

# Yugoslav Foreign Policy Plays Into Hands of Kremlin

By Paul G. Stevens

The first meager food shipments to drought-stricken Yugoslavia arrived last week following Marshal Tito's declaration to an American correspondent that Yugoslavia would abide by a United Nations decision on who is the "aggressor" in the current conflict with Peiping on the China-Korea border. At the same time, it was announced in Washington that emergency shipments of flour, amounting to 11½ million dollars, would be rerouted from Germany and Italy, as a "stop-gap" measure in a broader program approved by President Truman.

In a message to Congressional leaders, Truman outlined the steps in this program to loosen up credits for Yugoslavia in various U. S.-controlled international monetary, economic and "defense" agencies (Export-Import Bank, ECA, etc.), with the following blunt motivation:

#### TRUMAN'S LINE

"As you know, it is our policy toward Yugoslavia to give Marshal Tito such support as we judge necessary for the protection of our strategic and political interests in that area."

No appreciable credit was extended throughout the two years since Belgrade's break with Moscow; the first dribble was permitted only after Tito had made the first public declaration which could be safely taken by Washington as a token that the Yugoslavs were prepared to play ball in the UN.

Senator Taft has, meanwhile, been quoted as demanding far more substantial "guarantees" from the Tito government before he and his colleagues—who wield far greater influence in foreign policy after the Republican victory in the elections—would agree to any extensive aid to Yugoslavia.

Clearly, the Washington "humanitarians" are utilizing the stark threat of famine and starvation in order to wring important concessions from the hard-pressed leaders of Yugoslavia. Late dispatches report that a written agreement has virtually been reached, under which the Yugoslav army's food supply is to be guaranteed in exchange for what amounts to an American stranglehold on the export of Yugoslavia's "strategic raw materials."

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## 70 Laborites in Parliament Press for Deal with Peiping

NOV. 22—Feverish diplomatic activities behind the scenes to find some solution for the China-Korea crisis were stepped up last week, as the Peiping delegation flew from Prague on its way to Lake Success. Meanwhile, the most noteworthy development was the increasing pressure inside the British Labor Party to settle differences with both China and the Kremlin through top-level negotiations.

Three motions have now been submitted to this effect in the House of Commons by 70 Laborite members. The first motion was presented two weeks ago by 22 MP's whom the press designates as "leftists." Two other similar motions are backed by the so-called "moderates," previously listed as safely pro-Washington in their orientation.

Among the proposals submitted is the establishment of a buffer zone on the Korea-China border, drawing a "line beyond which the United Nations forces will not advance."

The Attlee-Benn government itself is reportedly in favor of some such deal with Mao. But it is obviously irked by the actions of these "backbenchers." What disturbs the Laborite chieftains most is, of course, the rising opposition to war among the mass of the British people which finds its expression in these dissident motions.

#### THE CHINA GANG

Here at home the ruling circles remain sharply divided over what course to pursue. Gen. MacArthur and the China-gang of the Republican Party are demanding a showdown.

This is reflected in public utterances of such "anti-appeasement" Republican Senators as Wherry of Neb., Knowland of Calif., Bridges of N. H., and others.

The State Department now favors a "slight tactical retreat in our diplomacy," reports N. Y. Times correspondent James Reston. He then adds immediately: "but Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose views also have to be respected in this matter, ap-

Vol. XIV - No. 48

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS



## Arrogant AT&T Yields in 11-Day Telephone Strike

In the face of a determined strike of 33,000 telephone equipment workers backed by thousands of operators who refused to cross picket lines, the arrogant American Telephone and Telegraph monopoly bowed on the 11th day of a 42-state walkout.

On strike were 17,000 workers in Western Electric, manufacturing subsidiary of AT&T, and 16,000 service employees of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company, part of the AT&T-controlled telephone system. Although separate demands and negotiations were involved, the two groups struck simultaneously on Nov. 9 and settled on the same day, Nov. 19. Both belong to the CIO Communications Workers.

The chief issue in the Western Electric dispute was the union's demand for a one-year wage re-opener clause. At first, the company insisted on a two-year contract with a wage-reopener after 18 months. This was cut to 16 months and finally the company agreed to a straight 15-month contract. The short contract is important in view of the rising cost-of-living. The contract also provides average wage increases of between 10.30 cents and 11.80 cents an hour. Bell workers in Detroit will get a \$3 to \$5 weekly raise and differentials of workers in 63 smaller Michigan communities are eliminated by raises of as much as \$9 a week.

This is exactly what many Europeans especially fear. For example, the London liberal weekly, *New Statesman and Nation*, has flatly charged MacArthur with seeming "intent on turning the Korean conflict into a world war," and with "deliberate disregard" for directives from either Washington or Lake Success.

On just what terms Mao will agree to make a deal still remains one of the big unknowns in the entire complex equation.

But one thing is certain, and that is what American labor should do in this crisis. It should wholeheartedly rally behind the slogan: NO WAR WITH CHINA!

## TRUMAN OFFERS TOKEN TAX ON EXCESS PROFITS

The Truman administration has at long last unveiled its "excess profits" tax proposals and these are now being solemnly debated on Capitol Hill. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder has formally asked the House Ways and Means Committee to enact legislation which would ostensibly take the "profit out of war" by setting a tax rate of 75% on excess profits.

During the last war the tax on excess profits was fixed at 85½%; the "normal earnings" were estimated on 1936-39 profits as "representative basis," and, as everyone knows, the resulting crop of billionaires and super-monopolies broke all records. The profiteers thrived on the 85½% "surcharge."

Now it is proposed that the formal tax rate on the loot the capitalists garner over and above the "normal earnings" be lowered by a whopping 10½%. In addition, the "representative basis" for "normal earnings" is to be supplied by the lush postwar years. How much have the corporations been making?

**PROFITS DOUBLED**  
Their profits have at least doubled. In his official presentation, Secretary Snyder noted with satisfaction that "the average rate of return on equity capital for manufacturing corporations . . . has more than doubled since the 1936-39 period."

