

For Socialism -- The Alternative To Atomic War

By Myra Tanner Weiss
SWP Vice Presidential Candidate

Following is the text of a television program featuring Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Vice Presidential candidate, and Milton Snipper, independent candidate for Congress from the 16th Congressional District, in Los Angeles. This program was broadcast over Los Angeles station KECA-TV. First speaker is Milton Snipper:

The American labor movement since its inception has been supporting either the Democratic or Republican Parties. The result has always been the same. No matter who these candidates are, no matter how many promises they make and regardless of their much-advertised "friendship" for labor, the net result has been that Big Business has an undisputed stranglehold on our local, State and federal government. We've seen the very parties that labor has supported, use their political power to organize campaigns against the trade unions. The Taft-Hartley law, authored by the Republicans and used by the Democrats is just one example. Hardly a session of the State or Federal legislature takes place without a new batch of anti-labor bills being passed.

As a member of organized labor in Los Angeles for over 16 years, I've never seen it fail. I know and you know, I'm sure, that many workers are beginning to ask the question: Why don't we organize independently on the political as well as on the economic field?

Only one Party has given the answer to this question. That is the Socialist Workers Party. We are for an independent labor party based on the unions; and for a workers and farmers government. That is why I'm running as an independent candidate for Congress in the 19th District. And that's why I call for full support to the Presidential slate of the Socialist Workers Party.

KOREAN WAR

The Republicans and Democrats who are equally responsible for the unauthorized, devastating war in Korea, support the huge armament race which is consuming the productive forces of our country. They are the parties of inflation and tax burdens on the people. They both agree on a foreign policy that will sooner or later transform the cold war into a shooting war, a more destructive war than the world has yet seen. These parties are war parties.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party stand for an entirely different program. Farrell Dobbs, our candidate for President of the United States, is a veteran of American labor struggles, and a militant anti-war fighter. Myra Tanner Weiss, our Vice-Presidential candidate, who will speak to you tonight is known to many of you. She was the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1945 and has since participated in four other election campaigns. Myra Tanner Weiss is an active writer, speaker and teacher in the cause of the working class in the struggle for peace. I am proud to introduce her as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

WEISS: I believe the overwhelming majority of you who are listening to us right now, are opposed to war. I believe that most of you, if you could, would put a stop to the terrible slaughter, the horrible destruction of human life, that is going on in Korea. Most Americans hope and pray that some way the threat of a third world war, an atomic war, can be averted.

Then why does the killing go on? Why has our generation been submitted to so much useless death? This is the question that

For Vice-Pres.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

We must ask and must demand an answer to this question. That is the Socialist Workers Party. We are for an independent labor party based on the unions; and for a workers and farmers government. That is why I'm running as an independent candidate for Congress in the 19th District. And that's why I call for full support to the Presidential slate of the Socialist Workers Party.

You, the American people, don't want war. The capitalist politicians know this so they ALL SAY they're for peace. But they lie.

BROMISES OF PEACE

You voted for Wilson in 1916 because he said he would keep America out of war. The next year our troops were crossing the Atlantic. In 1940 you voted for Roosevelt who promised that the American youth would not be sent to die on foreign battlefields. The next year our boys died on foreign battlefields.

And now the Democrats and Republicans once more are making speeches for peace. But the facts speak louder than their words.

We are already in a war, although officially "operation killer" in Korea is just a police action. We have already suffered 120,000 admitted battle casualties. Who is responsible for this war? Most public opinion polls that I've seen show that the American people don't want the war. Most people think our troops should be brought back home. And that's to be expected. You have no investments in Asia. You are not making profits out of war contracts. You are not selling arms to France, England, Holland and other imperialist powers. On the contrary, your problems are the same as the rest of humanity on earth. You want security, peace, a little more freedom: the right to raise your family decently, feed, clothe, and shelter them. And you want that same right for everyone else.

But there is a minority, and a powerful minority in this country with different plans than yours. Big business in the United States owns about 1/3 of the world's productive capital. Wall Street bankers and industrialists have investments all over the world.

RICH MAN'S WAR

Monopoly capitalists have huge war contracts with fat profits, and profits are the life-blood of

(Continued on page 4)

CIO's Top Officials Endorse Anti-Labor, Racist Democrats

Dobbs, Weiss National Tour Starts Sept. 3

NEW YORK, Aug. 21 — Coast-to-coast campaign tours of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party will begin on Sept. 3, George Clarke, SWP campaign manager announced today.

Farrell Dobbs, candidate for President, will open his tour in Ohio, covering several industrial cities in that state and then heading east for speaking engagements in Pennsylvania, New York, New England and New Jersey.

Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for Vice-President, will begin her tour on the West Coast, starting in the San Francisco-Oakland area and moving north to Oregon and Washington State.

Both candidates are scheduled to give major campaign talks at election rallies of the Socialist Workers Party in the large cities on their itineraries. In addition, plans are being worked out for them to appear wherever possible on radio and TV, before labor, Negro, campus and other groups holding open forums and symposiums, at factory gate meetings, etc.

Organizations and individuals interested in arranging for the Socialist Workers candidates to appear at meetings are urged to get into touch with the SWP branches in their vicinity or to write directly to the Socialist Workers Party national campaign headquarters, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Further information on the tour schedules, which will take both candidates through the major industrial centers of the country, will be printed in this paper, together with the dates and addresses of public meetings.

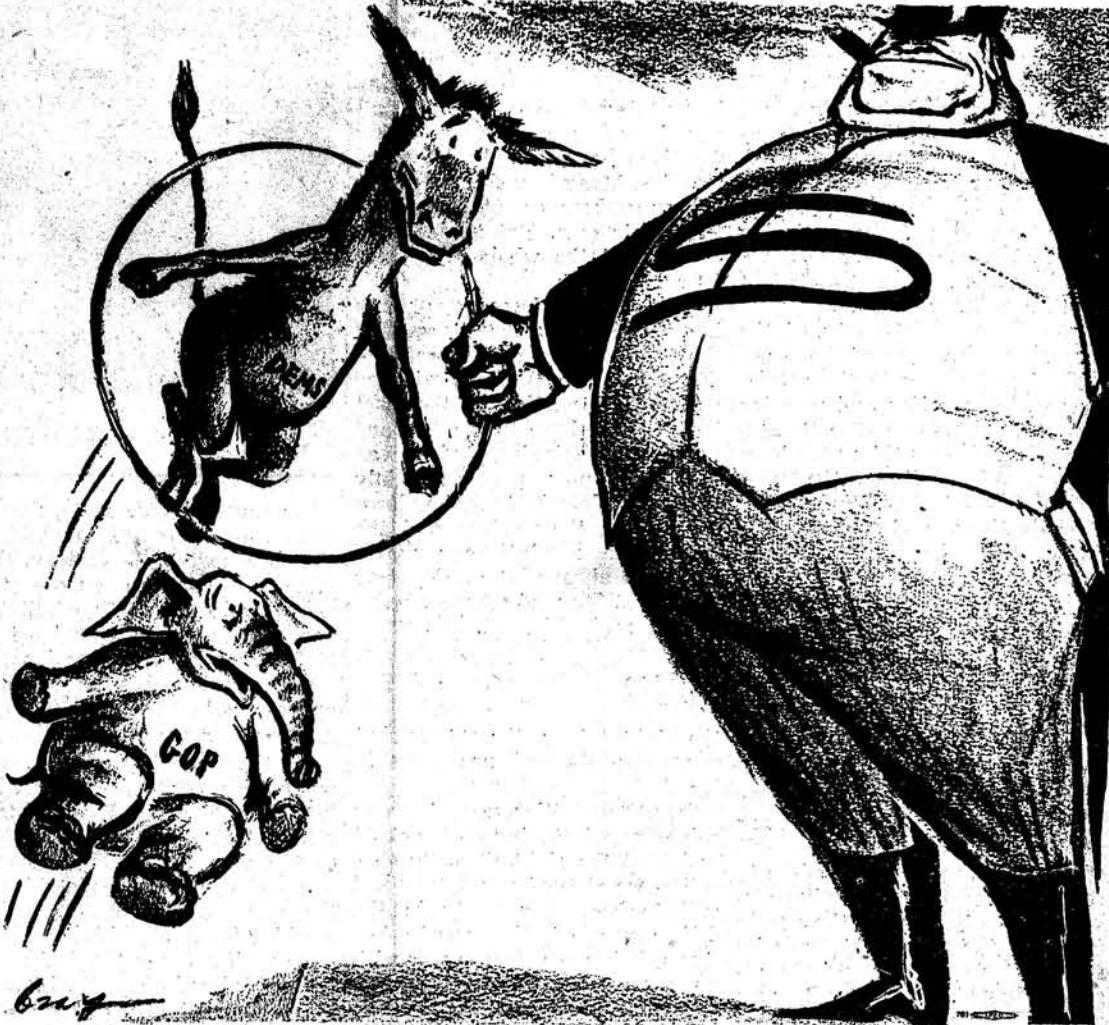
TOUR SCHEDULE

The first stage of Farrell Dobbs' national presidential campaign tour is:

Sept. 3 Wednesday Cleveland
4 Thursday " "
5 Friday Akron
6 Saturday " "
7 Sunday Youngstown
10 Wednesday Pittsburgh

Myra Tanner Weiss will speak in the following areas during the first week of her coast-to-coast tour:

Sept. 3 Wednesday
4 San Francisco-Oakland
5 Thursday " "
6 Friday " "
7 Saturday Portland
8 Sunday Seattle
9 Monday " "
9 Tuesday " "



AVERAGE CITY FAMILY IS GOING INTO HOLE AT RATE OF \$8 A WEEK

The average city family spent over \$400 more than it earned in 1950, the year when the Korean war began. To make up this deficit, which came to about 6% of its earnings for that year, the average city family had to go into debt or dig into its savings to the tune of \$8 a week.

