thousands away from agriculture and into industry and other urban occupations. But the need to keep the growing working class divided along racial and other lines increases with the growth and potential power of the working class.

At the same time that capitalism must admit the Negro masses into a more strategically important place in the economy of the country, it must try to maintain discrimination to prevent a united working class from abolishing the rule of a parasitic minority of capitalists, and taking power in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the people.

If we understand how Negro discrimination in America arose and developed historically as a capitalist phenomenon, we can see how changes in the forms of discrimination may take place while their basic content, division of the working class, is maintained.

Negro History Week this year could teach an important lesson! It is necessary to stop begging capitalist politicians for reforms, and to adopt a perspective of revolutionary change to eliminate Jim Crow in America.

Leon Sedov

Today the thinking militarist-riden youth of our country, faced with the yawning abyss of another imperialist world war, are groping for a new road toward hope, toward opportunity and a better world. For them there is no better guide than the martyred Leon Sedov, whose name is destined to become a symbol of the revolutionary socialist youth throughout the world.

Leon Sedov was the older son of Natalia Sedov Trotsky and Leon Trotsky. Only 32 years old at the time of his premature death, he had lived his entire conscious life in the world socialist movement, giving it all his energies and devotion.

The GPU, Stalin's secret police, hounded Sedov throughout his youth in the Soviet Union; they stopped at nothing after he voluntarily followed his father and mother into their third and last foreign exile in 1928. Laying trap after trap in attempts to murder Sedov, Stalin's hired killers finally succeeded 10 years later — on Feb. 15, 1938.

When the news of Sedov's sudden death reached Leon Trotsky, then exiled in Mexico, he wrote the stirring tribute: "Leon Sedov — Son, Friend, Fighter." On the fourteenth anniversary of Sedov's death, we find it appropriate to reprint the following excerpts:

By LEON TROTSKY

Of that older generation whose ranks we joined at the end of the last century on the road to revolution, all, without exception, have been swept from the scene. . . . Following the destruction of the older generation, the best section of the next, that is, the generation which awakened in 1917 and which received its training in the 24 armies of the revolutionary front, was likewise destroyed. Also crushed underfoot and completely obliterated was the best part of the youth, Leon's contemporaries.

He himself survived only by a miracle, owing to the fact that he accompanied us into (Central Asian) exile and then to Turkey. During the years of our last emigration we made many new friends, some of whom have entered intimately into our lives, becoming as it were, members of our family. But we met all of them for the first time in these last few years when we had already neared old age.

Notes from the News

SOUP KITCHENS AGAIN. . . . First soup kitchen since the depression went into action in Hamtramck, suburb of Detroit on Jan. 31. The job of doing out soup, meat balls and coffee to hungry unemployed was started by a Polish relief organization but a city councilman said it should be taken over by the city "because one-third of our men are out of work." The unemployed are almost all laid-off auto workers.

INSULTING RACIST TERM. . . . A Nisei member of the CIO Newspaper Guild in N. Y. has asked his union to aid in eliminating the term "Jap" from news stories. The union has a black list of other insulting racial designations. One of the chief offenders in using this term so resented by Japanese and Americans of Japanese extraction is Walter Winchell, who, at the moment, is up to his ears in a \$300,000 libel suit brought by Josephine Baker.

WHICH PAGE OF THE N. Y. TIMES DO YOU READ? . . . To bolster its argument that the anti-British, anti-U.S. demonstration in Cairo was not a "spontaneous" movement of the Egyptian people but a "revolutionary plot" engineered by subversive elements, a New York Times editorial of Jan. 29 adduces as evidence "the lack

of looting." A news article on page 4 of the same paper the same day talks about the "looting" by the Cairo "mobs."

AFRAID TO TELL TRUTH. . . . The Christian Science Monitor reveals: "Foreign service officers are no longer sending frank, open reports to the State Department. They are sending reports that are less than candid about what actually is going on in many parts of the world." The reason according to the conservative paper is that State Dept. employees avoid fear to report Communist gains even confidentially lest some day they be smeared as "pro-Communist."

