

Notebook of an Agitator

BARBARY SHORE

I read Norman Mailer's great war novel, *The Naked and The Dead*, two years ago on a California vacation when I had plenty of time to work my way slowly through the huge bulk of its realistic detail and to notice, as I went along, that the story of militarized life, with all its episodes skillfully woven together into one tremendous whole, was loaded with symbols and overtones of a wider comprehension which enriched the story without slowing it down. Here is a writer, I thought, who looks with profound insight into the heart of present-day man and his contradiction, and sees the central problem which history has dumped into his lap and told him to solve or perish.

War and militarism — the governing theme of this book — is the dominating reality of our time; or rather, half of this reality. The other half is revolution. And the two are joined together as inseparably as the Siamese twins. Implicit in *The Naked and The Dead* was the promise that the author, once he had got the war out of his system, would courageously face this side of social reality too, and report it truthfully. Behind the war novel, powerful in its unflinching realism, the author's aspiring direction toward even wider fields was clear. Here was no mere journalist, however observant and scrupulously honest in his report, but a thinking and feeling man who was already trying to look through and beyond the war to its causes and implications and its ultimate outcome.

Here was a new young writer, fresh and vigorous, untainted by the weary disillusionment and sickly capitulationism which has robbed the older generation of intellectuals of their artistic integrity and turned them into slick propagandists for the status quo, which is as out-of-date as its unbelieving boosters. In this time of turmoil and confusion, the shameful abdication of the older writers has created a vacuum. The people need new writers, above all novelists, for they see deeper and have more freedom to tell the truth than others.

I expected great things from Mailer, and have no doubt this hope was shared by many others who recognized, as I did, that the author of *The Naked and The Dead*, who demonstrated in that book that he is capable of looking fearlessly at all the details of contemporary reality, however ugly and even monstrous, also has something else on the ball. After an interval of three years Mailer's socialist novel, *Barbary Shore* (Rinehart, \$3), has now appeared, and the rough hustle it is getting from the critics tells far more about them than it tells about the book itself.

CRITICS ARE BIASED

They pretend to judge fiction solely by its stylistic merit and success of character delineation — "art for art's sake." But they are all well aware that the publications they write for have a political line and their appreciation of literary art usually coincides with it. When a book with a different political slant comes along once in a while they get themselves into an uproar and find all kinds of fault with its style as well as its message. They have become accustomed to applauding the pessimistic confessional revelations of ex-radicals like Koestler and all that superficial, smart-aleck coterie who make a principle of disillusionment and capitulation. When a serious and honest writer like Mailer comes along, and picks up the banner of socialist culture abandoned by the apostates, he surprises them like an unannounced and unwelcome intruder. They set upon him like a squad of bouncers in a hightoned saloon. In their fury they forget themselves and their critical manners and attack the political content of his book, disregarding the critical credo that the politics in a novel doesn't count, only the art.

Time magazine, that house of ill fame where ex-radical literati display their fading charms, derides Mailer as the "Last of the Leftists" in a snotty review which summarizes the political content of his book and finds it entirely out of line with God, country and Henry Luce. The author "has a bad case of moral claustrophobia." "Barbary Shore is perched on the stilts of four fallacies." It "is hauled from the literary graveyard of the '30s, when 'social consciousness' was in vogue." "It tries to pin the blame for human evil on the favorite villain of every park-bench anarchist, 'the system.'" Most of the other reviews I have read follow the same line, but naturally Time, the nation's pace-setter in intellectual debauchery, does the dirtiest job.

The Stalinist Daily Worker, for its part, joined in the general condemnation of *Barbary Shore*. "It is a bad book," says the reviewer Robert Friedman, "so utterly, unbelievably bad, that even the capitalist critics must say so. And they say so regretfully, for Mailer has written a Trotskyite tract."

I read the reviews before I got a chance to read the book, and they predisposed me in favor of it. If Mailer had succeeded in telling a good story with the underlying affirmation of the socialist ideal as a faith to live by, so that the ordinary man, for whom novels ought to be written, could read as he runs, I would be only too happy to praise and thank him for his accomplishment as I do for his effort. But I cannot conscientiously do that. To my great disappointment I found the book gravely defective in content and difficult in style. It is cast in cryptic, allegorical form that is very hard to follow without a map and compass. And his attempt to depict the revolutionary movement throws no light on the reality, for the reason that the author himself obviously does not see it and therefore cannot tell others what it looks like. Artistically, it seems to me, Mailer is playing around experimentally with uncommunicative literary forms. And politically, I cannot escape the painful conclusion that he doesn't know what he is talking about.

The whole scene of the novel is laid in a run-down Brooklyn rooming house with a cast of characters who, if I read the cryptic script correctly, are supposed to represent various segments of the socialist movement and the hostile forces impinging upon it. Michael Lovett, the narrator, is an ex-soldier who can't remember his past life, except in snapshots. He is trying to write a novel in a snatched attic room. There is McLeod, an ex-Stalinist functionary who served on the GPU terror squad in Spain and has the blood of honest revolutionists on his hands. He has also switched sides and served the FBI. At the time we catch him in *Barbary Shore* he is dickering with an FBI agent over

the surrender of a secret "little object," which he is trying to hold out, and which in the end turns out to be his "socialist conscience." Isn't that a hell of a thing for a GPU murderer to be carrying around in his pocket? That is not credible, Mr. Mailer.

There is the FBI agent Hollingsworth, who has a room in the house and keeps working on McLeod, trying to third degree him into the surrender of his "little object" — as if the FBI cares a hoot about anybody's conscience, revolutionary or otherwise, as long as he does their work. Next is a girl roomer, Lannie Madison, who is as crazy as a cuckoo and sexually abnormal. She talks ramblingly of "the man with the beard" — presumably Trotsky — to whom she introduced the assassin sent by "the man with the pipe" — presumably Stalin — and then, after the murder, went off her nut and is that way when we run across her in the book.

In addition, and vitally important to the story, is the landlady, a former burlesque queen, slightly faded but still equipped with plenty of what the customers used to pay to see, and proud of it. She wants to be called only by her last name. "I was born Beverly Guinevere, but when I was on the stage, I just used to call myself Guinevere, you know one name, like Margo and Zorina." So Guinevere it is. She turns out to be the secret wife of McLeod. And romping all over the house is their three-year old daughter Monina — as precocious, shrewdly sophisticated, demanding and charming a little monster as I have ever encountered since my precious granddaughter bit my hand to make me open up and give her the lollypop I was holding out on her. I love that little Monina. And Guinevere is not too bad. Neither Guinevere nor Monina has any abstract ideas. That provides a little needed relief from the everlasting talk-talk-talk of the other characters who seem to have nothing else.

As for the revolutionary movement — the real movement — I don't see it here. This movement lives in great surging tides of people throughout the world — in the trade unions, parties, mass meetings, strikes, demonstrations and committees of housewives protesting high prices in the imperialist countries; in the prisons, and forced labor camps of the Soviet Union; and in the mighty upheavals of the colonial millions in the orient — a movement often misled, often struggling blindly, but ever struggling and striving toward its destined goal just the same. It lives in the smaller groups, sometimes in single individuals, who are the carriers of ideas which theorize the struggle and foresee its line of march — "represent the future of the movement in its present" — and aim to unify and coordinate it. This, the real revolutionary movement, does not appear and is not even reflected in this book.

It looks to me as though Mailer is a good man fallen among screwballs, who have given him a bum steer about the revolutionary movement, what it is, and who represents it. I have been in the movement more than forty years, man and boy, and I don't recognize it, nor any representation of it, cryptic, mystical, symbolical, or any other way, in the characters who talk in riddles all over Beverly Guinevere's rooming house. If this madhouse described in *Barbary Shore*, and the people who inhabit it and talk through all hours of the night, are the revolutionary movement, I am going to grab my hat and light out for a small community of simple people who work in the day time and sleep at night, and settle down there for the rest of my natural life.

