

LEON TROTsky ON PACIFIST JUDAS-GOATS

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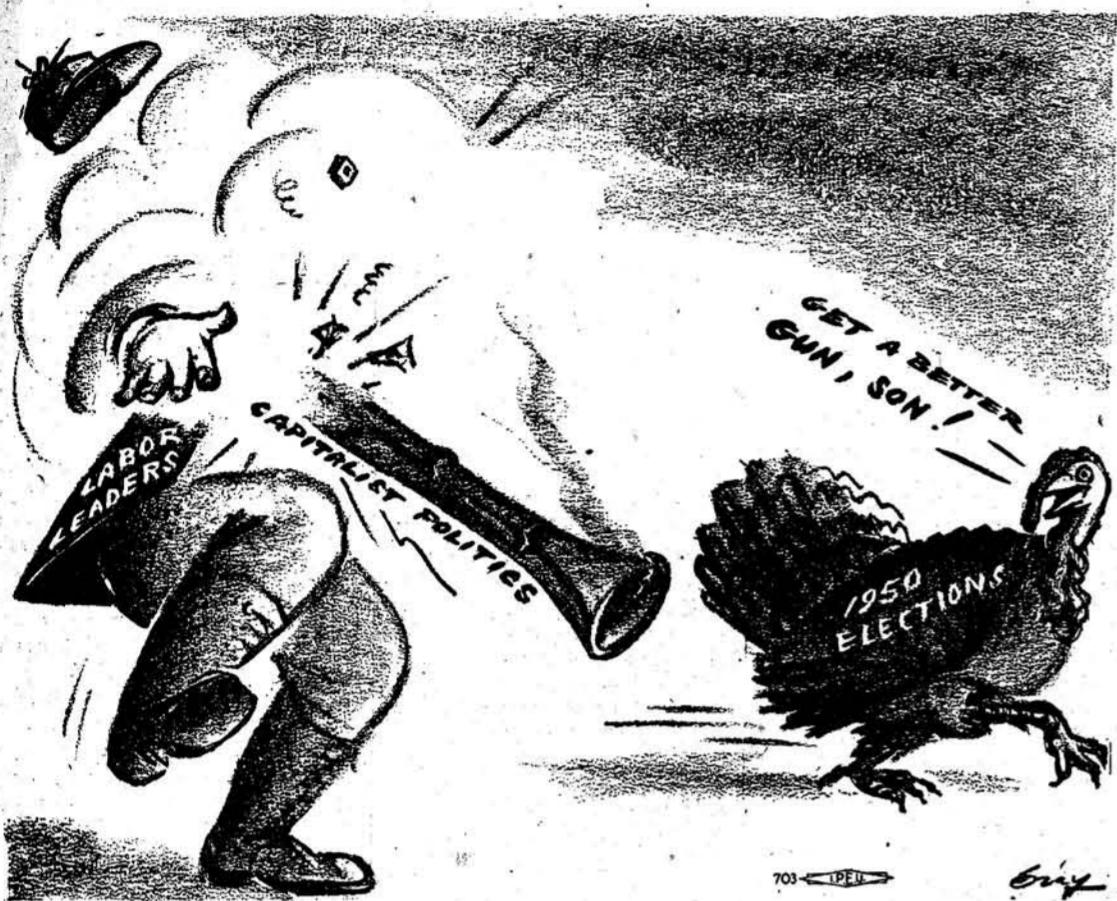
Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Truman Releases Big Handout to Butcher Franco

Contrary to his assurances of two months ago, Truman has ordered the release of the \$62,500,000 handout voted by Congress for the Spanish fascist butcher, Franco. The Economic Cooperation Administration announced on Nov. 15 that "at the direction of President Truman" the "United States loan aid for Spain will get under way immediately."

It will be none too soon for the shaky Franco regime which has bankrupted Spain and brought the Spanish workers and peasants to the verge of starvation. With the U. S. dollars Truman has so opportunely released to him, Franco will be able to reinforce the brutal terror which has kept his prisons and concentration camps overflowing.

PREDICTION CONFIRMED

At the time Truman said he would impound the Franco loan, the Sept. 4 Militant categorically predicted that "at the moment Truman feels the coast is clear he will unfreeze the loan."

The principal obstacle was the UN resolution of 1946 which barred Hitler's Axis partner from any UN agency and urged its member nations to withdraw their major diplomatic officers from Madrid. It would have been embarrassing, in view of the accusations Washington was making about North Korea and the Soviet Union, for the U. S. to take "unilateral" action in support of Spain.

But how many UN member nations dare to resist Washington's threat of withholding loans and ECA aid? It was no trick at all for the U. S. State Department to line up a 37 to 10 vote in the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly to reverse the 1946 policy. Thus, Truman now props up bloody Franco under cover of "UN sanction."

AS ASIA CRISIS MOUNTS LABOR SHOULD DEMAND: 'NO WAR WITH CHINA!'

By John G. Wright

NOV. 15 — The attention of the entire world is now fixed on the China-Korea border where American and Chinese troops are colliding. What the final outcome of the mounting international crisis

will be no one can tell with certainty. But it is no exaggeration to say that the greatest uncertainty reigns in Washington, that is, among the very circles chiefly responsible for the situation precipitated by Truman's plunge into Asia via his "police action" in Korea.

The struggle within the Administration on how to deal with this problem is acute," reports James Reston, political expert of the N. Y. Times. The proponents of some sort of settlement through diplomatic negotiations appear to have the upper hand for the time being. Many hopes are being pinned, especially in Europe, on a possible deal that might be achieved through "private discussions" with the nine-man Peiping delegation, headed by Gen. Wu Hsui-chuan, which at this writing is on its way to Lake Success.

Secretary of State Acheson took the occasion on Nov. 15 to make a public speech assuring the Chinese people that Washington is ready, in discussions with Peiping, to allay any possible "misunderstandings" and to "safeguard" any of China's "legitimate" interests in Korea. Just as important as these assurances, is the back-handed, and rather belated, admission that the Chinese people have every reason to be suspicious, if not alarmed, by Washington's role and aims at China's Korean border, economically so vital and militarily so vulnerable.

How would Washington react if a mighty foreign power seized Cuba, as Formosa was seized by

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 3

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

By Ernest Germain

Industrialization and electrification of a backward country is in itself a difficult enterprise, posing many economic problems which create tensions and sharp conflicts between different layers of the population. Trying to achieve that goal amidst a hostile imperialist world whose pressure is constantly exerted toward breaking through the barrier of the state monopoly of foreign trade, of re-integrating the country into the capitalist world market, makes this an even more difficult and hazardous enterprise. Following this determined plan of the construction of a socialist economy against the combined pressure of hostile forces from within, from the imperialist powers and from the "bloc" of countries subjected to the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy creates difficulties whose magnitude a foreigner can hardly appreciate without going to Yugoslavia and studying the problems on the spot.