Those are "average" figures, collected in a survey just released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That means they include rich families as well as poor. But since the richer families earned more than they spent, they did not have to dig into past savings; the worst that happened to them was that they saved a little less. If the rich are not counted, then the working class families went into the hole even more than the survey shows.

Since this 1950 survey, there has been a sharp downward trend in living standards which is due primarily to higher prices and higher taxes resulting from the Korean war and the steep arms budget increases supported by both capitalist parties in Washington since 1950. Unlike the early part of World War II, when the living standards of the American working class rose because ten million unemployed

found jobs, the Korean war and the preparations for World War III have resulted in a decline in workers' living standards right from the beginning.

What has happened since 1950 is shown in the following table reduced to 1939 value, comparing average take-home pay, adjusted for higher taxes and living costs, taken from the Aug. 22 issue of U.S. News & World Report:

	June, 1950	Now
Coal	\$37	\$35
Steel	35	38*
Autos	39	36
Aircraft	34	35
Electrical machinery	31	32
Meat packing	31	32
Oil	40	38
Rubber	38	37
Railroads	37	36
Textiles	25	24
Clothing	23	21
Electricians	45	47
Lumber	30	29
Furniture	28	27
Telephone	29	28
Retail clerks	26	24
Federal workers	36	33
Schoolteachers	31	30
Retired Federal workers	17	17
Farm operators	17	18

* Includes allowance for recent pay raise.

Another article in the same magazine, using government figures, estimates what has happened to the factory worker, married, with two children, who was making \$3,000 a year early in 1950, and now is getting \$3,500.

In 1950 he paid \$50 in federal income taxes; now he pays \$167. In 1950 he paid \$989 for food; now he pays \$1,156 for the same food. In 1950 his other expenses (clothing, rent, home furnishings, utilities, etc.) were \$2,087; now he has to pay \$2,327 for the same things.

Adding it all up, he earned \$3,000 and spent \$3,126 before the Korean war, falling \$126 behind. Now he earns \$3,500 and spends \$3,650, falling \$150 behind. He gets \$500 a year more, but has to use all of it — and \$24 more — to live the way he did before the Korean war. Either he has cut his living standards in the last two years, or used up some more of his savings or gone into debt.

If this has resulted from a "police action" in Korea, it isn't hard to figure what a full scale war would do to living standards.

Cover Up Foul Record Of Party to Maintain Dirty Political Alliance

By Joseph Andrews

The National CIO Executive Board has endorsed the Stevenson-Sparkman Democratic ticket in the 1952 elections.

The CIO leaders stated Aug. 14, "Under a Stevenson administration... we can look forward to an unflinching continuation of the best traditions and ideals of the New Deal and Fair Deal."

Praising the Democratic platform, the top CIO officials cited the pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and enact civil rights legislation as the two most important reasons to back the Democrats.

The Stevenson-Sparkman ticket is described as a pledge to "continue" the traditions of the New Deal and Fair Deal. If by this is meant that they, like Truman, will betray their campaign promises; this is correct.

But while Truman made promises to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and enact strong civil rights legislation in his 1948 campaign, only to renege on his promises later, Stevenson and Sparkman have not even made the promises.

Stevenson has explicitly stated he is not for repeal of Taft-Hartley. The same goes for Sparkman.

Stevenson has flatly stated he is for "States rights" in FEPC legislation. He would leave the rights of the Negro people to be handled by the white supremacists of the South. Sparkman is the Dixiecrats' representative in the North-South coalition slate.

The CIO attempt to whitewash this reactionary ticket as a victory for the so-called liberal wing of the Democratic Party is a cynical fraud. Sen. Humphrey of Minnesota stated before the "liberal" caucus at the Democratic convention, "There is no use denying that Farley and the Dixiecrats gave us a trouncing." But like Philip Murray, he is on the bandwagon along with the ma-

chine politicians and the Southern Jim Crowers.

LOST CONFIDENCE

Daniel Tobin, AFL Teamsters President, and long a member of the Democratic National Committee, stated in the August issue of The Teamster, "I have lost confidence in the leaders of both parties, so far as carrying out the pledges to labor contained in their platform."

Truman made promises, but Stevenson has announced in advance he will not support the Democratic platform on either repeal of Taft-Hartley or the civil rights issue.

Even if Stevenson follows in Truman's "tradition" it will be no picnic for labor. It was Truman who used the Taft-Hartley law against the packinghouse workers, the atomic project workers, the maritime workers, the typographical workers, the mine workers and in so many strike situations the list is too long to publish here.

"FAIR DEAL" RECORD

It was Truman who broke the railroad strikes, fined the United Mine Workers, and in all has broken more strikes than any President. The fact that Truman did not use Taft-Hartley against the steel workers, proved only that he did not have to use it before. He refrained from issuing an injunction against the steel strike only because the election was just around the corner.

This is the Democratic "record" (Continued on page 3)

SWP CAMPAIGN FUND PASSES HALFWAY MARK

Socialist Workers Party branches are now past the halfway mark in the fund drive to finance the party's presidential election campaign and anti-Trucks Law fight. The goal of \$18,600 represents the total amount pledged by SWP branches and by friends of the party.

The closing date of the campaign was moved up four weeks this week at the request of a number of branches which have been hit by extra expenses lately in their campaigns to get on the ballot. Other branches have suffered decreases in income due to a number of comrades being on strike in recent weeks. The extra time will make it easier for all branches to meet the deadline.

Special credit this week goes to the Milwaukee comrades who wrote to increase their pledge from \$275 to \$325. A payment of \$25 raises their percentage by four percent in spite of their increased pledge.

Congratulations are also in order for Connecticut which went over the top this week. With a pledge of \$125 they have paid \$137 into the election fund, giving them 110% and top place on the scoreboard.

AHEAD OF SCHEDULE

Eight other branches are ahead of schedule. They are Cleveland, St. Louis, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Akron, and New York. Cleveland showed the most spectacular gain. With a payment of \$100, the branch advanced 33% and claimed second place on the scoreboard. Boston and Seattle also made

good gains of 21% each; while Philadelphia and Youngtown each made a 19% advance. San Francisco and New York picked up momentum. Their payments of \$115 and \$694 raise their scores 14% and 18% respectively. "We guarantee we'll make it on time," Michael Bartell, New York's candidate for senator, now organizer of the New York local, assures us.

The Philadelphia comrades had a picnic last Sunday to help get money for the election fund. "Although we were forced indoors by the rain we were still pleased to be able to raise \$15," they write. "We know it's late but we're going to get that \$500 paid in full and on time."

Many thanks to G. G. of Albuquerque, New Mexico. After reading his first copies of The Militant containing the Socialist Workers Party election platform and the radio and television speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, he sent in \$2.51 for six months of The Militant and \$1 for the election fund.

SEE FUND SCOREBOARD
ON PAGE 3

MILITANT readers can help to get radio and television appearances for SWP candidates by reporting to SWP Campaign Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. any programs on which other parties' candidates speak or are interviewed, whether it is a political appearance or not.

Terror-Bombing of Korean Civilians Threatened

By Art Preis

Ever since the Aug. 5 announcement that the U.S. Fifth Air Force command "has warned North Korean civilians to clear out of 78 towns marked for attack" (United Press), I have had the sickening feeling that some new and more ghastly atrocity against the Korean people is being prepared by their self-claimed "liberators."

The exceptional nature of these warnings is stressed in the official Air Force statement. Starting the night before, it said, "an audacious program of prior warnings of bomb attacks" had been put into effect. Lieut. Gen. Barcus explained this was the first time "specific" places had been "pin-pointed" by warnings, although "general warnings" had been issued since July 13.

3,000,000 KILLED

We gather from this that it is most unusual for the U.S. Air Force to warn civilians of specific places that will be bombed. In

fact, more than three million civilians, both south and north of the 38th Parallel, have been killed or wounded since the start of the Korean war, largely by explosive bombs, flaming jelled gasoline (napalm), rockets and machine-gun bullets unloaded by U.S. planes. Evidently, these civilian victims were without benefit of an "audacious program of prior warnings."

Why, then, this sudden big publicity about the humane "prior warnings" that are now being given to the people of 78 North Korean cities and towns slated for obliteration?

CIVILIAN TARGETS

I believe this is a propaganda cover for the planned terror bombing of North Korean population centers. The object of the attacks is precisely the civilians for whom the U.S. authorities express such solicitude.

I believe, furthermore, that the U.S. command, frustrated in its attempts to bring the war to a

successful military conclusion against the Chinese-North Korean armies, is using the threat to exterminate the North Korean populace as a means to force a truce on terms dictated by the American command.

If the civilian bombings fail to blackmail the Chinese and North Koreans governments into accepting U.S. truce terms, American generals hope they will provoke the Chinese and North Koreans into a new offensive which will then be used as a pretext by the U.S. officials to break off armistice negotiations and to renew and extend the war.

The "prior warnings" to the civilian mass of North Koreans to flee onto the open roads and fields has nothing of humanitarianism about it. They are being given merely a choice of death from starvation, exposure, exhaustion and disease as the alternative to death by bombs. Moreover, masses of refugees crowded on the road make "ideal" targets for air strafing. I have

quoted in past articles numerous descriptions from capitalist press sources of such treatment of Korean refugees.

Moreover, the announcement that 78 cities and towns have been warned in advance of bombings does not mean that other towns and villages will not be bombed without warning. A United Press dispatch on Aug. 11, which describes the bombing of Namsok by 150 U.S. bombers, contains this revealing fact:

"Namsok was not one of the 78 towns slated to receive radio warnings of an air attack."

So phony does the statement about "audacious program of prior warning" sound on the face of it, that Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter felt obliged on Aug. 7 to "emphasize" that the bombing of the 78 population centers was being done as a "military necessity" because these cities and towns are "holding huge stores of military supplies." His statement was issued, said the Aug. 8 N. Y. Times, be-

cause "defense authorities have been concerned lest the Tokyo-issued announcement about the bombings be misinterpreted."

