

Avenge Harry Moore -- End Jim Crow Terror!

NAACP, Labor Must Give Lead For Mass Action

An Editorial

The bomb-murder of Harry T. Moore, Florida leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, represents a terrible threat and challenge to every Negro and labor organization in this country.

If his killers are not caught and punished, then the fascistic anti-labor, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic forces will feel free to continue and increase their violence to maintain white supremacy and other oppressive institutions. If they can get away with the murder of one NAACP leader who dared to oppose their crimes, they will inevitably try to murder or intimidate others. The effect will be to terrorize and paralyze organized efforts to obtain better conditions.

This challenge cannot be evaded. It must be met head-on. Routine methods must be discarded. A militant program of action is needed to arouse the American people to the danger and to bring them actively into the fight.

Of all the organizations in this country, the NAACP is in the best position to take the lead in the struggle that is required. It has great prestige in both the South and North, and commands the respect and support of powerful labor and liberal organizations. If it will set a militant example, millions will follow it.

So far, the NAACP has denounced the killers and the Florida authorities, offered a reward for the conviction of the criminals, directed its branches to hold memorial meetings for Moore on Jan. 6, and vigorously demanded that the federal government intervene and put an end to the terrorism. These measures are all correct and necessary. But they are not enough.

Government Refuses to Act

The government has proved over and over again in the past that it has no real interest in abolishing Jim Crow violence. The Truman administration stops at nothing in arresting and prosecuting radicals and opponents of war preparations, but it acts deaf, dumb and blind when confronted with demands to stop racist force and violence. It will keep on acting that way until it is forced to do otherwise by the mass pressure of the labor and Negro movements and the overwhelming majority of the American people who support them.

That is why the NAACP must go to the American people without delay.

Before the latest Florida outrage, the NAACP had completed arrangements for the holding of a civil rights mobilization in Washington on Feb. 17-18. The participants in this gathering will include representatives of more than 25 of the biggest and most influential national labor, liberal, church, fraternal and minority groups in this country, such as the AFL, CIO, American Jewish Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, National Baptist Convention, etc.

As originally scheduled, this conference is supposed to focus attention on and lobby for revision of Senate Rule 22, which makes possible indefinite filibustering to block the enactment of any civil rights legislation.

What the NAACP Can Do

We earnestly appeal to the NAACP and the other participating organizations to take immediate steps to broaden the nature of the coming gathering, and to hold it earlier if possible.

In addition to the filibuster issue, and even more prominently, the Washington mobilization should concern itself with steps to smash Jim Crow terrorism. Instead of a few hundred representatives, tens of thousands of people should be summoned to March on Washington to show the government that no further delay will be tolerated. Lobbying should be supplemented, or superseded, by mass action.

At the same time, the participating organizations should get together in all the cities of this country and make immediate plans to hold local mass meetings and demonstrations expressing the wrath and determination of the people not to rest until Harry T. Moore's murder has been avenged. This is the only kind of language Washington will understand and pay attention to.

In addition, the labor and Negro organizations should encourage their affiliates in Florida and other centers of terrorism to establish defense guards to protect the lives and homes of their leaders. This is the only kind of language that the bomb-throwers and brutal killers wearing cops' badges will understand and respect.

The murder of Harry T. Moore has precipitated a crisis on which the future of the Negro struggle may depend for a long time to come. This crisis dictates emergency measures, extraordinary steps, immediate action. It is up to the NAACP and the labor movement to give the lead. And it is up to every worker and Negro to play his part in meeting and solving the crisis.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVI - No. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1952

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

George Clarke On National Speaking Tour

Will Discuss Coming Global Showdown

George Clarke, editor of the Marxist magazine Fourth International, will begin a coast-to-coast speaking tour under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party on Jan. 10. The tour will begin in Buffalo on that date and will cover almost all cities with SWP branches.

WORLD CRISIS

Clarke will speak on "The Approaching International Showdown." He will analyze the present world crisis and the effects that war will have on it. He will discuss the prospects of Wall Street's attempts to save the dying system of "free enterprise" in the whole world and the role that the Kremlin and Stalinism will play in the coming decisive struggles.

Recently returned from a trip to Europe, where he studied political and labor conditions in Great Britain and on the Continent, Clarke will bring to his talk the fruits of long experience and study of social struggles.

Clarke will present the socialist alternative to the prospects held out by decaying capitalism of atomic destruction through global war or world-wide economic depression.

ACTIVE SINCE YOUTH

Active in the American Marxist movement since his early youth, Clarke is regarded as one of the most dynamic and popular speakers in radical circles. He writes frequently for The Militant, and is the author of a pamphlet, Build A Labor Party Now. He served as national campaign manager for the Socialist Workers Party in the 1948 presidential campaign.

In addition to speaking at public meetings on the tour, Clarke will be available for discussion with party members and friends on local political and organizational problems.

The tour schedule is printed on Page 4.

Big Business Sees War Or Crash Only Choice



BEG PARDON SIR— SEEN ANY REDS AROUND ADVOCATING FORCE AND VIOLENCE?

Capitalist Economists Predict "Violent" Depression If War Does Not Come by '53

By Art Preis

War or depression within two to three years — these are the only alternatives seen by American Big Business.

A prolonged peace, or even no expansion of the already titanic arms spending, will mean an unprecedented economic crisis for U.S. capitalism. A full-scale war, necessary to keep the profit system from collapse, will bring a garrison economy of forced labor, long hours, speedup, frozen wages, raging inflation and drastic shortages of civilian goods.

This is the cold sober estimate of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association and eighteen other organizations at their annual meeting in Boston last week to survey this country's economic future. The delegates, whom the N. Y. Times described as in "close agreement," included capitalist economists, financial experts and technical advisers "associated with the important areas of business, finance and Government."

THE ALTERNATIVES

As the chief speaker at the forecasting session of the meetings, Murray Shields, vice president and economist of the Bank of the Manhattan Co., said that should 1952 "bring peace or an economic approximation, we would experience a drastic readjustment likely in time to take on the characteristics of an old-fashioned business depression. It would test to the very foundations the whole paraphernalia of full employment techniques adopted during the depression (1929-1940)."

He added that "in looking beyond the phase of defense stimulation we . . . assume that the stage has been set for a more serious slump than formerly seemed likely. . . . Violent fluctuations . . . now appear virtually inevitable."

If total war comes, we would "immediately" suffer "much tighter and much more comprehensive controls than anyone thought of in World War II. . . . Unions would lose the right to strike or even bargain intemperately. . . ."

The economists pointed out a "hopeful" sign — for 1952 only — that the "momentum of the arms boom" will carry into 1953. But, as Will Lissner reports in the Dec. 30 N. Y. Times, they are "anticipating a drastic shakedown in industry and agriculture late in 1953 or in 1954 when the arms boom has passed its peak."

Vast U. S. Army To Stay in Korea

Don't be fooled into thinking a truce will bring peace in Korea or mean that the U.S. troops will soon be back home. The U.S. News & World Report of Dec. 28, 1951, reveals: "Americans in uniform . . . will be kept in Korea for a period, even after a practical truce, in larger numbers than were there during a full-scale war. The outlook, in any event, is for about half a million men to spend the winter in Korea and stay there until relieved by rotation." Demand: Withdraw the U.S. troops now!

American capitalism hopes to slide along without serious economic convulsions for another 12 months or so on the basis of \$140 billion more of war spending, including \$95 billions already appropriated and an estimated \$45 billions — at least — to be added this year. U.S. News and World Report of Dec. 28, 1951, stated that most of the armaments spending is for plants and equipment; when that passes its peak in 1953, the decline will set in in arms production.

"What is going to happen when the tremendous plant expansions are completed and the armaments race is finished? seems to be the unspoken question in the minds of business men," says the annual business survey of the N. Y. Times, Jan. 2, 1952. Even with the stimulus of the Korean war involving 500,000 U.S. troops, the building of the

(Continued on page 4)

New Korea Revelations Expose Pentagon Lies

Continuation of truce negotiations beyond the 30-day deadline indicates that the U.S. imperialists may have abandoned any hope of waging an effective offensive at this stage of the Korean war. Since last June, some 30,000 U.S. troops have been sacrificed as casualties because the generals tried to push a futile offensive under cover of the cease-fire negotiations. The big brass planned to blow up negotiations in the event the offensive made headway.

It proved a fiasco despite the fact that Washington and the Pentagon threw everything they had or could spare into this last phase of the Korean adventure. The best U.S. military forces have been stopped cold by the largely peasant armies of revolutionary China and North Korea. While the U.S.-U.N. propagandists howled about the "unfair"

tactics of their opponents who were attempting a "build-up" of military strength during the period of the truce meetings, the U.S. was doing the very thing it was charging to the Chinese. The U.S. News & World Report of Dec. 28, 1951, reveals:

U.S. BUILD UP
"American troop numbers in Korea have been raised substantially of late. Gen. James A. Van Fleet, U.S. ground commander there, reveals that enough additional troops have been brought in to meet any foreseeable Communist attack. The Air Force has just disclosed that another jet air wing has been added in Korea, that the number of fast F-86 jet fighters there has been doubled this month. Naval strength, too, has been increased in its air components. U.S. strength in weapons has been in-

creased both in numbers and variety, with several new or modified types of arms on hand in Korea."

Even more astounding is the U.S. News disclosure of the actual number of U.S. troops now in Korea. "The outlook . . . is for about half a million men to spend the winter in Korea and stay there until relieved by rotation." Including air and naval forces, the U.S. has not less than three-quarters of a million personnel involved in Korea. And these are the flower of the U.S. armed forces, including the Marines.

(Continued on page 3)

Reaction Challenged by Socialist Workers Party

By George Lavan

The Socialist Workers Party National Committee at its last plenary meeting decided to run a presidential ticket in 1952. The decision was made in full recognition of the obstacles encountered by a minority party in getting on the ballot in the various states. The proposal was adopted with the knowledge that capitalist reaction was moving toward police state measures in an effort to gag the voice of dissenting opinion in America. While there were no illusions about the difficulties there was unanimous agreement that the SWP WOULD BE HEARD!