Where Industrial Equipment Comes From

Industrialization means intensified accumulation; a great percentage of the national product cannot be consumed by the people but must be transformed into machines, tools, buildings, roads, trucks and locomotives. In Yugoslavia it was possible to do this without imposing

new hardships on the toiling masses, because a large part of the national income before the war was squandered by the native ruling classes, or went as tribute to the international capitalist class. But the conversion of this part of the national income, set aside for accumulation, into actual means of production and of transportation, cannot be achieved by the efforts of the Yugoslav economy alone. This transformation can be achieved only through an exchange of goods with foreign countries, which can deliver the necessary capital equipment which Yugoslavia does not yet produce herself.

When the first Five Year Plan was mapped out, a series of important if not key projects were based on commercial collaboration with other Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. The development of the bauxite mines and of an integrated aluminum industry was to be achieved through purchase of material from some of these countries. The Yugoslavs even paid in advance 50% of the price of the equipment they wanted to buy. After the Stalinist bureaucracy ordered its satellites to break off trade relations with Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav government

(Continued on page 2)

got the power he showed on election day, power which extended right into the heart of union territory throughout the state?" The truth is that this power was given to him largely by the labor

(Continued on page 3)

New Congress Threatens More Attacks on Labor

Myra Weiss Gets 7,498 Votes for Congress in L.A.

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 11—Myra Tanner Weiss, as a result of a fighting, dramatic campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives, rolled up the impressive vote of 7,498 in the Nov. 7 ballot.

This vote, 9.3% of the total cast for Congress in the 19th (Los Angeles) district, can be properly appreciated only against the backdrop of the present political scene in which the middle class, fear stricken and panicky, in a nationwide sweep turned its back on the labor movement and attached itself instead to the coat-tails of Big Business.

In a fitting climax to a hard-hitting campaign, Myra Weiss, after a four-hour struggle, succeeded in getting the microphone at the traditional City Hall election program following the closing of the polls. Undaunted by jeers and boos from the crowing Republican big-shots and hangers-on, she presented her socialist program briefly but inclusively to the radio and television audiences listening to the returns.

By thus hurling her defy at the most rabid of the reactionaries, she rounded out the task of speaking to all segments of the population. During preceding weeks, she had concentrated her efforts on appealing to trade unionists, Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Stalinists and Progressives.

SPOKE DAILY

As an example, during the course of one evening, she attempted to battle her way into 10 different union meetings. She managed to get the floor at three of them. She also spoke in Spanish at street-corner meetings in predominantly Mexican-American sections of the district, and addressed several pro-Stalinist organizations. She spoke at one or more meetings every day of the campaign.

Moreover, intensive electioneering was carried on in and near housing projects inhabited largely by Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Significantly, analysis of election returns showed that in these particular areas Comrade Weiss received between 15 and 20% of the votes, considerably higher than the over-all average of the district.

It is difficult to estimate as yet how many of the votes for Myra Weiss, who ran as an independent candidate endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), were cast by Stalinists. But there is good reason to believe that this campaign marked the first time

(Continued on Page 2)



UNION LEADERS' ALIBIS INDICT THEIR OWN POLICY

By George Breitman

The post-election explanations of the labor and liberal leaders for the defeats of the Democratic candidates they had supported can be summarized in three points: 1. The American people were expressing a "feeling of insecurity and uncertainty" resulting from the international situation and its consequences at home. 2. The voters were confused by McCarthyism and "the unscrupulous use of the 'big lie' technique." 3. Anyhow, the results, while unfortunate, were not as "disastrous" as they might have been because it is normal for the party in power to lose ground in Congress during off-election years. (The quotations are from the statement of Jack Kroll, CIO-PAC director.)

But none of these explanations, even the ones that contain elements of truth, offer the slightest justification for the policy of supporting capitalist politicians followed by the labor leaders, ADA, Liberal Party, etc.

THE WAR QUESTION

It is true that the American people had a "feeling of insecurity and uncertainty" when they went to the polls and that, as Kroll puts it, they are "concerned over the possibility of world-wide conflict with its hardships in terms of casualties and in terms of shortages, increased taxes, and other sacrifices." They would really be blind not to feel that way, and not to want to express their resentment against conditions so strikingly different from the ones promised by the labor-supported Democrats in the 1948 election.

Yes, a great many voters were

opposed to or skeptical about Truman's foreign policy. But how could they express their sentiments? The labor leaders and liberals gave them no answer; on the contrary, they insisted on the re-election of the Democratic candidates who support this administration policy, liberal and conservative alike. That is why many voters, including workers, seeing no other alternative, were driven to the Republicans, who at least criticized certain aspects of foreign policy and made a pretense of standing for something else.

By supporting an unpopular war program and the Democratic politicians associated with it, the labor leaders and liberals themselves contributed to the gains of the Republican wing of capitalist reaction.

Francis Biddle, ADA national chairman, sees an "unhealthy demonstration of the effectiveness of McCarthyism" in the election results. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., ADA "theoretician," discerns an "electoral endorsement of McCarthyism." Kroll deplores "the unscrupulous use of the 'big lie' technique."

The least they are admitting, by implication, is that neither they nor the Democrats they backed proved capable of answering or discrediting McCarthyism. How could they?

McCarthyism was made possible by the Truman administration's

(Continued on page 3)

Bi-Partisan War Drive to Dictate Course

By Art Preis

The incoming Congress, like its more solidly Democratic predecessor, will be dominated by the bi-partisan war program. War preparations and militarization of the country at an ever-accelerating pace will determine the basic policies of the new 82nd Congress. That is why the American people can expect further onslaughts against their living standards and civil liberties.

This Congress will continue the reactionary drive of the previous ones. It will be "more to the right" and "worse" only in the sense that each succeeding Congress since 1938 — when the War Deal supplanted the New Deal — has marked a deepening of capitalist reaction.

This does not mean that there will be no modification in emphasis and tempo with respect to particular details of domestic and foreign policy. In the domestic sphere especially, the victory of McCarthyism will be regarded as a go-ahead signal for more virulent witch-hunting and attacks on civil liberties. It will embolden Big Business and its political agents in both major parties to more brazen and open attacks on organized labor.

NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

But it would be wrong to conclude that things would be much different even in this respect — as the liberals and Trumanite union leaders would have us believe — if the Democrats had retained or even increased their majority, which has been reduced but not destroyed.

The big financial and industrial interests do not give too much weight to the fact that the Republicans have made gains in Congress at the expense of the Democrats. Their view is stated quite candidly by J. B. Wallach, business analyst of the N. Y. World-Telegram:

"Business jumped to no conclusions this week following the tallying of the nation's votes. In normal times, GOP gains would have been accorded all due significance, but business now feels that forces stronger than parties will shape its immediate future... business doesn't anticipate any let-up in defense spending and (Continued on page 2)

PAC, LLPE LINE MADE TAFT VICTORY POSSIBLE

By Harry Braverman

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 12 — The political organizations of the trade union movement are today in a new situation created by the smashing victory of Taft in Ohio

officialdom themselves. They have been the victims of the reactionary mood which they have worked so hard to create in the ranks of labor during the past three and four years.

