

Fourth of July Message To Asian Peoples

To The Revolutionary Fighters of Asia:

Dear Comrades,

On July 4 we revolutionary socialists of the United States send you fraternal revolutionary greetings. With these greetings we reaffirm two fundamental propositions of the workers' cause.

1. WE ARE WITH YOU 100% in your fight against the landlords, capitalists and imperialists!

2. AND WE ARE 100% AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST COLONIALISTS who rule and exploit our country and seek to crush your struggles for independence!

The revolution of 1776 which founded this country has many features in common with yours. It was, like yours, a struggle for national independence and social progress. Our Independence Revolution entailed a thoroughgoing transformation within the country in order to achieve the change from a colony to an independent state that would permit the fullest development of the nation. Our masses of 1776 had to shed their blood to sever the bonds of tyranny. Your revolution has all this in common with ours 1776.

But your revolution is separated from 1776 by a great historical epoch. During these 175 years capitalism has exhausted its progressive mission and become the most reactionary obstruction to further human progress. It threatens to cancel and destroy all previous achievements of human culture.

When the town and farm workers of colonial America conducted their valiant struggle against British rule, the American merchant capitalists and landed aristocrats betrayed and deserted the struggle more than once; yet the revolution ended in the triumph of an independent capitalist class, who took advantage of the struggle of the masses to secure their own rule.

Such a progressive and revolutionary role for the capitalist class as it rose to power in the world is no longer possible today in the death agony of the capitalist system. Now the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples encounters as its foremost and irreconcilable foe, the capitalist class — both native and foreign. This means; the anti-imperialist revolution must triumph as a socialist revolution or it will fail.

Enemies of Asian Revolution

Many July 4th orators will devote their speeches "in honor of the revolution of 1776" to revile and slander your revolution of 1951. In the name of a heritage that does not belong to them, they will attempt to cover their counter-revolutionary deeds of today. But we want you to know that even some of the most rabid imperialist spokesmen, in the course of their "Great Debate" on American imperialist strategy, have grudgingly admitted the genuine character of your revolution.

1. The arch-imperialist jingo, General MacArthur, in his speech to Congress on April 20: "The peoples of Asia found their opportunity in the war just past to throw off the shackles of colonialism and now see the dawn of new opportunity, and heretofore unfelt dignity, and the self-respect of political freedom."

2. Walter Lippmann, a leading journalist of the conservative wing, in the May 29 New York Herald Tribune: "The Chinese revolution . . . is doing what its two great historic predecessors,

(Continued on Page 4)

Militant Campaigner

Sub Campaign Celebration Set

By Joseph Hansen, Business Manager

The National Militant Champions Banquet to celebrate the conclusion of the Big League Circulation and Sales Campaign will be held July 15 at Mountain Spring Camp in the cool, forest-clad foothills of the Pocono Mountains near Washington, New Jersey.

The affair, with N. Y. Local as host, promises to be as successful as the campaign itself. The large dining hall and other facilities of the beautiful camp have been secured for the entire Sunday. The leading pace-setters from each of the three leagues are scheduled to be present as guests of honor. Exactly who they will be is not yet clear, as the competition is intense.

Plans are shaping up for defections to be present from the East Coast branches that participated in the campaign; and James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will act as chairman of the gathering and greet the winning sub-setters.

With another week-end still to go, the national score in the contest now stands at 1,913 subscriptions and 24,505 single copies sold.

New York is well in the lead in the Coover League, and barring a last minute upset looks good for the winning banner among the larger branches.

Flint is in similar position in the Konikow League. In the Kujac League, however, Oakland's lead is threatened by Akron and it may turn out to be a photo finish.

As for the national pace-setters, there were a number of shifts this week. Ernie D. of Detroit moved up to third place and four new pace-setters made the national scoreboard. John of Seattle, Ernie K. of Detroit, Ann B. of San Francisco and Lou Cooper of Akron.

(More about campaign in "Militant Army" on page 2.)