NEW JERSEY BEGINS

With the turn of the year the SWP '52 election campaign is under way. In New Jersey, SWP nominating petitions are now being circulated for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, proposed candidates respectively for president and vice-president. Since this is one of the few states in which the ballot requirements for minority parties are not prohibitive, the SWP is confident its candidates will be on the ballot in New Jersey.

A recent conference of Ohio SWP branches in Cleveland, after denouncing the new state election law which boosted the already stiff requirements for independent candidates by some 700 percent, decided to run a write-in campaign.

SWP branches in other states are engaged in mapping their

plans for the 1952 presidential campaign. Election laws of the various states are being scrutinized at headquarters in New York with the aim of maximum participation and representation of SWP branches and candidates.

SEATTLE CHALLENGE

In Seattle, preliminary to the national election campaign, the SWP is challenging the recently adopted Kimball witch-hunt law. This measure which outlaws "subversive" organizations in the state of Washington provides that all candidates for office must take a "loyalty oath" to get on the ballot. Seattle SWP chairman Dan Roberts filed his mayoralty candidacy papers but refused to take the oath, declaring it was unconstitutional and a violation of free elections.

The refusal of the election officials to put Roberts' name on the ballot was followed by the candidate's announcement of court action and a declaration to run a write-in campaign if necessary.

LIKE A PLAGUE

The Kimball law is typical of the repressive, witch-hunt legislation now descending like a plague on the nation's statute books as an outgrowth of Truman's "loyalty" program. It is similar to the reactionary measures recently adopted in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc. These infamous incursions against the Bill of Rights cannot go unchallenged.

The wording of these laws is so loose and vague that any political

movement aiming at economic or political changes could be banned for "advocating alteration" of the present governmental set-up. Under the Kimball law, for example, penalties for participation in the activities of a so-called "subversive" organization are \$10,000 fine and ten years imprisonment. Such savage penalties for working class political opponents are symptomatic of the police state mentality that now prevails in the "land of the free."

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT

The SWP challenge of the Kimball law is an important part of the '52 campaign. It is intended to bring home to the people of Washington and the nation the serious threat to civil liberties in this country and to arouse a mass protest movement for the repeal of such laws.

The conspiracy to deprive minority parties of their political rights is not confined to witch-hunt measures like the Kimball law. Legislators are supplementing these unconstitutional steps with revisions of the election laws designed to restrict the ballot to the two major capitalist parties. They fear the political revolt that mounting revulsion to their corrupt, predatory, parasitic rule will inevitably bring. They seek to stifle any movement for independent working class political action. They shall not succeed. The SWP is determined that the people of this country shall hear the message of authentic Socialism in '52.

SWP Opens 1952 Campaign

Candidate for Mayor of Seattle Challenges 'Anti-Subversive' Law

SEATTLE — "I refuse to sign an oath like this on principle," Daniel Roberts, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Mayor of Seattle, told election officials at City Hall. The oath referred to is required by the recently enacted Kimball law ordering all candidates for public office to swear they are not "subversive."

Further explaining his stand to city officials, Roberts said, "This is a yellow dog oath, which no candidate for public office who believes in the democratic process ought to sign. This oath is unconstitutional because it is designed to undermine the right of the people to vote for whom they please."

In a statement to the press the SWP candidate declared: "The electorate alone has the right to decide who subverts the best interests of the American people and who upholds them."

"I have my own ideas as to

who the real subversives of the needs of the American workers are. They are the Democratic and Republican politicians who carry out the dictates of American Big Business. "They have plunged the American people into the Korean war, and they have kept that war going against the wishes of the majority of the population. They are undermining the living standards of the American working people. They promote lynch-law against the Negroes and other racial minorities. They seek to destroy the union movement. They are busy 24-hours a day trying to abolish free speech and the other civil liberties of the American people. "I believe that these subversives ought to be turned out of office

Ohio SWP Maps Election Campaign

See Page 2

Petitions for Dobbs and Carlson Are Being Circulated in New Jersey

NEWARK, Jan. 2 — The Socialist Workers Party in New Jersey today opened its 1952 election campaign by beginning to collect signatures to place the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the state ballot.

The petitions bear the names of Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice-President. The Dobbs-Carlson ticket was proposed by the SWP National Committee last September, although nominations will not be made until the SWP National Convention next summer. The law in New Jersey requires the filing of minority party petitions by March 6, 1952.

In addition to the two national offices, the New Jersey SWP intends to present its own candidates for state office, including the U.S. Senate seat now held by Republican H. Alexander Smith. The names of the local SWP candidates will be announced next week.

Since New Jersey election laws are relatively liberal, it is anticipated that the party will be able to collect the necessary petitions in time. However, because the collection period falls during the coldest part of the year, opportunities to get signatures on the streets will be limited. The SWP therefore is calling on all its friends and all friends of The Militant in New Jersey to lend a hand in the petition work, beginning at once. Petitions may be obtained from the SWP headquarters at 423 Springfield Ave., Newark. George Breitman of Newark has been designated as state campaign manager for the 1952 campaign, which will be the 12th conducted by the SWP in New Jersey since 1938.

Ohio SWP Parley Maps 1952 Election Campaign

CLEVELAND, Dec. 20 — One of the most reactionary attacks on civil rights in Ohio in the past year was the State Legislature's electoral law amendment virtually depriving minority parties and independent candidates from a place on the ballot by increasing the number of signatures required on nominating petitions by 700 per cent. This was the conclusion of a state conference of Socialist Workers Party branches here last Sunday following a report by Akron SWP Organizer Lou Cooper.

Cleveland Chapter Of Negro Labor Council Founded

By Jean Simon

The Cleveland Negro Labor Council, seventh new chapter of the national organization to be chartered since the founding convention in Cincinnati two months ago, was organized at a meeting attended by more than one hundred persons on December 14.

National Secretary Colman Young, of Detroit, was present to install the newly elected local officers. He reported that the other six chapters were in Flint, Dayton, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, South Bend and Fort Wayne. He said that additional chapters were scheduled to be chartered in Toledo, Louisville, Milwaukee, Gary and Denver.

The Cleveland meeting elected officers and an executive board, adopted a local program of action along the lines of the draft approved in Cincinnati. The group heard a moving appeal by the widow of Robert Dennis, killed by a policeman's bullet July 19, for support of her attempt to bring the cop who murdered her husband to justice.

CHIEF EMPHASIS

Chief emphasis of the local council will be on the fight for jobs for Negroes. A survey of job opportunities in the Cleveland area is planned and interviews will be sought with union officials regarding the integration of Negro workers in industry and in the unions. In addition, inclusion of a model anti-discrimination clause in all local contract negotiations will be urged, and a campaign will be conducted to secure Cleveland's share of the one million signatures on petitions for a national Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Chairman of the Cleveland NLC is Bert Washington, of the United Electrical Workers, a former postal worker who was purged under Truman's "loyalty" order a few years ago.

Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President in 1952, coupled with an educational drive against the undemocratic election law which aims to perpetuate the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties.

To get a place on the ballot, all candidates but those of the two boss parties must secure signatures of registered voters equal to seven per cent of the last vote cast for Governor in the electoral district. In Cuyahoga County, for example, in which Cleveland is located, the number of valid signatures required to run for State Legislature is 36,000, since legislators are elected from the county and that figure represents seven per cent of the county vote for Governor in the last election. The deadline for filing the petitions is February 6th.

MAKING IT TOUGH

A recent article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer frankly stated: "When nominating requirements were boosted by the last General Assembly the thought of keeping communists off the ballot was the immediate aim. In addition, the lawmakers wanted to strengthen

the two-party system by making it tougher for independents to file for administrative and legislative offices."

The Democratic-Republican coalition has succeeded in giving Ohio voters a "yes" or no plebiscite in 1952 rather than a democratic ballot with the possibility of voting for working class candidates. The SWP will urge a protest in the form of a write-in vote for our socialist candidates.

The state conference also noted the growing opposition to attacks on civil rights and academic freedom in Ohio. Speakers cited the widespread protests against the Ohio State University "gag rule" legislators are elected from the campus. They noted the large vote of 44,000 given Marie Reed Haug in the recent school board election in Cleveland despite a high-powered campaign against her as a "Red," and called attention to the rapid growth of the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union in the past year.

Planning co-ordinated state-wide action on civil rights issues and on the national election campaign, the Ohio SWP conference elected Jean Simon state secretary.

Challenges "Loyalty" Oath



Dan Roberts, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party in Seattle, attempting to file as candidate for Mayor. Roberts paid the fee but his filing papers were stopped by the City Comptroller when he refused to sign a "loyalty" oath required by a new state law. Roberts announced the Socialist Workers Party would fight the law as a violation of free elections.

More Speed Needed to Fulfill Fund by Jan. 15

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Payments this week from the Socialist Workers Party branches to the Organization and Press fund totaled \$1,098 — a \$670 slump under last week. Through Jan. 2 the grand total paid is \$11,862, or 66% of the \$18,000 national quota in the campaign. We are still lagging 19% behind schedule.

With the deadline only two weeks away, it is difficult to predict with any certainty what the final scoreboard will show. But if the branches hold true to Trotskyist tradition, this campaign will end as previous campaigns have ended — with each and every branch 100% by the Jan. 15 deadline.

Milwaukee and Cleveland went over the top this week, but aren't calling it quits yet. The Milwaukee comrades, who hold first place with 103%, say, according to Francis DeWolfe, Fund Director: "It is a relief and a pleasure to have reached our official fund quota two weeks before the end of the campaign. In view of the substantial amount outstanding in pledges, we can confidently expect to reach a total of \$275

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$ 250	\$ 257	103
Cleveland	300	306	102
Connecticut	75	71	95
St. Louis	100	95	95
Akron	150	140	93
Flint	350	311	89
Newark	500	433	87
Seattle	400	345	86
Chicago	1,000	841	84
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	717	72
Pittsburgh	50	35	70
Buffalo	1,000	659	66
New York	5,000	3,319	66
Philadelphia	400	262	66
Los Angeles	2,600	1,638	63
Detroit	1,500	905	60
Youngstown	350	206	59
Boston	550	241	44
Toledo	50	20	40
San Francisco	1,000	375	38
Oakland	150	21	14
General	1,225	665	54
Total through Jan. 2	\$18,000	\$11,862	66

(110%) which we have set as a goal for the branch."