An election held in Ohio within the year following the passage of the Taft-Hartley law would surely have resulted in the defeat of Taft, or at least in a sizable anti-Taft majority in the industrial centers. The miserable failure of the Democratic administration and its supporters in the labor officialdom to carry out their promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley law has had its effect.

More than that, the labor officialdom has been unable to campaign effectively against that law as a whole because they have made their peace with each and every provision of the law, and even incorporated much of it in "little Taft-Hartley laws" in union constitutions in the form of "anti-communist" provisions, etc. They expelled whole unions from the CIO, and sought to label as an "outlaw" and "disrupter" the one union leader who fought the law in word and deed, John L. Lewis.

The AFL and CIO "leaders," thoroughly whipped by Taft in the conflict over the law, went over to his side on most of the individual provisions, but then sought to take their "revenge" on Election Day. This didn't work so well. A mood established among the workers by three years of passive servility cannot be reversed in six weeks of breast-beating speeches.

The militants in the plants became more and more isolated. The right wing, scissorbill elements were emboldened. And the mass given to him largely by the labor



Workers Showed Little Enthusiasm In Illinois for Anti-Labor Democrats

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Nov. 8 — Scott Lucas, Senate majority leader and No. 3 Democrat nationally, was decisively defeated for re-election yesterday by Everett Dirksen, who has been closely linked with the

McCormick faction of the Republican party. Lucas, endorsed by the CIO, AFL and ADA leaders, failed to carry Cook County, traditional Democratic stronghold.

The major reasons for Lucas' defeat were the apathy and even open resentment of many workers to his reactionary record and campaign for re-election, the dissatisfaction and anxiety which were crystallized by the turn of events in Korea and the revelations by the Chicago Sun-Times of the self-implicating testimony of Captain Dan Gilbert, Democratic candidate for sheriff, before the Kefauver crime investigation committee.

With the support of the bankrupt labor leadership securely in his pocket, Lucas unabashedly courted the most reactionary elements in the state for support of his candidacy. He campaigned against national health insurance and defended the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law.

Prominent among his supporters were Walter Cushman, attorney for the Fair Rent Committee, a real estate group trying to smash rent control; Stuyvesant Peabody, head of the union-busting Peabody Coal Co.; and John Deere, tycoon of the agricultural implement industry. Deere was appointed to the Lucas Finance Committee in the midst of a wage strike of 4,000 UAW-CIO workers at the John Deere plants. Small wonder that many workers ignored the advice of the Germans, Soderstroms and other union leaders telling them to back Lucas once more.

In industrial Chicago, traditionally Democratic, the total vote was lower than that of the previous off-year election in 1946. At the same time, in middle-class areas, the vote approximated and in some cases exceeded that of the 1948 presidential election. In downstate Illinois, Lucas failed to carry the heavily industrialized union leaders telling them to back (Continued on Page 2)

N.Y. SWP Ran Effective Campaign

By Ben Stone

NEW YORK, Nov. 15 — Scattered returns from upstate counties, added to the record Socialist Workers Party vote in New York City, give the SWP candidates the following totals as of this date: Joseph Hansen for U. S. Senator, 13,746; Michael Bartell for Governor, 12,808; Gladys Barker for Lt. Governor, 12,085; Arthur Preis for Attorney General, 10,491; Harry Ring for Comptroller, 10,234. Reports are still lacking from 30 counties, including some industrial areas.

The election campaign here was one of the most effective in the history of the SWP. First must be recorded the success of SWP campaigners petitioning for signatures in every county and obtaining a total of 17,249, well above the 12,000 legally required. Readers of *The Militant* will recall how these signatures were obtained in the face of attempts at intimidation by hoodlum elements working in conjunction with public authorities throughout the state.

ON RADIO AND TV

The record of accomplishment in utilizing radio and television is also impressive. Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, and Joseph Hansen spoke over three national hook-ups from New York in July. A series of six SWP broadcasts was given over Station WNEW. Michael Bartell spoke over the Columbia Broadcasting System on a state-wide hook-up. Gladys

Barker and Harry Ring made brief post-election statements over Station WNYC.

Another accomplishment, which is becoming a regular part of SWP election campaigns, was SWP participation in the television program, *Voice of the People*, over the Daily News Station WPIX. On these television programs the SWP spokesmen came face to face with the representatives of the American Labor Party and each time left them in a state bordering on prostration.

The SWP candidates participated in a series of public forums and spoke before such groups as the Labor Temple, YMCA and student organizations, including the Spartacus Club at New York University. The student paper, *Square Bulletin*, ran a front-page

article on Bartell's candidacy along with his picture.

STREET CORNER RALLIES

The street corner meetings held in New York City proved to be a revelation of the real sentiments of the workers in the face of all-out efforts to incite a lynch hysteria against radical parties.

A total of 30 street corner rallies were held throughout the city, most of them in the working-class sections of the lower East Side, Harlem and Brownsville. The last meeting on the lower East Side was the biggest held by the SWP in the entire campaign, attracting several hundred people. The response of the audience was indicated by a record sale of *The Militant*.

This response was all the more significant because the meeting took place in the center of a former Stalinist stronghold. The most fanatical of the Stalinist remnants tried for a while to disrupt the meeting. But the majority listened attentively. When the hecklers persisted in their disruptive tactics, they were silenced by others in the audience.

Bartell, the main speaker, stood on the platform for about an hour answering questions thrown at him from all directions. After the meeting finally adjourned long past its scheduled finishing time, the scene recalled an old-fashioned political rally of the most radical days, with knots of workers gathered all over the street, discussing the issues raised at the meeting.

This meeting, like the campaign as a whole, gave one the feeling that the day is not far distant when the SWP will gain the allegiance of the radicalized workers of the East Side, as it will of the radical workers everywhere.

ed the New Deal. Their vote in this district was 904.

HIS OWN CRUSADE

The SWP vote was 327, the most we ever received in this area. Our campaign was not waged simply as a protest campaign. We pointed toward the coming great decisive battle between capital and labor in America, and we advocated that labor break its ties with the capitalist politicians and build a labor party — a party of the workers, Negro people, working farmers and youth.

Unlike the Stalinist candidates who spoke of "eventually" insisting that the working class struggle for socialism was the most burning task of the present day.

It was Mrs. Powell, the Republican candidate, who reminded the electorate of Mitchell's vote against the Un-American Committee. She did so to expose Mitchell as an "appeaser" of Communists. Every time the Republicans cited his past liberal votes, off went Mitchell on another red-baiting spree.

Mitchell followed up his vote for thought-control by teaming up with his running mate, Senator Magnuson, to enforce the water-front "screening" program. Magnuson is author of the Waterfront Security Act which legalizes the purge of seamen by the Coast Guard. This act is a perfect example of how witch-hunting and union-busting are made to go hand in hand.

Wherever he spoke, in his press statements and in his ads, Mitchell presented himself as the man with the program to stop Communism in Asia and at home. There wasn't a remnant of the "Fair Deal" demagogic he used in 1948.