COUNT ME OUT. . . . The Wall Street Journal in an article on West Germany hopefully asserts that the Ohne Mich (Count me out) attitude of the people against re-armament is diminishing. The article reveals that a year ago the U.S. Occupation authorities took a secret poll. It showed that 90 per cent of the men of military age would refuse to serve in a "Western Defense Army." Newspapers referred to proposed German contingents of such an army as "cannon-fodder" and *Himmelfahrtkommandos* ("legions headed straight for heaven").

THE MILITANT

Witch Hunters Plan Smear of UAW Local

DETROIT, Feb. 5 — In an article under the caption "Red Probers to Take Swipe at Auto Union," a recent issue of the Michigan CIO News warned of the forthcoming visit to Detroit of the House "Un-American Activities Committee."

The Committee hearings for Detroit have been announced for the month of February. The CIO News story stated "Committee chairman John S. Wood (D., Georgia) said that the house group would concentrate its snooping on Detroit auto plants. Predictions are that the Un-American Activities Committee will use the investigations largely for publicity purposes. This was made clear this week when the entire committee decided to participate in the Detroit hearings."

This superficial explanation of the Detroit visit is not fully accepted even by the Michigan CIO for the same story also states, "The probe may also be used to take a swipe at labor unions, especially the UAW-CIO. There can be no doubt that the Detroit visit of this anti-union committee is aimed at a smear of the Detroit labor movement. It is more than just a coincidence that the visit is timed with the growing critical unemployment and increasing demands from auto workers that steps be taken to alleviate their plight."

At the time of this writing, not one word relative to the announced visit of this anti-labor committee to Detroit has come from the top officers of the International Union, UAW-CIO. Their silence adds strength to reports that the UAW-CIO leadership hopes to "benefit" by the committee hearings which are expected to concentrate on alleged "red" domination of Ford Local 600, a stronghold of anti-Red forces.

The growing resentment of auto workers over the past several months has been accelerated with the continuing mass unemployment. This mass dissatisfaction threatens to unsettle Reuther supporters in a number of local unions in the elections scheduled for May and June. A revival of the red-baiting poison aided by the House Committee hearings can be expected as these machine politicians strive to maintain their positions at all costs.

Militant workers must sound the alarm. Factional opportunism must not be permitted to scuttle a united defense of the Detroit labor movement against the witchhunt campaign of the Un-American Activities Committee.

SWP Hits Racist Charity in Akron

AKRON, Feb. 3 — In its lead editorial today (Feb. 1), the Ohio Informer told the story of how Kay Kean, Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of Akron, fared when she attempted to enter the meeting of the Board of Directors of Community Chest. Included in the editorial of this weekly published on behalf of the Negro people of Akron, (circulation 1700), was Kay Kean's full statement criticizing the granting of funds during 1952 to social service agencies discriminating against Negroes.

The editorial suggests that all contributors to the Community Chest check on the use to which their contributions are put. It further points out that the directors of the Community Chest refused to hear the Secretary of the Akron Socialist Workers Party, agreeing only to accept a written statement. The editorial then reprints that statement in full, as follows:

"I come here today as representative of the Akron Socialist Workers Party to speak against the proposed increases for the Kate Waller Barrett Training School and the Florence Crittenden Maternity Home for unwed mothers. You are undoubtedly aware that these homes openly discriminate against Negro women. Why should they then be recipients of civic funds, contributed by Negro and white donors?"

"The policy of the Barrett and Crittenden Homes is detrimental to the welfare of our Negro women. Accidentally caught in pregnancy, a Negro woman would have no protective aid in Akron before and after delivery. It is up to you to insist with the management of these Homes that color discrimination must go. Until there is clear cut evidence that these Homes are embarking on an interracial program of aid, withhold all funds."

signed: Kay Kean

Honor Moores in Florida



Historic Miami parade, in which hundreds of Negroes and whites marched through the city in a National Association for Advancement of Colored People memorial to Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, NAACP director in Florida, and his wife, were killed by a terrorist bomb in their Mims home.