Cleveland hit 102% and shares top honors with Milwaukee. "We will continue to send all we can collect on the fund," writes Comrade Almeda.

Six branches are on schedule with 85% or ahead — Connecticut, St. Louis, Akron, Flint, Newark, Seattle. Some of the other branches made big gains during the week. Chicago's \$60 check fulfills 84% of their quota. Comrade Betty of Pittsburgh sent in \$5, explaining: "I received a \$5 bill in a letter from Eloise which is to be credited to our fund quota." This gives Pittsburgh 70%.

"Buffalo," writes Comrade Young, "has been fighting hard to stay in the big league in fund raising this year. Many of the comrades were hit hard financially by layoffs, strikes, etc., but they are all proud of Buffalo's tradition in every department including the financial and are determined to come through with flying colors. The biggest fund news

from us this week is the donation of \$25 from Jeff Thorne of New York. He already helped us in the beginning of the campaign with a contribution of \$10. He said he was really a part-time member of the Buffalo branch. This gives him full rights and all emoluments!" Buffalo's score is now 66%.

New York's payments during the week totaled \$498.75 and boosts their percentage to 66. Philadelphia sent in \$15 this week; Los Angeles sent \$200; Youngstown \$50, hoping "to be able to send some more money the first of next week"; and San Francisco mailed in \$90.

Mrs. M. M. of Minneapolis sent us a Christmas card containing a \$1 greeting "For the Fund."

Another greeting that helped cut "General's" percentage was received from H. C. of Cincinnati. He tells about the struggle he had during 1951 trying to stretch the dollar enough to cover life's necessities, but winds up by sending us an appreciated contribution of \$9.95.

Stalinists Go All Out for "Big Five" Parley

By John G. Wright

The Stalinist parties, on orders by the Kremlin, are to go all out in 1952 in subordinating all their other activities in the West — and all the vital needs and interests of labor — to the campaign for a deal with Washington, otherwise known as a "peace pact" or a "No-War Pact."

Completely pushed to the background is the former pretense, dating back to the pre-Korea "peace crusade," of centering activities around the United Nations. The official Stalinist line today is that the guarantee of peace lies wholly and exclusively in a "Big Five Peace Conference." This "Big Five" is identical in composition with the defunct "Big Five," except for Mao's regime replacing that of Chiang Kai-shek.

STALIN SEEKS DEAL

Stalin is obviously seeking to revive the same sort of deal that was arrived at in the course of World War II when the wartime deals with Roosevelt and Churchill were consummated. Out of this, as everybody knows, there came the pacts of Tehran, of Yalta and, finally, of Potsdam, bringing in their wake not "democratic" peace but the dismemberment of Germany and Austria and the division of Europe and the Far East into spheres of influence. There came not the peaceful coexistence between "different economic social systems,"

as the Stalinists and the "democratic" imperialists so falsely promised, but the gravest war crisis in mankind's history.

Only those who forget nothing and learn nothing could believe that another "peacetime" Big Five deal will produce any different results. The only deal that means anything at all is a deal between Washington and the Kremlin. And it is Washington that has spurned a deal, as it still does, and not the Kremlin.

Assuming such a deal can be concluded, and this is by no means excluded although there has been no abating of the bellicose U.S. attitude, it can at best lead to a temporary, and most uneasy armed truce.

SAME PACKAGE

Yet in return for such a deal, the Kremlin and all its flunkies here and in Western Europe are offering the respective capitalists exactly the same package they delivered in World War II. They have pledged themselves in advance of any agreement to work cheek by jowl with the capitalists, guaranteeing "social peace," offering to deliver the workers they control bound hand and foot to the employers, coupled with a broad hint of collaboration in "pacifying" the insurgent colonial peoples.

As proof of this we could cite statement after statement of the most prominent leaders of the French and Italian Communist

parties, Duclos and Togliatti in particular. Suffice it here to adduce the 1952 American version of this same political line.

HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

The year-end issues of the Daily Worker literally did not contain a single important article which did not offer the hand of friendship and collaboration to the American imperialists. The same note was struck in editorials as in articles dealing with the labor movement, or the Negro question, civil rights, etc.

For example, the leading editorial of Dec. 30 had the following to say: "What the times clearly call for is independent political activity on issues affecting the people. Candidates should be found, whether running independently or in the old party primaries, so long as they are themselves independent of the machines and are pro-labor, pro-civil rights, pro-peace IN ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER."

Strip this statement of its fig-leaves of "independent political activity" and what have you? You have Foster and Co. extending the glad hand to any politician, Republican and Democrat alike, so long as these imperialists IN ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER are "pro-peace," that is, offer lip service to a Big Five parley. Browder, whom Foster had the pleasure of expelling, was condemned not so long ago for making exactly the same offer to

J. P. Morgan and Co. on more or less the same terms.

HAT IN HAND

To show they really mean business, the Daily Worker on the very next day, Dec. 31, featured a laudatory report on the activities of the Illinois "peace" delegation that came hat in hand to all local Congressmen, begging for such "pro-peace" support.

Singled out for special notice was none other than Adolph J. Sabath, one of the oldest Democratic wheeler-dealers. Sabath, says the Daily Worker in triumph, was "very receptive." Sabath said he was "in favor" of a Big Five parley.

Rep. Thomas S. Gordon, another Democrat, was a few degrees more evasive. He was only "inclined to agree." But that was big news, too! Hurrah for Gordon! In its enthusiasm the Daily Worker omitted a trifle. Gordon happens to be another old hand in the Cook County Democratic machine. He "inclines" to support the Big Five Conference and that makes him a candidate "independent of the machines, pro-labor, pro-peace, etc. etc."

REPUBLICANS TOO!

To show how welcome Republicans are, this same article shamelessly goes on to detail how Republican Rep. William E. McVey "studied" the whole "fact sheet" submitted to him by the "peace delegation" and then

declared, "Why, I'd be ready to go along with all of this." Another obvious possibility for a "peace candidate."

"The searching out of such peace candidates," explained Rob F. Hall, "building up even preliminary support for them are vital elements of the struggle for peace." (Daily Worker, Dec. 20.)

Here you have not only a pledge but a directive to back all the Sabaths, Gordons and McVeyes that can be "searched out" and "even preliminary support" built up for them. This is the heart of the current "peace campaign." The rest of the activities of all the "local peace committees" consists of gathering signatures to a petition for the Big Five Conference. The goal is "a million signatures."

ACCEPT ANYTHING

The American Stalinists will accept anything which "in one degree or another" is acceptable to a Sabath or a McVey. Either or both qualify as likely "peace candidates." But of what possible use can this pinging for the capitalist politicians be to the labor movement, the Negro people, the struggle for civil rights and the like? The answer, of course, is it is not only worthless but pernicious in the extreme.

The saddest and sorriest part of this obscene Stalinist farce is that militant workers are being duped into participating in it. A "Big-Five" pact is not a "demand" for labor. It is anti-labor in the full sense of the term. If ever accepted by labor, and we are confident that the mass of the militant workers will reject it, this Stalinist "demand" can at best pave the way only to the same sort of sell-out of labor's interests for which the Stalinists have become infamous in the course of the previous "Five Power" deal.

The Negro people must likewise be on guard. For this Stalinist "peace crusade" prepares, if it is successful, for an identical betrayal of all their struggles, interests and aspirations.

Finally, the greatest danger of this Stalinist "peace" drive is that it betrays the genuine anti-war struggle, which can only be a struggle for Socialist aims.

Even zealous Mohammedans educated in the tradition of religious schools discover social ideas. Taha Hussein, Minister of Education in the present cabinet, has recalled the deathbed words of the Caliph Omar, successor of Mohammed: "If I had faced the affairs of government with the ideas I have now, I would have given to the poor everything the rich own!" Many Mohammedans try to establish a close relationship between socialism and the ideas of Islam.

Under popular pressure the Egyptian capitalists have to go forward in the anti-imperialist offensive. But in the course of this struggle the popular pressure against employers and landlords is bound to increase. The near future is bound to witness considerable changes in that country where the average wage still is under one hundred dollars a year and the mortality rate of infants the highest in the world. With the fellah entering the forum of public life, a millennium-old period of stagnation is closing in the Near East.

Egypt's Fight for National Independence

By Charles Hanley

The gigantic postwar surge of the Far Eastern masses has been followed by a dynamic movement for national liberation and unification in the Middle East. A vast anti-imperialist offensive is on from Cairo to Korea. The successful expulsion of the British from Iran's nationalized oil-fields provided a powerful encouragement for the other Middle Eastern countries and especially for Egypt, the political center of the Arab people.

On Nov. 28, 1951, Le Monde, one of the leading French capitalist newspapers, started publishing a series of reports from Cairo by its special correspondent, Edouard Sablier. His articles permit us to get a clearer picture of the Egyptian situation. The gist of Sablier's report follows:

TREATY OF 1936

The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was signed by then pro-British Nahas Pasha and Anthony Eden who, in 1951, are again directing their respective countries' foreign policies. It officially made Egypt an ally of Great Britain and was a partial step toward independence, but at the same time a major obstacle to Egypt's self-determination. This

is why it has now become a main target of nationalist attacks.

For Egypt, the main advantage gained in 1936 consisted in the abolition of the privileged juridical position of foreigners. On the other hand, Britain secured important military bases in peacetime and control over practically the entire Egyptian territory in times of war. Therefore London was able to dictate Cairo's foreign policy and to control Egypt's resources. The British government repeatedly affirmed its willingness to withdraw British troops, provided Egypt could guarantee the security of the Suez Canal. Needless to say, the British have never permitted the Egyptian army to attain the strength necessary to defend the canal zone.

Article 16 of the treaty left the door open to its revision. Yet, instead of agreeing to a revision, the British overstepped the military privileges to which this treaty entitled them: They had been authorized to maintain a force of 10,400 soldiers and airmen (as well as an unlimited number of civilian technicians) in peacetime, but never denied having in Egypt four and five times that number of armed men, all stationed between Port Said and Suez.