What Mitchell's campaign points up is that we have reached the end of the Roosevelt era in American politics. The curtain is coming down on 17 years of reforms and reform demagogery under the name of the New Deal, Fair Deal or Welfare State. The last act of this hoax on the working people was played in the election of 1948.

MITCHELL'S CAMPAIGN

Opposition to the drive toward a police state, the Stalinists, running under the designation of the Independent Party and the Progressive Party, could only put forward negative protest. They offered no way out. The end of the Roosevelt era finds them clinging to the memory of the few miserable hand-outs, labelled "great social reforms," that mark

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MINORITY PARTIES

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MINORITY PARTIES

There is still a very limited production of manufactured consumer goods in Yugoslavia. It cannot import any of them when it has to concentrate on the import of industrial equipment. These manufactured consumer goods, on the other hand, must be distributed in such a way as to prevent a growing inequality of real income; they must be divided as equally as possible among the whole population, everybody getting his normal share.

Finally, it is necessary to feed the workers and city population regularly at any price, whatever the amount of manufactured goods available for the village, in exchange for the food products the village sends to the city.

This problem, fundamentally the same as Soviet Russia confronted in the beginning of its New Economic Policy, boils down to the following difficulty: how to neutralize the uneven development of agriculture and consumer goods industry. Agriculture is able, once restored to a "normal" level of production, to provide the whole country with sufficient food, while the production of consumers goods is still far from sufficient to satisfy the needs of the entire population.

MINORITY PARTIES

In the Soviet Union the Stalinist bureaucracy tried to solve that problem first by compromising with the well-to-do elements in the village, making more and more concessions to them until they felt strong enough to seize the state by the throat, refusing to deliver their stored-up wheat to the city population. Then overnight the panic-stricken bureaucracy turned towards "solving" the agricultural problem by force, destroying the private farms, imposing collectivization on the peasants, and deporting millions of them to Siberia when they showed reluctance or opposition to that policy.

MINORITY PARTIES

The Yugoslav leaders are tackling the problem in a fundamentally different way. They have instituted a dual market for all consumer goods, agricultural as well as industrial. The market of rationed goods, at state fixed prices, tends to assure every working man and woman in the country of a minimum real wage. The peasants are forced to deliver part of their production to the state at fixed prices. Thereby, the workers and city population

Bi-Partisan War Drive Dictates Basic Policies of New Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

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to begin with, whatever for-the record gestures he may make with respect to social improvement legislation. If his "Fair Deal" program was repudiated under the more favorable circumstances of the 81st Congress, it is no reason to expect him to put up any kind of real fight for it in the coming Congress.

So far as any modification of the war drive is concerned, Wallace points out, "business attaches little credence to reports that GOP victories mean stronger support (in Congress) for isolationism." As is well known, an important section of the Republicans, represented by people like Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, substantially support Truman's war program, including the North Atlantic military alliance and the mounting of Western Europe.

Truman, as in the past, can be expected to get almost anything relating to his war program passed. This is his chief concern

"As far as your bread-and-butter life is concerned, as long as remobilization remains a vital force, it doesn't matter much whether your new Congressman wears the insignia of the elephant or of the donkey. . . . Republicans or Democrats, the new legislators will vote 'yes' to more and more billions for defense and rearmament — placing us as quickly as possible on a war basis akin to the early '40s."

BIPARTISAN PROGRAM

Thus, regardless of shifts in party strength and alignments, the new Congress will mean a continuation of rising prices and heavier withholding taxes; it will mean greater government controls over labor leading to a wage and job freeze, compulsory arbitration and government regulation of unions. But this is not a specifically Republican program. It is the program already written

into the Defense Mobilization Act passed by the 81st Congress and signed by Truman.

The profiteers will benefit still more from the new Congress. The shift toward the Republicans in the elections will be taken as a pretext for blocking excess profits taxes. But it was the Democrats who deferred such legislation. Sylvia Porter — a Trumanite — reveals that "the Treasury itself doesn't warm up to the concepts of another World War II type of excess profits tax; privately, Administration officials condemn this levy as unfair, unwieldy, even inflationary. Organized labor has been the drawn in the polling booths of the nation Nov. 7, no matter what the politicians said beforehand and no matter what the pundits have said since. . . .

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THE OLD CONGRESS

We hear complaints, from the union leaders in particular, that the victory of the Republicans means that the "Fair Deal is out the window surely until 1952." This implies that if the Democrats had gained a few seats instead of losing a few, Truman's 1948 election promises would have been realized in the forthcoming Congress.

The last Congress did not lack

for a sufficient Democratic majority to have enacted the promised Fair Deal measures. The Democrats — except for an insignificant exception — agreed with the Republicans on such measures as retention of the Taft-Hartley Act, enactment of the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, opposition to FEPC, federal health insurance and federal aid to education, etc.

Many of the leading Democrats whose defeat in the elections is

bewailed by the union leaders are utter reactionaries. A case in point is Senator Lucas of Illinois, Democratic majority leader, who voted for such measures as the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and the McCarran-Kilgore Law.

Naturally, the new Congress

will try to take all possible advantage of the psychological effect of the election results on the morale of labor and to press for every measure that will throw the burden of the war program on the workers and further regiment the people. But it would be a mistake to think that Congress will throw all caution to the winds.

Even the Republicans are cognizant of labor's potential power. They have learned respect for it and know that only the false policies of the union leaders, who have tried to keep labor tied to the capitalist political machines and government, have prevented the organized workers from utilizing their power effectively. The very existence of the mighty labor movement, still numerically as strong as ever, acts as a certain restraint upon the political reactionaries.

The latter will press as far as they dare without inciting the labor movement to a real show of action and strength. They will take everything they can. How much they take or if they take anything at all, however, still rests with labor. If it now reverses its course, if it takes the road of militant action, if it breaks all ties with the capitalist parties and politicians and starts to build its own independent party, it can quickly change the sweet flavor of "victory" in reaction's mouth into gall.

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TROTSKY

— Leon Trotsky, Lessons of October, 1924.



LENIN

Wallace Still Haunts Them

Every time Henry Wallace opens his mouth these days, the Stalinists stand more discredited. Neither their studied attempts to ignore him, nor their occasional hysterical outcries against him can efface from public memory the fact that Wallace was their great model of an "anti-war" leader.

Last week, this ex-Gideon of the Stalinists let loose another call for support to American imperialism and its war program, this time urging the United States to arm "as fast as possible" against the Soviet Union.

We do not expect that the leaders of the Communist Party and the Stalinist-controlled Progressive Party or the editors of the Daily Worker on this occasion will offer any more convincing explanation than before on why they are not to be held accountable for Wallace, whose pro-war influence is strengthened by the fact that until recently he bore "anti-war" credentials from the Stalinists themselves.

Whenever Wallace is mentioned, the Stalinists assume the guise of outraged innocents. How were they to know they were nurturing a viper in their bosoms? Who could tell that Wallace would "betray" them, that he would turn out to be a bad egg when the shell was cracked?