The supreme falsity of the book is its central character — McLeod. This ex-GPU agent and murderer turned FBI agent and informer — an easy enough transition, often made in real life — nevertheless balks at giving up his secret "little object," namely, his "socialist conscience." He hands it over to Lovett, the narrator, on a slip of paper, as his last will and testament, shortly before Hollingsworth, impersonator of the FBI, bumps him off. This is no representative of "the heritage of socialist culture." When socialist culture becomes triumphant, one of the first acts of the victorious revolution will be to round up all such scoundrels as McLeod and try them for their crimes against socialism.

Guinevere, the most solid and real character in the story, is not troubled with any fancy ideas at all — nothing but what comes naturally, nothing but old-fashioned sex appeal without any ideological trimmings, which she flaunts around with an easy sense of power over all the intellectual characters in the house. The space allotted to her and her doings might be thought disproportionate in a novel of ideas. But her attraction which lures all of them — Lovett and Hollingsworth, as well as her dispossessed husband, McLeod — is meant to symbolize, I suppose, that men cannot live by ideas alone. The author may have a point there. I have heard many rumors and reports to this effect.

There is no doubt that Time's review was right in saying that Mailer's central theme in *Barbary Shore* is the vindication of socialist culture as the hope of mankind. But I do not recognize socialist culture in the character he depicts as its special representative, nor in any of the loquacious crack-pots, who live and talk their heads off in Guinevere's rooming house. And finally, in my opinion, Mailer's great theme gets bad service from the cryptic and arty style of its presentation. It is not my intention to be disrespectful toward young artists who find it necessary for their self-expression to experiment with different forms, or to create new ones. But for the life of me I can't see any sense in incommunicativeness. I don't care for writing that has to be explained to me, or that I have to work at like a puzzle. Why can't writing explain itself? Time is fleeting, and the writer who wants to get attention from the general run of people should try to make it simple.

Mailer can do better than this. *The Naked and The Dead* stands as convincing proof. And I am sure he will do better when he recognizes that the defense of socialist culture, which he has undertaken, is a bigger subject than he knew and requires more profound study. Let him get out of the stagnant backwaters on the fringe of the great river and explore the main stream. Let him study and master his theme and return to its representation another time with the necessary equipment. And good luck to him, and thank him for the try.

— J. P. C.

Another 'Liberation' Boon



Truman's "police action" has deprived thousands of homeless and abandoned children in Korea of any means of livelihood except through black market operations. Shown above, near Seoul's east gate, is a woman aided by two little boys, selling stolen goods.

British, Backed by U.S., Threaten Iranian People

By John G. Wright

JUNE 28 — Moving in behalf of the British oil monopolists, the Laborite government, through its Premier Attlee and Foreign Minister Morrison, is openly resorting to economic and military "sanctions" in the Iranian crisis. The Tory chieftain Churchill has been closeted in secret with Attlee to "work out a bipartisan Labor-Conservative policy for waging economic warfare against Iran," reports the N. Y. Herald-Tribune's London correspondent.

The Truman administration, which had previously assumed the mask of impartiality, has thrown its weight 100 per cent behind the British imperialists. In a stiff note to the Mossadegh government, U.S. Secretary of State Acheson has intervened, denouncing Iran for its "threat and fear" tactics, demanding that Iran make a deal on British terms to "permit the continued operation of the oil industry."

ROAD TO DISASTER

Only two days previously Acheson had declared in Washington that "there is every indication the situation (in Iran) is moving rapidly along the road to disaster." The next day, he assured the Senators that the U.S. had "no thought" whatever of intervening. Then followed the brazen attempt to dictate to the Iranian people.

Acheson's diplomatic ultimatum to Iran follows the report made public on Monday, June 25 that four American destroyers from Singapore had been ordered to

the Persian gulf. Acheson had disclaimed knowledge of this directive.

The policy of "threat and fear" is all on the side of the British and their Washington backers.

The British cruiser Mauritius has been ordered to the scene "to help protect or evacuate British nationals if necessary." British troops stationed in Egypt and on the island of Cyprus have been alerted. British Foreign Minister Morrison stated in the House of Commons that "other measures" had also been taken and that "we . . . can take action at very short notice."

THREAT OF FORCE

This statement, according to the Herald-Tribune's correspondent is "the most direct threat of force yet made by the British government."

In a whole series of moves designed to completely shut down the nationalized oil industry of Iran, orders have been issued by London for its fleet of tankers to withdraw. Agha Jari, the biggest oil field in the area, was shut down on Wednesday June 27, and the field staff of 700 ordered to leave. The general manager of the refinery at Abadan, Eric Drake, had already been ordered to go to Basra, Iraq from "where he will continue to act as the company's general manager" in both Iran and Iraq.

The stage has been set for a mass evacuation of the British technicians, who had previously kept threatening to resign collectively. The Iranian Premier Mossadegh has addressed an appeal by radio calling upon all

foreign technicians to remain on their jobs and assuring that "those wishing to serve Iran with fidelity would continue to enjoy the same salaries, emoluments and advantages as in the past."

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

The British imperialists are the ones who have shrieked the loudest, as they still do, about the alleged "danger" that Iranian nationalization would curtail oil supplies to the West. These same people abetted by Washington, are now doing everything in their power to completely shut off the flow of Iranian oil. The action withdrawing the British tankers is sufficient by itself to force the shutting down of the Iranian refinery, since the storage facilities, erected by the British, are entirely inadequate, enough to hold only two weeks' output. The British are obviously going all out in applying their program of "economic sanctions" whose aim is to bring Iran to its knees.

By ordering the cruiser Mauritius into the Persian waters, the British have resorted to display of force, the traditional "gunboat diplomacy" of imperialism. In the meantime, a British War Office director demonstratively "inspected" the parachute brigade recently flown to Cyprus, while the Reuters agency reported from Cairo that "British troops from the Suez Canal zone are expected to leave soon for Basra, Iraq — next door neighbor to Iran . . ."

"Iranians and foreigners alike were stunned here" by this open resort to naval power, reported N. Y. Times' correspondent at Tehran who went on to add that the "general feeling in Western circles (at Tehran) was summed up by one observer who said: 'the fat is in the fire!'"

These British acts of economic and military aggression are, of course, at the same time barefaced acts of provocation. These come on the heels of previous assurances — which are still being cynically repeated! — that under no circumstances would the British resort to force.

In the already explosive atmosphere of Iran and of the entire Middle East this indeed amounts, as Acheson himself admitted, to courting "disaster." In these crimes against the Iranian people the British have the American imperialists as their open accomplices.

If these ruthless oppressors of the Asian peoples are not stopped in time they will not only repeat their atrocity in Korea but plunge the world into a general war. HANDS OFF IRAN!

FORD 600 CELEBRATES 10th YEAR AT BIG RALLY

(Continued from Page 1)

to the early organizing tradition of the UAW!

President Stellato said he was "shocked" by the boycott declared by the international executive board.

"Never before in the history of the UAW can I recall where the international union has attempted to pass official judgment on any kind of a local union celebration," Stellato said.

"This undemocratic action of the executive board was bound to be resented by every sincere thinking unionist who has any knowledge of the traditions of the UAW."

The five key GM locals in Flint voted to attend, as well as locals throughout the state of Michigan. Delegations were also present from Ohio and Indiana. The day's festivities included a cavalcade to welcome John L. Lewis on the arrival of his train in the morning (observers estimated more than 1500 cars), a capacity banquet of 1500 unionists at the Masonic Temple at noon, which was addressed by Stellato and Lewis.

At the giant mass rally at 3 P. M., all the local 600 officers spoke, as well as a number of guests. These included the Rev. Charles A. Hill. He played an outstanding role in 1940 as president of the NAACP in leading the Ford Negro workers into the ranks of the UAW-CIO. In addition to the official UAW boycott, Philip Murray, President of the CIO, failed to answer the local's invitation to attend the rally and speak.