In order to preserve imperialist influence in the Nile kingdom, London suggested that the United States propose to Egypt a common defense plan replacing the all-British defense set-up in the canal zone and thus preventing an independent orientation in Egypt's defense and foreign policy. Hence Secretary of State Dean Acheson's move asking Egypt to cooperate in a Near Eastern defense scheme — in other words to accept, after partial occupation by one power, a

virtually unlimited occupation by several powers.

On Oct. 7, 1951, the Egyptian parliament and government abrogated the treaty of 1936. On Oct. 9 the aforementioned Near-Eastern defense plan was submitted to the Egyptian government by the United States, Great Britain, France and Turkey. It merely repeated a British proposal made a few weeks before abrogation of the 1936 treaty and already rejected by the Egyptian cabinet; and Cairo said no. The only defense felt to be a vital necessity, at this moment, by the Egyptian people is precisely the defense against such imperialist demands.

A treaty signed by Britain and Egypt in 1898 established an Anglo-Egyptian condominium (joint rule) in the Sudan. The higher administration and the technicians were predominantly British, the petty officials and a considerable part of the capital invested in that country were Egyptian. Egyptians prominently participated in the Sudan's development. Economically the Sudan is quite important. Strategically, it controls the Nile valley. The British still rule in Khartoum and hold fast to the Sudan's production of cotton and gum-arabic, using the former especially as a means of dominating the Egyptian cotton trade.

A certain division exists between Sudanese autonomists and partisans of fusion with Egypt. The autonomists favor Sudanese autonomy under British protection, declaring their goal to be an independent Sudan Republic.

The pro-Egyptian "fusionists" are equally strong, but divided into two main tendencies, one demanding an autonomous regime under the Egyptian crown, the other struggling for unconditional union with Egypt.

The British support the autonomists while the pro-Egyptian parties have formed a united "front of the national struggle to drive the British from the Sudan."

Edouard Sablier thinks that "the fate of the entire Anglo-Egyptian affair depends on the Sudan" although, so far, no fighting has taken place in that country. The English are still there, while only a small number of Egyptian officials have remained, as the British ousted many of them since the mutiny of the Egyptian army in 1924.

"An awakening people" is how Sablier describes the Egyptians. Their awakening has a social as well as a national significance. One Egyptian professor told Sablier, "Our entire people demands the departure of the British. But political independence merely spells the beginning of our revolution." Sablier comments that this point of view is shared by many Egyptian intellectuals "who consider the social problem as important — perhaps even more important — than the struggle for national independence." In fact, the struggle against landlordism, against the almost unbelievable misery of the Egyptian "fellah" (poor, serf-like peasant) is impossible without the struggle for national liberation, because the foreign occupiers naturally are opposed to any social changes.

"Since the last war the class consciousness of the fellahin developed with amazing speed," says Sablier. Last winter a local peasants' revolt occurred in one village and some other incidents were reported from the Nile delta. This may not sound very impressive: For Egypt, however, it was sensational. It signalled the beginning of social unrest in

the countryside. The fellah had awakened after four thousand years of enslavement and semistarvation.

SOCIALIST IDEAS

Socialist ideas are becoming increasingly popular in the cities where many landless peasants go to seek work and where they meet the proletarians of the factories, the white collar workers, the employees, the artisans, the radical students, the petty officials without a future in the present society — all of them looking for a better life, a better social order. A feminist movement is beginning to liberate the Egyptian woman from the fetters of age-old slavery.

Even zealous Mohammedans educated in the tradition of religious schools discover social ideas. Taha Hussein, Minister of Education in the present cabinet, has recalled the deathbed words of the Caliph Omar, successor of Mohammed: "If I had faced the affairs of government with the ideas I have now, I would have given to the poor everything the rich own!" Many Mohammedans try to establish a close relationship between socialism and the ideas of Islam.

Under popular pressure the Egyptian capitalists have to go forward in the anti-imperialist offensive. But in the course of this struggle the popular pressure against employers and landlords is bound to increase. The near future is bound to witness considerable changes in that country where the average wage still is under one hundred dollars a year and the mortality rate of infants the highest in the world. With the fellah entering the forum of public life, a millennium-old period of stagnation is closing in the Near East.

THE MILITANT ARMY

George Rock reports a number of sales for New York last week at public meetings and on the campus. Carmen and Jack B. sold six Militants on Tuesday to students at the New School, and Rhoda and George R. sold several more to a later class. Jack B. sold four Militants on the campus Wednesday.

John and Jeff took a bundle of papers to the Community Church forum Sunday where Norman Thomas spoke on morals. In addition to the papers they sold a copy of Trotsky's "Their Morals and Ours."

George W., Jack D., and Ethel G. sold Militants at the Museum of Modern Art to people attending a lecture by Burnham on Imperialism, and on Thursday George R. and Rhoda sold three Militants and four copies of "The Road to Peace" at a Monthly Review meeting in India.

Boston Literature Agent Ken Saunders sends in several more renewals this week with a promise of more from Lynn and Salem next week. Ken writes, "Our renewal campaign has been heartening. It is a pleasure to talk to our subscribers and to hear their praise of The Militant as well as their views on national and international affairs. Dennis, Conti, Breshi, London and Cutler have done a fine job of visiting subscribers and are responsible for the majority of our renewals."

Literature Agent Helen S. sends in several renewals this week along with another new sub. Minneapolis plans for Militant sales this week include sales on the campus and sales every night at the AFL Labor Temple.

Fred Perry writes in this week to answer the question as to methods used by comrades in Flint to obtain their high number of renewals. "Well, of course, Flint has no magic formula for sub work other than systematic planning and hard work," he explains. A map of the city with pins representing each sub obtained, however, added interest to the campaign. "This map taught us as a few things besides," Fred writes. "From our map we noticed certain neighborhoods with dense concentrations of subscribers while others were barren deserts. This helped us to choose a neighborhood to work in during our spring campaign."

Our sincere thanks to reader I. M. who sends in \$5 to help meet the printing costs of The Militant and to express his appreciation for the work of the comrades in Seattle.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1522.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-8 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 622 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 2-890. Meetings every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0405.
- CLEVELAND—10609 Superior Ave. DETROIT—6109 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT 7-8297.
- FLINT—SWP, 1067 Oak Street, Phone 2249.
- LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone Anelux 9-4853.
- MILWAUKEE—817 N. 2nd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Meetings every Thurs., 8 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue. NEW YORK CITY—Rm. 116 University Place. Phone AL 5-7825.
- PHILADELPHIA—120 Luzerne Palace, 555 Howard Ave., near Low's Fifth. Meetings every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- SARASOTA—103 W. 110th St. Rm. 22. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1933.
- PHILADELPHIA—1305-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5220.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7194.
- ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters, Main 7781.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St., 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.
- SEATTLE—Magyar Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington, Rm. 501. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278.
- YOUNGSTOWN—224 E. Federal St.

Chicago
GEORGE CLARKE
Speaking on
"The Approaching
International Showdown"
Friday, Jan. 25, 8 PM
734 S. Wabash Avenue
Donation 35c
Social following

New York
International Socialist Youth
presents a lecture on
"The Colonial Revolution,
Greatest Event
Of Our Time"
Speaker:
JOHN G. WRIGHT
Friday, Jan. 11 at 8:30 PM
116 University Pl. (cor. 13 St.)
Admission Free

**"REFORM OR
REVOLUTION"**
by
ROSA LUXEMBOURG
(long out of print)
74 pp. 50 cents
Order from
Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

New York
Marxist Labor School is
resuming its classes
Capital Class (Vol. 1)
MICHAEL BARTELL, Instr.
Mons., 7 PM, starting Jan. 7
Sats., 3 PM, starting Jan. 12
* * * * *
"The First American
Revolution"
HARRY FRANKEL, Instr.
Mons., 8:45 PM starting Jan. 7
116 University Pl. (cor. 13 St.)

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
\$2 for 6 months. Single Copies (5 or more copies): 35¢ each in U.S.,
45¢ each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mil-
litant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
*Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XVI - No. 1 Monday, January 7, 1952

New Forms of Lynching

Only one lynching in 1951, reports the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, a Negro institution which compiles "official" lynching figures. The capitalist press was delighted, featured the news item prominently, gave it a headline: "Mob Violence Less in 1951."

But the reports of the Tuskegee Institute have become worthless. They provide no clue whatever to the real incidence of anti-Negro violence. Sticking to a "technical" interpretation (that the violence must be committed by more than one person) it excluded the murder of Groveland case defendant Samuel Shepherd by Sheriff Willis McCall from the category of lynching. And, for some reason, it excluded dozens of other cold-blooded murders of defenseless Negroes by police in the North and the South, even where more than one cop was involved. Most noticeable of all was the omission of the murder of Harry T. Moore, presumably because it has not been proved that more than one person was guilty of throwing the bomb that killed him. Legal lynchings like the executions of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee were not even mentioned.

The Tuskegee Institute had better get a new yardstick for judging lynchings, one that is more in conformity with the new forms that lynching has assumed. Otherwise, the best service it can do for the Negro people is to get out of the lynching-statistics business. Walter White's annual report for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gave a far more accurate picture of the true situation when he called attention to "a resurgence of violence — rioting, home burning, bombings, police brutality and mockery of the revered American concept of 'equal justice under law.' Cicero, Martinsville, Groveland, Birmingham, Miami and Mims (were) the horror names of 1951."

The new forms of lynching require new methods of compiling statistics. Much more important, they require new and more militant methods of combatting lynching. Those who don't want to help in this struggle should at least not get in the way.

1952 Capitalist Outlook

There is little agreement and less optimism among the chief non-governmental economic agencies and experts concerning the economic prospects for 1952. Administration spokesmen, backed by their "expert" staffs, try to exude confidence. Labor Secretary Tobin, for example, is highly enthused over 1952 prospects. But in his zeal he announced that 1951 had brought nothing but roses. This was enough to sour the business circles with this prophet, especially the consumer goods profiteers, who encountered mostly thorns and brambles since April of last year and who fear an even worse road ahead.