SPREAD OUT

The massive air attacks on 78 civilian centers will be "misinterpreted" precisely because there cannot possibly be any "military necessity" for these bombings. As recently as July 31, for instance, U.S. Eighth Army Commander Van Fleet complained in Seoul that the Chinese and North Koreans had "thinned out" and "spread out" their lines so as to make them less vulnerable to air and artillery attack. Why would they then concentrate "huge stores of military supplies" in and near the chief population centers where they could be more easily spotted and blown up?

There is little of military value left in North Korea, as a matter of fact. On Oct. 28, 1950 — almost two years ago — the N. Y. Times' well-informed military analyst Hanson W. Bald-

win wrote: "Virtually all the important industry of North Korea... has been destroyed by our bombings... great parts of Korea's principal cities lie in ruins... North Korea's industry is in ruins."

The U.S. News & World Report of July 31, 1951 — more than a year ago — reported that "a minimum of 1.5 million Koreans — more probably, as many as 3 million — have been wounded or killed or have disappeared" and that "vast areas of South Korea are in ruins, and the destruction in North Korea has been more intense." It goes on to cite the staggering fact:

"Almost as many tons of bombs were dropped in North Korea in a year as were dropped on Japan during the whole of World War II. American bombers pounded the cities and communications centers north of the 38th Parallel day and night. Towns and villages south of the parallel often got the same treatment..."

(Continued on page 2)

What Must Lead to New Labor Upsurge in U.S.

Text of Political Report To SWP Convention

The following is the text of the political report delivered at the 15th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, July 17-20, 1952, by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP:

I am speaking for the Political Resolution unanimously adopted by the May Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The introductory sections of the Resolution deal with the critical economic, political and military position of the United States in the present world setting. This situation for the U.S. is a complex of irreconcilable conflicts on the international field, and unsolvable economic contradictions at home. The present period is a period of preparation for a global war which is implicit in the total situation.

These introductory sections of the Resolution fall within the framework of our general analysis of the world situation — now shared by all Trotskyists — which is known to all present, and needs no elaboration here.

What do require examination and discussion, and unambiguous answers, are:

1. The present attitude of the American working class in gen-

eral and its organized section in particular.

2. The causes of labor conservatism and the premises for a new radicalization.

3. The perspectives of a new radicalization, the forms it may be expected to take, and the political tendencies which will contend for leadership.

4. The role and perspectives of the SWP in the whole process.

The nature of the tasks we set for the party today depends on the answers we give to these questions. Even more, the nature of the tasks and undertaking which we envision for the future depend on these answers. The Resolution attempts to give these answers. That — as we see it — is the principal meaning of the Resolution, and the principal task of the convention.

We speak there of the 11-year boom and its consequences on the mentality of the workers. This boom — as far as I know — is unprecedented in the history of capitalism in its scope and duration. We have economic prosperity combined with political reaction. The Resolution also speaks of the devastating effects of prosperity and reaction on all radical, and even liberal, parties, groups and tendencies. But it is highly doubtful whether the party as a whole, or even the leading cadre, has fully assimilated the meaning of this statement. Liberalism, in

the 19th Century meaning of the word, has been eliminated as a political tendency in American life. It survives only in isolated individuals, without influence, energy or organization. Comrade Dobbs will report to you that the Trucks Law in Michigan — a real police-state measure aimed ultimately at the unions — was passed unanimously by the state legislature. Even the legislators elected and controlled by the UAW, including those on the UAW payroll, voted for the Trucks Law. And the so-called liberal-labor governor signed it.

Effects on Left Wing Parties

The labor leaders ride on the witch hunt in the union — and use it against their radical critics and opponents. The contest between the outright reactionaries and so-called liberals and laborites has become a race to show who are the best witch-hunters. The Socialist Party has been eliminated as an opposition political tendency, and virtually wiped out as an organization. The Communist Party has been decimated, and has lost its mass base in the unions. The Progressive Party — a most peculiar party, a shoddy substitute for a party, without a physiognomy of its own — is just another splinter party.

We, the Marxist party of the revolutionary vanguard, have not thrived and grown in the atmosphere of prosperity and reaction and could not do so. The Resolution acknowledges this: "We have undergone losses," says the Resolution, the party has "experienced victimizations, and found itself forced to make retreats." And then the Resolution adds: "These are by no means ended." It will greatly aid our deliberations if,

instead of slurring over these harsh acknowledgments of inescapable facts, we weigh them seriously as the basic cause of whatever troubles we may be having, or may anticipate in the period before us.

The Resolution says: "we suffered losses and victimizations." The comrades on the firing line know this all too well. Nearly all our branches and trade union fractions have felt the blows of reaction. Many branches have lost some members or, at best, have held their own. But these losses do not tell the whole story, not by a long shot.

The greatest losses our party has suffered as a direct result of the 11-year boom are the recruits we did not get. Revolutionary and radical parties in the past have always been kept alive, and periodically reinvigorated, by an influx of new people, mainly young people, who took the places of the old, the used-up and the tired. The revolutionary movement has always been a devourer of people. Its ranks have always needed replenishment.

Robbed of a Generation

Young workers, deprived of steady work, or any work at all, with all the doors of opportunity closed in their faces; young students, full of education, and nothing to do with it, no place to sell it in professions already overcrowded — these were the people to whom the movement made its strongest appeal. They have always been the natural raw material for recruitment and reinvigoration of the revolutionary party. We have been cheated out of this life-renewing blood transfusion in the past decade. The abnormally prolonged prosperity, combined with witch-hunt terror, robbed us of a whole generation of potential young revolutionists, the natural and traditional candidates for a revolutionary party.

It will take time to make it up. But we'll get the time. Objective circumstances, which have been working against us, will work in our favor later on.

I mention these adverse factors, which were imposed on us through no fault of our own, not to paint a picture of gloom, but of reality, or rather, a part of it. The total reality has another side. The Resolution says: "Our party stood up better than any of the others." That's the truth. And it says further, that we stood up better because we had correct policies and a firm principled stand against all pressures. That's the truth too, without any exaggeration or embellishment.

Our party stood up better than the others because it had a firm leadership with a correct policy, a Marxist leadership with a historical perspective which looks beyond episodes. (From a Marxist point of view the long boom is merely an episode. So are all the momentary difficulties — mere episodes.) We stood up better than the others because we have better human material, more carefully selected and husbanded, sifted out and tested over a long period of time. We stood up better than the others because we did

the right things, the things that were possible and necessary in the difficult situation.

Our 1948 election campaign was a heroic undertaking — the right action at the right time. By that action we showed our determined will to become a party in the full sense of the word. We responded to the Korean war with an energetic revolutionary campaign, which inspired our movement throughout the world. We maintained a functioning staff and press, and even increased its circulation. We published a book and two pamphlets. We never quit working and trying. When one field of action was restricted, we tried another. When our work in the unions was slowed down by circumstances beyond our control, we reacted with increased activity in local election campaigns. We organized six national tours in the past three years. We conducted two sessions of the Trotsky School, with 16 students for six months each. All these activities add up to what needed to be done and what could be done in the circumstances. No adventures, no jumping over our own heads. That is a merit, not a fault.

The general orientation of the Resolution is predicated on social convulsions which will bring with them a new rise in the class struggle and a new radicalization of unprecedented sweep and power. That does not, by any means, exclude class struggle activity before the war or the crisis; or that we can suspend activity till the big showdown. The present steel strike is evidence of this. The insurance agents' strike and the outflow strike of the New York longshoremen are more evidence that the class struggle has not been eliminated. But only partial and limited struggles can be expected before the real shake-up. We have to keep fighting. There is no escape from the daily struggle; no escape, that is, except political death.

Revolutionary Future in U.S.

Will the new upsurge of radicalism — which is in the making and is bound to come — be the prelude to a great revolutionary development in the United States? Or will it end as another abortion, as in the past? Trotsky, in the early Thirties, wrote of past upheavals of the American worker which were derailed by outward policies of the leadership. He predicted a new one with a Marxist direction. This, he said, would be not a "straw fire" but a veritable revolutionary conflagration.

The upheaval came as he predicted. But the Marxist leadership wasn't yet there. Instead, the upheaval of the thirties was virtually dominated by the pseudo-Marxist leadership of the Stalinists. It was a tremendous movement of great sweep, and even greater potentialities. The mass movement was deflected from its course by Roosevelt, but it was the Stalinists who made it possible by corrupting the left wing. It was the Stalinists who befuddled, demoralized and be-

trayed the promising left wing movement of the Thirties.

Will the Stalinists fall heir to the next radicalization and monopolize its leadership? The Resolution says this is not likely. This is so, for a number of reasons.