MOORE PROTEST RALLY GETS WIDE L.A. BACKING

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 3 — The Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers Party has thrown all its forces behind the protest rally to be held on Feb. 21 at the Shrine Auditorium to voice the anger of the people against the racial terror in Florida and their determination to fight as one against the threat to all.

The party is continuing its plans to break the conspiracy of silence of the capitalist press by meetings, leaflet distributions and sales of The Militant containing the story of the Florida bombings. In their attempt to ignore this fascist violence, the capitalist papers have carried very little of the story, and recently almost nothing.

THE FIRST TIME

For the first time in the history of Los Angeles, the AFL, CIO, minority and liberal organizations have joined to fight for the rights of Negroes. This represents a tremendous political development, for it demonstrates that the workers no longer consider the Negro struggle as something apart from themselves, but recognize that the terror against minority groups is part of the plan of Big Business to crush the unions and force

Clarke Exposes U.S. War Drive In Minn. Meetings

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 2 — George Clarke, editor of Fourth International, defended Marxism against pacifism in a debate last Thursday under the auspices of the Marxian-Socialist Club at the University of Minnesota. Mulford Q. Sibley, associate professor of political science, took the pacifist position, attacked the Marxist program for achieving socialism and claimed the British state was "approaching socialism gradually."

Clarke asserted that the Labor government in Britain had made no "fundamental" changes in the social order while in power. "That's not true," Sibley said, "British workers eat more today than they did before the war. Now if that isn't a fundamental change, I don't know what is."

Last night Clarke spoke at the state headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on "The Approaching International Showdown." Using first-hand information gathered on a recent trip to Western Europe, he described the poverty and opposition to war by the people of those countries. All over Western Germany, he said, are posted signs reading "Without Me" — meaning, you can have your war, but without me!

The U.S. has become the most hated country in the world, he said, because its leaders are lining up the countries of the world for another war, whose aim is "to turn back the clock, to reestablish empires." He stressed that it depended above all on the American people whether or not this war would take place.

The audience stayed after the meeting for questions, discussion and to buy literature. A social affair in Clarke's honor was held in St. Paul tonight. Several new friends and members were added to the Twin Cities branches of the SWP as a result of Clarke's debates with Child and Sibley and his lecture last night.

Negroes in South Refuse to Bow To Terrorism

The South-wide conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held in Jacksonville, Fla., on Jan. 19-20, gave notice to the white su-

premacists and Ku Klux Klan that the Negro people were determined not to be intimidated by the new wave of lynch-terror sweeping the South. (See The Militant, Jan. 28.) Further details about the conference, reported by Stetson Kennedy in the Feb. 2 Nation, show that it also supplied evidence of a new militancy spreading among Negroes in the South.

"Bombs do not frighten us; they bring us together," Kennedy quotes one of the delegates as saying. And that was the spirit in which 211 delegates from NAACP branches representing 100,000 members in 12 Southern states met to condemn the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, the Groveland frameup and the attempted intimidation of the Negro people as a whole.

OUTSPOKEN MILITANT

"To hell with these social gradualists, these time-not-rippers who say to take it easy! I'm not willing to follow any man who wants to go easy for me winning my freedom!" That was delegate A. J. Clements Jr. speaking, an attorney from Charleston, S. C. Kennedy calls him "the most violent militant" at the conference, but he appeared to be expressing the views of many other delegates.

"Just because Jackie Robinson has been admitted to the ball parks, and Ralph Bunche and Marian Anderson have crept through a crack in the wall, doesn't mean that we're all satisfied. We are standing before the wall of segregation and we will not be moved until it comes tumbling down! If the Talmages and Russells do not have sense enough to get out of the way, it will just have to fall on their stupid heads! Harry Moore is dead because some of us have not stood up." That was delegate Lawson of Savannah, Ga., a young member of the NAACP board of directors.