But the Stalinists knew that the Wallace egg they were trying to sell to the American people was bad. They knew Wallace was a supporter of capitalism

and they had his own public utterance for it, in advance of the 1948 election, that in the event American imperialism went to war he would support that war.

They misrepresented Wallace as a great "anti-war" leader solely because, at that time, he represented the point of view that war with the Soviet Union could be avoided by a deal between Washington and Moscow to divide up the world into spheres of influence. And the Stalinists are still ready to promote the political fortunes of any other capitalist politician who speaks of "harmonizing" the interests of the Kremlin and the White House and offers this as a guarantee of peace.

We Trotskyists always knew and said that the only guarantee of peace is the victory of world socialism and that anyone who supports capitalism — even "progressive" capitalism — must sooner or later wind up in the camp of the open war-mongers.

Thus, on Dec. 1, 1947, The Militant, in an editorial headed "Stalinists Are Always 'Betrayed,'" foretold: "It can be safely predicted that the Stalinists are in for more 'betrayals' by their current 'friends' and the 'progressive' capitalist politicians. Is the day far distant in this country when Henry Wallace will buckle under the war drive and 'betray' the Stalinists who now so loudly support him?"

The Stalinists can't say they didn't know and weren't warned.

Effect of Elections on U.S. Foreign Policy

Atlantic Allies Jittery Over Prospect Of Aid Cuts, Stepped-Up Rearmament

By Frank Poole

The election results here came as an unwelcome shock to Washington's Atlantic allies, arousing considerable apprehension among them. This was widely expressed in the outspoken comments of the most influential British, French and other European newspapers, among them semi-official mouthpieces of governments now in power.

By and large this European reaction to the elections was glossed over by the press here. Harold Callender, Paris correspondent of the N. Y. Times, summed it up as fear on the part of many Europeans that American foreign policy would shift in a direction that "might make more difficult relations between Washington and Europe."

AT EXPENSE OF EUROPE

As the two main developments that would strain relations between Western Europe and the U. S., Callender lists, first, "a swing to the right politically," and secondly, a "greater emphasis upon the Far East at the expense of Europe, and of a stronger effort to sacrifice Marshall Aid to military aid."

Even before the elections the Truman administration made it quite plain that civilian aid would be sharply cut and the European arms program must take precedence over everything else. Theodore White, Paris correspondent of the N. Y. Compass quotes "one of the top" American propaganda chiefs of the Marshall Plan as saying: "Next year our civilian aid tapers off sharply. Britain may not get any, and France alone will get more military aid than all Europe will get in civilian aid."

The European capitalists, as we have repeatedly pointed out, are fearful of repercussions among the masses that large-scale rearments will unavoidably entail. They want to go slow. They therefore cannot but view with apprehension the election of people like Dirksen of Illinois, one of whose campaign planks was the suspension of Marshall Plan aid.

What alarmed European circles even more were statements such as the one made by Sen. Taft after his victory in Ohio. Taft minced no words in posing the question of whether Europe is "defensible at all" and openly raised doubts about the policy of

PAC, LLPE LINE MADE TAFT VICTORY POSSIBLE

(Continued from page 1)

of workers wavering in the center reasoned: "If everyone, including our union leaders, tells us that the left wing is bad and the right is better, we might as well go where we can get the original article. The Republicans have been telling us that for a long time."

The war in Korea, and the threat of a third world war had a similar effect, in Ohio and nationally. The labor leaders point with pride to the Democratic foreign policy. They use the label "isolationist" as an epithet which they applied to their opponents. They virtually campaigned on the slogan: "We got you into war!"

That this had the opposite to the desired effect is testimony to the continued existence of a



MacARTHUR

MacArthur Gang of "Asia-Firsters" Strengthened in Incoming Congress

By Fred Hart

One of the big gainers in the recent elections was that section of the American ruling circles and the military who are grouped around Gen. MacArthur. This group is pressing for an immediate showdown in the Far East, and refuses to stop short of a "display of strength" sufficient to assure complete U. S. domination of Asia.

The "isolationist" Republicans who have been elected, notably Dirksen of Illinois, are without exception firm and enthusiastic supporters of the MacArthur policy for Asia.

Since the next Congress will be more dominated than the last by the reactionary coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, their role in deciding foreign policy strengthens the MacArthur school of colonial conquest, even though it still does not give this group the decisive say in Washington.

FOR NAKED FORCE

Heedless of the altered relation of forces in Asia since the heyday of old colonialism, contemptuous of the Asian masses and their expressed will to free themselves from the foreign yoke, the influential and powerful group of American imperialists, whose idol and spokesman is MacArthur, propose to achieve their dream of ruling Asia through the use of naked force as was done by the old colonial powers.

What gives them added strength is the fact that U. S. foreign policy is now increasingly dominated by its policy in the Far East. This is by no means an accidental or episodic development.

THEIR MAIN AIM

The Stalinist line then was to oppose the formation of an independent labor party that might, and probably would for a time, be headed by union leaders who supported the bipartisan foreign policy of cold war against the Soviet Union. Such a break with the world-wide plot against America. . . Let's quit kidding ourselves. Russia has started World War III. . . That's why we should tell Russia bluntly that if she forces us into a major conflict we will carry the fight directly to her instead of slaughtering her poor dupes, the Chinese coolies."

This is obviously by the "fight Russia" gang as a trial balloon to test public reaction not only here but abroad.

In 1948 the state ticket of the ALP received 509,000 votes; this year the top ALP state vote was 209,000 votes — a drop of around 60%. In 1949 the ALP vote for mayor of New York City was 356,000 votes; this year it received 149,000 votes for the same office — also a drop of around 60%. In addition, Marcantonio, while getting the same number of votes as in 1948, lost the party's only congressional seat to a reactionary tripartisan-coalition candidate, although keeping this seat had been made the ALP's major objective in the election.

Why has the ALP vote fallen to the lowest in its 14-year history? Marcantonio, writing in the Nov. 12 Compass, does not even try to answer this. To divert attention from this omission, he goes into a harangue about the "wifish thinking" of the press for "writing off" the ALP and he denies that the low vote can be used "as the theme of this obituary." He demolishes the straw man that the ALP is dead, but he doesn't say why the ALP is sick and growing weaker.

TWO STANDARDS

On the other hand, he uses a different kind of argument when discussing the ALP's opponents. The Liberal Party's vote fell to — from 426,000 votes for Lehman in 1949 to 304,000 for him this year, a 29% decline; and from 372,000 for its 1949 Republican mayoralty candidate to 225,000 for its 1950 Tammany mayoralty candidate, a 40% decline. Many of the ADA candidates were defeated, including some of its leading members.

On the decline in their vote, Marcantonio says: "This election definitely wiped out the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party as a political force." Look who's talking about wifish thinking! According to him, the decline in the Liberal and ADA vote means they are done for, while the even greater decline in his own party's vote is brushed aside as of trifling significance. Marcantonio evidently has a low opinion of his supporters' intelligence; otherwise, he wouldn't insult them with such stupid claims.