1. We are in their way. We are stronger and they are weaker than in the Thirties.

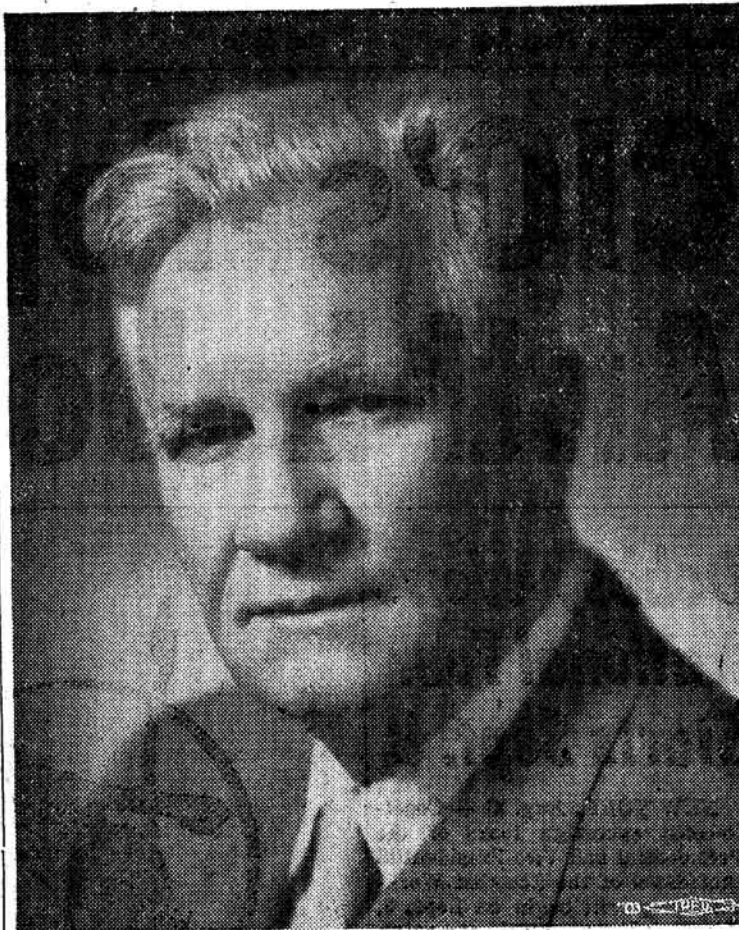
2. Their treacherous record is remembered, and new treacheries will be committed.

3. A new bureaucracy in the new unions, more socially conscious, more sophisticated than the bewildered labor fakers of the AFL who had no answer to the uprising of the thirties.

4. A new Negro reformist leadership.

5. A different popular attitude toward the Soviet Union. Then the Soviet Union stood in the popular mind for revolution, the 8-year plan, antifascism, hope and inspiration to workers. Now, when the workers think of the Soviet Union they think of slave-

SWP National Secretary



JAMES P. CANNON

labor camps, police state, frame-ups and murders, a torture chamber and a lie-factory. We were the first to expose the monstrous criminality of Stalinism, and we are proud of it. Unfortunately, the reactionaries use these arguments for their own purposes all the more effectively because they are true.

All these weighty factors argue against a repetition of the Stalinist role in Thirties. It would take a big stretch of the imagination to visualize the Stalinists easily monopolizing the leadership of the new radical upsurge. And it would take a still bigger flight from reality to see the decimated, bedraggled and discredited Stalinist movement of the present day as the principle milieu for our work.

The Resolution directs the main

orientation of the party toward the politically unaffiliated militants in the unions, especially the CIO unions. That is our principal milieu, our main field of work. It is out of this milieu that the main troops of the new left wing will come. Our main orientation must be toward them.

That is not to say that the Stalinists are not a factor — and may not become a greater factor — and can be ignored. There are some possibilities for us there, which should be probed. The Resolution provides for certain secondary tactical approaches to the Stalinist Party, as well as to the Progressive Party, that political monster which the CP lugs along and props up — something like a hoodlum escorting his idiot brother and pretending that he is a normal person.

The Progressive Party

There are some differences of opinion as to a precise definition of the class character of the PP as it appears today, minus Wallace and the unions which supported the party in 1948. But of some of its distinguishing features there can be little doubt.

1. It is a cover organization and front for the Stalinists.

2. It is controlled mainly by them and used for their purposes.

3. It echoes the phony and treacherous "co-existence peace program" of the Stalinists.

4. It has a "liberal" wing divided into two sections: innocent dupes and demagogues with their own axe to grind. This wing is not more revolutionary than the Stalinists. They will never be revolutionists.

5. In addition, the PP has some youth in ferment and some of them are possible recruits. This justifies a secondary tactical approach to them — as to the young Stalinists who have not yet been demoralized and corrupted.

This tactical approach to the Stalinists is consistent with the main line of the Resolution — is subordinate to the main line, and is nothing new. We have always fought Stalinism without a trace of compromise or conciliation — and always will. But we have never denied that the Stalinists are a tendency in the labor movement, and never rejected a united front approach to them.

The Resolution visualizes the new radical upsurge as a seething, stormy movement within which the Trotskyists, Stalinists, centrists and reformists will contend for the leadership. It will most probably originate in the unions, and the starting point will be protests over wages and living standards. Politicization of the movement will be a second stage, and the slogan to generalize this politicization will be the slogan of the Labor Party based on the unions.

The 1952 Election Campaign

Our election campaigns will play a big part in preparing the party for its great future. It must be made clear to everybody in our ranks that SWP election campaigns are conducted for their own sake, not as a holding operation until a labor party arrives, but to popularize our own party and its program, as the leader of the working class in the coming revolution. That's what the party

is here for. That is the historic role it must fulfill.

There is no doubt that our program will prevail. I am sure of that. But we are building a revolutionary party in the richest and most powerful country of world capitalism. That is not easy, for the party must be built of human material, and human agencies are always imperponderable. There are heavy pressures against us, and

where there is pressure the weak will fall.

Our party was built from the start — 24 years ago — as a Leninist party. We didn't stumble along. We built the party according to a theory and a design, as a combat party of the revolution. Such a party needs external struggles, as the human body needs exercise. Our isolation and stagnation take a heavy toll from people of our type. Without our historical perspective, our Marxist theory, clearly understood and firmly held, we would be lost. In these difficult times, which weigh heavily on us all, if we should permit ourselves to be discouraged by episodes, we could not endure.

When, earlier in the report, I spoke of the losses we have suffered, I left unmentioned the most important losses of all — the defections of prominent leading people. The recent loss we have suffered in this respect — already fading away into an incident of the past — is not the first. We have had others who went with us part of the way, and then faltered and fell by the wayside. The explanation has been different in each case, but the reason has been the same in all cases — capitulation to external pressures. However, these defections are merely personal catastrophes, chips and splinters fallen from the rock. The rock stands.

We Represent The Future

The ideas of Marxism — the expression of social reality — are invulnerable. But the 100-year history of Marxism shows, that individuals are not always equal to the ideas they have represented. The weak have fallen, but the strong stood firm and recruited new people to the banner to maintain the unbroken continuity of the movement — the movement which drives with the force of historic inevitability to the socialist emancipation of mankind.

It has been given to us to be the historic link in this chain of continuity — the link that doesn't break. We, assembled here, are more important than we know. We are more important than all the statesmen and all the generals — and all the other conventions — for they represent the past. We alone represent the future.

Our ideas will prevail. And, if we are worthy of them, our party will prevail with them. The growth and expansion of our party in the next period, and its eventual victory, is assured — on only one condition, that we be true to ourselves; that is, to our

program, our ideas, which are the reason for our being.

In our favor is the fact that we have fought for a long time and are still fighting. In our favor is the fact that for 24 years we have consistently taught the party, by precept and example, to put principles first, above personal considerations and all other considerations. In our favor is the fact that we have consistently taught the party, by precept and example, to have faith in the correctness and power of our ideas; and, therefore, in the communist future of mankind.

That's all the faith we need. That's what we live for. That's what we are here for. That faith in the future, based on the ideas of Marxism, is the source of our optimistic fighting morale as we proceed to name our candidates for the presidential election of 1952 — another battle in the long campaign leading to the goal of Socialist America.

(Copies of the Political Resolution adopted by the SWP convention may be obtained by writing the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports progress in the aim of the Chicago branch to step up their Militant sales by making Militant work part of the regular week to week work of a good section of the branch. Chicago recently quadrupled their bundle and judging by the enthusiastic participation of comrades in the work will have no trouble selling it out each week. Bert reports the following sales on street corners and house to house last week: Helen, 17; Sherry, 25; Mary Lou, 25; Frank, 12; Hayden, 6; Mitch, 3; Alice, 11; Snow, 3; Carol, 10; Sam, 5; and Harvey, 5.

Henry James tells us of an excellent sale in St. Paul of George Breitman's pamphlet "The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore." "We had a fine literature sale last Sunday. Six of us went out and in one hour we sold 63 Moore pamphlets, one sub to The Militant, and all the papers we had left from our bundle." Henry also sends in some more Militant renewals and reports that St. Paul has nearly finished a period of visiting subscribers for their renewals. "We still have a number of people to see and will no doubt get their renewals."

New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports two new subs. this week. "Ray got one while doing petition work and Bezie sold another sub where she works. This makes five subs sold by Bezie at her place. She says she hardly has to sell the paper. It sells itself. She gave a copy of The Militant to the last person she sold a sub to and when he finished reading it he said he liked it very much and would like to get it every week. Also she finds that people who are already subscribers help her to sell The Militant to new people." "The recent issues of The Militant featuring the election campaign have been selling like hot cakes!" writes Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman. "I hope you continue printing all those wonderful 'PRO' letters

from the radio and TV audience. And also the letters written by the SWP candidates. Farrell Dobbs' letter to Rev. Powers in the last issue of the paper was especially good."

W. E. S. of Lakewood, Ohio wishes to express his appreciation for The Militant. Workers need a party and a paper of their own, he says. Here is part of his letter: "The Militant is more important to me now with the presidential elections coming up in November. I hear and read too darn much of the so called 'democratic' and 'republican' parties with their lying promises of better working conditions, lower taxes, better jobs for the colored people and better living for them. And their great big promise of passing the FEPC law. I've been hearing these promises now for 20 years and frankly I'm fed up. It's about time there was a change."

"In the July 14 issue of The Militant, Mr. Fred Hart's column I think best summed up the Republican party and the 'big hero and crusader,' Eisenhower, with boss Dewey's machine behind him to push him into the nomination. So you can see why it is important to me and my friends to know what is going on in our own paper and follow the progress of the man this country needs, Farrell Dobbs."

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

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Monday, August 25, 1952

Who Threatens War?

Try to imagine a situation in which the Soviet government established military bases in every nation of Europe except two, and in most of the North African and Asian nations. In addition, imagine that the Soviet Union had military bases or missions in almost every country of North and South America. Imagine further that the Russian government had long-range bomber bases in Greenland, Iceland, Cuba, the Bahamas, Panama, Newfoundland, Trinidad, Puerto Rico and several other nations and islands of the Western hemisphere close to U.S. borders.