Gloomiest is the National Association of Cost Accountants (they are the ones who possess first-hand knowledge of corporation records which they balance). Their report forecasts a further drop in profits in 1952, "even if the government grants some relief with price increases." Sales volume "in some lines" continues down, they add.

Pre-Korea days saw the onset of economic crisis. The economy was pulled out of this tailspin by the plunge into Korea, the fantastic arms budgets and the frenzied speculation on "shortages" which failed to materialize. This super-injection of inflation sufficed for less than 12 months. By April of last year, the economic paroxysms returned with redoubled force. The entire consumer goods industry, both "soft" and "hard" goods, from textiles to television and auto, found itself faced with a glutted market, record inventories with ever fewer buyers.

That situation persists. It has little, if anything, to do with "reconversion" to war production. As a matter of fact this shift to war production is the only factor that has thus far kept the paralysis from spreading to the basic industries (steel, coal, oil, construction, etc.)

More than this. The consumer goods crisis is not confined to this country. British retailers find themselves also caught with "topheavy inventories" — a typical capitalist mockery in shortage-ridden Britain. London reports "the greatest price cuts since prewar years." France is in a similar position. The condition threatens to become world-wide.

The only way out nationally and internationally is through arms production and then — war. What annihilating proof of the bankruptcy of the "free enterprise" system this New Year!

Art of Ignoring Facts

The present leaders of the labor movement seem to believe, with Henry Adams, that "practical politics consists in ignoring facts." The facts show that the capitalists are the real power in Washington. To go on supporting the present administration makes it impossible to fight effectively against the capitalist power on behalf of labor.

The Militant has often stressed that the next great step for labor in the United States is to break with capitalist politics and launch a party of its own. Truman's action in the steel battle re-emphasizes this need. The labor movement must rid itself of the naive and unjustified notion that the governmental power is "neutral" in the battle between capital and labor. The governmental power is completely in the hands of the capitalist class, and only by striking out on an independent road in politics can labor alter that situation.

The labor leaders who oppose the formation of a Labor Party because the labor movement is "too weak" to win have not yet explained why an organized labor movement of 16 millions supported by tens of millions of working and poor people cannot rule this country while a tiny handful of capitalists and their hangers-on can.

Does It Help Stalin? -- The False Communist Party Yardstick Used by Walter White

By Albert Parker

The murder of Harry T. Moore is "one of the greatest services that could have been performed for Joe Stalin," according to NAACP secretary Walter White.

This has become the most persistent propaganda theme in the repertoire of the official Negro and labor leaders. Everything — lynchings, discrimination in hiring, housing bias, educational or military segregation — everything is presented by them first of all from the standpoint of its alleged effect on the "struggle against communism."

A DIVERSION

Walter White and Philip Murray no doubt think that this is very shrewd and effective propaganda. Actually, it is extremely harmful. Instead of educating the people to understand the causes of Jim Crow oppression and why they should fight against it, it tends to miseducate them. Instead of teaching Negroes and workers to evaluate social, economic and political problems from the standpoint of how their own class and individual conditions and liberties are affected, it tends to confuse and divert them from necessary tasks.

White evidently does not understand that the criterion he is promoting — "how does this affect Stalin?" — is a two-edged weapon. It can be used AGAINST the Negro struggle — and in fact that is how it is usually used.

Imagine a Negro in Florida who is aroused by the murder of Harry T. Moore and wants to do something about it. He decides to organize a protest meeting. Along comes a state official, who says to him: "Don't do that — otherwise you will be creating conflict and thereby playing into the hands of Stalin who wants to see us Americans fighting one another."

What should the Negro do? Should he drop everything and start to debate with himself the question of whether or not resistance to Jim Crow terrorism is a "service" to Stalin? If he has been influenced by White's propaganda, he may do so — which is just what the Jim Crow officials of Florida would like him to do.

THING TO DO

But if he has any sense at all, he will think: "I don't give a damn about what Stalin thinks, I am concerned first and foremost with my own rights and problems. If I have to spend all my time trying to figure out what is going on in the mind of Stalin and weighing up the pros and cons, then I will never have time to win first-class citizenship for myself and my children at home." And he will go ahead and try to organize the protest meeting.

Of course it is true that Stalin makes use of the crimes committed against the Negro people in the United States, that it gives him a weapon for combatting State Department claims that American capitalism is the champion of democracy. In that strictly

limited sense, it can be said that the murder of Moore is a service for Stalin.
But you can't stop there. It is also service for the American capitalist ruling class. In fact, it provides a ton of service to them for every ounce of service it offers the Kremlin.

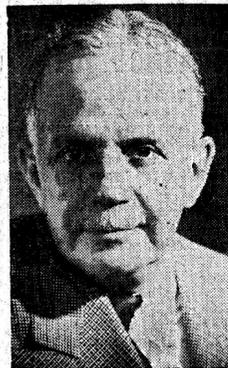
THE REAL PURPOSE

What is the purpose and aim of Jim Crow terrorism anyhow? It is to keep the Negro "in his place." That's where American capitalists have always tried to keep the Negro and that is where they are trying to keep him today. Stalin may benefit indirectly from Jim Crow, but American capitalism benefits directly from it. That is why they do nothing to stop it.

The murder of Harry T. Moore was intended to terrorize the Negro people as a whole, to make them afraid to fight for their rights. That is just what the capitalists and their political agents want. It may embarrass them and expose them as hypocrites in the United Nations and weaken their propaganda among the colored people in the colonies. But that is an overhead cost that they are perfectly willing to keep on paying so long as Jim Crow oppression remains unharmed at home. Proof that they are willing to pay this cost is the fact that they make no efforts to abolish such oppression.

CAPITALIST ALTERNATIVE

White, Murray and Co. act as if they were making a remarkable discovery when they inform the ruling class that the maintenance



WALTER WHITE

of Jim Crow is "embarrassing." But the capitalists know that at least as well as White and Murray, and they have chosen their course in the most deliberate manner. To abolish Jim Crow will require a revolution in the South, the main stronghold of the Jim Crow system — a revolution that would tend to upset the entire social structure. And the capitalists would much rather alienate the whole world than risk such a revolution.

White and Murray talk as if the ruling class is inconsistent. "Look," they tell the American imperialists, "on the one hand you are getting ready to wage a war for democracy overseas, and on the other hand you continue the undemocratic treatment of Ne-

groes at home. Don't you realize that this is contradictory?"

But for the imperialists there is no contradiction whatever, because the war they are preparing is not for "democracy" in any shape or form. The people of South Korea, groaning under the Syngman Rhee dictatorship, know that. So do the people of Indo-China and the Philippines and Spain and every other country in the grip of a dictatorship supported by Washington. And so do the people of the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe who see U.S. imperialism preparing to try to force capitalism down their throats once again.

Washington's foreign policy and domestic policy are like two sides of one coin. Those who oppress Negroes and workers at home have no intention of bringing democracy or freedom to anyone abroad; those who prepare to enslave the whole world will never emancipate their slaves at home. On the contrary, they will try to worsen conditions of the masses at home and to deprive them of whatever democratic rights still remain because that is the only way in which their hands can be freed for a reactionary war in the rest of the world.

The real contradiction rests with the labor, liberal and Negro leaders. In the final analysis, they will have to choose: either continued support of imperialism, and subordination of labor and Negro struggles — or intensified opposition to Jim Crow and the wage-freeze, and a break with the foreign policy that conflicts with every progressive movement and struggle.

NEW REVELATIONS ON KOREA WAR EXPOSE LIES OF PENTAGON BRASS

(Continued from page 1)

bers which China has thrown into the Korean war.

"Talk About Hordes Is An Exaggeration" is the headline of an article in the special Asia edition of Life magazine (Dec. 31, 1951) that gives the lie to the propaganda that China has held the U.S. Army with an overwhelming superiority of manpower in combat. Such propaganda is designed to cover up for the dismal record of the U.S. military strategists.

Actually, as Life now discloses, an inferior number of Chinese troops, with one-tenth the fire power of the U.S. forces, defeated the Allied armies under MacArthur, who, it may be recalled, promised to have the U.S. troops "home by Christmas" (1950).

"A year ago, when the U.N. forces were sent reeling down the Korean peninsula, the number of Chinese attacking them... estimates current at the time, soared to the remarkable figure of 600,000. Actually there was no such horde," says Life. "The

attack was made by not more than 150,000 Chinese. Commanded by General Lin Biao, it was a carefully thought-out attack which took full advantage of General MacArthur's deployment of troops, which numbered 324,000, including 100,000 Roks (Republic of South Korea)."

The truth is, as Life admits, that the "undermanned and under-equipped companies" of the Chinese, confronting "massed artillery fire, strafing and fire-bombing from the air," brought the U.S. army almost to the brink of destruction.

In recent months, the Chinese and North Koreans have acquired new jet planes, tanks, heavy artillery and thousands of trucks. From the standpoint of equipment and fire-power their forces are stronger than ever. These "asiatic hordes," as the white ruling-class racists call the Asian people, are beginning to show an amazing aptitude for the complex instruments and machines of war — a first-class example of the Marxist law of combined development whereby backward nations leap over many stages of development

to adopt some of the most advanced forms and methods of technologically developed nations.

The chief source of power of the Chinese and North Korean armies is their revolutionary fervor. They are fighting a revolutionary war against the imperialist capitalist powers which have looted and exploited their countries for decades. The American troops, on the other hand, sense that they are foreign invaders and not defenders of democracy, which is the reason for the continued reports of the low morale in the U.S. fighting forces.

Bit by bit, we are learning the truth about the major facts of the Korean war as distinguished from the lies poured from Washington and the Pentagon. Every new piece of true information reinforces the sentiments which the majority of the American people have held almost from the start of the so-called "police action" — that the U.S. had no right to intervene in Korea to begin with and that the American troops should be withdrawn from Korea at once.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 9

THE NEW PARTY

By Harry Frankel

These articles analyzing the political forces in the first American Revolution are presented to give the true picture of the birth of our nation, and to stimulate interest in Marxist interpretation of American history. The Militant will welcome letters from readers discussing this topic.