Local preparations for the rally were unique in many ways. A special addition of Ford Facts,

Labor's Own Civil Rights At Stake in C.P. Case

Practically all of the American labor leaders kept their mouths discreetly shut during the first week after the new Smith Act indictments of 21 Communist Party leaders. A few liberal newspapers, organizations and individuals voiced protests or doubts about this latest extension of the witch hunt, but they were exceptions.

It is easy to explain the reactions of silence, apathy and submission from the labor and liberal circles which in the past could be depended on to do something, or at least say something, against attacks on civil liberties.

Some have been frightened into line by the pressure to conform generated by the Truman administration's war policies; others have buckled under the witch-hunt which now has the blessings of the Supreme Court. In addition, many have been so repelled and disgusted by the scabby record of the Stalinists that they refuse to have anything to do

with any case involving them, even when it also involves the general issue of defending civil liberties.

STALINIST PRACTICES

It is easy to explain these reactions, but impossible to justify them. The truth of the matter is that the labor and liberal leaders are imitating the vilest practices of the Stalinists.

The nature of these practices was amply indicated in the Minneapolis case, in which 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544-CIO were convicted in 1941 in the first trial under the Smith Act and were sent to prison in 1944, after the Supreme Court had refused to rule on the constitutionality of that thought-control law.

Organizations representing millions of workers, recognizing the fundamental issues in this case, rallied to the defense of the 18 prisoners. The Stalinists were the only group in the labor and liberal movements who opposed such defense. They not only opposed it, but did everything they could to sabotage it.

WEINSTOCK'S TREACHERY

Louis Weinstock, then a member of the CP National Board, behaved in a manner typical of the CP as a whole. As secretary-treasurer of New York District Council 9 of the AFL Brotherhood of Painters, he fought bitterly against all efforts to commit the council to the defense of the 18.

He even went to the lengths of corresponding with Victor E. Anderson, government prosecutor in the Minneapolis case, in order to get "arguments" against the SWP. On June 12, 1944 he proudly issued to the press a letter he had solicited from Anderson which claimed that the Supreme Court's refusal to review the Minneapolis convictions proved that the Smith Act was "not unconstitutional."

Seven years and eight days later Weinstock himself was arrested under the Smith Act.

The Stalinists were widely denounced in the labor and liberal movements for their reactionary policy in the Minneapolis case, and for their refusal to defend the rights of James Kutecher, the legless victim of the government purge. And justly so. For they trampled on the tradition of labor solidarity, which is based on the principle that it is necessary to defend the civil rights of all groups under attack, no matter what political differences one way have with them.

THE SAME MISTAKE

But aren't most of the labor and liberal leaders today proceeding in the same fashion? Don't they refuse to defend the civil liberties of the Stalinists because of their political differences with them, on the same ground that the Stalinists refuse to defend the rights of the SWP?

The fate of Weinstock and his fellow Stalinists offers an important lesson for every American concerned with preserving the Bill of Rights. Those who refuse or fail today to defend the liberties of even their political opponents are playing into the hands of the witch-hunters and opening the way for a situation tomorrow where their own liberties will be jeopardized and destroyed.

If the witch-hunters are permitted to smash the CP, they will be emboldened to give the same treatment to any other organization that refuses to go along with the policies of the capitalist class. The fight against the Smith Act, McCarran Act, House Un-American Committee and government purge must be waged not out of sympathy for the Stalinists but because the alternative is a police state where no one will have any rights except the ruling class and its political lackeys.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Look for the final scores on the Big League Militant Circulation and Sales Campaign and the announcement of winners in next week's issue. This week we can only report that the correspondence coming into our office indicates a rousing climax this Sunday to the contest as the branches of the Socialist Workers Party conclude one of the most successful campaigns they have ever undertaken.

The New York comrades, for example, plan to conclude their neighborhood work with an assembly of doorbell-ringing teams this week-end to really clinch that lead they finally succeeded in wresting from the Twin Cities. And the Twin Cities, who set the fast, energetic pace that has characterized the entire campaign will no doubt likewise conclude their work in the same exemplary manner, as will all the other activist branches.

When the final returns are in, total subscriptions secured during the campaign will in all likelihood go over the 2,000 mark. That's an achievement every branch can feel proud of, no matter who ends up as winner in the contest.

To all our new readers we'd like to extend a warm welcome. We hope you like future issues of *The Militant* as well as you did your first copy.

We also hope that you will join us in getting *The Militant* into the hands of other people who are fed up with war and slaughter, endless price gouging and tax squeezing, and bottomless corruption in government. By passing on your copy of the one paper that dares to tell the truth you can help build the only move-

ment capable of winning the socialist world of peace, plenty, equality and boundless progress.

Mail Bag Briefs: Clara K. moved from 14th to 11th place and John hit the scoreboard for the first time — evidence of Seattle's determination to keep out of the cellar. Ann Birch also won a place on the scoreboard — part of San Francisco's answer to the Seattle challenge. Lou Cooper coming up fast in the Kujak League; can Frank K. hold that lead? Ernie D. of Detroit earned third place with 18 six-month subs this week. D. C. of St. Louis went subbing on vacation. "Am getting to enjoy pushing *The Militant*," he writes. Bert Deck of Chicago promises a "good slug for the last scoreboard." St. Paul, report Winifred Nelson, plans to build their bundle order to a new high — "The aftermath of a successful campaign!"

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
- BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social Inst. Sat. of every month.
- BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 3-960.
- CHICAGO—724 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.
- CLEVELAND—Cronion Home, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.
- DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT 7-6267.
- FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street, Phone 22406.
- LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANSELMO 6-4955.
- MILWAUKEE—617 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.
- MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun., 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781.
- NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
- NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.
- NEW YORK CITY—216 University Place, Phone AT 5-7829.
- BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 658 Howard Ave., near Levee's Pitkin. Meeting every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- HARTFORD—103 W. 11th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
- OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1953, or call TEMPLEBAR 2-3728.
- PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening, Phone STEVENSON 4-5820.
- PITTSBURGH—For information, write P. O. Box 382.
- ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7184.
- SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Filmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:30 P.M. Phone PF 6-0410.
- SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Rm 201, Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 0278.
- TOLDO—For information, write P.O. Box 1022.
- YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St. Call 3-1779.

Your First Issue?

If this is the first time you have ever read *The Militant*, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read *The Militant* regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six month subscription or \$2 for a full year to *The Militant*, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Name

Street

City

State

Zone

Chicago MILITANT CAMPAIGN CELEBRATION

Highest of Honor: Guest of Honor: **Best Scorer of Twin Cities**

M.C. - Farrell Dobbs

Presentation of Awards

Meal - Dancing

734 So. Wabash Ave.

Saturday, July 14

7:30 PM

Donation—\$1.00

Socialist Workers Party

Subscriptions: \$1 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.50 per yr. \$1 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
 THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
 Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (3 or more copies): 50 each in U.S., 60 each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XV - No. 27

Monday, July 2, 1951

Wall Street and "Cease-Fire"

The real attitude of the ruling U.S. capitalist circles to the issue of war and peace, the central issue of our times, was expressed last week in the jittery reaction of Wall Street's stock market and the various commodity markets to the news of a possible cessation of hostilities in Korea.

The speculators in stocks agreed with their fellow speculators in vital necessities and raw materials that this news was highly unwelcome, if not downright gruesome.

On Monday, June 25, Wall Street came close to suffering its worst day in the last six months and the repercussions were just as severe in the commodity markets where, according to newspaper reports, the "cease-fire" prospect hit like a "bombshell."

It can be said without any fear of exaggeration that one year of Korea had proved to be the most profitable year for the American monopolists. Never before, in war or peace, had they raked in such fabulous profits. Under any circumstances, they would naturally hate to see the end of this Korean bonanza.