Not touched at all by the proposed tax are these profits, which by official admission, have "more than doubled." Moreover, the corporations can continue pocketing additional huge sums that can be diverted through innumerable tax loopholes. Only what is over and above these already astronomical profits, admitted and hidden alike, will become even liable to the suggested tax.

Actually, the "75% rate" would just barely scratch the surface. The administration itself estimates it will produce in the neighborhood of four billion dollars. They bettered this record figure in the second quarter of this year when corporation profits reached the annual rate of 35 billion. In the third quarter, — "the unheard of rate of 43 billion dollars." And the profiteers blame high prices on "high wages."

### Profits Rising at 'Unheard-of Rate'

The weekly *Machinist*, Nov. 9, did a little computing of the reported profits of Big Business. In 1939, corporations raked in 6.5 billion dollars. By 1948 their profits leaped to 33.9 dollars. They bettered this record figure in the second quarter of this year when corporation profits reached the annual rate of 35 billion. In the third quarter, — "the unheard of rate of 43 billion dollars."

Meanwhile, negotiations between the union and U. S. Steel have been dragging along for months. Philip Murray has been more concerned with "living up to the contract" than in leading the steel workers in a struggle to preserve their living standards. That is why the steel workers have lagged behind other workers on the wage raise front this year.

## WHY LABOR SHOULD NOT 'GET OUT OF POLITICS'

As the result of the defeat of many union-backed capitalist party candidates in the recent election, the organized workers are being flooded with advice like

But let us, for the sake of the argument, accept the more exaggerated claims of the *World Telegram*. Does it follow that workers who voted for the millionaire Taft, co-author of the *Taft-Hartley* anti-union law, demonstrated their "independence" or that labor should not participate as an organized force in politics?

What conclusion did the *World Telegram* draw in 1948, when the union-backed Democratic candidates were largely successful and what argument would it raise in 1952, if they were again victorious?

What the set-back suffered by labor in this election really shows is that if the union leaders offer nothing better than the corrupt, war-mongering, pro-capitalist Democratic Party-politicians, then many workers will turn in disgust and desperation to the corrupt, war-mongering, pro-capitalist Republican Party, or not vote at all.

**THEY WANT SURRENDER**  
But if labor cannot "win" with the Democrats does that mean it must return to Gompersism, as the *World Telegram* and other capitalist mouthpieces advocate? That, in effect, would mean to leave organized politics entirely in the hands of a few big capitalist newspapers, the corporations and their hired political agents. How would that help the work-

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## Grave Issues Sidetracked At CIO Parley

### Steel Corporations Plan to Increase Profits and Prices

Discussing the steel workers' demand for wage raises to meet the rising cost of living, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation, declared on Nov. 16 that he was in favor of granting increases that would conform "substantially to the general wage pattern." But simultaneously he announced that the steel corporations plan to raise the price of steel by almost twice the amount that they would have to pay in added wages.

Taking a 15-cent hourly wage increase "out of the air" as an example, Fairless said that would cost U. S. Steel \$132,000,000 a year, or \$6 a ton. But if such a wage increase is granted, U. S. Steel intends to increase steel prices by \$220,000,000 — or \$10 a ton, approximately a 10% price hike.

These are the burning questions that faced the 600 delegates to the 12th CIO national convention, which began on Nov. 20 in Chicago. But all the evidence of the first two days of the convention indicates that the CIO leaders are determined to evade or ignore these questions.

Murray's report, which was printed before Nov. 7, does not mention the election results and still speaks about "labor's political arm" being "stronger than it ever has been."

**NOT 'PROPER' WAY**  
However, in his opening address, he sought to blame the outcome of the elections on the "diabolical misrepresentations" and "deceitful statements" of the Republicans on foreign policy, on the charges of harboring "Communists" leveled at the Truman administration and the fact that "domestic issues" were not presented to the people "in the proper way." He complained bitterly about Republican "demagoguery."

Naturally, the Republicans — no less than the Democrats whom Murray supported — resorted to "diabolical misrepresentations" and "demagoguery." But Murray did not say why the union leaders were unable to answer these lies effectively. He could not explain why "the half-hearted isolationism" of the Republicans had greater attraction for the voters, who were offered no better choice by the labor

### Leadership Agrees to Black Political Policy Discussion

By Art Preis

decisions on political action until they can deal with it privately within their own little top circles. They don't want to give the membership any voice. They fear the advocates of a labor party — whose numbers are growing since the elections.

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Above all, they give every indication of their intentions to continue their same blind and dangerous course. This is evidenced most strikingly in their attitude toward the question that is uppermost in every active, thinking unionist's mind: What road should labor take in politics after the disastrous setback of its policies in the past elections?

Every effort is being made to keep this question out of discussion. Before the convention began, the top leaders met and agreed to postpone debate and

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## Make Budenz Tell All on Trotsky Murder!

Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, revealed on Nov. 16 that he had identified Dr. Gregory Rabino-vitch, one-time Russian Red Cross representative in the U. S., as the Kremlin agent in this country who organized the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940.

Budenz, who broke with the Stalinists in 1945 and returned to the Catholic Church, had previously confirmed the guilt of the Stalinists in the Trotsky assassination in his book, *This Is My Story*, published in March 1947.

In that book Budenz revealed that beginning in December 1936 he had been assigned by Mr. Roberts' to the job of working with Soviet secret police agents in making the connections which were later used by the assassin, Frank Jackson, to gain entry to Trotsky's home and to kill him.

"Since 1945 I have been shown hundreds of pictures in an attempt to find out who Mr. Roberts' was. Finally, last week, I was shown pictures of Dr. Rabino-vitch. I recognized him right away, and immediately said: 'Why, that's my friend Roberts.'

Now Budenz says of the latter: "I met him in the spring of 1937, and had frequent meetings with him until 1939 when he returned to the Soviet Union. He then asked me to come to New York from Chicago to say good-bye, and I did so. He directed the whole business of the Trotsky assassination."