After the merchants deserted the movement of opposition to Britain in 1770-72, Sam Adams faced the problem of rebuilding his shattered organizations. Adams had learned from the desertion of the merchants that any solid revolutionary movement would have to be based primarily upon the workers and farmers, or, in his words, "those two venerable orders, styled mechanics and husbandmen."

The radical oppositionists were already partly organized. The Sons of Liberty, an action organization, was spread throughout the colonies, and Adams was in close touch with most of its leaders. In Boston itself, the Sons of Liberty were supplemented by that popular forum and legislative body, the town meeting. The Boston Caucus Club served as a steering committee for all activities of the radicals.

But the great, nationwide revolutionary engine which completed the structure had not yet been built, and Adams now began that task. That organization was the network of Committees of Correspondence.

This name is misleading: It gives the impression of letter-writing groups which simply kept the colonies in touch with one another. Actually, the Committees were the closest approach to a revolutionary party formed in the first American Revolution.

The Crippling Blows of 1770

What was the state of the radical movement when Adams began the Committees? We have seen how the crippling blows delivered by the merchant-deserters of 1770 set the movement back. As a matter of fact, much of the struc-

ture which Sam Adams and others had so painstakingly constructed was virtually shattered at that time.

Of the early leaders of the radical movement, two of the most famous were James Otis, and his law partner, Oxenbridge Thacher. By 1770, Otis was insane and Thacher dead. Two of the other most prominent leaders, Thomas Cushing and John Hancock, both merchants, had deserted. John Adams, a cousin of Sam Adams and a future President, had dropped out of politics, resolving in his diary to be more "retired and cautious," and to mind "my own farm and my own business." (Yes, this is the same John Adams who is today celebrated as a "hero" of the revolution, while Sam Adams, his patient guide and teacher, is forgotten.)

The radical wing of the General Court (Legislature) was split by these defections, and Adams now had to fight not only Tories and British, but his former supporters as well.

Centers of Radicalism

Thus Adams initiated the Committees of Correspondence when the movement was at a low ebb, organizationally speaking. He succeeded in getting a resolution calling for a Committee passed in the fall of 1772 despite the opposition of Hancock and Cushing. The Boston town meeting then chose a committee of 21. Soon, there were committees in almost every Massachusetts town, and Adams then went ahead to spread them throughout the nation.

These Committees were greeted with jeers and irony by the conservatives and Tories. Since they were set up by pressure from the radicals backed by the masses, none but the most stalwart radicals would agree to serve on them. For example, the original Boston Committee of 21 contained 18 Sons of Liberty.

The meetings which organized the Committees were dominated by the radicals, and in many cases, the conservatives boycotted them. Thus the Committees, especially in New England, be-

came centers of radicalism. They kept Adams informed of the temper of the people, assisted the radical leaders in forming decisions, carried out the decisions, organized meetings and demonstrations, formed and armed a militia and ordered it into action, and later on, took over many governmental functions as the old regime crumbled.

In Massachusetts alone, there were some 300 of these Committees. This means that a vanguard of perhaps 3,000 or more active radicals were organized into a solid and active phalanx, responsive to the national radical leaders, and in close touch with the mass of the people.

This was a powerful organized political group in Massachusetts, which had a population of only about 450,000 at that time.

Thus, from the point of view of numbers, activity, functions, organization, and political program, the Committees of Correspondence were the first revolutionary party in American history. In the main, this remarkable structure must be credited to Sam Adams, who was chiefly responsible for conceiving and organizing it.

The Tories who had wasted their irony and laughter on Adams, and the faint-hearted moderates who had sneered at his work, could do so no longer. Later on, one of the leading colonial Tories, Daniel Leonard, was to give vent to a savage outburst of rage, calling the Committees of Correspondence the "foulest, most venomous serpent ever to issue from the egg of sedition." But it was then too late. The Committees were to stay and perform their great revolutionary work.

Joseph Warren, Revolutionary Hero

The most important new radical leader was Dr. Joseph Warren. He was the son of a farmer, went to Harvard, then taught school for a while, and finally became a doctor. He became a leader among the radicals before he was 30, and, as he concentrated his chief attention upon the radical movement, he could rightly be called a professional revolutionist. He was to die a hero's death at Bunker Hill in June 1775, rushing into battle with caution thrown to the winds and perform-

Communist Party At Lowest Ebb In Great Britain

By Our London Correspondent

The General Election atmosphere has now cleared and it is possible to make a more concrete analysis of the situation in the Labor Party.

Two important trends dominate the scene. The anti-Tory feeling of the working class, a major feature of the post-war radicalization in England, has deepened and taken on a distinctive anti-war coloration. Churchill is recognized for what he is — warmonger number one. The mass political consciousness of the working class is extremely serious for the imperialist warmongers. Consequently the possibilities for a big forward step toward socialism are very encouraging. The question of who will lead this movement is all the more urgent. Let us therefore take a look at the tendencies at work in the British labor movement, in order to draw some precise conclusions.

Since the end of the war the British Communist Party has fallen on rough times. Its major distinction in the General Election was that it provided \$4,500 in lost deposits to the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer. All its ten candidates were defeated, and in almost every case their vote declined. Pollitt obtained 15,000 votes in East Rhonda in 1945. This was reduced to 4,000 in 1950, and this time Communist Party candidate Idris Cox received just over 2,000 votes (Pollitt did not stand). Most of their candidates received votes averaging between 500 and 1,000.

Stalinism as an international phenomenon has been passing through a profound crisis, the roots of which lie in the revolutionary offensive which has developed and expanded almost without serious interruption since the end of the war. This is not the season for bureaucracies to flourish at the expense of defeated and demoralized workers, and therefore the plans of the Kremlin overlords have received a serious buffeting in many countries.

In England the trouble began even before the election of the Labor Government in 1945. Mr. Pollitt, as CP General Secretary, produced a booklet urging the formation of a Peoples' Government of Labor, Liberals, progressive Tories and of course the CP. In a few months this suggestion became the laughing stock of left-wing circles. Labor, by its own strength, had achieved an overwhelming majority in Parliament.

It would be easy, of course, to laugh at this false assessment, but all Pollitt did was to reflect the impotence of world Stalinism when faced with a living revolutionary movement. Prior to the war, the British Stalinists made inroads into the Labor Party at a time when it was still suffering from the defeat of the 1926 Gen-

eral Strike. The Popular Front peace line sounded good because it promised many things apparently without the need to struggle. As a result it was attractive to petty-bourgeois currents within the Bevan-Cripps movement of the middle thirties — the Socialist League (the organized left in the Labor Party at that time).

But 1945 was not 1936. The labor movement had grown powerful; defeats had given way to a growing confidence in its ability to get things done. In such a climate the treacherous Popular Front catch-phrases of Stalinism got short shrift. As a result the British CP has been in a crisis ever since the end of the war; accordingly it has been more and more isolated.

The recent election results do not in any way mean that a better time lies ahead for Stalinism. On the contrary, its crisis will be even more aggravated. An instinctive revolutionary anti-war movement harnessed to a powerful political hatred for the Tory forces of capitalism is barren soil for their five-power "peace pact" line.

Recently a Peace Congress was held in Surrey, where a number of Labor Parties attended. They placed a resolution on the agenda denouncing the Tory government as a warmonger's government, only to be opposed by the CP, who claimed that this would antagonize the "progressive peace-loving" Tories. This resulted in a head-on clash between the Stalinists and the left wing of the Labor Party.

The right wing of the Trades Union Congress have proposed class peace on the trade union field, to the Tory government. This has been denounced far and wide by the rank and file, as well as by the CP, as downright treachery. Any attempt at a coalition betrayal will be resisted all along the line.

Yet, in the field of international affairs, Moscow and the British CP propose an agreement which amounts to class peace with the warmonger Churchill and American imperialism at a time when these reactionary forces are more than ever detested by the broad masses. The British CP denounces the TUC at home only to advocate its policy abroad.

Such a glaring contradiction serves to expose the true character of Stalinism as a cancerous growth on a living and progressive labor movement which must be rooted out of the soil of the Labor Party and trade unions. In England, Stalinism can and must be annihilated, before it succeeds in gaining a foothold in the mass movement. That is the aim and task of the revolutionary left.

(Next Week: Analysis of the Bevan Tendency.)

ing legendary feats before a bullet brought him down.

Great men, long since forgotten or deliberately obscured, played their role in the rebuilding of the radical movement on a new foundation. The hardware dealer William Mollineux, an important action leader; the printer Benjamin Edes and many others rallied around the radical standard in the hard days.

In the western part of New England, Joseph Hawley, a lawyer of Hampshire County, took the lead, and in Plymouth, Mass., James Warren was the radical stalwart. Dr. Samuel Cooper, minister at the church which Sam Adams attended, was one of the so-called "Black Regiment" of Congregational preachers, who, the Tories complained, "spun out their sermons to a thread of sedition." Such men as these built the new party. Those deserters who later returned to the radical movement had these men to thank for the continued existence of the revolutionary opposition.

In these difficult days, Sam Adams had to put forward his greatest efforts to keep his grouping together. James Warren wrote to him from Plymouth at one time: "I shall not fail to exert myself to have as many towns as possible meet, but fear the bigger part of them will not. They are dead, and the dead can't be raised without a miracle."

"A Motto for You and Me"

Adams answered him sternly: "I am very sorry to find anything in your letter that discovers the least approach towards despair. Nil desperandum! That is a motto for you and for me. All are not dead; and where there is a spark of patriotic fire, we will rekindle it."

In another letter, Adams makes some very shrewd remarks about the low state of the movement. If town meetings are small, he says, it is "partly from the opinion of some that there was no method left to be taken but the last; which was also the opinion of many in the country."

This observation is the mark of a revolutionary genius, who was able to comprehend the crucial moment in his revolution. He understood that the apathy of the masses meant, in part, that they no longer placed any reliance on words and meetings. How right Adams was in this, we shall see when we observe the reaction of the mass of the people as they were summoned to decisive actions.

Next Week: Insurrection! The Boston Tea Party.