MILITANT BIG LEAGUE SCOREBOARD

Branch Scores

Coover League	Points	Konikow League	Points
New York	17,554	Paul	3,852
Twin Cities	14,675	Mary	2,374
Detroit	12,720	Ernie D.	2,067
Chicago	7,600	Don	2,014
Los Angeles	7,167	Pauline	1,749
Buffalo	6,567	Harry	1,570
Seattle	4,874	Winifred	1,330
San Francisco	4,345	John	1,164
Konikow League		Ruth R.	1,145
Flint	3,474	Marie H.	1,064
Newark	1,833	Clara K.	1,001
Boston	1,690	Jean	972
Philadelphia	1,546	Lucille	958
Cleveland	1,342	Chuck	898
Youngstown	910	John	741
Milwaukee	854	Artie	728
Kujac League		Ernie K.	719
Oakland	1,271	Ann B.	689
Akron	1,251	Ruth B.	671
Pittsburgh	418	Konikow League	
New Haven	382	Emmett	Flint
St. Louis	619	Belle	Boston
Toledo	234	Kujac League	
Allentown	195	Frank K.	Oakland
West Virginia	130	Lou	Akron

Individual Scores

Coover League	Points
Paul	3,852
Mary	2,374
Ernie D.	2,067
Don	2,014
Pauline	1,749
Harry	1,570
Winifred	1,330
John	1,164
Ruth R.	1,145
Marie H.	1,064
Clara K.	1,001
Jean	972
Lucille	958
Chuck	898
John	741
Artie	728
Ernie K.	719
Ann B.	689
Ruth B.	671
Konikow League	
Emmett	Flint
Belle	Boston
Kujac League	
Frank K.	Oakland
Lou	Akron

By Murry Weiss

Less than two months after the labor officials ended their walkout from all government agencies and crawled back without winning a single demand, it has become necessary for the CIO to threaten another walkout. Emil Rieve, speaking officially for the CIO, announced on June 26 that he would recommend to the United Labor Policy Committee that the unions boycott the war mobilization law Congress is now enacting.

Rieve, head of the CIO Committee on Economic Policy, and labor member of the Wage Stabilization Board, said: "If such a weak law is enacted . . . we in the CIO, at least, will have to reconsider our whole attitude toward the stabilization program."

Such threats remind one of the man, who after being submitted to a merciless beating, turns to his assailants and says, "If I hear one more insult from you I shall take drastic action."

The results of the labor of

ficials' capitulation to Truman last April can be estimated if we compare the demands of the labor officials during the walkout with what has happened since the return of labor to the government agencies.

DEMANDS AND RESULTS

Demands during the walkout:

1. Legislation that would effectively avoid runaway prices.

2. Correct ineffective rent controls.

3. Tax high incomes.

4. Allow small business a real share in fulfilling rearmament contracts.

5. Grant organized labor genuine participation in government policy-making.

Now what has happened since the walkout ended; how has the "changed attitude in Washington," hailed by the labor officials as the excuse for ending the boycott, manifested itself?

1. Prices and profits continue to skyrocket; only wages are being "stabilized." Even the price

rollbacks that were scheduled are

less in the face of the savage

political offensive of the capital

ists against their living standards.

On May 7, the Militant wrote,

"The 'peace' between Truman and the labor leaders may be only a shortlived one. Another crisis may break out soon. But the problems which the workers confront require more than the maneuvers of Philip Murray and Wm. Green; they require a full break with capitalist politics, the organization of labor's own party, and a struggle against the imperialist war plans which are incompatible with the well-being of the American people."

The correctness of this program has been underlined by every recent event. Take the recent

victorious CIO maritime strike. What a contrast it offers between the economic power of American labor and its political weakness.

Within two weeks the CIO maritime unions won big concessions from the shipowners. The ship-

owners didn't dare even to think of herding scabs. Yet the NMU,

like all labor is completely unprotected on the political front.

American labor, the most powerful force in America, is literally without a single representative in Congress. Every gain made by the workers in the economic struggle, is stolen from them on the political arena.

It is time to pass from threats to action. It is time to withdraw from all government agencies, and mobilize the independent political strength of the unions to carry out labor's program.

Art Preis Condition Reported Improved

NEW YORK, June 28 — Art Preis, veteran Militant reporter, who was operated on last week, is reported by his physicians to be definitely improved.

Comrade Preis, who suffered an attack of peritonitis after an operation, is being kept in an oxygen tent. He is at Beth Israel Hospital, New York City.