#### STRANGE DELAY

For years, Budenz continues, he did not know who "Roberts" was. "I mentioned him only as 'Mr. Roberts' in my books about the Communist movement, except that I reported he had told me he had registered once in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, under his passport name of 'Rabino-vitch,' as I spelled it then."

"Since 1945 I have been shown

beginning. In 1947 he confirmed many of the facts about the plot that were already public knowledge, but he was careful not to add much that was not previously known and written about. Three and a half years later he adds the name of the top Soviet agent, with a rather flimsy explanation for the delay.

What else does he know about the Trotsky assassination, and when is he going to tell it publicly?

Trotsky's murder was ordered in the Kremlin, but it was organized in the United States. Why haven't the U. S. authorities investigated it properly?

Budenz contends that he was an "unwitting" participant in the murder conspiracy, although everyone knew after the first Moscow Trial of August 1936 that Stalin was bent on taking the life of the great Marxist who continued in exile to expose the counter-revolutionary crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But there is no reason why Budenz's word should be taken at its face. Why has no grand jury investigation been held to probe the murder plot further, and incidentally to determine whether Budenz's explanation about his own role is true or not? His services to the FBI and the Catholic hierarchy in the current witch-hunt are certainly no valid reason for Budenz to be spared from a federal grand jury probe.

The demand for a grand jury investigation of the murder conspiracy hatched in the U. S. should be raised again by all organizations interested in discovering the full truth about the Trotsky assassination. Budenz should be made to appear and tell everything he knows about the case. So should Jack Stachek, Communist Party National Bureau member who, according to Budenz, arranged Budenz's first meeting with the Soviet agent in charge of the conspiracy.

It cannot be disputed that more union members than usual voted Republican in Ohio — and elsewhere — and that in doing so they acted against the appeals of the labor leaders. It is equally true, however, that the bulk of organized workers, whatever their lack of enthusiasm, continued to support the candidates endorsed by the union leaders.

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Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 4

# POLITICAL OPPONENTS OF REGIME

By Ernest Germain

There are today two centers of political opposition in Yugoslavia which often collaborate with each other, while pursuing entirely different goals: the opposition of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles, and the Cominformist Stalinist opposition. Hundreds of members of the foreign youth brigades were able to discuss freely with oppositional elements and become familiar with their motives as well as the manifestations of their opposition.

The former capitalists and big merchants, former high state officials and landowners, former generals and church officials, are naturally very bitter about the regime because they have lost all their privileges and are today in many cases quite poor and miserable. Some of them obtain office jobs with nationalized enterprises or state institutions. These jobs are the lowest-paid in the country, and it is natural that a former proprietor of a brewery, whom a member of the French brigades met in Zagreb, should start complaining that "today an ignorant hodcarrier makes more money than a learned correspondent who knows five foreign languages." The hodcarriers who have been miserable for many generations don't complain about it, though.

Some members of the former ruling classes continue their idle lives by selling piece by piece their art treasures, expensive furniture, chinaware, furs, and similar possessions which bring very high prices in the special free market "commission stores." In Belgrade their daughters earn some money by working as stenographers and translators for foreign journalists or embassies. In general,

these people have no perspectives and want to leave the country. They are unhappy and wish the government the worst.

Among the former political opponents is still another group, especially active and strong in Croatia. Here the native fascist Ustashi movement had for years a broad mass base among the sons of rich peasants, and among unemployed intellectuals unsuccessful in getting posts in the central state administration. During the war, the Ustashi regime was the fiercest and bloodiest fascist dictatorship in Europe, killing tens of thousands of people by sadistic tortures. (In his book, *Kaput*, the Italian writer Malaparte describes how the fascist "Poglavnik" Ante Pavelich once received two baskets full of human eyes, torn from the heads of his opponents.) The families of slain or imprisoned Ustashi form a broad layer, even among the youth, who still adhere with some fanaticism to the teachings of their sinister leader.

One of the members of the foreign youth brigades met an old Ustashi in Belgrade, just released from prison, who expressed himself in the most violent terms, saying that it would be "necessary to kill all Montenegrins and Macedonians." (These two nationalities constitute the most enthusiastic and unanimous groups supporting the government of the Yugoslav Communist Party.) All the Ustashi who were not imprisoned for major crimes (murder, arson, etc.) are freed after a couple of years in prison camps and circulate freely among the population, trying — in vain — to stir up some armed resistance against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have connections

with their foreign center in Italy and South America, and from time to time try to smuggle armed agents into the country, without however meeting with any response among the masses who hate them for their cruelty.

The main center of reactionary political opposition in the country, however, is not constituted by the remnants of former ruling classes. It comes from the rich and some of the owners of middle-sized farms, who represent a high percentage of the active population and could be an important force, if they were able and permitted to regroup themselves politically. They complain quite freely wherever you happen to meet them. They come very often to the big towns in order to buy a maximum of supplies. They are the rulers of the free market — and at the same time its main customers. Although the well-to-do peasantry is dissatisfied with the regime, it is evident that its situation is in general much better than it was before the war, and that it has a much higher standard of living than ever before. The rich farmers consume a far greater part of their own products, which they used to sell before the war: meat, eggs and butter. They succeed in buying many more clothes and shoes. In the village of Dubrova, where the youth brigade camp was established, there were a couple of these kulak-speculators with large funds in dinars who used to buy up big sums of foreign currency and hoard them. In the large cities a common sight is a group of well-to-do peasants gathered before watchmakers' shops, or trying to buy cameras or silverware for the obvious purpose of hoarding or speculation.

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# EXCELLENT NOVEL ABOUT STALIN'S BLOOD PURGES

By George Lavan

THE CASE OF COMRADE TULAYEV by Victor Serge, Doubleday, 1950, 306 pages, \$3.