Imagine further a Soviet Army of six divisions stationed in South America and Soviet officers actively and openly organizing a Latin American army, air force and naval force having an avowed anti-U.S. orientation.

In addition, imagine that half-a-million Russian troops had been sent to intervene in a Mexican civil war under the pretext that they were going to punish the people who "started it" in the interests of international law and order. This Soviet Army, you must imagine, is fighting against Mexican soldiers only a few hundred miles from the U.S. border, and is bombing just south of the Rio Grande.

Finally imagine that this vast outflowing Soviet military machine is being increased every month, and that at the same time the Soviet press is filled with maps and diagrams showing the bombing range from these various Soviet bases to New York, Chicago and other cities, the types of Soviet bombers that could make the bombing runs, etc.

After you have imagined all this, turn the entire picture around, and you will have some slight idea of the present world situation. You will see from which nation the threat to peace comes.

The Pentagon has approximately a million-and-a-half U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force personnel spread around the globe. Every nation of the Latin American region except two contains a U.S. military mission or military base or both. Almost every nation close to the Soviet Union, in Africa, Asia or Australia, with the exception of those countries that are directly in the Soviet orbit, has a U.S. military mission, is getting U.S. arms, or has a U.S. army, navy or bomber base on its territory.

In all, there are 27 nations or islands that have one or more U.S. military bases, mostly bomber bases, and 43 nations which are getting U.S. arms and military missions. In addition, there are 53 countries receiving so-called U.S. economic aid.

These are startling facts, but the State Department propagandists say they have an explanation for all of them. They say that these bases and warlike actions are not aggressive, but are aimed at "stopping aggression." But we have a right to be suspicious of any explanation that is so much in conflict with the facts themselves. The facts show all the military aggressiveness on the U.S. side; all the invasions and occupations of foreign countries by U.S. troops. The facts show that the U.S., when it talks about "Soviet aggression," usually means internal upheavals that take place entirely within a nation when the people become hostile to the old reactionary regimes. The revolutions in China, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, Korea, etc., are thus called "Russian aggression," but in reality they are no such thing, and have become the excuses for a vast military terror campaign of U.S. capitalist aggression. Which brings us to our second point.

Why Don't Masses Back U.S.?

This is a very important question. It comes up in this connection because the Pentagon imperialists make the following alibi for their aggressive war-drive. They say: "Maybe we have all the troops, bases, missions, etc., abroad, while the Soviet Union has practically none, but their aggression takes a different form. They whip up the people in Asia and Africa and Europe to fight for them. That is Soviet aggression, and that is what we have to counter."

Of course this is a lie. The conservative Stalin bureaucracy hasn't "whipped up" the revolutionary wave. As a matter of fact, it stood flabbergasted by it for a long time, and has only managed to get along with the revolutionary masses for the present because the uprisings are not directed against the Soviet social system.

But let us for a moment descend to the level of the State Department hacks and take the argument they present. The "reds" whip up the people to fight for them, they say. All right, we answer, why don't you do that? How come the popular revolutions that have swept and are spreading in Asia and Africa, and that threaten tomorrow in Europe itself, are against you? If you are such democrats and Stalin is such a dictator, why do you give the people to him, and send troops and planes to fight against them?

The answer to this is really very simple and contains the clue to the nature of World War III. The revolutions are against Washington because Washington is against the revolutions. And Washington is against the revolutions because the popular movements of Europe, Asia and Africa threaten the very foundations of the capitalist system.

That is why only U.S. troops, sent out from the only capitalist land that can still boast of social stability at home for the present, can be depended on to fight for Wall Street.

Nowhere in the whole world is there any sizable section of the population that is willing to fight and die for Wall Street. Nobody wants the war but Wall Street; nobody is backing Pentagon war plans but a few tiny cliques of imperialists, landlords and capitalists who are the only ones that stand to lose from the world revolutionary wave. Only the American people are still confused.

We must ask ourselves: What do we have to gain from Wall Street's atomic war?

2,555 Arrested for Campaigning Against South African Jim Crow

AUGUST 18 — The South African government has arrested 2,555 people since June 26, when a campaign for mass defiance of the country's racial segregation laws was begun under the leadership of the National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. The latest prominent victim seized by the police was Dr. James S. Moroka, president of the African National Congress, arrested on Aug. 14 while attending his patients.

Following is a report received in the United States last week from the National Action Committee, describing the first stages of this heroic struggle against the most savage Jim Crow system in the world:

Johannesburg — With the launching on June 26 of South Africa's struggle of defiance of

UNJUST LAWS, selected volunteers broke apartheid (segregation) laws in six different centers of the Union of South Africa. The Nationalist government has arrested the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. Walter Sisulu, and the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, and at Odendaalsrus, a big mining town in the Orange Free State, the police have turned machine guns against African men and women demonstrating against the extension of the hated "Pass Laws" to their women folk.

MASS MEETINGS

The organized acts of defiance were preceded by great mass meetings. In Port Elizabeth a prayer meeting was held for the campaign, in Johannesburg at Orlando, in Cape Town and many

other cities and towns of South Africa, thousands and thousands of people attended meetings of the African and Indian Congress. Hundreds of ordinary people, workers, traders, students and professional men came forward as volunteers in the struggle.

At a crowded meeting at Cape Town, the police arrested Johnson Ngwevela, prominent leader of the African National Congress, for defying the order imposed on him by the Minister of Justice, forbidding him from participating in political activities of any kind and ordering him to resign from the African National Congress and other peoples organization.

"I was elected by my people to lead them to freedom," he told the meeting just before his arrest. "The government has closed my mouth because it realized that I am awakening you to fight for your rights."

"I am breaking these bounds. I would rather die fighting for my rights and for my people's rights than surrender to oppression."

YOUTH LEADER

In Johannesburg the police arrested 22-year-old Ismail Bhoola, joint secretary of the Indian Youth Congress, for defying a similar ban imposed by Minister Swart.

Both Ngwevela and Bhoola are now behind prison bars together with great leaders of the South African people, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, David Bopape and J. B. Marks.

Also on June 26 the Minister of Justice served the banning order against Mr. Sam Kahn, former Member of Parliament, expelled from the House of Parliament by the Nationalist government. A few hours later Mr. Kahn was arrested for attending a meeting of the Cape Town City Council (of which he is an elected member) in defiance of the order.

There were unforgettable scenes of determination, of sacrifice and courage as the people of South Africa bade farewell to their first batches of volunteers. There was hardly any moving space as crowds thronged the hall in Johannesburg where the volunteers had gathered just before going into action. Large forces of police, armed with batons and machine guns, stood outside the hall, itching to stage a "show-down." But unfortunately for them the disciplined soldiers of freedom gave not the slightest provocation or chance to satisfy the policemen's ravishing thirst for blood.

The first Johannesburg batch of 52, led by the President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Nana Sita, was arrested at the Boksburg Location, 20 miles from Johannesburg. They had defied the Permit Regulations, which rigidly control the entry and exit of people into the location.

The second Johannesburg batch of 54, led by Flag Boshelo, went into action and was arrested at 11:30 P.M. the same night for defying the Curfew Regulations, which prevent Africans from being on the streets after eleven o'clock at night. When accosted by the armed police, Mr. Boshelo, chairman of the Central Johannesburg Congress Branch, re-

plied: "We are non-violent fighters for freedom. We are going to defy regulations that have kept our fathers in bondage."

On the same day, June 26, a batch of 30 volunteers was arrested in Port Elizabeth, for defying the apartheid laws at the railway station. Under these laws non-whites are prohibited from using the same facilities provided for whites at stations, post offices, trains, trams, buses, etc., etc.

At the little town of Worcester, in the Cape Province, a batch defied the apartheid regulations at the Post Office. Some arrests were also made in Durban.

WALTER SISULU

Among those imprisoned is Walter Sisulu, the Secretary-General of the African National Congress and one of the architects of the present campaign.

In his farewell message, he said: "I have full confidence that no matter for how long I am imprisoned, the spirit of liberation has gone deep into the hearts of our people."

Although it was made clear by the National Action Committee over and over again that the campaign would be conducted in a disciplined and non-violent manner and that only certain selected laws would be defied, the government has chosen to ignore all these declarations. Instead, it has preferred a charge, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, of "conspiring to incite public violence." The cases are due to be heard on July 11.

Explaining the reasons why these particular regulations and law were being chosen for defiance, Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, leader of the National Action Committee, stated:

"The batch of volunteers defying the location Permit Regulations (Boksburg) will focus attention on the system which turns African townships into fenced compounds, cloistered away from the outside world, and which relatives and friends may enter only on the good grace of the authorities. This system, entailing monthly permit fees, drains the family incomes and separates children from their parents."

THOUSANDS JAILED

In attacking the Curfew Regulations (Johannesburg) the African volunteers are assailing the system that sends thousands of innocent Africans to jail every year (about 100,000 yearly) for an act that would be judged an offense in other countries only in times of strict martial law.

"In South Africa, Africans live permanently under martial law, never safe from the raiding police, never secure in their beds at night, liable at any time to be pushed roughly into a police pick-up van and into a cold concrete cell for not carrying the right number of passes on their persons or for being out after 11 o'clock at night."

"In defying the post office and other apartheid laws (Port Elizabeth and Worcester) volunteers will express their people's resentments against laws which, like all other unjust laws which the campaign is pledged to repeal, attempt to put the stamp of inferiority on the non-European people for all time."