(Continued on page 2)

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

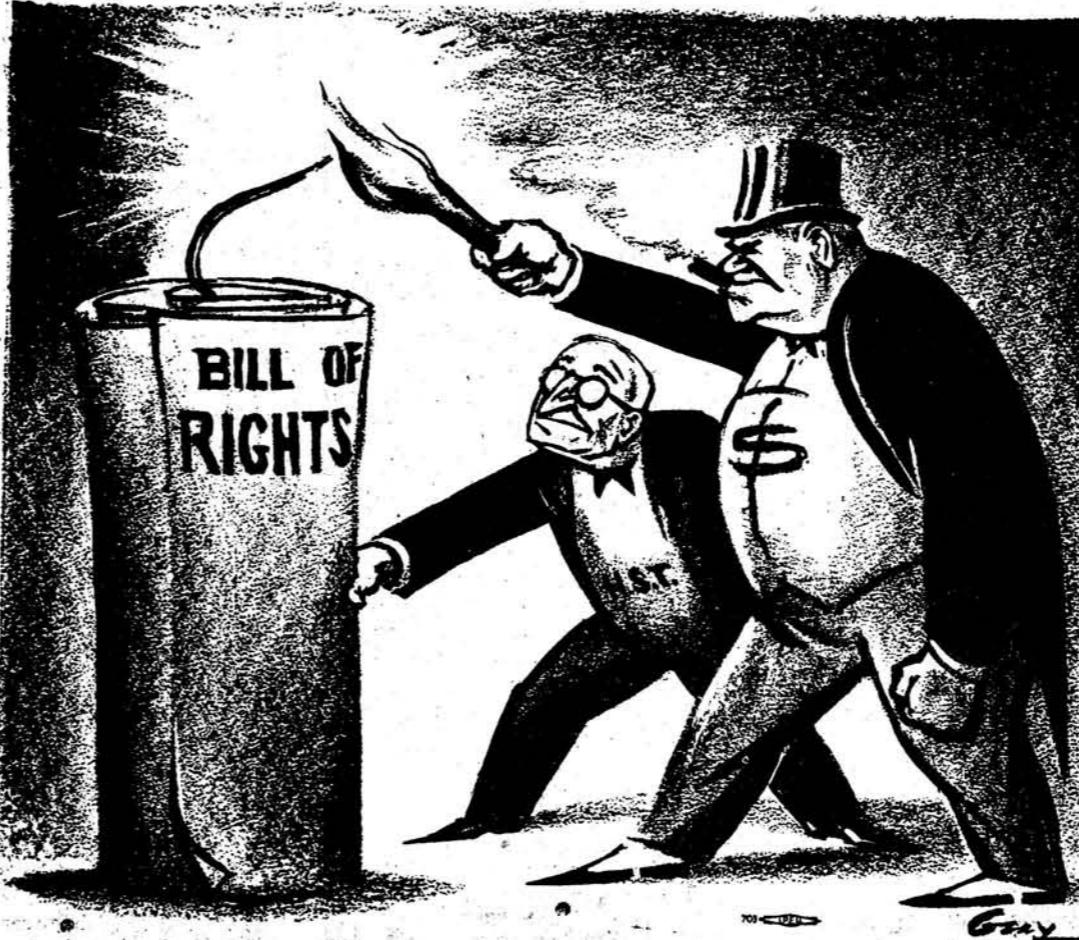
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Bring GIs Home Now -- Is Way to Korea Peace



Washington, Kremlin Dicker On Terms for Armed Truce At Expense of Asian People

By Joseph Andrews

The Korea "cease-fire" proposal of Soviet UN delegate Malik, in substance similar to previous proposals made by Washington to halt hostilities at the thirty-eighth parallel, has naturally aroused hopes for a genuine peace among the people here and throughout the world.

But all that has been proposed thus far is an armistice, after which presumably negotiations would follow on the

terms for a settlement of the war.

The American people can place no trust and confidence in either of the main protagonists in the current "peace" negotiations: the Truman administration on the one side, and the Kremlin on the other. Whatever else may be uncertain, a genuine peace in Asia will not be achieved through any deal between Washington and Moscow, which can be made only at the expense of "third parties," in this case, at the expense of the peoples of Korea, China and the rest of Asia.

So far as the American people are concerned, any deal arranged in Korea will bring no relief from the arms race. Least of all, will it bring the U.S. troops back home or appreciably slow down the drive toward all-out war.

A STALEMATE

It is no mystery why the Truman administration is obliged to play along with a possible deal in connection with Korea. It is the most unpopular war in American history and in many respects the costliest and the least promising one undertaken by any imperialist power in modern times.

From the standpoint of the ruling circles it is, indeed, as General Bradley put it a "wrong" war on all counts: against the "wrong" enemy in the "wrong" place and at a "wrong" time. Statements by Secretary of State Acheson and General Ridgeway to the effect that a cessation of hostilities at the Thirty-eighth parallel would constitute a "victory" is simply a recognition of the fact that the most expedient way out of the Korean "policy action" is a stalemate.

After one year of costly combat the U.S. military forces, although far better equipped than the Korean and Chinese armies, have proved too weak to score a decisive victory. Far greater forces, plus an extension of the hostilities to the Chinese mainland, are required for any hope of victory.