SAME AS BEFORE

ALP voters may dismiss all this as braggadocio, but they can't do the same with Marcantonio's aggressive statement that the same false policies of the past will be continued. He says:

"If the Democratic Party refuses to permit us to choose a labor man to oppose Taft, but compels us to accept a machine man; if that party prevents us from advancing a genuine independent labor program; and if on top of that, the Democratic Party machine gives no support to its own campaign and even campaigns against itself, then what is the use of being in the Democratic Party? Is it not more of a liability than an asset to us? Will we not be able, by striking out on our own, to build an independent labor party, which in time will be able to beat both capitalist parties?"

To fully understand what this means, it is necessary to remember that at the end of 1947 sentiment inside the unions for independent labor political action was probably greater than ever before, especially because of the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act that year with the aid of the Democratic Party. Instead of promoting the movement for an independent labor party, the Stalinists sabotaged it.

In order to get a big flashy vote for an "anti-war" candidate

That is what, at bottom, has precipitated the crisis in the Far East. That is what impelled the Truman administration to make "concessions" to the MacArthur gang.

The differences between Washington and MacArthur are tactical and not basic ones. It is this that renders so ominous the political strengthening on Capitol Hill of the MacArthur school of colonial conquest.

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Labor Leaders 'Explain' Results

(Continued from Page 1)

votes to those of Marcantonio, Walter Reuther did the same in reverse. The Democrats and their labor allies, imitating the Republicans, distributed pictures of Taft talking to Browder and of Cagert talking to UE leaders.

Furthermore, the labor leaders conducted their own witch-hunts in the unions. How could the workers in these unions be impressed or aroused by the complaints of their leaders against red-baiting by the Republicans? When these leaders were using the very same weapon against militant workers?

McCarthyism is truly a potent force in this country today. The Democrats and their labor and liberal lieutenants are responsible for that too. And there is no reason to think they will be able to combat McCarthyism any more effectively in 1952 than they did in 1950.

"NORMAL"?

Equally damaging to the labor leaders is their claim that "it could have been worse." Things can ALWAYS be worse, and a

policy that has to be defended with this as the main argument can't be very good to begin with. . . It is not at all preordained that the party in power must lose strength in Congress during non-presidential years. The old alibi that such a decline is "normal" was based on the theory that it happened because the workers vote in lesser numbers during off-year elections. But that was explained this year when the turnout was exceptionally big.

Anyhow, even if you grant that the labor leaders are correct and that it is really unavoidable that the Tafts and McCarthys must win every other two years, the prospect offered by the policy of supporting capitalist politicians is still not very alluring. According to this approach, the best the workers can hope for is one step forward in presidential years, one step backward in non-presidential years. Even from their own standpoint, how can the labor leaders defend their policy as one leading to progress for labor?

That is why labor today is on the defensive politically. And that is where it will remain until the policy of supporting capitalist politicians is replaced by the policy of building an independent labor party to challenge the parties of Big Business for political power.

tion at all. A crushing defeat in 1946, a "victory" in 1948 that produced no gains for the workers, and new losses in 1950 — that is the four-year record of the labor leaders who reject the formation of an independent labor party on the ground that it is not "practical."

They alienated voters, both middle class and working class, who were looking for an alternative to the administration's war program. Their alliance with hacks like Ferguson and Lucas cost them plenty of working class votes too (Kroll estimates only 25% of the wives of Ohio union men were registered). They exhibited total bankruptcy in the face of McCarthyism. Things could be worse all right, but not much.

That is why labor today is on the defensive politically. And that is where it will remain until the policy of supporting capitalist politicians is replaced by the policy of building an independent labor party to challenge the parties of Big Business for political power.

Actually, it is not a one step forward, one step backward situa-

Pacifist Judas-Goats

By Leon Trotsky

(This article, actually written over 33 years ago, might have been written last week, with only a few words changed, as a commentary on the role of Henry Wallace, previously touted by the Stalinists as an "anti-war fighter," who called in a speech on Nov. 12 at the New York Community Church for U.S. rearmament "as fast as possible." Like William Jennings Bryan during World War I, Wallace is now using his "anti-war" reputation to mobilize mass sentiment for imperialist war. Trotsky's article, abridged below, originally appeared in the Russian paper, *Vpered*, on June 30, 1917, shortly after his return to Russia from the United States.—Ed.)

Each epoch has not only its own technology and political form, but also its own style of hypocrisy. Time was when the nations destroyed each other for the glory of Christ's teachings and the love of one's neighbor. Now Christ is invoked only by backward nations. The advanced nations cut each other's throats under the banner of pacifism... a league of nations and a durable peace...

Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy... these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs.

Naturally its nationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nations — with tongues of poesy, moral philosophy and certified accounting — that they would profit more by establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth pacifism was afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy: its pointed criticisms addressed themselves to the surface of political phenomena, not daring to penetrate to their economic causes.

At the hands of capitalist reality, the idea of eternal peace, on the basis of a "reasonable" agreement, has fared even more badly than the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. For capitalism, when it rationalized industrial conditions, did not rationalize the social organization of ownership, and thus prepared instruments of destruction such as even the "barbarous" middle ages never dreamed of.

The constant embitterment of international relations and the ceaseless growth of militarism completely undermined the basis of reality under the feet of pacifism. Yet it was from these very things that pacifism took a new lease on life, a life which differed from its earlier phase as the blood and purple sunset differs from the rosy-fingered dawn...

Abundant Life--For Some

By Larissa Reed

At the Armistice Day ceremonies held at Arlington Cemetery, General Marshall made a very touching speech about the almost 5,000 American boys who have been killed so far in Korea. "Each of these casualties represents a precious life, precious to the individual and precious to his family and friends." What did these boys sacrifice their precious lives for? Marshall said: "These boys fought, bled and died... to make life more abundant for all of us."

Did the lives they lost succeed in making "life more abundant for all of us?" One thing is sure — while American boys were fighting and dying in Korea over the past four months, an abundance of profits was made by the magnates of steel, oil, automobile, metals, textile, transport, aircraft, chemicals, radio, etc. Big corporations "piled up record-smashing profits during the third quarter of 1950" reports the Nov. 6 CIO News. While Korea was being blasted, Big Business gained a net profit of almost two billion dollars, 51% more than the same period in 1949.

The rich have every reason to gloat over that fine, "abundant" life brought to them by a war that has cost so many lives. But what about the families and friends of these casualties? Most of them belong to the working class, which gets no profits out of war, but has to bear the cost of it. Washington lost no time in rushing through a tax of almost five billion dollars that cut the pay-

checks of every worker. Today people earning less than \$5,000 a year are being taxed as much as they were at the height of World War II.