This novel is laid in the Soviet Union of the 1930's. Its point of departure is the assassination of a prominent bureaucrat, Tulayev, member of the Central Committee of the ruling Russian Party. The assassination is an unpremeditated, unplanned act of a young party member who sinks back into safety among the great mass of the toiling population. He is never suspected and never caught.

The investigation of the murder by the apparatus is the central theme of the story. Into the net are drawn representative and symbolic figures. Old political opponents of Stalinism who are needed to give plausibility to the forthcoming trials as well as faithful Stalinist bureaucrats who fall victim to the cannibalism of their own regime.

To political students of Stalinism it is, of course, apparent that the Tulayev case parallels the assassination of Kirov in 1934 and the purges and "confession" trials that followed.

## BEST IN ITS FIELD

Arthur Koestler's novel, *Darkness at Noon*, which was likewise based on the Moscow Trials, achieved a wide circulation. It was principally a psychological study of why the trial defendants "confessed," and Koestler's answers to that question were quite dubious. Serge's novel is not only infinitely superior on the psychological field but is of much wider scope. The reader will find this book not only fascinating reading but instructive and encouraging as well.

## Truman Asks for Token Profits Tax

(Continued from page 1)

pay in taxes is not at all an academic issue. The less the corporations pay in taxes the heavier is the tax load that falls on the wage earners, the salaried employees and the "little fellows" generally. Every relaxation of taxes on corporations will tend to force living standards a notch lower. And since the biggest expenditures for armaments still lie ahead, the question of taxation becomes indeed a burning one.

The aim of the corporations is to soak the poor, through direct and indirect taxation. It is expressed in such proposals as those of the National Association of Manufacturers, which demands increased taxes on "individual incomes," the introduction of a federal sales tax, and so on. In brief, tax anything and everything — except profits!

THE HEROIC FIGURES

Symbolically the two heroic figures of this novel are on old and a young Trotskyist, Ryzhik, the old timer whom imprisonment has not broken, is brought from the furthest reaches of Siberia for "confession" trial that will be the grand finale of the Tulayev case. He defies his captors and defeats them by a secret hunger strike that brings him death. The young Trotskyist is Stefan Stern, kidnaped from Civil War Spain by the GPU.

TITO



TITO  
darity and an appeal in its name will not fail to evoke a similar response to the cause of hard-pressed Yugoslavia.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Chicago Reports Encouraging Sales Of "The Militant"

Frank Roberts, Literature Director for Chicago, ordered another increase in *The Militant* bundle this week. Sales are encouraging, he reports. "Esther and Mannie sold 26 copies at a busy corner. Frank, Bert, Mannie and Hayden sold 32 the following week at the same spot. Marge and Don sold 23 *Militants* and 8 copies of *Fourth International* one week at the University of Chicago and 23 *Militants* and one *FI* the next week. Marge, making our first sales at Roosevelt College, scored 11 in 20 minutes. Bert and Mannie sold six copies of *Art Preis' pamphlet, Welfare State or Socialism?*"

ANOTHER ROAD  
Is another foreign policy possible for Yugoslavia? Is there no other way of warding off the frightful prospect of famine, and the disorganization and dangers resulting from it, aside from Washington's aid?

Naturally, any aid the imperialists — for reasons of their own — are willing to give Yugoslavia cannot be rejected. And the imperialists always have their own reasons for extending aid, in any case. But far more decisive for the fate of Yugoslavia is the support that comes from the masses.

Famine beset the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Trotsky in their time, too, and in the very midst of civil war. The leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution did not refuse food or even arms when they came from the imperialists.

During the last few years the first steps along this road have been taken. They have been met with manifest and encouraging sympathy. But there yet remains immeasurably more to be done than has been accomplished. There is weight in the idea that the center of social-revolutionary and revolutionary-philosophical thought will shift in the next period to America. Under the blows of the crisis and social shake-ups there will here arise a generation of revolutionary theoreticians capable of saying a new word. All the more necessary is it to create for this awakening social criticism a stable base in the form of a publishing house, not bound by any other considerations and obligations outside of the objective to open to humanity a new road of development. Pioneer Publishers can accomplish a great historic task. Our common duty is to help them.

LASTING CONTRIBUTION  
Looking back over the twenty years of its existence, Pioneer has every reason to be proud of its accomplishments in preserving the teachings of the great Marxist teachers, in making available material that was previously inaccessible, and in providing a center for publication of literature dealing seriously and fundamentally with problems of American labor. As Trotsky said, in his letter to Pioneer 13 years ago, Pioneer undertook "a great historic task." It has not completed that task, of course, but it has made a fine beginning and a lasting contribution.

For a foreign policy that will safeguard the revolutionary conquests in Yugoslavia, the leaders of the CPY must take a page out of the history of the Russian Revolution. Adhere to the principle of international solidar-

objector and therefore does not agree 100% with *The Militant*. However, "yours is the sort of paper we appreciate reading during this time of so much propaganda and distortion."

Our thanks to Anonymous of New York who left \$1 as a contribution when he came in to get some back issues he missed on the newsstands.

Besides the \$2 needed to renew his subscription, L. L. of Portchester, N. Y., enclosed \$1 as a contribution "toward anything you wish." "We are strictly independents," he explains, "and read what we wish without being affected by the local hysteria." The \$1, naturally, went to the kitty for the printer.

Jim Seward of Canada writes that "You certainly put up a good fight in the election, especially for Grace Carlson's name on the ballot. Grace sure has lots of good grit. I wish we had plenty more of her kind. Well, I guess we must all try and do our best. I am reminded of James P. Cannon's *History of American Trotskyism* and his noble fight in those days and I'm sure that we have no reason to think he is weakening any yet. Although crops this year, barely paid expenses I am enclosing 10 greens for one year's renewal of my subscription to *The Militant* which I see is past due and also for *Fourth International*, nearly due now. Anything left over use as you see fit. I will send some more later."