\$18,500 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	\$ 125	\$ 137	110
Cleveland	300	264	88
St. Louis	50	40	80
Buffalo	1,500	1,081	72
Boston	500	356	71
Chicago	1,500	1,050	70
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,500	1,036	69
Akron	150	100	67
New York	4,500	2,789	62
Detroit	2,113	1,194	57
Allentown	40	20	50
Newark	1,000	494	49
Seattle	400	176	44
Philadelphia	350	151	43
San Francisco	900	374	42
Flint	300	118	39
Pittsburgh	40	15	38
Oakland	300	82	27
Youngstown	400	100	25
Milwaukee	325	80	24
Los Angeles	2,200	500	23
General	150	288	192
Total through Aug. 18	\$18,600	\$10,445	56

How We View Progressive Party

By Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate

A number of interesting and important questions are asked by some of the hundreds of letter writers who responded so inspiringly to the television and radio broad-

casts by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, and myself. This week I want to discuss two queries on our attitude toward the Progressive Party.

Mrs. O., of Atlantic City, N. J., writes: "How do you explain your party platform being the same with one we already have. I am talking of the Progressive Party. Don't you think that your party will interfere by splitting the vote of organized labor and thus play into the hands of the other parties that you oppose and criticize..."

In a similar vein, W. J. L. of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes: "Everything you said on television is true — on foreign, domestic, FEPC, Civil Rights, about Democrats and Republicans — also that the people need a MASS party to carry out these aims. So if you believe in what you said, you must join and work for the Progressive Party, a real MASS party."

None of the main assumptions in these letters is correct.

NOT MASS PARTY

The Progressive Party is not a mass party. It is not based upon the American labor movement. And its program is as far removed from ours as capitalism is from socialism.

Even when the PP sported such figureheads as Henry A. Wallace and Glenn C. Taylor, the Progressive Party scarcely reached challenging dimensions. Its vote in 1948 was 1,137,957, compared to 21,896,927 for the Republicans and 24,045,052 for the Democrats. When Wallace and Taylor, who had been misrepresented as "fighters for peace," deserted to the war camp at the start of the Korean War, the Progressive Party suffered deserved discredit and lost a majority of its followers.

But even if the Progressive Party had a real mass following it still would not be the kind of party we have in mind. We state

specifically in our broadcasts — and it is so emphasized in our platform — that we are for a LABOR party.

By that we mean a party completely independent of the old capitalist parties and based upon the organized labor movement — the trade unions, first of all. The Progressive Party is not based on the trade unions. It does not have the official support even of some of the few, small independent unions which backed the PP in 1948.

We cannot split the vote of organized labor by not supporting the Progressive Party, as Mrs. O. claims, because organized labor is overwhelmingly supporting the two capitalist parties. In fact, the labor union officials complain that both we, and the Progressive Party are splitting labor votes from the Democratic Party.

BASIC PROGRAM

But even if the Progressive Party were not a mass labor party in the sense I have described, we would still try to work with it, if its basic program and ours were the same. They are not.

The Progressive Party platform attributes the danger of war to "mistakes" and "shortcomings" of the two largest powers, which can be changed fundamentally by "American-Soviet understanding and cooperation." The Progressive Party, it states, "was founded in the belief that the way to peace is through negotiations of differences among nations." The principal plank for peace of the Progressive Party is "agree to a cease-fire in Korea today" and "a conference of the five great powers."

We, on the contrary, see the danger of war as flowing from the very nature of capitalism. It is inherent in the decline and decay of the imperialist profit system, whose chief bastion today is the United States. We attribute the drive toward war to the inability of the capitalist system to maintain itself by peaceful means and through a peace-time economy. Therefore, we say the fight against war means first of all the mobilization of the working masses in the fight against capitalism for socialism.

WAR OR PEACE

We do not entrust the life and death question of war or peace to the secret negotiations of top rulers of the few big nations. We do not oppose a cease-fire in Korea, naturally, but we do not ask the people to entrust their fate to the U.S. generals and admirals negotiating at Panmunjom. We urge the people to end the war by calling for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Korea. That doesn't take any negotiations at all. And we say, furthermore, that the people should have the sole right to decide the question of war and peace by referendum vote.

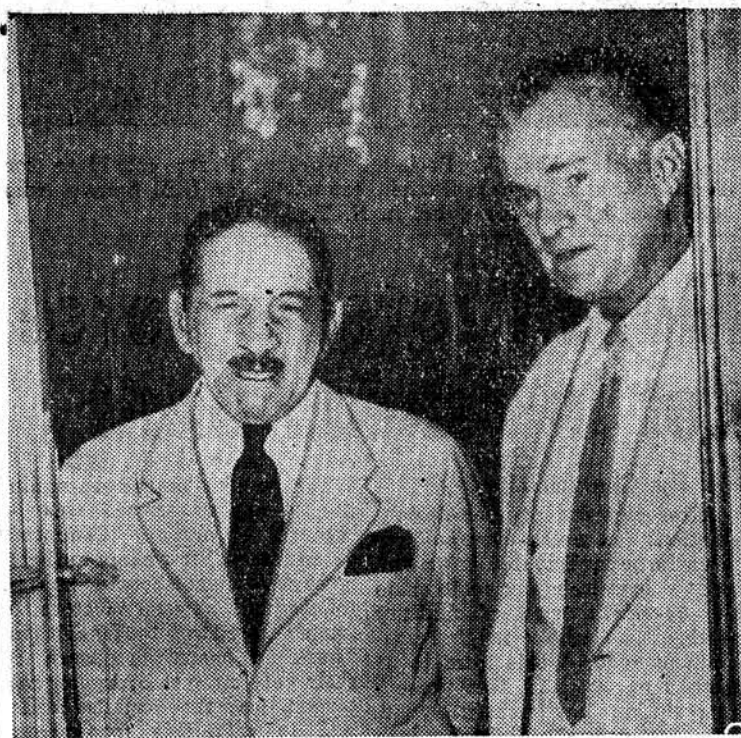
We are for ending war through the democratic action of the people. The Progressive Party says nothing about withdrawing the troops, nothing about letting the people vote on war and peace. It is for reliance on big-power negotiations and deals which can be violated overnight.

I hope to take up this question of big-power conference and deals at greater length in the near future.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

Visits Egypt's New Premier



Ambassador Jefferson Caffery (r.) is shown in Cairo with prime minister Aly Maher, who was put in power by Gen. Mohamed Naguib, leader of the army coup that resulted in abdication of King Farouk. New Egypt government cracked down on workers shortly after coming to power, declaring a "state of emergency" in an attempt to break textile workers strike and condemning one worker to death for his strike role.

CIO OFFICIALS ENDORSE ANTI-LABOR DEMOCRATS

(Continued from Page 1)
that is supposed to inspire the CIO workers to "get out the vote."

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Democratic ticket in fact represents a sordid deal between the Northern and Southern wings of the party, pledged to do nothing to fight against the Jim Crow lynch law of the South, or to abolish segregation in the North. Stevenson's home state, Illinois, has been the scene of some of the most violent anti-Negro brutality

in America. Not once did he use his powers as Governor to put into effect a state FEPC by executive order, which was just as much within his power as it was within Truman's power to issue an executive order to abolish segregation in the armed forces.

POLL TAX SPARKMAN

Sparkman has a consistent record — not as a liberal, as he is painted by the CIO leaders — but as a defender of the rule by terror of the Southern tyrants.

In an interview published in U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 22, Sparkman stated, "I voted with the South all along on the civil right issue." And for good reason. Like all the representatives from Alabama, he depends on the state poll tax law to disfranchise the working class voters, and assure his election by a small minority.

In 1948 Sparkman was elected on a vote of only 185,534. Less than one quarter of a million votes were cast altogether that year in Alabama. By means of the poll tax, Sparkman was elected by a vote of only 6 per cent of the people of the state.

This vote contrasts with the vote in Minnesota, comparable in population to Alabama, where Humphrey was elected in 1948 with a vote of 729,494, representing about 25 per cent of the population of the state.

A LABOR PARTY

The CIO leadership has thus failed once again to break with the old capitalist parties, and launch labor on the road to independent political action.

This failure to build an independent labor party, leaves the workers unorganized on the political field. The power of 16 million organized workers is dissipated in the futile attempts of their leaders to beg a few favors from the parties of Big Business.

The Socialist Workers Party offers American Workers a genuine labor ticket in 1952. Farrell Dobbs, for President, and Myra Tanner Weiss, for Vice President, both call for the formation of a Labor Party, for a break with company unionism in politics and for the complete abolition of Jim Crow. This is the workers' ticket in the 1952 elections.

New Jersey Worker Supports Labor Party

The following is a letter received from a worker who heard a television speech by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate:

Mr. Farrell Dobbs:

"I have just finished seeing you on television, and it was interesting to note that there are other people interested in the labor movement. However, up to this point I have been unable to do much about it. I will be perfectly honest with you and say that although I believe in a labor party I also believe in free enterprise."

What you said this afternoon was true, and when you speak about civil rights and the white man's South, I agree completely. I too realize the dangerous effect this plays on the worker of the North. I like hearing this kind of talk, and reading about it also, for I know, as do you, that it is the truth.

I am, at present, the Chairman of our Union Political Action Committee, so you may see that I really am interested in the labor party. I would like you to place my name on your mailing list, and hope that one day soon I may have the opportunity to meet you or your workers.

A Labor Party Worker,
N. J.

NORTH KOREAN POPULATION CENTERS THREATENED WITH TERROR-BOMBINGS

(Continued from page 1)

As a result, General Van Fleet himself could say last January: "I am satisfied the northern part of Korea is so badly destroyed that the Reds lack food, clothing and shelter and the population of North Korea is in a very critical condition."

An analysis in the Aug. 10 N. Y. Times of the possible effect of the bombing of civilian centers indicates that these air attacks now can do little military damage because "the majority of the important military targets south of the Yalu have already been destroyed." Moreover, they can do little harm to the morale of the Chinese and North Korean troops who are "inured to air attacks" and have "constructed a network of underground shelters and fortifications."