The decisive military and political circles are neither willing to commit such forces, nor are they so certain of the outcome even if this is done, as the Senate hearings on the firing of MacArthur have clearly brought out.

U.S. ADVANTAGE

A settlement that would leave Korea as a stalemate, enable the American imperialists to retain Formosa and to shunt revolutionary China aside, would be to the advantage of Washington, uniting its hands for its main strategic plan: a showdown with the Kremlin on the European continent.

Even so, Washington has entered the negotiations with mixed emotions. A secret memorandum released "by mistake" in Tokyo on June 26 reveals an inclination on the part of the Truman administration to keep the war going, regardless of Moscow's maneuvers. This is also shown by a N. Y. Times dispatch from Washington, dated June 23, which notes that Washington "is even slightly fearful that it might find that the Russians really do want to talk peace."

But the capitalist rulers of America must also reckon with the burning popular feeling for peace, which has grown stronger (Continued on page 2)

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

1. Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!

2. Withdraw all American troops from Korea!

3. Recognize the government of New China!

4. Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!

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CIO Threatens Boycott of Govt. Agencies

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 snooty 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 "had 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 regrettably, 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 snatches. He is trying to write a novel in a sun-baked attic room. There is McLeod, an ex-Stalinist functionary who served on the GPU terror squad in Spain and has the blood of honest revolutionaries 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 his 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 lollipop 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 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 even 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 scrobbles, 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, symbolic, 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 back-waters 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 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.

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.

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 nationalism would curtail oil supplies to the West. These 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 week's 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 Teheran who went on to add that the "general feeling in Western circles (at Teheran) 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 bare-faced 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 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.

These British acts of economic and military aggression are, of course, at the same time bare-faced 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.

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-

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 NAAOP 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.

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— J. P. C.

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 Smith Act. 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 K. Ketcher, the legal 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 or fail today to defend the liberties of even their political opponents? They 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.

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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 reactivation 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 mil-

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 are 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 is to be made on this vital issue."

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The alarmist growth of

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 for this mightiest of all capitalist nations, 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

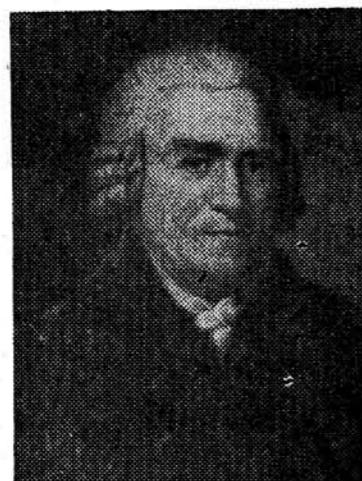
Sam Adams was unique among the leaders of the revolution. To begin with, he was a revolutionist by profession. Having once embraced the cause of national liberation he devoted his life exclusively to the job of preparing and organizing the revolution, while other heroes managed to combine the noble struggle for liberty with the more substantial cause of land-grabbing, speculating 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, glorified 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 conciliationist 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 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.

OPPRESSED 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 of *The Rise of American Civilization*: "It was the workingmen 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 world."

"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

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

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 Deverall, 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 received 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 plunders 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.

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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 born 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.

OPPRESSED 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."

THE TEA ACT

When Parliament passed the Tea Act of 1773, which gave the East India Company 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.

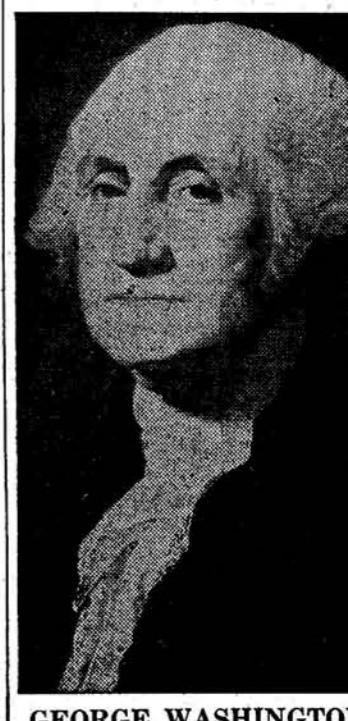
Beard describes what followed: "Rioters paraded the streets of Portsmouth, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, refraining from open violence only because the customs officers and consignees of tea thought discretion the better part of valor; and Annapolis 'out Bostoned' Boston." When the Peggy Stewart 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 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.



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.

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 dominion.

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.

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