But this is only a beginning. Since that war ended, over 90 billion dollars have been spent in little wars and preparations for bigger ones (Greece, Turkey, Korea, the Marshall Plan, armaments, atom bombs, etc.) Now the arms budget is expected to cost anywhere from 50 to 70 billion dollars each year. To cover this in part, Congress is contemplating another ten billions in taxes.

Meanwhile the capitalists, gorged with profits such as they had never dared dream of, are fighting tooth and nail against an excess profits tax that would make them hand back a fraction of their super-profits. Heartened by the elections, a committee of 100 top executives was formed last week to conduct an "all-out fight" against such a tax. As workers might expect, this committee includes the names of some of the top corporation executives in the country, and they will have the support of all their fellow-capitalists. But workers who were talked into supporting the Democrats at the recent election might be surprised to find that Leon Henderson, big wheel in the New Deal and former head of Americans for Democratic Action, and Wilson Wyatt, former Fair Deal housing chief, are also associated with this committee. The liberals are doing their bit too — to make life "more abundant" for Big Business.

Short Subjects

By John Petrone

Harry Horowitz, 36-year old real estate broker in Seattle, must have been impressed by the prevailing "loyalty oath" spirit that developed in the nation's capital and has spread throughout the country. Anyhow, he decided to demand some oaths from his wife, Dorothy. When she filed for divorce last week, she submitted as evidence the following document he ordered her to sign:

"Dear Husband: I promise: 'Never to embarrass you; to pay attention to you when you speak to me; to never smoke; to refrain from playing the radio too loudly; to keep my telephone conversations under five minutes and to space my calls.'

"To refrain from making 'comparisons' (we are individuals and all individuals are different); to refrain from 'harping' on a subject, once the discussion has been closed; to cook three meals a day when requested and at the hours specified."

"To continue to do the things I have done so well, and there have been no complaints; never to keep you waiting — I will always keep my appointments punctually; to do everything I can to make our marriage a success."

Horowitz was inspired by the current "loyalty" purge, but he certainly introduced some wrinkles of his own. Truman, McCarthy, McCarran, Kilgore, Mundt and Nixon will probably read this document with envy; it may even serve as a model for their future activities. What a wonderful world for capitalist politicians it would be if the people could be made to swear never to embarrass them (by pointing out, for example, how they broke their election promises), to refrain from making comparisons (between the American and Nazi witch-hunts), and to refrain from harping on a subject (like the drive to war) once the discussion has been closed by the ruling class.

Buy bonds! Don't strike! Back up the boys in Korea! Don't grumble over the new tax increase and get ready for still another tax increase next year! Everybody has got to sacrifice because this is a time of crisis and the government needs the help of every citizen!

Variations of this theme are played over and over again in the press, on the radio and TV, in the pulpits and schools and union meetings. But we noted its total absence from the comment on the widely reported story about the ex-naval officer in Texas who got rich (or richer) from a deal in military surplus equipment.

The way the Senate Armed Services Preparedness Subcommittee tells the story, this ex-officer read that government surplus disposal authorities were offering to bidders a lot of "aircraft computers." Thinking they were small cardboard computers that could be used for calculating land areas, he bid \$6.89 for 168 of them. When his bid was accepted and he went to get them, however, he saw that they were brand-new electric fire control instruments, known as parallax computers, which had cost over \$7,200 each. Saying nothing, he had them shipped to his farm at a cost of \$4,000, called in Air Force procurement authorities and sold them back for \$63,000.

The interesting thing is that the Senate subcommittee's account of his dealings, in the words of one reporter, "was filled with admiration and even a little envy." So were all the stories we read about the case in the capitalist press. The moral — and the morality of capitalism — seems to be: "Patriotism" is one thing, "free enterprise" (even when it's the government you're sticking) is another.

In response to inquiries about further installments in "Confessions of an FBI Agent," the "sensational, behind the scenes, exclusive series" printed in *The Militant* several weeks ago, Albert Parker reports that there will be no further installments. The reason is that all FBI agents were put on a six-day week beginning Oct. 28; an FBI official told the press the agents had to give up their five-day week because of "an increased volume of work." Parker says his FBI informant used to see him every Saturday, but that's out now. He also says his informant can't see him on Sundays because that's the day he devotes to drumming up publicity to get J. Edgar Hoover selected as the *Man of the Year* on the ground that he is the best representative of the spirit of 1950.

THE MILITANT

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Only CIO Congressman Is Defeated in Toledo

By Milton Alvin

TOLEDO, Nov. 10 — Election results in this area, as elsewhere in Ohio, proved a big disappointment to the labor leaders and showed the bankruptcy of their alliance with the Democrats. Not only did Taft, the main target of the CIO and AFL, carry a majority of the votes here, but Thomas Burke, the only CIO member in Congress, lost his seat in the House.

Burke's defeat will be attributed to the entry of an "independent" candidate, a leading

local Democrat, who was sponsored by millionaire Paul Block Jr., owner of Toledo's two daily newspapers. The "independent," Frazier Reams, is Block's attorney and plays a leading role in the intermittent fight between local capitalists and the UAW. Reams was not expected to win, but to draw enough Democratic votes to defeat Burke. Much to everyone's surprise, including his own, he turned up the victor in the three-cornered race.

The local labor movement concentrated on two objectives in the campaign: to re-elect Burke and to roll up a big vote for Taft's

opponent, Ferguson. The unions' political arm, the United Labor Committee, conducted a fairly active campaign, distributing many thousands of pieces of literature, going on the air frequently and using many newspaper ads. But the official Democratic Party machine contented itself with only token support of its own candidates. There is a justified suspicion among active union people that the party bosses knifed them in the back.

ROLE OF DEMOCRATS

The results of the election show clearly enough that the advantages supposed to accrue to labor through operating in the Democratic Party are a myth. Actually, the anti-union elements in the Democratic Party vote against its "labor" candidates whenever it appears that the influence of the unions is getting strong within the party's ranks. In this locality, they went so far as to nominate an "independent" because Burke's defeat could not easily be brought about any other way. As one unionist put it, "We couldn't have done any worse with our own party, our own candidates and our own program."

Reams, a conservative in his views, keyed his campaign propaganda to Taft's. Where Taft made his state-wide campaign mainly around the claim that the labor leaders had taken over the Democratic Party, Reams ran up and down the city hollering about "Gosserism." Richard Gosser is International Vice-President of the UAW and the leading union figure in Toledo. Burke was pictured as nothing but a stooge for Gosser in Congress, and the voters were threatened with a "Gosser labor dictatorship" if he was re-elected.

In reality Burke did not always vote according to CIO standards, a fact carefully covered up by both his supporters and opponents. For example, he voted for the McCarran-Kilgore police-state bill. Later he reversed himself and voted to uphold Truman's veto. But these facts did not come out in the campaign.

MAIN WEAKNESS

The fundamental weakness in Burke's campaign flowed from his ties with the Democratic Party. Instead of advocating a fighting program based upon the real needs of the workers from whose ranks he came, Burke failed to distinguish himself in any way from ordinary Democratic capitalist politicians.