But there is more to it than that. As matters now stand, Korea is the biggest single "going" enterprise of the whole U.S. capitalist economy, representing at the same time the biggest single outlet and spur for the "defense effort." Just how many billions Korea has already swallowed up remains a most jealously guarded

secret, but unquestionably the expenditures are huge. A sudden cessation of these running expenditures will immediately affect many industries.

To cite a single instance, there are the railroads. They stand to lose the lush profits in transporting thousands of soldiers thousands of miles to the ports of embarkation plus the vast tonnage of equipment and material to supply the active fronts.

Other suppliers and shippers will likewise face cutbacks. And in general, a truce in Korea threatens a "slackening" all along the line, especially so far as many phases of current military production are concerned. To be sure, this production is scheduled to be stepped up by greatly increased "defense" expenditures. But this is still several months away and in the meantime all sorts of "slacks" will have to be taken up and "adjustments" made.

It is confidently expected by the capitalist master-minds that any such lags and other complications will prove relatively short-lived. But meanwhile the fact remains that the immediate prospects for profits, in the event of a Korean peace, tend to be quite bleak — and for the capitalists this is decisive.

To these profiteers every feasible prospect of peace is nothing less than a calamity; they need war production and war itself just to keep their decayed system going.

Proposal by John L. Lewis

John L. Lewis, speaking in Detroit June 23 at the 10th anniversary rally of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, proposed unity of American labor to meet the day when employers "attempt to whittle down organized labor's gains." He suggested that the powerful union movement begin by setting up a \$50 million fund. "If that were done I would be happy to recommend to the United Mine Workers that they put up \$10 million..." he said.

That is a good proposal, properly backed with cash.

Lewis proposes unity primarily as a means of defense against efforts of the corporations to throw back union conditions. This in and of itself is necessary. And there is no doubt that a unified labor movement, representing 16 million workers could fight effectively — much more effectively — than a divided movement.

But the limited "bread and butter" approach of Lewis cannot properly defend the workers living standards.

Labor unity would vastly strengthen labor's power; this power could be fully pressed into the fight to maintain labor's gains, however, only if it were used on the political field, as well as the economic.

No matter how effective Lewis's mili-

tant strike struggles have been, and they have won great gains for the miners, it still remains a fact that the anti-labor forces which dominate the Congress and the White House undermine these gains by legislation which fattens up the big capitalists, and grabs ever larger portions of the workers' pay envelopes.

The combination of the AFL, CIO, and the independent unions including the United Mine Workers, into one great unified movement, would make it possible to mobilize the independent political strength of labor. It would have the numbers, the apparatus and the finances to build a potent political force.

An independent labor party, backed by all labor, would be able to stop the anti-labor offensive in its tracks.

American labor has shown that it is a mighty force; it has suffered no major defeats since the sit-downs of 1937. It is due entirely to the labor leader's dependence upon the capitalist parties that this tremendous power is thwarted politically.

Lewis expressed the workers' urge for solidarity when he said, "When you go forward we go forward; and when the miners go forward, you go forward." But to go forward under present-day conditions, requires more than pure and simple trade unionism.

Clyde Turner Asks Freedom For Trenton 2

PHILA., June 25 — Mrs. Clyde A. Turner, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the post of Councilman from the Fifth District, today demanded that the fight to free the "Trenton Two" be carried on as vigorously as the campaign which resulted in the third trial and the acquittal of four of the defendants.

"The crying injustice of the case of the original Trenton Six," said Mrs. Turner, "has been carried even further in the case of the 'Trenton Two.' No organization and individual seriously concerned with safeguarding civil rights, fighting against race prejudice and police brutality ought to rest so long as Ralph Cooper and Collis English rot in jail. The case of the 'Trenton Two' must be kept before the public eye. It must be given the widest publicity and support until English and Cooper are set free. I pledge the support of my organization, the Socialist Workers Party, and my own support to such a campaign."

"The prosecution case against the Trenton Six is as flagrant a frame-up as any on record in the Jim Crow South," stated Mrs. Turner. "By exonerating four of the defendants, the jury has admitted the case to be a police frame-up. Yet, they have reversed themselves in convicting English and Cooper, against whom there was absolutely no more of a case. What is it that has motivated the jury in bringing 'in this contradictory verdict'?" asked Mrs. Turner. "We can only answer that they were swayed by the demagogic plea of the New Jersey prosecutor that the state police and the courts would be discredited if a verdict of innocent were returned for all six defendants. This was a shabby compromise."

Mrs. Turner concluded, "The alarming growth of police terror, and judicial frame-ups must be halted. In our own city, the case of the Oscar Williams, although convicted only for resisting arrest, indicates the same trend. Let there be no rest until the legal lynchings and frame-ups of Negro Americans are halted. It is necessary to rally the broadest labor and liberal support behind the fight to free English and Cooper. No compromise on this vital issue."

Los Angeles School In Summer Session

The Los Angeles Militant School has announced the beginning of its summer sessions, beginning Sunday, July 22.

The first class, "100 Years of Asia in Revolt", will begin at 7:30 p. m. The second class, the "History of Negro Struggle," will start at 8:45 p. m.

Tuition will be 35c an evening. Unemployed will be admitted free.

The school is at 1702 East 4th St. Telephone, AN. 9-4053. There will be six sessions in all.

The Stalinist Peace Program — III

What Stalin Offers

By James P. Cannon

"Peace, it's wonderful," says Father Divine, who is not bound by the law of gravity and floats on the clouds above all mundane realities. "Peace can be won by negotiation and agreement with the Soviet Union," say Foster, Gus Hall, and all the other New York Charlie McCarthies of the Kremlin ventriloquist, who are by no means divine. Their prognostication, however, has an unearthly quality similar to the hallucinations of the self-proclaimed Harlem God.

But those who rule out the possibility of some kind of temporary agreement between Washington and Moscow — the jumping jingoes, drunk with power and ignorance, who denounce any negotiation with Moscow as "appeasement" and want to start throwing bombs right away — they are talking through their hats too, and their counsel is not likely to prevail in the highest circles of the American ruling class who make the ultimate decisions.

In my opinion, a formal agreement is possible, and even probable. But such an agreement, if finally arrived at, can only be limited, conditional and temporary. The result of such an agreement can be nothing more than an uneasy armed truce. The Stalinists mislead and distort the workers with their monkey-chatter about the possibility of a solid, enduring peace based on the status quo. The essence of the conflict consists in this: American imperialism requires and demands more than the Soviet bureaucracy can possibly give and continue to exist.

Stalin has a great deal to give the imperialists, and is ready and eager to give it in payment for an agreement, as he did before; and that may be enough, once again, to buy a truce. But the prospects for real peace in the world lie entirely outside the realm of any negotiations between Washington and Moscow, and will be realized by other means. They can "negotiate" till the cows come home, but the pacifists, middle-heads and deluded dupes of the Stalinists, who expect salvation from the conference table, are doomed to disappointment. They are not living in the real world.

The price which the Stalinist bureaucrats are willing to pay for an agreement with Washington should be no secret to informed people. It is already indicated by their past practices and present tentative offers — made known by several trial balloons sent up at Kremlin instigation by various national Stalinist parties — as well as by the basic theory of Stalinism devised to justify its foreign policy since Stalin came to power in the Soviet Union in 1924.

COMPLETELY STERILIZED PARTIES

It is known to practically everybody by now that the Communist parties in the countries outside Russia are not independent organizations, democratically electing their own leaders and working out their own policy even within the limits of a general international program. In a long process of expulsions, splits and purges these parties have been completely sterilized, deprived of all self-acting democracy and autonomy, and rigidly controlled by staffs of "leaders" selected and appointed by the Kremlin, and removable at its will. It is only necessary to mention the otherwise inexplicable meteoric rise and sudden, catastrophic fall of Browder, a subservient mediocrity who missed the signals, to illustrate this truism.