"It's a peculiar thing how the police can always track down every Negro bootlegger and numbers writer, but whenever a Negro is killed by white men they rush in and say 'tell us the story' and then they close the book. You may be sure that if a white family had been bombed to death, the next morning they would have had a hundred Negroes in jail — any hundred. . . . The future of

this world no longer rests in white hands — it is being decided in India, China, Japan, and Africa." The delegate who made those remarks was J. M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina NAACP.

The conference confined itself to attacks on Dixiecrat politicians. But, Kennedy adds, "informal talks with delegates in the corridors revealed that a profound disillusionment with President Truman has set in. Most of the delegates I questioned felt that American Negroes had bet on Truman once too often. Accustomed as they are to broken promises Negroes are as bitter about the 'scrap of paper' known as Truman's civil rights program as they were once convinced of its sincerity. I could not find a delegate who was at all impressed with the wrist-slapping FEPC which the President hastily appointed after federal authorities had failed to make arrests or invoke jury probes in the Florida terrorism."

There also appeared to be some feeling of criticism of the policies of the NAACP national leadership. Kelly M. Alexander, North Carolina NAACP president and member of the national board of directors, urged the conference to "take a look at the list of our national board and see how inadequately represented the South is. As the chief battleground of the struggle the South needs and is entitled to more representation on the policy-making level; we're no Charlie McCarthies!"

But the exact nature of the criticism is not made clear in Kennedy's article although he reports expressions of dissatisfaction with some do-nothing local branch presidents and committees and quotes one laborer as telling him: "The trouble with this organization is that the business people who are on top don't reach down often enough to help the working-man in the ditch."

FAVOR MILITANT PROGRAM

Whatever Alexander had in mind, the conference itself indicated that the Southern branches of the NAACP, and the Negro people whose sentiments they reflect, favor a militant and forthright program of struggle against Jim Crow and the terrorism unleashed to uphold it.

MILTON RICHARDSON

Through the Negro press we learn of the death in Paris of Milton Joseph Richardson, former member of the Socialist Workers Party. William Gardner Smith, Paris correspondent of the Pittsburgh Courier, reports that Richardson, who went to France a few years ago, had become a well-known painter there though his work is little known in the U. S. His untimely death was mourned by his French wife and by many friends. He died suddenly of a stroke at the age of 38.



MILTON RICHARDSON

Milton Richardson was born in New Iberia, Louisiana in 1913. His early life was spent working in Louisiana salt mines, rice fields and sugar plantations. During the depression he participated in the unemployed movement in the South. Later he went north, secured work on the railroads and was a member of the AFL Dining Car and Waiters Union. In 1938 he joined the Socialist Workers Party. When the beginning of World War II opened hitherto Jim Crow factory jobs to Negro workers, Richardson seized the opportunity and became a member of the AFL Boilermakers Union.

Drafted into the Jim Crow army in 1942, he carried on the struggle against discrimination, participating in some actions that

won concessions for Negro units stationed in the South. He served two years overseas in the European Theatre. In 1946 Richardson was the SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor of New York. He carried on an active campaign speaking at rallies, forums and street corner meetings. Around 1943 Richardson dropped out of political activity and devoted more and more of his time to art school and painting.

CLARKE TOUR SCHEDULE

Seattle	Feb. 6-11
San Francisco	Feb. 13-17
Oakland	Feb. 19-24
Los Angeles	Feb. 27
St. Louis	Feb. 29-Mar. 1
Cleveland	Mar. 2-3
Youngstown	Mar. 4-5
Akron	Mar. 6-7
Pittsburgh	Mar. 8-9
Philadelphia	Mar. 14-16
Boston	Mar. 21

Los Angeles

"The Coming International Showdown" Speaker GEORGE CLARKE Sat. night, Feb. 23 • 1702 East 4th Street Donation: 35 cents followed by Refreshments and Social