O. S. of Rochester, N. Y., writes that the vote in Monroe County for the Socialist Workers Party was surprisingly good considering that we have no organization here and no electioneering was done here other than what came over the radio. For Bartell we had 393 votes. In the last election I don't think there were over 20 votes all told."

And D. P. of Duluth, Minn., congratulates the SWP "on the splendid vote you received in New York City. It shows that not all the workers are being fooled by the Trumanites and labor leaders. Let's replace shooting with reason. 'Peace' to the 60 ruling families only means 'piece' of another country and lots of profits."

H. M. S. of Redding, Calif., writes that he is a conscientious worker for the SWP. It's the shape of things to come."

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues. 5:30-9 P.M.

BUFFALO—Militant Pub., 229 Main St., 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone Madison 3-960.

CHICAGO—166 W. Washington St., Rm. 312-314. Phone Dearborn 2-4787.

CLEVELAND—Peek's Hall, 1446 E. 62nd St. (opp. Wade Park Ave.), every Sat. 9 P.M.

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TK 7-6267.

FLINT—SWP Hall, 215 E. 9th St. Open every Sat. evening. Phone 2-2496.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub., Ass'n. Rm. 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 1-3 P.M.-9 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7-7381.

NEW HAVEN—For information, write P. O. Box 1019.

NEW YORK CITY—116 Springdale Avenue. Place, Phone: AL 5-7822.

BROOKLYN—De Luxe Palace, 558 Howard Ave., near Loew's Pitkin. Meeting every Sat. 8 P.M.-9 P.M.

HARLEM—103 W. 116th St. Rm. 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.

OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information, write P. O. Box 1953.

PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Open every Fri. evening. Phone 4-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO—1729 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Open daily except Sun., 12-4:30 P.M. Phone FI 6-0410.

ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone NO 1-1949.

ST. PETERSBURG—10 South 4th St. Open Mon. through Sat. 12-5 P.M. Branch meeting every Thurs., 7:30 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 9278.

TOledo—For information, write P. O. Box 1501.

YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St. Call 8-1779.

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$5.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

# THE MILITANT

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

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S. 4c each in foreign countries.  
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Monday, November 27, 1950



"A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime. Naked dictatorship in history has generally been the product and the symptom of an especially severe social crisis, and not at all of a stable regime. Severe crisis cannot be a permanent condition of society. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period, but it is incapable of perpetuating itself. The monstrous purges in the USSR are most convincing testimony of the fact that Soviet society organically tends toward ejection of the bureaucracy."

— Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1939.



LENIN

TROTSKY

## Retreat on Taft-Hartley Act

Last year the union leaders denounced Taft's proposed 28 amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act as worse than the existing law and stated they would accept nothing less than the Act's repeal. But a week after their unsuccessful campaign to unseat Taft, a high ranking spokesman of the CIO Textile Workers gave intimation that a scheme is afoot among some CIO officials to abandon attempts to get the Taft-Hartley Act repealed and to accept it with amendments along the lines proposed by Taft himself.

At a press conference on Nov. 14 in Washington following the TWUA's presentation of a brief to the Senate Labor Committee, the union's general counsel, Isadore Katz, said that he thought Taft's amendments might be a good thing and the starting point of an alternative to actual repeal of the Slave Labor Law.

It is unlikely that Katz was shooting off his mouth irresponsibly on such a grave matter of CIO policy. Evidently his opinion reflects views having currency in top TWUA and CIO circles, even though the resolution since passed at the CIO convention calls for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley. From what Katz revealed, there is ground for strong suspicion that they are preparing for a far-reaching compromise, if not outright surrender, in the fight against Taft-Hartley.

Such a move, however, will surprise no one who has observed the step-by-step retreat of the union leaders from the moment the bill was first proposed in Congress. When it was up for vote in 1947, both the CIO and AFL leaders were more vigorous in opposing militant mass action against the bill than in fighting its passage. Once it was enacted, they lined up to submit to its onerous provisions, including the yellow-dog Taft-Hartley oath.

Is it any wonder that many workers, observing the passive and even servile attitude of the union leaders toward the Taft-Hartley Act, were not moved by the last-minute election appeals of these same leaders to defeat Taft? If the union officials put up no real fight against Taft-Hartley, if they sought to "live with" this vicious law, then what could be so terrible about it or the man who wrote it, many workers undoubtedly reasoned: For this type of reasoning — which helped send Taft back to the Senate — the union leaders themselves are responsible.

As for the majority of union members who gave of their time, energy and money in the attempt to defeat Taft and other backers of his vicious law, they have good reason to reflect bitterly on their sacrifices when they see the further retreat, if not surrender, the union bureaucrats are now planning.

## German People Oppose Rearming

Last week important elections took place in Germany when two "states" — Hesse and Wurttemberg-Baden — voted for candidates to their parliaments. The result was a clear victory for the German Socialist Party, which has up to now been fading into the background of German politics. By the same token, a defeat was suffered by Chancellor Adenauer and his Christian Democratic Union.

The issue of rearmament was the overriding issue in these elections, as it bids to be in the next period in the political life of Germany as a whole. Adenauer and his party are inclined, with minor modifications, to go along with Washington's plans for militarizing Germany. The Socialist Party and its leader Dr. Schumacher, on the other hand, are far from being outright opponents of German rearming.

What they oppose is rearmament without the "consultation of the German people," that is, without a general election. Schumacher and his party then lay down two main conditions for rearming: 1) That enough Allied divisions are first sent into Germany to keep any

"aggressor" (read: the Kremlin) off the "soil of the Fatherland"; and 2) that German forces be assured complete equality in number as well as command.

There is nothing anti-militaristic, let alone socialist, about this program. It unquestionably meets with the approval of a section of the German militarists and capitalists, if only as a means of extorting maximum concessions from Washington, London and Paris.

It was not at all in favor of this program that the mass of the German voters cast their ballot. Schumacher and his party presented the only avenue they saw for registering a protest against rearmament. It was as the ostensible foes of rearmament and not as proponents of a special type of rearming that the German Socialists scored their gains.