These parties are instruments in the execution of Soviet foreign policy, automatically subject to its requirements. They constitute some of Stalin's chips in the game when his diplomats go to the conference table. They are used as pressure groups during times of disagreement to stir up domestic trouble in the capitalist countries by pacifist agitation. Sometimes this leads to support of strikes and demonstrations. The workers enter these actions in good faith for the redress of grievances inherent in their intolerable position as victims of capitalist exploitation. The Stalinists are not primarily concerned with that, however. Indeed, they are not concerned at all. Their motives are exclusively political and issue from the momentary requirements of Soviet foreign policy as conceived by the Moscow bureaucracy, and they change their tactics and even reverse them overnight, with new turns in the diplomatic game.

The national Communist parties make "trouble" for their capitalists, or help them to curb the workers' movements, with equal readiness and facility. This unprincipledness and calculated treachery were already demonstrated in the Spanish Civil War of the late Thirties. There the Stalinists murdered as many of the best proletarian leaders as they could, and strangled the proletarian revolution in the hope of winning the confidence and good will of the Western imperialists for a bloc against Hitler. With the collapse of this plan and the subsequent signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the national Communist parties immediately reversed their course and repaid Hitler for the agreement with a rabid anti-war agitation in the countries allied against Nazi Germany. When Hitler tore up this agreement and attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Stalinist parties in the Western countries became all-out patriots overnight, and used all the influence they had to harness the workers' movements to the national war machines of the states allied with the Soviet Union.

After America's entry into the war in alliance with Russia, the American Stalinists became the most aggressive advocates of the no-strike pledge and the incentive-pay speed-up scheme to get more work out of the workers for war production while their basic wages were frozen. The American workers have not forgotten this, and it is to be hoped they never will, for these actions showed the real face of American Stalinism and its real attitude toward the American working class.

STALIN'S PROPOSED HORSE-TRADE

The break-up of the "Grand Alliance" of the Western powers and the Soviet Union brought a reversion of Stalinist tactics back to "radicalism" again and a general

position of opposition to the governments. It is this "radical" opposition that Stalin is now offering to trade off as part of the price of another deal with Western imperialism in general and Washington in particular. That is the real meaning of the peace campaign with its central demand for "negotiations and agreement with the Soviet Union." Not long ago the British Communist Party put out a feeler in the form of a statement reminiscent of "Peoples Front" days, offering to withdraw its opposition to the Labor Government on condition of such an agreement. This was followed even more directly and authoritatively by the declaration of Togliatti, just returned from Moscow, at the Seventh Congress of the Italian Communist Party at Milan in April.

"We are ready," said Togliatti, "to give up opposition in Parliament and in the country to any government which would radically modify Italy's foreign policy so that Italy shall not be swept into the whirlwind of a new war." Togliatti, ostensibly directing his remarks to the Italian puppet government but in reality to its American master, is conveying a message straight from Moscow: "Change your foreign policy, negotiate and agree with the Soviet Union, and we will withdraw our opposition in Parliament, and in the country." We will stop our agitation for strikes for higher wages, and tell the hungry unemployed to eat peace slogans for a while and be happy."

THE BASIS FOR A DEAL

Stalin is ready and willing to sell the services of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries too, to curb revolutionary movements and guarantee domestic peace, in return for an agreement with the Western imperialist powers. And what is more, this offer is seriously meant and in the event of a deal, would be carried out in practice as it was before. Whether this could stop the revolutionary movements and colonial uprisings is another matter.

The second offer Stalin is prepared to make and carry out is to stop all "expansion," all infringement on the existing borders of the capitalist part of the world, either by military aggression or internal coups of the national Communist parties. He will even go so far as to aid in crushing any genuine workers' revolution which might occur, as was done in Spain. If, as the Washington statesmen and generals represented when the "Truman Doctrine" was proclaimed, their aim is only to "contain" the so-called "communism" of Stalinism in its present domain — in short, to preserve the status quo — they are demanding only what Stalin really wants, and they can get an iron-clad agreement to that effect tomorrow morning. That can very well be the basis for a temporary agreement and truce emerging from the projected meeting of the four powers, for which the Deputy Foreign Ministers are now discussing an agenda in Paris.

But will Stalin's offer to stop the radical agitation of the national Communist parties and freeze the division of the world at the present borders — will or can such an offer be accepted by Washington as anything more than a temporary expedient until better preparations are made for an all-out war? This question raises another question which goes to the very heart of the world conflict: the validity of the theory on which the whole Stalinist "peace" campaign is based — the possibility of the "peaceful co-existence" of capitalism and the Soviet Union with its nationalized economy and monopoly of foreign trade. This question must now be examined theoretically and practically, for the real issue of war and peace centers precisely here.

(Next Week: The Theory of "Peaceful Co-Existence")

FIRING OF LEGLESS VET UPHELD BY U.S. JUDGE

(Continued from Page 1)

representative resorted to heavy red-baiting. "This man admits membership in the Socialist Workers Party founded by Leon Trotsky, the Communist revolutionary. Kutcher stated he believed in Trotsky's methods in founding the Soviet Union. He said that the U.S. government is run by a minority of capitalists and that there should be production for profit in this country. There is no reason why a man must be kept on the rolls no matter what he thinks about the government and when he disagrees with its every principle."

The government admitted that the head of the VA and the Loyalty Review Board had upheld Kutcher's discharge because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party but asserted that this was an additional ground for his dismissal and not the only one. By this dodge they sought to avoid meeting the defense contention that Kutcher had been victimized without a hearing.

REBUTTAL

In rebuttal Rauh remarked that the government attorneys took the position that Federal workers have no rights. This makes government workers into a sort of "legal lepers" outside the pale of the law. But they do have certain rights — and these have been violated in Kutcher's case.

Kutcher, he said, is entitled under the law to a hearing which he never got. Both he and his party have repeatedly denied that they advocate overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence, as the Attorney-General alleged in stigmatizing them as disloyal. Yet neither were given the opportunity to refute these accusations.

Judge Curran said in his decision that the appeals authorities had merely sustained Kutcher's initial removal from employment and not effected it. He admitted that these higher bodies had affirmed Kutcher's discharge on account of his membership but that the ground for their affirmation was "immaterial."

Kutcher's attorney immediately announced his intention to appeal the unfavorable ruling to the U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia this fall. The case will very likely have to be carried up to the U.S. Supreme Court within the next year.

"The Case of the Legless Veteran" is the only loyalty test case now before the higher courts. It may well become decisive in determining the constitutionality and status of the entire loyalty purge. This gives added importance to the new campaign for funds just launched by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to help carry through Kutcher's fight for justice. Contributions for his defense should be sent to 19 West 10th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y.

Bring American GIs Home Now Is Way to Stop War in Korea

(Continued from Page 1)

in the U.S. as shown in the opinion polls, in the popular reaction to the Malik offer, and the sentiments expressed in the ranks of the troops in Korea who have enthusiastically greeted the rumors of peace.

THE KREMLIN

As for the Kremlin it has once again demonstrated how eager it is for a deal, no matter how temporary, with American imperialism. It would not hesitate for a moment to sacrifice the interests of the Korean people. It did so in the original partition of Korea; it continued to do so

in the initial stages in the Korean conflict by refusing more than a tiny trickle of supplies to the North Koreans. It is, by its new offer, obviously prepared to repeat the performance.

China's role in the situation still remains unclear. But there would be nothing at all surprising in the Kremlin's trying to run roughshod over Peiping's interests. Stalin is as fearful of a strong revolutionary China as Washington is. He would not hesitate to seize an opportunity to collaborate with the imperialists at China's expense, and in this way increase the dependence of the Mao regime upon Moscow.