Naturally, the workers were not inspired to turn out in huge numbers for a repeat performance of the 81st Congress with its Democratic majority and its long list of broken promises. Burke's vote of 42,685, according to the Toledo Union Journal, official CIO paper, is "very little more than HALF of the TOTAL dues paying union membership in Lucas County."

The lesson for labor is clear: Get out of the Democratic Party and organize a labor party with a militant program and with working men and women for candidates.

Fair Showing by SWP in Newark

NEWARK, Nov. 14 — William E. Bohannan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 11th District was today credited with 833 votes in last week's election. This represents a shade under 1% of the vote, or about half the percentage he got in 1948.

In terms of publicity and literature sold, it was one of the best SWP campaigns in this district. A possible explanation of the decline in the SWP vote is that many workers who voted Democratic or Progressive for President and SWP for Congress in 1948 did not vote at all this year when the total vote was 20,000 smaller.

Calif. Middle Class Shifts to GOP

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 11 — Republicans are loudly proclaiming the defeat of James Roosevelt for Governor and Helen Gahagan Douglas for Senator as complete vindication of their attacks against the Truman administration and Democratic policies. They are also insisting that the elections demonstrate conclusively that labor leaders can no longer "deliver the vote," and that workers in reality do not oppose such flagrantly anti-labor measures as the McCarran-Kilgore and Taft-Hartley laws. They are drooling over anticipated victories in 1952 and boozing the colorless victor, machine politician Gov. Earl Warren, as irresistible presidential timber.

Labor leaders are significantly silent. They haven't as yet thought up any explanations to justify their policy of tying the workers to the tail of the Democratic administration.

Analysis of the elections in the daily press — largely Republican — shows a lack of understanding of the play of social forces in society. There is no basis for their assertion that workers disregarded the appeals of their union leaders.

Despite the prattle of the Republicans and the head-scratching of the labor leaders, the switch in votes appears to have occurred not among the workers,

but among the middle class. California with its 10,500,000 population is predominantly middle class — farmers, shop-keepers, retired mid-Westerners, small landlords. These groups constitute the pendulum vote in the state, the swinging vote that veers now to the left, now to the right, that has no fixed course, no clear policy.

If the labor leaders were Marxists, they would understand this phenomenon. It is not confined to California, or even to the U. S. It is world-wide.

The petty bourgeoisie invariably swings to the reactionaries when labor is unable to supply leadership. In a world jittery with fear of the atom bomb and a third world war, unnerved by red-baiting hysteria, the most brutal, ruthless and outspoken representatives of the bourgeoisie present an appearance of strength. They give the impression of offering a program, a way out of the chaos. The impression is a myth, but it is nonetheless sufficient to serve as a polar magnet for the vacillating, frightened shop-keeper in the absence of any counter-attractive force.

In this campaign, the official labor movement had no program. It stumped the state for the Democrats, did the bidding of the Democrats, carried out in its unions the directives of the Demo-

Big Opposition To 'Subversive' Ban in Michigan

By Patricia Stall

DETROIT, Nov. 12 — Amendment No. 3 to the Michigan constitution was passed last Tuesday by a majority of 3 to 2. This witch-hunt amendment defines "subversion" in peacetime, makes it a crime "punishable by any penalty provided by law," and lifts all guarantees of civil liberties "as a defense in any trial for subversion."

According to the latest available figures, the total number of votes was 628,936 and no, 403,255. This large opposition vote was cast despite the vigorous support given the proposal by all of Michigan's leading newspapers. Their relatively small majority dismayed the red-baiters and war-plugger who confidently expected virtually all the voters to fall obediently into line.

By casting such a large opposition vote the people of this state voiced a sharp protest against thought-control and the police-state and struck a blow in the fight to preserve civil liberties. The facts and figures connected with the vote on Amendment 3 carry encouraging news to the opponents of the witch-hunt. Here is what they tell: Of the four proposals on the ballot, this one received less votes than any other; it was carried by the smallest majority of all.

This amendment was instigated by the ruling powers in Michigan. The same political gang who conspired and schemed to keep the issues of rent control and price ceilings from being acted upon by referendum vote originated and pushed this amendment. Their motives are clear: To stifle any critical voice. To stop all resistance to the lowering of living standards, Jim Crow, war, union-busting, etc. — in a word, to erect a totalitarian police regime in Michigan.

The Socialist Workers Party was not alone in warning against these dangers. Liberal groups such as the American for Democratic Action urged a "No" vote. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane and attorney Walter Nelson, acting on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, made a courageous effort to obtain an injunction to prevent the proposal from appearing on the ballot.

Failing to obtain this, Walter

Nelson made a stirring radio appeal calling for a "No" vote. The American Civil Liberties Union foresaw that the new amendment would "be used as an excuse to invade the civil rights of all citizens."

"It was objectionable because it may be construed to deprive a citizen of the basic and constitutional right of defense on a criminal charge," was the way the conservative Detroit Bar Association characterized the proposal and added that it was "invading the basic rights guaranteed all citizens under the constitution."

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Packard Local 190 of the UAW, however, put out a leaflet which proclaimed in inch-high letters that, "There's no CIO if proposal #3 were law in 1936-37." This is enlightening reading especially for those who say, "But this only attacks Communists!"

This amendment is only part of a campaign to fool the American people into voting away their civil liberties. Although this proposal was passed, the lack of response at the polls and the large opposition vote prove that the population is not as blind to its enemies as these enemies would wish.

RED BAITING MAIN PLATFORM OF BOTH PARTIES IN PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13 — During the election campaign, working class voters showed signs of apathy to the appeals of both major party candidates, who sought

and Dilworth, whose law firm had secured anti-labor injunctions and fought against rent control. Neither candidate displayed much concern for labor measures and sought to avoid appearing in public as labor-backed candidates. Michael A. Musmanno, a Pittsburgh judge and one-time liberal, the Democratic candidate for Lt. Governor reportedly chosen at CIO President Philip Murray's insistence, sought to erase memory of his own past connection with "red-tainted" causes (like the Sacco-Vanzetti case) by launching a one man "red hunt." He initiated criminal syndicalism prosecution against Pittsburgh Stalinists, ruled that Communists cannot serve on juries, and generally attacked the alleged laxness of the Republican state administration in combating communism."

The bi-partisan attempts to stifle liberal and socialist expression in Pennsylvania were undoubtedly a contributing factor in the decline of radical votes. However, the anti-red drive failed to create the wished-for hysteria among the working people.

The SWP candidates spoke, during the campaign, at more than twenty street meetings in all sections of Philadelphia without any incidents involving the listeners. In the several cases where the police or hoodlums sought to disrupt meetings, support of our right to speak was quite evident among the audiences.

Incomplete election returns from this city alone indicate that the Socialist Workers Party (Pa. ballot designation — Militant Workers Party) polled 260 votes for its Senatorial candidate, Clyde Turner, and 255 for Herbert Lewin for Governor. Like the vote of all the other minority parties in the Philadelphia area, this was considerably smaller than the 1948 vote.

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