Adenauer and his ruling party are crawling out of their skins (as are the political experts here) to minimize the election results. But their meaning is plain enough: The mass of the German people are opposed to militarization. They have repudiated Adenauer and his collaboration with Washington in this field. They have put an obstacle in the way of Washington's war machine.

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We don't believe Truman has invented a "secret weapon" for breaching the barricades of the new Congress when he couldn't even dent the walls of the closing Congress which had a substantial Democratic majority pledged in the 1948 elections to support the "Fair Deal." How does he hope to persuade even his own party colleagues in the coming Congress when the overwhelming majority of them in the waning Congress voted against or helped to block most of the "Fair Deal" proposals?

Of course, it is dead-wrong to credit Truman with any serious intentions about his "Fair Deal." That's just sucker-bait. The only program he's serious about is to turn this country into one big military barracks at an expense of so many hundreds of billions that there will be nothing left except a "Bare Deal" for the American people.

If the way he "pressed" for the "Fair Deal" in the 81st Congress is a sample, it's a safe bet at any odds that Truman will be cruising in Florida waters or fishing in restful isolation far from Capitol Hill whenever — and if ever — bills for

## Korean People Oppose Restored Rhee Regime

By Joseph Keller

Under the benevolent protection of General MacArthur who restored him to power in South Korea, Syngman Rhee is continuing his murderous rule despite almost universal opposition among the South Korean people and the South Korean National Assembly itself.

Within the past two weeks, South Korean cabinet ministers Lee Yoon Yung and Koo Yung Sook have resigned after the Assembly demanded the resignation of President Rhee's entire cabinet. The Assembly, elected just before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, has also refused to confirm three successive prime ministers appointed by Rhee.

According to an Associated Press dispatch on Nov. 16 from

Seoul, the Assembly had demanded the resignation of Rhee's cabinet "on the grounds the Cabinet was responsible for the war." Evidently, not even the South Korean legislature holds that the war in Korea is the result solely of "aggression" by the North Korean regime of Kim Il Sung.

### ALIENATE SUPPORTERS

That the Rhee regime rests entirely on a tiny base of ultra-reactionary landlord and capitalist elements, propped up by the U.S. military and Rhee's own army and police, is indicated by Richard J. H. Johnston, N.Y. Times correspondent, who wrote from Seoul on Nov. 16 that the Rhee government "has been unable to win over the support of a large segment of the populace from which the Government, in

the opinion of foreign observers, might have found strength."

Most of these are former supporters of the Rhee regime who for one reason or another were unable to flee Seoul at the time of the North Korean occupation. "These embittered people are now complaining," writes Johnston, "that the treatment they are receiving at the hands of the Korean civil and military police and right-wing youth organizations in many instances is as harsh as that meted out by the Communists during their occupation."

"The enthusiasm with which this large segment of the South Korean populace hailed the triumphant return of the Government to Seoul late in September appears now either to have cooled or turned to animosity."

Such acts of bestiality and torture are being perpetrated against the populace that it is proving embarrassing even to Rhee's imperialist backers, who have staved off their invasion of Korea was designed to "liberate" the Korean people from "Communist totalitarianism."

### ALIBI FOR ATROCITIES

Rhee's Minister of Home Affairs, Chough Pyung Ok, held a special conference for foreign correspondents on Nov. 17 to try to cover up the wholesale atrocities of the Rhee government. He said that instances of brutality, torture and murder by Rhee's police were in reprisal for the acts by the "Communists" against the police. The savagery of the police however had been noted in the American press long before the Korean war broke out.

"Sherman burned every house in Georgia, and I'm going to burn every house I can find in North Korea if that's the way they want to play," he said.

"Looking out to the north you can see where Capt. Stein's patrols are carrying out his orders. Plumes of dirty white smoke are spiraling into the sky."

### A CITY DIES

Here is how Hal Boyle, AP correspondent, described on Nov. 19 the total obliteration of one city in 30 minutes.

"In this age of power, and speed, the death can be as swift as it is terrible. That is the way it was at Simiu. Yesterday it was a city of 100,000 lying on the Korean side of the Yalu River bordering Manchuria.

"It was noon when the growing rumble of the approaching U.S. Superforts gave the first warning of doom. By 12:30, 90 percent of this Communist nest lay in ruins. It was ripped and burned by more than 600 tons of fire bombs and high explosives...

"Flight by flight the bombers let go. Step by step the city below was destroyed. The clay walls fell apart in the heat. The straw roofs burned, the wood flamed. And the people died or fled."

This is how the Korean people are being taught "democracy."

A United Press correspondent,

8-hour working day and normal food rations issued to the prisoners. And they found especially that it was possible to talk freely with the prisoners and hear their bitter complaints "that they had been put in prison because they had only tried to sell their own wheat."

It is very rare to find Stalinist opponents of the Yugoslav regime. Some Belgians encountered one on a Zagreb tram; another was a worker in a Zagreb factory. They are much more violent in their criticism of the government than the reactionaries, and they would continue to do so. Others explained at length why they had conspired against the Yugoslav government and why they came to understand why they had been wrong to believe Cominform lies. The great majority of the prisoners are released after 18 to 24 months, and integrated in their former positions. The Belgian students were especially eager to point out that no student could be barred from a scholarship because he had been imprisoned for political reasons.

What are the political perspectives of the reactionary oppositionists? They pin their hopes on only one thing: American intervention. The more the Yugoslav government is forced to enter into trade relations with the Western powers, the more it will be subjected to pressure on their part. Either through pressure, or through war — when as they think, the American troops will enter the country as allies or enemies — Yugoslavia will eventually return to "democracy," i.e., to a system where parasitic exploiters will again live better than "ignorant hooligans." It is doubtful that such an ideal can attract much

## FRANCO LOAN IS BLOW TO SPANISH PEOPLE

By Frank Poole

The Truman administration has granted a loan of \$62,500,000 to General Franco, the Spanish dictator. The loan's immediate purpose is to prop up the fascist regime of Franco, which has lately shown signs of reaching a crisis. But more than that, this loan commits U.S. imperialism to continue propping up the Spanish butcher's rule.