AIMED AT CIVILIANS

But, says the Times, "civilian morale is believed to be more shaky" and the U.S. Air Force is using methods which "raised havoc with civilian morale" in Japan during World War II and might have a similar effect in North Korea. In short, the air attacks are aimed not at military targets but at the civilian populace.

In a subsequent Aug. 17 Times article, Tokyo correspondent Lin-

desay Parrott concedes: "How effective the new campaign may be is, of course, anybody's guess, though not even the most optimistic would predict a decisive effect on the Korean war."

Up to now in the Korean War, the extermination of civilians has been mainly the by-product of the bombings of industries, communications centers, supply lines and shifting front-line areas, although there has been plenty of cold-blooded murder of civilians.

Now, the civilians themselves have become the main target. In my recent series of articles on the class struggle and civil war in Korea (The Militant, July 21 and 28, Aug. 11 and 18), I demonstrated that popular support from the Korean workers and peasants as shown in part by the continuous wide-spread guerrilla warfare behind the U.S. and South Korean lines, is what constitutes the "secret weapon" of the Chinese-North Korean forces.

It has become apparent to the U.S. military leaders that unless they can disperse and completely demoralize the civilian populace in North Korea that the Chinese-North Korean armies cannot be defeated or forced to accept U.S. truce terms.

The terrible bombing campaign which the Fifth Air Force has proclaimed against civilian areas

in North Korea reduces itself to a terroristic massacre of helpless citizens. It is a policy of "schrecklichkeit" — frightfulness — like the Nazis employed.

This is the kind of "military pressure" that the generals like Van Fleet and Mark Clark say is necessary to "win a truce" in Korea. But this will only harden the Chinese and North Koreans, intensify the hatred all over the world for the American people and prolong the war. The one sure way to stop the frightfulness in Korea and end the war is to withdraw all U.S. armed forces and bring them back home.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
Civil Rights in the
1952 Campaign

Speaker:
George Breitman
(Candidate for Senator)
Friday, Sept. 5, at 8:30
52 Market St., corner Plane

U.S. Imperialist Eruption Predicted 30 Years Ago

By Thomas Raymond

For more than 16 years, from the death of Lenin to his assassination by a Stalinist gangster in Mexico in 1940, Leon Trotsky was the leading Marxist thinker of the world. Looking back today, a dozen years after his death, we have renewed reason to be impressed by the freshness and vigor of his thought.

So penetrating was his attention to trends of world development that he sometimes anticipated and predicted them many years in advance. One of Trotsky's most remarkable achievements in this respect was his prediction of the role of American capitalism. His analysis, formed thirty years ago, has borne out with remarkable fidelity.

PROPHETIC WORDS
In the April, 1934 issue of the U.S. magazine Foreign Affairs Trotsky wrote: "Sooner or later, American capitalism must open up ways for itself through the length and breadth of our entire planet. By what methods? By all methods. A high coefficient of productivity denotes also a high coefficient of destructive force."

Around the same time, in his pamphlet War and the Fourth International, he amplified this "Capitalism in the United States is running head on into those problems which impelled Germany in 1914 upon the road of war... For Germany it was a question of 'organizing' Europe. For the United States it is a question of 'organizing' the world. History is taking mankind directly into the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."

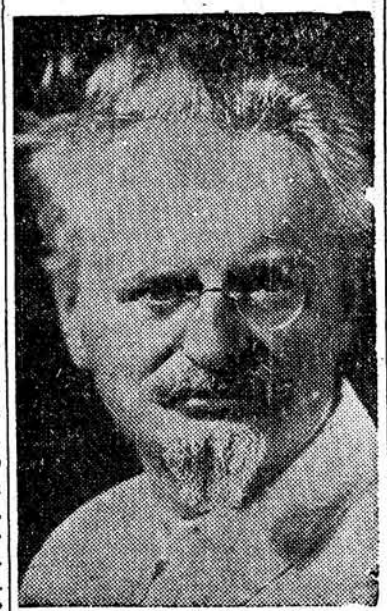
These prophetic words, written before World War II, before the atom bomb, Korean intervention, the Atlantic pact and the Marshall Plan, before the world-girdling armament drive by Washington, were the result of many years devoted to the study of American capitalism. American workers, who are so deeply affected by the bellicose war-trend of American capitalism, may well ask: How did Trotsky predict this trend with such certainty so many years ago? If Trotsky predicted it he must have had an understanding of its causes. We are justified in saying that by studying Trotsky's writings about America, workers can come to understand the causes of the war drive and how to fight it.

Trotsky lived in New York for a short time during 1917, and his autobiography describes his studies of the American economy: "The figures showing the growth of American exports during the (First World) War astounded me; they were in fact a complete revelation. And it was those same figures that not only predetermined America's intervention in the war but the decisive part that the United States would play in the world after the war, as well."

Since the American capitalists had branched out into the world market on such a gigantic scale, it was also necessary for the

American capitalist government to branch out as a world power. Trotsky later described the expansion of the American capitalist economy in a report to the Third Congress of the Communist International (1921) in these words: "We thus had, in the

Ideas Verified



LEON TROTSKY

space of seven years, a complete reversal in the sphere of the world division of labor. For four odd years Europe became converted into a sheet of fire... while the American capitalists warmed their hands at the flames."

AMERICAN DILEMMA

The great leap in American production and exports, Trotsky points out, came at a time when the European and world markets were entering upon a period of decline. Trotsky continued in the above report:

"America's productive capacity has grown extraordinarily but her market has vanished because Europe is impoverished and can no longer buy American goods. It is as if Europe had first done everything in her power to help America climb to the topmost rung and then pulled the ladder out."

In a remarkable paragraph later in the same speech, Trotsky summarized the course of capitalism from the beginning of the First World War: "At the given moment capitalism has entered a period of prolonged and profound depression. Strictly speaking, this epoch should have set in... as far back as 1913 when the world market as a result of 20 years of turbulent development had already become inadequate for the development of German, English and North American capitalism. These giants of capitalist development took it fully into account. They said to themselves: In order to avoid this depression which will linger for many years, we shall create an acute war crisis, destroy our rival and gain unchallenged domination over the world market that has become too constricted. But the war lasted far too long, provoking not only an acute crisis but a protracted

one; it destroyed completely Europe's capitalist economic apparatus, thereby facilitating America's feverish development. But, after exhausting Europe, the war led in the long run to a great crisis in America, too. Once again we are witnessing that self-same depression which they had sought to escape, but which has been intensified many-fold owing to Europe's impoverishment."

U.S. IMPERIALISM

With this development in the economic position of the U.S. Trotsky saw as a perspective, a big new turn in American foreign policy: "The (first) World War has completely dislodged the United States from its continental conservatism ('isolationism'). The program of ascending national capitalism — 'America for the Americans' (The Monroe Doctrine) — has been supplanted by the program of imperialism, 'The Whole World for the Americans.' From this Trotsky later drew the conclusion in his book 'Europe and America,' published in the mid-Twenties, that U.S. capitalism intends to put 'capitalist Europe on ration.'"

These are the essential elements of Trotsky's prediction as to American capitalism's world role: An "eruption of American imperialism" would have to come because the vast productive apparatus of American capitalism would try to dominate a correspondingly vast portion of the world market; U.S. capitalists will try to 'organize' the world put Europe on ration and dominate the entire world market. In this effort American capitalism will use "all methods"; its economy indicates a "high coefficient of destructive force."

We have certainly seen this coming true before our eyes in recent years. As a matter of fact, it is only in these last few years that Trotsky's prediction has developed fully, despite the fact that in 1921 elements of this picture had appeared. Trotsky took these elements, and seeing their importance and force, constructed the future from them. With the powerful vision of genius, he saw them as somewhat closer than they turned out in reality.

Trotsky yielded to no one in his admiration for American industrial techniques. In his Introduction to The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx he wrote: "The North American republic has gone further than others in the sphere of technique and the organization of production. Not only Americans but all of mankind will build on that foundation." But he saw this remarkable technical superiority paralyzed so long as capitalism continued to rule. He concluded his Introduction by predicting: "The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height." This great forecast is at present in the process of realization before our eyes.

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N.Y., Wis. SWP Reach Goals In Presidential Petition Drive

Senator Drive Starts in Wis.

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 16 —

Petition goals to secure a position on the November Presidential ballot in Wisconsin for the SWP candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, have been reached by the Wisconsin SWP. 1,000 signatures on three petitions for President, Vice-President, and 12 Presidential Electors have been obtained along with a sufficient safety margin of signatures. Work began on Aug. 9. Filing date for petitions is Sept. 23.

Work to obtain 5,000 signatures to place James E. Boulton, Milwaukee Organizer of the SWP, on the Independent ballot for U.S. Senator is approaching the half-way mark. The Wisconsin organization will also endeavor to nominate Raymond Shepherd, auto worker and Milwaukee SWP Executive Board member, for First District Assemblyman in Milwaukee.

FIGHT MCCARTHY

Boulton will campaign against Wisconsin's notorious Senator McCarthy, and the Democratic probable, Thomas Fairchild, who is shy of enthusiasm in the ranks of labor for his pro-employer rulings against utility strikers. Reports from the Wisconsin political scene indicate the complete disappearance of the People's Progressive Party, and show no evidence that the SP will nominate a candidate for U.S. Senator. Frank Zeidler, Milwaukee Mayor who advocated dissolution into the Democratic Party in 1950, attended the recent Democratic National Convention in Chicago as a DP guest. It appears that the SWP will occupy the position of a third party in the Wisconsin elections.

Hoodlums Attack Rallies of ALP

Hoodlums, shouting anti-Semitic slogans, attacked open-air rallies of the American Labor Party on New York's East Side on July 31 and Aug. 7. The second time they assaulted several persons, including one whose stomach was cut open by a nail-studded board. When ALP leaders went to a police station to complain, one of them was hit in the face by a captain. Another rally at the same place, 7th St. and Ave. A, has been called for Aug. 21. Police, who issued permits for the first two rallies and failed to protect them, promise to do better on Aug. 21.