By its initial moves, the Kremlin is apparently seeking to elbow China out of taking direct part in the "cease-fire" negotiations. How far Peiping will comply remains to be seen.

In any case, all the conditions that precipitated the Korean conflict will be left intact by the proposed "cease-fire" at the thirty-eighth parallel. It perpetuates the partition of Korea which produced the war in the first place. It grants no independence or sovereignty to the Korean people, but instead, ensures, south of the 38 parallel, the continued enslavement of the people to the brutal fascist-like regime of Syngman Rhee. It assures the rule of the landlords, usurers and the enslavement of

the peasants against which all of Asia is today in seething revolt.

There will be no peace in Korea, no peace in Asia until the imperialists are made to realize that the days of foreign rule over the Asian peoples are over. The imperialists must be made to get out and stay out. Their day in Asia is over.

The only effective program for peace remains:

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

Mountain Spring's CHILDREN'S CAMP

JULY 1st — to — SEPTEMBER 2nd

For boys and girls between the ages of Six and Ten

Rates: \$30 per week—\$216 for whole season—9 weeks \$108 for four weeks

The capacity of the Children's Camp is limited so make reservations or write for information now.

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

R. D. 1, Washington, N. J. Tel.: Washington 1352

MILITANT BANQUET

To honor Winners in the Oscar Coover League of THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN

Saturday, July 14, 1951 - 7:30 P. M.

10 South Fourth St., Minneapolis

DELICIOUS HAM DINNER

Guest Speaker — Chicago Team's Winner

Donation --- \$1.00 Adults :: 50c Children

Auspices: Twin Cities, Socialist Workers Party

Sam Adams' Name Buried; Real Leader of Revolution

By Michael Bartell

Ask any schoolboy who the leaders of the American Revolution were and he will promptly tell you that George Washington was commander-in-chief of the army, father of his country, chopped down a cherry tree and never told a lie; that Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence; and John Hancock was the first to sign it. It is true that these men were great leaders of our first Revolution.

But the greatest of them all, the leader of the leaders of the revolution, the "grand incendiary" whose head England demanded, is not as well-known to the American people. The name of Sam Adams, organizer of the American Revolution, has been all but blotted out of the popular mind. Considering that the revolution laid the foundations, you would think that the men of wealth and power — the chief beneficiaries of the revolution — would feel indebted to this man and honor his memory. But the capitalist class, though incapable of making or leading its own revolutions, is never grateful to those who open the floodgates of popular revolt. On the contrary, the ruling class and its spokesmen despise and fear them. When they have to talk about them, they usually slander them as terrorists, dictators or crazy fanatics.

There was no doubt among the participants on either side of the revolution as to who its real leader was. Thomas Jefferson said Sam Adams was "truly the Man of the Revolution." Lord North, British Prime Minister, nicknamed the American patriots "Sam Adams' crew," and ordered Adams arrested and brought to London to stand trial for treason. The British offered amnesty to every rebel in America — except Sam Adams.

In his semi-hostile biography of Adams John Miller states flatly: "By the time of the Declaration of Independence Sam Adams had attained celebrity as the foremost revolutionist in America."

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONIST

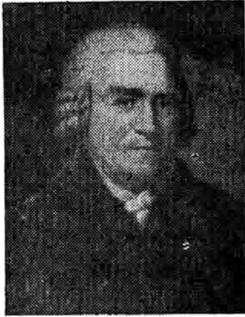
Sam Adams was unique among the leaders of the revolution. To begin with, he was a revolutionist by profession. Having once embraced the cause of national liberation he devoted his life exclusively to the job of preparing and organizing the revolution, while other heroes managed to combine the noble struggle for liberty with the more substantial cause of land-grabbing, speculation and profiteering at the expense of the people. Adams thought the cause of freedom was worth the whole of his time, resources and energies, a trait simply incomprehensible to the ordinary bourgeois with the soul of a huckster. Sam's more "practical" (and nowadays more famous) cousin John Adams said of him: "He never looked forward in life, never planned, laid a scheme, or formed a design of laying up anything for himself or others after him."

Sam Adams was considered by his contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic to be the most skillful revolutionary strategist, tactician, propagandist, politician and organizer in the world, and he well deserved the reputation. Yet none of these qualities explain the special role of Sam Adams that so endeared him to the rebellious people, and earned him the enduring hatred of aristocrats and despots. Sam Adams organized the great mass of artisans and workers of Boston into fighting detachments, and led them in head-on assault against the forces of "law and order," against the persons and property of the pro-British aristocracy, and against the treacherous, vacillating "patriot" merchants. Therein lies the answer to the riddle: Why have the "official" historians belittled and maligned the memory of Sam Adams?

When the "riotous mechanics and sailors" stormed on to the revolutionary stage in 1765, shifting the battleground from the courtroom and legislature to the streets, from petitions and boy-

cotts to direct mass action, the merchants recoiled in alarm. They asked whether there was not more to fear from the radical, levelling "Mob" than from their business competitors — and colleagues — in England. But Sam Adams, gloried in the actions of the masses. He saw in the militant plebeian organization, the "Sons of Liberty," the only force that had the power, the courage and the spirit of defiance required to crush the enemy and whip the conciliatory wing of the patriot party into line. He was firmly convinced that the fate of the revolution rested, as he put it, with "those two venerable orders called mechanics and husbandmen (farmers)." This reliance on the power of the masses was the keystone of Adams' strategy, and the secret of his success.

He opened the gallery of the provincial legislature to the populace, using it as a means of educating the masses, while the masses "educated" the timid legislators. He transformed the town meetings from small gatherings of conservative property holders into great mass meetings, at which the disenfranchised, propertyless



SAMUEL ADAMS

masses asserted their right to speak and vote without the benefit of legal sanction, and overwhelmed the "qualified" voters.

From the solid base of the organized artisans and workers of Boston, Adams extended the movement to the farmers in the countryside, joining the toiling masses of town and country in a firm revolutionary alliance. Then he drew the entire nation behind the rebellion in Massachusetts which he touched off with the boldest stroke of the revolution: the Boston Tea Party. When the die was cast, most of the merchants decided in favor of "law and order" and the sacred right of Tory property, and deserted.

But Adams had built a tightly woven network of hundreds of popular committees throughout New England that was independent of the merchant aristocrats. The "Committees of Correspondence," were based on the broadest layers of the toiling population. They combined in a single revolutionary engine the functions of the conscious vanguard political party and of organs of struggle and dual power, and finally assumed the full power as the executive committees of popular revolutionary authority. The committees did not stand in awe of either the aristocrats or their property. They confiscated the wealth of the traitors and drove them from the country.

It's easy to see why the capitalist class fails to acknowledge its great debt to Sam Adams. The more the financial aristocrats of today play the part of imperialist exploiters and tyrants over the colonial peoples of the world, the more they move to suppress the mass movement of the workers at home, the more tightly will they try to lock the door on this "subversive" skeleton in their own closet.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, JULY 2, 1951

NUMBER 27

Revolutionary Traditions of 1776 Continued By Socialists in Fight Against Oppression

City Masses Took Lead In Revolt for Better Life

By Jean Simon

The most common picture of the first American revolution is that it was a classless movement against British tyranny by a united colonial people led by courageous and far-seeing merchants and the educated elite. This is a distortion of the truth. Actually, it was the class differentiation that had already taken place in the colonies that provided the force for a victorious revolution.

The 2 1/2 million people in America had been torn by important internal conflicts for more than a century before 1776. On one hand stood the relatively small ruling class of merchants, Southern plantation masters, large land-owners and representatives of the British Crown; on the other the working population which included some 500,000 slaves and a majority of farmers and city masses.