The loan is thus worth a lot more than \$62,500,000 to Franco. Not only is this just the beginning — many more loans and armaments, also, will now flow from Washington to Madrid. More important, however, is that Washington has now served notice on the Spanish people that it is backing Spanish fascism against any internal revolt.

### This Move Was Long Prepared

This action of the Truman administration should come as a surprise to no one. The liberals and the labor leaders may feign surprise but everyone could see that Truman has long been preparing this move.

Washington's major difficulty was the exposure of all its World War II propaganda implicit in a loan to Franco. That war, waged in the name of anti-fascism, necessitated condemnation of Franco, the god-child of Mussolini and Hitler. During and after the war all fascism, and that had to include the Spanish variety, was condemned by the Allies and by the UN.

The United Nations refused Franco's regime a seat and urged its members not to have diplomatic dealings with Madrid. Liberal organizations in the U.S. publicly hoped for the overthrow of the hated dictator. When the ALF and CIO joined in the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions at a world congress in London last year, labor's opposition to Franco was reaffirmed. Said the ICFTU Manifesto: "Free trade unions of the world will support with all their strength the efforts of the peoples suffering under police state rule — such as those of... Franco Spain... to free themselves from totalitarian oppression."

While U.S. liberals and labor leaders were proclaiming support of the Spanish people against Franco, the politicians they helped put in office were laying the groundwork for strengthening Franco.

In September 1949 four U.S. warships demonstratively paid a visit to Spain. The U.S. admiral and fleet officers "paid their respects" to Franco with whom they held a conference.

Last month the State Department engineered a pro-Franco maneuver in the UN. Using Latin-American delegations as cat's-paws, Washington put through a resolution for resumption of high-level diplomatic relations with Spain, thus paving the way for its eventual admission to the UN.

When reporters asked Truman how long it would be before an American Ambassador was sent to Madrid, Truman assured it would take "a long time." Before the elections Truman declared that ECA funds which Congress had made available would not be allocated to Spain by him. The liberals and the labor leaders fell all over themselves in praising Truman's liberalism and devotion to democracy. Hardly were the elections over than Truman made the money available to the Spanish dictator.

So far the liberals and labor leaders have been remarkably silent on Truman's deceit. Liberal newspapers have barely commented on the loan editorially and in those cases they blame not Truman — but the Republicans. This despite the fact that Truman is the banner-bearer not of the Republican Party but of their own party.

It is safe to predict that the labor leaders and the liberals will make only perfunctory protests to Truman — if they make any. Not a single one of them will break with Truman or the Democratic Party because of the loan to Franco.

The loan to Franco is not only a blow to the Spanish people. It hits American labor as well. By reinforcing reaction abroad, the enemies of labor and of civil liberties gain added strength at home. That is why American workers should denounce the loan and take measures to help the Spanish people get rid of their fascist oppressors.

## Political Opposition to Yugoslav Regime

(Continued from page 2)

The dissatisfaction of these people is not to be explained by their being worse off than before, but on the contrary they are dissatisfied because the Yugoslav government doesn't allow them to exploit the present situation as much as they would like. We have observed in Europe, during the years of the German occupation and immediately after the war, what happens when the rich peasants and speculators are left practically free to conduct their business as they please. Children are starved while pigs are fed milk. Workers, employees and even poor peasants are pushed down to the starvation level, while the finest food-stuffs and wines are reserved for luxury restaurants which mushroom by the dozens. Nothing of the kind is possible today in Yugoslavia.

The state, which is a workers state, prevents the rich peasants, if necessary by coercion, from starving the cities. Whenever they slaughter their cattle, they are imprisoned; whenever they try to withhold their quotas of deliveries to the state, they are first fined heavily, then imprisoned and finally expropriated. The period of transition between capitalism and socialism is not idyllic and no paradise. It is a period of harsh class struggle. There are in Yugoslavia today prisons, prison camps, judges and tribunals as in any other state. In 1950 many foreigners were able to visit these prisons and prison camps, or attend trials. They found defendants who vigorously defended themselves. They found prison camps where there was a normal

treatment in the prison camps, to which several foreign delegations paid a prolonged visit, is quite humane. Their main "torture" is being forced to listen daily to the Cominform radio broadcasts in the various Yugoslav languages. There is a very intense political life in these camps. Some prisoners, whom the foreign delegations met, told them "they were very proud to have taken up the cause of the great Soviet Union, and that they would continue to do so." Others explained at length why they had conspired against the Yugoslav government and why they came to understand why they had been wrong to believe Cominform lies. The great majority of the prisoners are released after 18 to 24 months, and integrated in their former positions. The Belgian students were especially eager to point out that no student could be barred from a scholarship because he had been imprisoned for political reasons.

What are the political perspectives of the reactionary oppositionists? They pin their hopes on only one thing: American intervention. The more the Yugoslav government is forced to enter into trade relations with the Western powers, the more it will be subjected to pressure on their part. Either through pressure, or through war — when as they think, the American troops will enter the country as allies or enemies — Yugoslavia will eventually return to "democracy," i.e., to a system where parasitic exploiters will again live better than "ignorant hooligans." It is doubtful that such an ideal can attract much

and ever since have occupied many important state positions. A Belgian journalist met one of them, an old worker, now a member of the workers' council of Jesenice, the big steel plant near the Austrian border. He met another at Ljubljana, in the headquarters of the Communist-led "Liberation Front." He was not a Stalinist fellow-traveler, nor a "would-be-socialist" of the type the CP cultivates elsewhere in Eastern Europe. This man came openly for Yugoslavia joining the Council of Europe. He criticized the "exaggerated amount of nationalizations." He hoped there would be an independent Social Democratic Party soon. He got into a big argument with a local CP leader present, but didn't seem at all afraid. It is hardly likely that the working class will flock around such a perspective.