By Tom Conlan

The European Co-operation Plan, otherwise known as the Marshall Plan, was buried, solemnly and officially on Dec. 31, 1951, six months ahead of schedule.

Four out of every five dollars to be spent by the MSA, lawful successor to ECA, are earmarked for armaments. Humanitarian pretenses are difficult under such circumstances.

Who benefited by the ECA? The capitalist press, with its habitual hypocrisy, which is fast putting in the shade the old practitioners in this art, the British ruling class, continues the lie that the European peoples benefited by it.

It is a lie that some of the labor skates are no longer able to peddle, admitting on their return from European junkets that only the rich minority abroad has profited, while the living levels of all West European workers remain far below prewar, and heading not up, but down.

Europe's plutocrats did reap a harvest of billions from the ECA. But a lesser known fact is that our own super-monopolists did not do so badly either.

All told some 12 1/2 billions were shelled out, every cent of it out of the public treasury (read: the pockets of the poor). Roughly 5 1/2 billion dollars were expended for machines and "industrial commodities" — "mostly from the U.S."

Another 5.2 billion went for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, such as cotton. It was the grain and commodity speculators who benefited by this whopping transaction, not to mention

the big exporters. The food monopolists did not lose, either. This was a tidy means of keeping prices high at home. The rich farm corporations became richer. The poor farmers did not gain much; the workers and the city poor paid through their noses.

Then there was an ECA shipping bill of some 800 million dollars which was split down the middle between the American and European ship-owners. A mere pittance in these days of billion dollar swag, but not to be sneezed at, either.

Finally the harassed bankers, here and abroad, received on a golden platter one-half billion dollars to play with through the European Payments Union. If you'll add up these tidy sums, you'll find they come so close to the original 12 1/2 billion as not to be worthwhile specifying where the missing few hundred millions went. The right people, with the lush bank accounts and the best connections got them, that's for sure.

But this feast of the billions for the plutocrats is by no means over. The MSA will have even more billions to dispose of than the ECA. The recipients by and large will not change, any more than has the administrative personnel. It is true that the bulk of the goods supplied will differ somewhat. The "industrial goods" will henceforward be such necessities as guns, bombs, planes, tanks, etc. — "mostly from the U.S."

In the shift from ECA to MSA there will be no break in continuity. . . . assures the N. Y. Times editorially. "From its very inception," these editors continue, "principles were adopted which should serve the MSA as well as we are surprised. But we do recommend these arrogant admissions along with the known facts about the ECA to all those who are only just beginning to learn the truth about the ECA."

It is well worth thinking hard about this ECA that "died" only to be immediately resurrected in the MSA. Were they, perhaps, one and the same thing to begin with? Two different labels for an identical imperialist enterprise?

The Wage-Price Fable

By Thomas Raymond

The General Electric Corporation, in a year-end statement, joined the capitalist publicity campaign against a new round of wage increases by calling upon the "American people" to resist pay raises. The statement, issued by Ralph J. Cordner, G. E. president, is another in a series of replies to the CIO challenge to the wage-freeze.

Cordner has been president of the General Electric Corp. ever since Charles E. Wilson, former president, was appointed Defense Mobilization czar by President Truman. Wilson has been pushing this same wage-freeze program from his government office. Wilson has attempted to conceal his partiality for the capitalist class which he represents by a pretense of "neutrality."

Cordner's propaganda that the cause of price rises is higher wages was strikingly refuted a few days after his statement with the announcement by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that the

cost-of-living index took its biggest jump since the start of price controls in the increase between October and November. This happened despite a period of many months without significant wage increases.

The fact is that prices have been on the increase since 1939 because of a war-profits spree, which has lasted through the second world war, and on into the preparations for the next war. The rise in prices is most accurately reflected in the rise in profits. That's where the consumer's money goes.

The cry that wage increases are the cause of price inflation has been exposed by every big price increase since 1940. In all cases, price increases were larger than wage increases, and stayed several jumps ahead.

For instance, in the present steel negotiations, the steel corporations have insisted that they could not give more wages without getting big price hikes. Yet U.S. government surveys have shown that steel could grant wage increases of 35 to 40 cents an hour and still make huge profits. Despite this, Benjamin Fairless of U. S. Steel has asked for price increases fully four times as big as any wage increase given by his company. Judging by past experience, the government stooges of Big Business will give Fairless what he has requested.

A Letter from Mexico

Editor: The fact that Gus Hall, acting National Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S., was kidnapped by the American FBI last October here in the capital city of Mexico, without any protest save that of the Mexican Stalinist press, impels me to send you the following comments:

As an ordinary Mexican worker I want to state that I fully support Hall's right to enjoy the asylum that the Mexican Constitution of 1917 allows the political refugees of any country. I would like to protest, too, because of the ignominious conduct of the Mexican government which permitted the FBI men to kidnap a political refugee in Mexico.

The right of asylum is a democratic right. Its practice was an honor for the government that came out of the Mexican revolution of 1910. For 40 years the Mexican border was open to persons politically persecuted. The border has now been opened to the persecutors. We have to remember that it was Mexico that was the only country in the world that granted the truly democratic right of asylum to Leon Trotsky.

Due to these reasons it is not possible for me to remain silent when the government of Mr. Miguel Aleman not only tramples the right of

asylum but all the democratic traditions of Mexico as well.

The attitude of the Mexican newspapers and of the so-called Mexican intellectuals who backed the action of the government does not surprise us. For some time now ignominy has been the only ethic of such persons. But what about the workers' and peasants' leaders who owe their power to the existence of such democratic rights? These so-called leaders are committing an act of treason that endangers the existence of the organizations from which they obtain their income and their political power. In the long run this policy will be suicide.

I hope that at least it will be clear that democratic rights should be defended in any place where they are violated. That it is not necessary to take into account the political party of the person concerned or the country of which such a person is a citizen. I believe the Stalinists who furiously fought against the granting of asylum by Mexico to Leon Trotsky (until they succeeded in murdering him) have now in Hall's case a dramatic lesson to learn.

J. Santiago Mexico, D.F.

Notes from the News

MAN OF PRINCIPLE: Pablo Casals, world's leading violinist, recently refused an invitation to play at a concert organized by the United Nations in Paris because of the UN's failure to oppose the Franco regime, according to report in La Battalla, organ of the Spanish POUM in exile. . . . Pablo Casals left Spain, his native country, when the fascists came to power. In exile, he has refused to play at any public concert. This is his means of protest against Franco and those governments who help the Spanish dictator remain in power. The only exception to this self-imposed rule has been Casals' appearance at the Bach festival in Prades, a small French town near the Spanish border where the great artist lives.

MORE U.S. AID TO FRANCO: Paul Porter, U.S. Mutual Security Administrator for Europe, and Stanton Griffis, U.S. Ambassador to Spain, have cabled Washington urging more and "permanent" economic and military aid to fascist dictator Franco. According to the N.Y. Times it is "a foregone conclusion that Washington will accept the Porter recommendation."

WHO SAID THAT? New York police, their wage demands rejected by city hall, were ordered to listen to a Christmas talk by Mayor Impellitteri over the two-way police radio system. As the mayor signed off an unidentified voice came back: "Never mind the sob talk. Give us more money."

THINKING OF YOU: The National Association of Insurance Commissioners is considering a pooling arrangement to cover life insurance claims of civilians killed in atomic bombings of World War III. Their estimates for civilian A-bomb deaths in the U.S. in event of war are 800,000 per year.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS for political prisoners are being constructed in Arizona and Oklahoma by order of Attorney General McGrath. Official explanation is that they are for the defense of "freedom" against police-state countries where people are put in concentration camps for their political beliefs.

CHINESE TERRITORY BOMBED: The United Press reports from Hong Kong that six unidentified planes bombed Chinese territory at the mouth of the Pearl River. The planes are presumed to be Nationalist, supplied by the U.S., and based on Formosa which is protected by the U.S. Navy.

"DANGEROUS" ART TEACHER FIRED: Luella R. Mundel, purged as head of the art department of Fairmont State College in West Virginia on charges that she was an "atheist" and a "poor security risk," is suing a State Board of Education member for slander. In court the defense explained that by "poor security risk" was meant "poor teacher."

Dr. DuBois Sends Thanks for Help Given His Fight

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished educator and founding member of the NAACP, today wrote Joseph Hansen a letter expressing his appreciation for "your sympathy and help" in his fight against government persecution.

Hansen had informed Dr. DuBois last October that the Socialist Workers Party was unalterably opposed to the government's frameup trial of DuBois and four of his associates in the Peace Information Center and was mobilizing support in their behalf.

At the trial, held in Washington last November, the "foreign agents registration" frameup blew up when the judge threw the case out of court. This was one of the few setbacks that the witch hunt has encountered in recent years.

Purged



Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, philosophy instructor at University of Minnesota, is latest victim of witch-hunt on the campus. His dismissal has aroused widespread protest by student committees, faculty members, the NAACP, CIO and AFL.

Minnesota Groups Protest Firing of Negro Teacher

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 27 — Charges by Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, instructor in the philosophy department at the University of Minnesota, that he was dropped from the faculty because of his left-wing political views have not been answered by the university administration.

Meanwhile a broad Student Action Committee, including students from more than 20 organizations, has sought to bring to light the real causes for the actual dismissal of Wiggins, an open advocate of socialism and foe of monopoly capitalism and an officer of the Minnesota Progressive Party.

The AFL and CIO central bodies have appointed committees to investigate the circumstances and recommend action in the

Wiggins case. Reinstatement of Dr. Wiggins has been demanded by the local NAACP.

ACTION COMMITTEE

The Student Action Committee was formed at a protest meeting called by Tri-U, an inter-denominational religious group on Campus. Individuals from every political tendency participated in the rally, from Republicans to Trotskyists.

The meeting elected a committee which is, in effect, a coalition of all groups which had begun work on the Wiggins case independently of one another prior to the protest rally. Some of the members of the committee are individuals who spontaneously initiated petitions among students against the Wiggins dismissal, protested personally to the University Regents, or issued statements to the press on behalf of student organizations.