OPRESSED MASSES

Colonial history is a long record of revolts and attempts at escape by Negro slaves and white indentured servants or semi-slaves; of poor farmers' struggles against the ruling class monopoly of land and political power. Two outstanding examples of armed conflict in the 17th century were Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and Leisler's Revolt, which included the participation of the city masses, in New York. Throughout the colonial period there were numerous protests of city workers — mechanics, independent artisans, sailors, dockworkers and other laborers and small tradesmen — against their political disfranchisement and oppression by both the British and colonial ruling class.

These struggles did not come to an abrupt halt in the period of revolutionary struggle against England. Rather, the class antagonisms broadened, deepened and sharpened. The mild reform movement initiated by the merchant class in 1763 was turned into a full-fledged revolution of the masses.

The merchants as a class did

not want a revolution. All they sought was tax reform, removal of the sugar duties and other restrictions on their foreign trade.

Arthur Schlesinger, the most authoritative modern historian on the role of the merchants in the revolution, concluded that "as a class" they "entertained neither earlier nor later the idea of independence."

"Striving for reform, not rebellion," he wrote, "the merchants, nevertheless, through the effect of their agitation and organized activity upon the non-mercantile population, found themselves, when they wished to terminate their propaganda, confronted with forces too powerful for them to control."

SONS OF LIBERTY

When the Stamp Act — a tax on all transactions from licenses to practice law to apprenticeship contracts — was passed by Parliament in 1765, merchants and lawyers held conferences and passed resolutions of protest. But, as Charles Beard observed in his history *The Rise of American Civilization*: "It was the workmen of the commercial centers who furnished the muscle and the courage necessary to carry the protests of the merchants into open violence that astounded the friends of law and order in England and America and threatened to kindle the flames of war."

"Artisans and laborers," Beard wrote, organized the "Sons of Liberty" and "leaped over the boundaries of polite ceremony. They broke out in rioting in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston; they pillaged and razed the offices of stamp agents; they burned stamps in the streets; they assailed the houses of royal officers."

In Boston and in other parts of Massachusetts, where the ablest revolutionary leadership existed, the masses went further. They compelled the courts and administrative agencies to conduct their activities as usual, but without the use of stamps and therefore in violation of the hated law. So great was the solidarity of the Boston populace that when Governor Bernard offered a reward of 100 pounds for the conviction of anyone concerned in the mass action against stamp agents and officers, no one came forward to inform.

BRITISH RETREAT

These actions, together with a boycott of British goods, forced a concession from the London Parliament in the form of repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766; but the Declaratory Act which accompanied it reasserted the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and the following year it was implemented with the Townshend Duties which called forth a new contest between the merchants and workingmen over enforcing a boycott of all British goods.

The Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, in which five townspeople were killed by British troops stationed there, hardened the colonial town masses against the British. Although Parliament repealed all but the tea tax a month later, on May 23 a meeting of workingmen and tradesmen in Philadelphia unanimously resolved to render the boycott "as it now stands, permanent."

In New York, as elsewhere, a struggle was in progress between the merchants attempting to modify and abandon the boycott, and the mechanics fighting to retain it. As one mechanic wrote in a leaflet, "Nothing can be more flagrantly wrong than the Assertion of some of our Mercantile Dons that the Mechanics have no Right to give their Sentiments about the Importation of British Commodities. . . . What particular Class among us has an exclusive Right to decide a Question of General Concern?"

The boycott movement was defeated generally in the colonies in 1770 by the sell-out of the merchants, who were willing to settle their differences with the British and go back to business as usual once the taxes were repealed. On the other hand, while the boycott agreements caused the greatest hardship for the town mechanics and laborers, they "clamored most to retain them," according to John C. Miller

(Origins of the American Revolution).

The mechanics and other radicals learned the lesson of their experience with the merchants in the boycott movements. According to Schlesinger, Sam Adams said that the "merchant class . . . had held out longer than he had expected . . . and henceforth the struggle of the colonies must be divorced from the self-interest of the merchant class and rest on a broader broader popular basis."

THE TEA ACT

When Parliament passed the Tea Act of 1773, which gave the East India Company a monopoly of the sale of tea in the colonies, the merchants, who saw this as an entering wedge for other British monopolies that could put them out of business, were forced to protest.

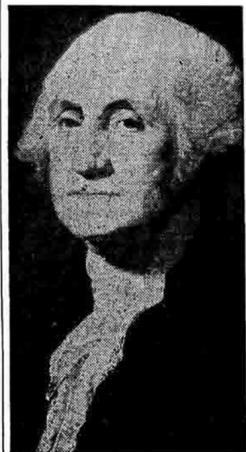
This time restraint of the masses was out of the question. The first public protest meeting was held in Philadelphia, but the Boston masses threw down the gauntlet with the famous Tea Party which dumped 18,000 pounds worth of private property into the ocean.

Beard describes what followed: "Rioters paraded the streets of Portsmouth, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, refraining from open violence only because the customs officers and consignees of tea thought discretion the better part of valor; and Annapolis 'out Bostoned Boston.' When the Peggy Stewart arrived with a cargo of tea, a local mass meeting was held and it was solemnly resolved that the goods should not be landed. . . . So, in the presence of a great throng, the Peggy Stewart and tea were sent up in one grand sky-roaring flame. Evidently affairs in America had passed beyond the realm of parlor patriotism."

LABORERS REBEL

The British prepared for action. General Gage, in September 1774, undertook to fortify Boston Neck. But carpenters of Boston and New York refused to work for the British, so he had to send to Nova Scotia for laborers. The New York merchants, on the other hand, filled his orders for blankets.

The revolutionary tide was rising. In Charleston a clergyman was dismissed by his congregation for saying that "mechanics



GEORGE WASHINGTON

and country clowns" had no right to discuss politics. "All such divines," the Newport Mercury stated in the new tone the masses had adopted, "should be taught to know that mechanics and country clowns (infamously so called) are the real and absolute masters of king, lords, commons and priests. . . ."

Thus we see that it was the city workers, in alliance with the farmers, and in conflict with the merchants, who forced the colonies into open revolution.

LANDLORDS-TRAITORS

As matters came to a head, a large part of the merchants and big land-holders in the North openly went over to the British. There were between 100,000 and 200,000 such exiles throughout the colonies, and when Gage evacuated Boston he took with him 1100 refugees, including almost the entire mercantile aristocracy of Massachusetts.

Only a minority, the left-wing portion of the merchants, remained with the colonial cause. But even within the revolutionary camp there was a class struggle going on throughout the war. The masses intervened constantly to stop price-gouging by the "patriotic" merchants, to expropriate the property of Tory land-owners and imprison those aiding the enemy, and to prevent compromisers from vacillating and seeking any agreement short of independence from Britain.

Thus the American Revolution of 1776, like the British revolutions of the 17th century, the French of the 18th, and the colonial revolutions of today, was a social upheaval in which class conflict played the decisive part.

JULY FOURTH MESSAGE TO ASIAN PEOPLES

(Continued from page 1)

the French and the Russian revolutions, did before it, it is fighting — more fiercely and more recklessly and more effectively than the Chinese armies have fought for ages — to complete and consolidate its victory by crushing and expelling all the native opposition and all foreign intervention."

3. Richard Deverell, AFL representative to the Free Trade Union Committee in Asia, in the American Federationist, Dec. 1950: "A veritable revolution has in successive waves swept the vast areas of Asia. . . . And, 'We find a vast area of the world now embarking on the adventure that was America's after 1776. Asia seeks to break the colonial chains.'"

And yet these same generals, journalists and "labor leaders" are telling the American people to line up behind American imperialism to help crush this "great revolution."

They say: Yes, the people of Asia are making a great fight for freedom. But they are accepting aid from the Kremlin totalitarians, and therefore a victory of the Chinese revolution will strengthen Moscow totalitarianism.

We say: The imperialist rulers of the U.S. have no interest in democracy. They are concerned only with profits and power. To further their imperialist aims they give full support to the militarist hangman Chiang Kai-shek and the fascist butcher Franco. Moreover, they supported Stalin and covered his every deed against the labor movement when it coincided with their interests.