SWP Candidates



Farrell Dobbs (L.) Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and Michael Bartell, candidate for U.S. Senate, who will head the anti-war ticket in N. Y.



Mass Protests Force Cut In Belgian Draft

By Charles Hanley

After vigorous popular demonstrations (in which even soldiers in uniform participated in several cases), expressing opposition to the 24-month term of military service, the Catholic Belgian government reduced this term to 21 months on Aug. 13. The present conscription law remains valid, but the Prime Minister, Jean Van Houtte, will use his powers under the law to release the soldiers after they have served 21 months.

The Socialist opposition had asked for an 18-month term as in France. The Van Houtte government officially declared it renounced the 24-month term because the other NATO-nations had failed to raise their service term to 24 months and Belgium could not be expected to keep a longer term than its Atlantic Treaty partners. (France and Italy: 18 months; Netherlands: 20 months; Luxembourg: 12 months.)

The Associated Press does not tell the truth when it pretends that the strikes and demonstrations which forced the government to change its position were "staged mainly by Communist-dominated trade unions." (N. Y. Herald Tribune, Aug. 14.) The Stalinists would have been unable to organize the 24-hour general strike of Aug. 9: They are but a small minority in the Belgian working class and dominate only a few, comparatively unimportant union in that country. The Socialists are the big party of the Belgian proletariat. The union leaders collaborate with the Socialist party. Most of them are anti-Stalinists.

The anti-militarist action of the Belgian workers has been truly political in character. It occurred in a period of relative absence of economic struggles and during the weeks of paid vacations of numerous workers, and is all the more remarkable for that reason.

LEADER IN FORD LOCAL CALLS FOR LABOR PARTY

DETROIT, Aug. 10 — A voice favoring a new political course for American labor spoke out this week, when Mike Donnelly, President of the Dearborn Assembly Plant Unit of the Ford Motor company urged the creation of a labor party, in his Aug. 9 column in Ford Facts, organ of Ford Local 600 UAW-CIO.

ANSWERS FORD

Writing an open letter to Henry Ford II, Donnelly gave an effective answer to a column in the Detroit Free Press written by Ford, giving his "impressions" of the two major political conventions.

"You say you were impressed with the convention delegate's faith," Donnelly wrote. "I say the delegates of both parties let the 156 million Americans down."

In his article, Ford termed himself "a sideline witness to the process by which democracy selects its leading men." Naturally he said nothing of the tremendous pressure exerted by himself and other leading manufacturers to get the Republican nomination for Eisenhower.

Donnelly's letter concludes: "What the Ford workers need in 1952 is an organized labor party. With over 60,000,000 working men and women in this country they should have more to say on how this country is being run."

Dobbs, Weiss Petitions for N.Y. Ballot Ready for Filing

The petition campaign to place the Socialist Workers Party ticket — Farrell Dobbs for President, Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President, and Michael Bartell for U.S. Senator — on the ballot in New York State has been concluded. Nearly 15,000 signatures in 61 counties were secured by the New

York state branches in an unprecedented three-week drive. To assure a safe margin against a possible challenge by the capitalist parties, the SWP obtained almost 8000 more signatures than are legally required, and more than double the minimum needed in each of the 61 counties.

FRIENDLY RECEPTION

At no time during the campaign in the more conservative up-state counties did any of the expected hostility materialize. Petition workers reported a friendly reception almost everywhere.

In the communities where signatures were hard to obtain, the resistance was based on fears of retaliation by the witch-hunters. Especially friendly and co-operative receptions were reported from industrial cities such as Schenectady, Norwich and Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam, many textile workers, who had been out on strike for 12 weeks, signed readily and expressed approval of our efforts to place labor candidates on the ballot.

At a number of places, even in Liberty, Sullivan County, the heart of the Catskill Mtn. resort areas, local workers enthusiastic over the idea of labor candidates, assisted the campaigners by voluntarily taking petitions and signing up their friends. This kind of assistance was also received in the Puerto Rican section of Harlem.

Many workers after signing the petitions bought literature and asked to be placed on the Party's mailing lists.

The necessary checking of signatures and other paper work still remains to be completed, but petitions will be ready to be filed early in September.

Over 19 Million Veterans in U.S.

The Veterans Administration reports that there were 19,288,000 living veterans in this country on June 30. This includes 921,000 veterans since the start of the Korean war, 15,369,000 veterans of World War II, and 3,919,000 of all other wars and peacetime service.

This means that more than one out of every four males in the United States, including children, has undergone some military service — or about two out of every five males above the age of 17.

If the draft continues at its present rate, the figure will soon reach one out of every two males above the draft age.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

ALBANY — For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-8 P.M. Social Sat. 10-12 P.M.
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 628 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3-9891.
CHICAGO — 734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 P.M. Phone Harrison 7-0403.
CLEVELAND — 10600 Superior Ave. Detroit 6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6397.
FLINT — SWP, 1307 Oak Street. Phone 22-6926.
LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4563.
MILWAUKEE — 817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 1:30-8:30 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 — 52 Market St., cor. Plane. NEW YORK CITY — 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.
BROOKLYN — 18 Nevins Street, 2nd floor.
OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information write P.O. Box 1953.
PHILADELPHIA — 1903-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.
ST. LOUIS — For information, Phone MO 7194.
ST. PAUL — Phone State headquarters. Main 7781.
SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore St. 4th fl. Open daily except Sunday, 12-8:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-6410.
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 9278.
YOUNGSTOWN — 254 E. Federal St.

A Socialist Alternative to War

(Continued from page 1)

the capitalist system. Wars may kill off millions of people, but they make a few capitalists rich and very, very rich. This is the reason for two world wars and now the threat of a third.

The Korean and Chinese people are not menacing our shores, our homes, our freedom. We are menacing and destroying them. But the people of Asia, all of Asia, threaten the right of American capitalists to exploit their land and their people. They are tired of the grinding poverty they have known as our allies. Their fighting capacity is born of the hope of a new and better life than they have known in the past.

Do you know what is happening in Asia? Do you know what gives these poorly equipped people the courage to stand up against the most powerful military force in history? To face napalm bombs and skies full of death? That courage is not inspired by Stalin. No dictator or tyrant could inspire such sacrifice of human life.

Philadelphians
hear the Great Debate on your radio
Socialism vs Capitalism
for Socialism — Mike Bartell and Anna Chester
for Capitalism — Professors from the Univ. of Penn.
Fri., Aug. 29, 11:15PM to 2 AM
WPEN (Steve Allison Program — 950 on dial)

A new order is growing in Asia. Century-old feudal land relations that kept the peasants in chronic famine are being destroyed. Women once sold into marriage or foreign-owned factories are ending their terrible bondage. They are winning their freedom from ancient slavery.

Wealthy American capitalists didn't bring them this freedom. Stalin didn't give them this new life. They fought for it and are winning it. A taste of freedom is enough for people to know the agony of the past and to abhor it. Our bombs can burn them alive but they can never destroy their dream of a better life.

If the American people knew the facts and could decide the issue of war or peace, there would be no war today or ever again. That is why the Republicans and Democrats do their planning in secret. They make secret treaties; conduct secret diplomacy; avoid debate even in Congress with undeclared wars. We Americans are the victims of a giant conspiracy.

But the truth breaks through all their war propaganda and hysteria. To ward off the anger the American people will feel as the deception is discovered, they are trying to frighten and intimidate us with an unprecedented attack on our civil liberties.

People are deprived of their jobs, persecuted and imprisoned for their opinions — not for crimes committed but for things they believe.

This witch-hunt isn't just aimed at the Stalinists. Militant workers, liberals, New Dealers, anyone who has anything critical to say

of the government in any of its policies finds himself the object of suspicion and persecution. Americans, who were once proud, independent and boldly free are being forced to speak cautiously, and to even think cautiously. Election laws are being changed to make it more difficult, and in many States, impossible for minority parties to get on the ballot. The entire organized labor movement has become the target of vicious anti-labor laws.

We are in danger of becoming the frightened and servile subjects of a military-police dictatorship. But all this is necessary because the cooks in Washington are brewing up a dish that none of us want, and they are going to try to force us to take it.

Once more the American people are going to have to intervene in the political life of our country. Only you can change the course of this nation. And it is your right and duty to change it. For you who labor, the worker, the farmer, the housewife and mother, the youth, are this nation, its substance and its strength.

We must break with the old two party system. We must build an independent labor party. We must win a workers and farmers government.

Such a government, based directly on your organizations, can organize a planned economy, where science can be put to work for the benefit of man instead of its destruction. Where we can live together in peace with the rest of the world.

We want to relieve the billions of their terrible problem

of how and where to invest their billions in profit. All this surplus wealth produced by the workers can be used for humanity. We will fight disease with it, build homes and bigger and better schools with it. We can prolong life with it, instead of destroying it. And if we still can't use all we can produce, we can work shorter hours and have longer vacations.

SOCIALIST FUTURE

Isn't such a life worth fighting for? Then why not fight for it? They ask you to fight for the so-called free-enterprise system and you know what that is. Capitalism has given us two world wars and a major depression. It is giving you inflation and taxes that your children and your children's children will still be paying off. It gives you race discrimination, national hatreds, police brutality, and all the weariness and loneliness of a life of labor burdened with insecurity. Is capitalism the best of all possible worlds? If man could progress no further than this we would be sorry creatures indeed. But through the centuries we have fought for and won an ever greater measure of freedom and human dignity. And we shall continue to do so.

With our socialist future, man's history will just begin. Instead of man fighting man, we shall be united in struggle for the conquest of nature. And all we must do for this great new world, is to learn to think, to know the truth, to have the courage to speak the truth, and to fight for it. If we do this, the tyrants can tremble for the world will be free.