Another legislator, Reuben H. Tweten, confirms his share in the Wiggins' ouster by admitting that he "objected very much to university officials that Wiggins was retained this year." Representative D. D. Wozniak of St. Paul charged that "people in rural areas are all het up about Wiggins."

Child, acknowledged his part in the Wiggins' dismissal in his weekly newspaper, where he writes that he had "discussed Wiggins with Morrill during the session of the legislature. My discussion with Dr. Morrill was prompted by complaints about Wiggins' activities. Dr. Morrill assured me that he and the regents were aware of the complaints about Dr. Wiggins and that the matter would be taken care of in a routine manner."

Another legislator, Reuben H. Tweten, confirms his share in the Wiggins' ouster by admitting that he "objected very much to university officials that Wiggins was retained this year." Representative D. D. Wozniak of St. Paul charged that "people in rural areas are all het up about Wiggins."

MORE CHALLENGES

In the meantime faculty members outside the philosophy department have challenged the administration too. One of these, Donald W. Calhoun, assistant professor of general studies, opened fire on the university president with a 6-page statement denouncing the Wiggins firing because it "can lead in no other direction than to undermine the morale of faculty and student body." Calhoun, while proclaiming his "wrenching disapproval with the political philosophy which Wiggins is presumed to espouse," further characterized the university move as a step "toward a totalitarian centralization of authority."

The Spokesman, local Negro weekly, gave editorial support to Wiggins on Dec. 21, saying: "Wiggins was discharged for three definite reasons: 1. For his political views and affiliations. 2. Pressure of reactionary members of the legislature. 3. The imperious factor of race which affects the attitudes and life of many Americans."

Typical among the statements issued by ministers of various religious beliefs is that of the Rev. Arthur Foote of Unity Church, St. Paul: He labeled the dismissal of Dr. Wiggins as an action "gravely disquieting to those who believe as I do in academic freedom, free trade in ideas and the right of dissent."

Typical among the statements issued by ministers of various religious beliefs is that of the Rev. Arthur Foote of Unity Church, St. Paul: He labeled the dismissal of Dr. Wiggins as an action "gravely disquieting to those who believe as I do in academic freedom, free trade in ideas and the right of dissent."

Typical among the statements issued by ministers of various religious beliefs is that of the Rev. Arthur Foote of Unity Church, St. Paul: He labeled the dismissal of Dr. Wiggins as an action "gravely disquieting to those who believe as I do in academic freedom, free trade in ideas and the right of dissent."

CARLSON STATEMENT

The first political organization to protest the Wiggins discharge was the Socialist Workers Party. In a telegram sent to the Board of Regents of the University, Grace Carlson, State Organizer of the Minnesota section, wrote:

"I have never met Dr. Forrest Wiggins personally but through his speeches and writings, I have known him to be an outstanding champion of civil rights of all people. Every true supporter of the Bill of Rights who knows that Dr. Wiggins has been discriminated against because of his political and social views believes that he should be reinstated in his regular position at the University of Minnesota with full academic honors."

"Unless the Board of Regents acts favorably on Dr. Wiggins' reinstatement, a terrible blot will be left on the University record on academic freedom."

A statement issued publicly in the past week by the Ramsey County Young Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party reveals support for Wiggins. While the Y.D.F.L. group in Ramsey County has protested the abridgment of academic rights to Republican Governor Anderson of Minnesota, it has not, at least publicly, sought the intervention of U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey, a reputed leader of the liberal wing in the Democratic Party.

A statement issued publicly in the past week by the Ramsey County Young Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party reveals support for Wiggins. While the Y.D.F.L. group in Ramsey County has protested the abridgment of academic rights to Republican Governor Anderson of Minnesota, it has not, at least publicly, sought the intervention of U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey, a reputed leader of the liberal wing in the Democratic Party.

CLARKE TOUR SCHEDULE

Table with columns for location and date: Buffalo Jan. 11-14, Detroit Jan. 16-17, Flint Jan. 18, Detroit Jan. 19-21, Toledo Jan. 22, Chicago Jan. 23-26, Milwaukee Jan. 27-28, Minneapolis-St. Paul Jan. 30-Feb. 3, Seattle Feb. 6-11, San Francisco-Oakland Feb. 13-17, Los Angeles Feb. 19-24, St. Louis Feb. 27, Cleveland Feb. 29-Mar. 1, Youngstown Mar. 2-3, Akron Mar. 4-5, Pittsburgh Mar. 6-7, Philadelphia Mar. 8-9, Boston Mar. 14-16, Newark Mar. 21

Steel Wage Negotiations And U.S. Foreign Policy

By Harry Frankel

On Dec. 17, Philip Murray, announcing a "no contract, no work" policy for the Steelworkers Union, said that "only a miracle" could prevent a New Years Day steel strike. Ten days later that "miracle" had happened. Murray convened the union's policy committee, and announced that the strike was off.

What was the "miracle"? It is known that President Truman phoned Murray on Christmas Eve. Is that enough to work a miracle? John L. Lewis once said something about Murray which would indicate that it might be. Lewis's words, reported in his biography, were as follows:

LIKE A PUPPY

"Philip (Murray) has often been that way. He just gets completely flattered when he receives any attention from any national figures and, as you know, at the White House, the President will treat him like an old dirty piece of laundry, and then call him in and order him as you would a puppy."

These words are an apt description of the attitude of most of the leaders of the labor movement today. They are ordered around "like puppies," and, while they may growl or whine a little from time to time, they generally submit to the White House.

WHY THEY DO IT

Why do they submit? Business Week for Dec. 29 attempts to give the gist of the phone conversation between Truman and Murray that led to the repeal of the strike call. Truman is reported as telling Murray: ". . . we can't have a steel strike now. . . . I can't think of what's going on over in Korea and stand by and let a steel strike happen. I know you can't either." Murray's reply to this was to assure Truman that the steelworkers are "good, loyal Americans."

This conversation highlights the whole dilemma of the CIO and AFL leadership. They are committed to support of the world-wide imperialist policy of Wall Street and Washington, and this restricts their freedom of action in the fight for better wages and conditions for the American workers.

WAR IN KOREA

Truman spoke to Murray of "what's going on over in Korea." Were Murray a real representative of the American working people, he would have replied: "Mr. President, what is going on in Korea is a crime against the

"Road to Peace" Pamphlet Sales Continue Steady

Reports from Socialist Workers Party branches indicate a steady sale of the most recent Pioneer Publishers pamphlet — "The Road to Peace" by James P. Cannon.

On the West Coast it has been found that rallies of the Independent Progressive Party are very likely spots for sale of this timely pamphlet. Encouraging sales at such rallies have been reported both from San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Door to door sales, sales in the shop, on the waterfront and at union meetings also continue to spread "The Road to Peace" far and wide. In addition to sales by the branches Pioneer Publishers reports a number of sales by mail order to individuals and to libraries.

Korean people, against all the people of Asia, and against the American people as well. Your Korean adventure is calling down upon this country the hatred and revulsion of all the people of the world. You are responsible for over 100,000 U.S. casualties, and for hundreds of thousands of casualties inflicted upon the Asian people.

"Mr. Truman," Murray would then have gone on, were he really speaking for the people of this country, "when you ask me to aid and abet you in your criminal adventure on behalf of your capitalist associates, you are asking me to compound your crimes by crimes of my own. You want me to help you to kill innocent people 5,000 miles away, and you want me further, in helping you, to sacrifice the living standards of the American people. No, Mr. President, we cannot do that. Go to your steel companies. It is their war. Let them sacrifice some of their bloated profits by paying the steelworkers decent wages."

MURRAY CRUMBLES Murray did not reply this way. Instead, he called off the steel strike, saying that the steelworkers are "good, loyal Americans."

What is the ultimate logic of this stand on Murray's part? It means that, to be a "good, loyal American," is to capitulate completely to the reactionary American capitalists, to permit them to drive down the living standards of the American people. All of this in the name of a foreign policy which is making the American government hated and despised in every quarter of the globe.

The dilemma of the Murray leadership of the CIO, which called it to call a steel strike one week and call it off the next week although the situation had not changed, is a growing dilemma. So long as the capitalists were able to give a few concessions to the labor movement, the labor crisis did not become too sharp. But the events of the past year have shown that the concessions which may be wrung from American capitalism without endangering its whole war drive are becoming less and less. As a matter of fact, the latest figures show that 1951 is the first year since the end of World War II that the real wages of the American workers, not their money wages, but what they could buy for their money, took a sharp downturn.

GOING DOWN

"This downward trend of the living standards of the people must inevitably continue as long as the war drive continues. There is no longer any chance of 'more guns and more butter too.' That is why the union movement is faced with the choice of abandon-

ing the people's living standards to the war drive, or repudiating the war drive.

Murray and the other union heads have already given their answer to this dilemma. They are for the war. Thus the vacillations on the steel strike could only have one end: capitulation.

Militant trade-unionists will shape their thinking in the future more and more around the issues of foreign policy and the war. Problems of strike strategy and negotiation tactics have long since been solved by the militant unionists. The problem of the future is how to free the unions from the reactionary war-drive and strike out on an independent line of action that can win better living standards for the American people, and restore to the American labor movement some of the respect it should command among workers and colonial people throughout the world.

END OF ROPE

Capitalism has come to the end of its rope. To the American people as to the peoples of the whole world it says: "Suffer and die in war — or suffer and starve in peace."

As we fast approach the Armageddon that capitalism has in store for us, we can see more clearly than ever that capitalism offers no alternative that means a better way of life for the masses of people. The blind profit system, planless and anarchistic, must be replaced with a planned, scientific economic system democratically run by and for all those who toil.

Let 1952 be the year when the American workers, rejecting the capitalist program of war and depression, will turn their minds and political activity toward socialism, the classless society of planned economy, in which the means of production and distribution are owned by the people instead of the profiteer few. The Socialist Workers Party, banner bearer of socialism, will campaign for this program in the '52 elections.

Militant Reader

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

The Militant is your newspaper. It does not just speak to you, but for you.

Write us your views, your thoughts, your beefs, and your experiences.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on Israel in 1951: An Eyewitness Report

Speaker: LEWIS SCOTT

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 PM at 423 Springfield Ave.