Your revolution has every right to seek and accept support where it can while maintaining its independence and carrying through its great historic mission. That is what the American revolutionists of 1776 did. The foremost American historian Charles A. Beard writes: "It is difficult to believe that the Congress could have staggered through the Revolution if it had not procured such generous financial assistance from the government at Paris." This was the most reactionary monarchy in Europe, the regime of Louis XVI.

But the victory of the American war of independence did not strengthen the feudal governments of Europe.

And the achievement of your unity and independence and the victory of your revolution will not strengthen either the betrayers of the working class in Moscow or the imperialist plunderers in Washington. On the contrary, it can constitute the greatest blow to world capitalism and to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such a genuine movement of the insurgent masses can become greater and stronger than any tyrant that tries to crush or exploit it.

Just as our Declaration of Independence inspired movements for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness the world over — in the 18th Century — so your declaration of independence from colonial servitude today encourages fighters for freedom everywhere.

Schools Twist Fourth of July To 'Jingo' Day

By Harry Frankel

The 175th anniversary of the famous 4th of July when American independence was proclaimed offers an opportunity for advanced workers to clarify their ideas about the American Revolution. Since this holiday has fallen into the hands of the sons and daughters of the American counter-revolution, it has come to have a bad name. The Fourth of July has come to be associated with a bigoted and jingoistic "patriotism" that has nothing in common with the real Revolution; that is as a matter of fact, the worst desecration of the spirit of '76.

Workers who are preparing the future must look to the past as well. They must not permit themselves to be misled by the proprietary rights assumed over the American Revolution by today's standard-bearers of reaction. The spokesmen for the plutocrats have stolen title to it along with the title to the property of this country, but they don't really own it.

It has too often been assumed that the Revolution of 1776 was a minor event, through which the wealthy rulers of the colonies shook off the restraints imposed upon them by the wealthier lords of Britain. This is a narrow and ill-advised view. Perhaps this was all that was intended by many of the upper crust leaders of the revolution at its outset. But revolutions have a habit, always disconcerting to the conservative, of breaking out of the bounds set for them by "moderate" leaders.

British domination in America in the colonial period gave rise to, and was also dependent upon, a certain ruling combination. This combination was made up of the powerful merchants of the northern and middle colonies, the tobacco merchants of the southern, and a powerful landholding class, almost feudal in its privileges, throughout the colonies.

COMBINED STRUGGLE

This means that the task of the American Revolution was not merely, as is commonly assumed, of a purely colonial nature, but required in addition, the complete revamping of American society. In other words, the Revolution was a great class struggle within the nation, as well as a struggle to throw off the yoke of foreign domination.

This throws a compromising light upon the unnatural views of the origin of this nation taken by professional "patriots" and liberal composers of rhapsodies to America's past. Over 100 years ago, Marx and Engels opened the Communist Manifesto with the famous sentence: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." "The history of capitalist America, and of the great Revolution which was its first important crisis, falls within the compass of this sentence."

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

This may come as a shock to naive liberals who have been brought up on the notion that America had its origins in an immaculate conception. They may even regard such a view as libelous, as preachers did the Darwinian view of the origins of man. This does not, however, destroy its truth.

We are now in a better position to approach the lessons of the American Revolution. Considered from the viewpoint of the liberals, such a study could have very little benefit, for if the origin of this nation was unnatural and miraculous, it can teach us very little. Miracles, as we well know, happen only in the past. But considered in the Marxist light, American history takes on an altogether different complexion. The class struggles of the past can be of valuable assistance to the progressive class in the struggles of today. With that in mind we study the lessons and traditions of our first great revolution.

Campaign for Socialism
Sell 'The Militant'

The Declaration of Independence After 175 Years of Capitalism

By Daniel Roberts

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. . . . That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government. . . ."

Like revolutionary programs in every epoch, these ideas of the Declaration of Independence were the "subversive ideas" of their age. Against their holders, the British mercantile and landowning aristocracy and their spokesman, King George III, hurled all the forces of suppression at their command.

The Declaration of Independence voiced the aspirations to a better life of hundreds of thousands of independent craftsmen ("mechanics"), workers and small farmers. They believed that the principles of liberty, equality, and democracy would, when put into effect, promote the happiness of mankind. They fervently believed that the majority of humanity — toilers like themselves — held it in their power to make the world a decent place in which to live.

The American working people of 1776 fought for a democracy based on the near equality of wealth. Theirs was an egalitarian ideal which wished to promote universal happiness through a condition — corresponding roughly to their own condition in life — in which each man could own enough property to be his own employer and live in continuous prosperity by means of his labor.

But for all its gains the First American Revolution did not and

could not fully realize their hopes. The victory of the Revolution let loose forces which destroyed small scale handicraft production and individual farming. It paved the way for the capitalist development of the United States, which turned the great majority of the population into propertyless wage slaves.

Liberty, equality, democracy, the "unalienable rights" of every human being slipped from their grasp. The reality of America became the dictatorship of private wealth, and the enslavement of the masses behind an illusory facade of democracy. A new aristocracy arose and seized power, monopolizing for itself the right to the "pursuit of happiness."

This dictatorship is becoming more and more naked as the American ruling class confronts the growing resistance of the American people to its rule. 175 years after the Declaration of Independence, the Wall Street aristocracy, and its political servant, the Truman administration, seek to stamp out the ideas of Socialism — the truth of the modern age — by the self-same methods resorted to by George III against the American patriots. The loyalty purges and witch-hunt trials are the modern counterpart of George III's indictments, "loyalty oaths" and punitive expeditions.

The resemblance of the American ruling class today to the earlier British ruling class is not surprising. This is made clear by one of the biographers of Samuel Adams, Ralph V. Harlow. "It is a fair question to ask," he says, "how many vociferously 'loyal' Americans of today, those staunch enemies of 20th century radicalism, would have looked upon rebellion against established authority in 1775. These latter day

patriots profess great admiration for the 'fathers' of the Revolution, but the real test is to be found . . . in the attitude toward the spirit of revolution today."

That "attitude" of brutal repression has been the same through the centuries for all reactionary ruling classes when confronted by revolutionary movements struggling for social progress.

The ideals of the Declaration of Independence were defeated by the capitalist development of the United States. But they will be realized just the same, although later than the rebels of 1776 hoped for and in a manner different than they imagined. Their slogans will be realized by the modern working class when it takes control of society and reorganizes it on socialist foundations.

"Life" — the workers will put an end to the breeding of wars and its mass slaughters by putting an end to its causes in the profit system.

"Liberty" — the working class will put an end to its own wage slavery and thereby guarantee victory to the colonial peoples in their war for freedom.

"Equality" — the socialist society will abolish Jim-Crow and the oppression of one nation by another. Equality of all individuals will be guaranteed through the ownership in common of the means of production and through the equal title to the enjoyment of the good things in life.

"Democracy" — the American working people will replace the dictatorship of the capitalist class by a Workers and Farmers Government, a republic of toilers, which will be founded on democratically elected councils of the working people and feature the day-to-day participation of the producers themselves in planning

and managing industry. The Workers and Farmers Government will assure full freedom of speech and other "unalienable rights."

"The Pursuit of Happiness" — Workers and farmers of all nations and races will participate



in making and carrying out a world-wide plan of production designed to meet the needs of all and not the profits of a handful. America will share her wonderful industrial powers and know-how with the rest of the world. In return she will share in the goods and the cultural achievements of all other peoples. Poverty, starvation, disease, race prejudice and ignorance will be wiped off the face of the earth.

An abundance of goods will go hand in hand with an abundance of leisure. Every human will be able to participate in intellectual and cultural pursuits which will become the dominant activities of mankind.

On the realistic foundations of world socialism, "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," — the goal of the workers, mechanics, and farmers of 1776 — will create a new and a happy human race.