Are Trotskyists permitted to work in Yugoslavia today? A positive answer cannot be given to this question, in the first place because we are unaware of the existence of any organized Trotskyist force in that country. Before the war, Yugoslavia was the only Balkan country where there existed no organization affiliated to the movement of the Fourth International; Left Oppositionists there fall into two groups. In Serbia, the right wing under Topalovich joined with Mikhalovich's Chetniks against the Partisans and therefore disappeared as a political force, most of the leaders fleeing from the country in the liberation period. In Slovenia, the centrist Socialists joined together with the CP in the "Liberation Front" in 1940, and

(Next week: Workers Councils)

## The SWP's 1950 Vote

By George Breitman

We Trotskyists, who aim to win a majority of the American working people to our revolutionary socialist ideas, are well aware that the 27,659 votes so far recorded for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on Nov. 7 is still a far cry from the kind of vote that would be received by a mass party. Nevertheless, this vote is an achievement we can be proud of, and a token of the future progress that will surely be made in spreading the influence of our movement.

The SWP did not enter the election picture as a national force until 1948. That year we were able to get on the ballot in 11 states with our presidential and local tickets, and in two districts of California with local candidates. Our presidential ticket was credited with 13,613 votes, while the total of the highest votes received in all states was 24,798. This year we were able to get on only four state-wide ballots, congressional ballots in each of three other states, and the same two districts in California. The percentage of the population in these areas to that of 1948 was only 70%. Yet the total of our highest vote in the various states in 1950 was considerably larger than our 1948 total. (And the 1950 totals still do include the big state of Michigan, and sections of New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.)

Remembering that less people voted this year than in 1948, that is quite an accomplishment for a party that ran its entire campaigns with less money than the capitalist parties spent in a single ward in any industrial city. And it takes on added significance when we consider the political situation which, because of the greatly intensified witch-hunt and repressive atmosphere, was far more unfavorable for small radical parties than in 1948. Even more than two years ago, it was a case of swimming against the stream.

One circumstance that accounts for the bigger SWP vote this year was the smaller number of parties on the ballot in many states. The Progressive Party, which put on such a gaudy show in 1948, had declined drastically in members, votes and morale even before Wallace deserted it last summer, and since then it has become a Stalinist-dominated shell, able and willing to run candidates in comparatively few places. The Socialist Party, likewise in the throes of an incurable political crisis, held a convention in June which voted down Norman Thomas' proposal to

## Post-Election Comment

By Albert Parker

They didn't use exactly those words, but a number of the top liberal spokesmen and pro-Fair Deal intellectuals made it plain they felt the Democratic losses on Nov. 7 were due to a lack of intelligence on the part of many voters. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., writing in the *N. Y. Post* about the "electoral endorsement of McCarthyism" says:

"Too much power and responsibility have been thrust on the American people in the last decade. The result of this crushing burden has been discontent, anxiety and fear; the result has been a violent wrench in our national ways of life. Some people still cannot but think that this wrench must be the consequence of bungling or of conspiracy, not of the great subterranean tides of history. Such people are hunting for scapegoats, and they have settled upon the political leaders identified with the transition from the old comfortable ways of isolationism and irresponsibility." The editors of the *New Republic* take a similar line.

Maybe, as the liberals contend, the voters don't know what they want, but they sure know what they don't want. They don't want a policy of war and imperialism that will take the lives of their sons and the dollars out of their pay envelopes, and many voted against those they held responsible for this policy. If this benefited the GOP, the fault lay with the labor leaders and liberals who gave them no other alternative. The *New Republic* complains that "Inspired men alone will vote for hardships, and in 1950 there was little inspiration." Schlesinger concludes: "President Truman and Secretary Acheson have been much better at policy than at explaining the moral and historical necessities behind policy. This is the deficiency that the next two years must remedy." The liberals seem to think that the people will go for the imperialist "hardship" policy if it's better presented. The American people may or may not be politically backward, but they're certainly not that backward.

Comment from the labor press and leaders was not on a higher level. The *League Reporter*, paper of the AFL Labor League for Political Education, had one main theme, sounded over and over again in article, editorial and cartoon: The "communists" were the main winners in the election (on the ground that the "isolationists" are in control of Congress again. "Russia" heads its list of those rejoicing the most over the election returns "because they stand to benefit most from

## Short Subjects

By John F. Petrone

The *Wage Earner*, paper of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in Detroit, was so upset by the defeat of the Stellato-Reuther leadership in the recent election of the General Council of UAW Ford Local 600 that it blurted out its real opinion of rank and file unionists who don't follow the red baiting line of the ACTU. The chief headline in its November issue reads: "Democracy in Local 600 Is Being Strangled by Rank and File Stupidity." The article accuses the membership of "apathy, disinterest, laziness or plain stupidity" and a "complete lack of moral responsibility" because they failed to vote for the Reutherite-ACTU slate or, even worse, voted against it. "The starkly tragic fact," it snarls, is that a blow has been dealt to "that great union's struggle to operate within the democratic, Christian framework of the American trade union movement."

Equally revealing is the *Wage Earner's* comment on the election results, written by Rev. Karl Hubble, Detroit ACTU chaplain and political commissar for the hierarchy in the local labor movement. His complaint is that labor has forgotten it "remains a political minority" and that too many union leaders are "well down the road" toward a labor party and "a labor government which would try to maintain a stable and prosperous economy by legislative and executive fiat." He's for the prevailing "form of economic democracy which has done more for the stability

discontinue independent electoral activity, but in spite of this decision the SP ran candidates in only three or four states this year. Some of the workers who had previously supported these parties in the past undoubtedly voted SWP this year.

These were not "undeserved" or "accidental" votes, however. There was nothing accidental about the defection of our opponents, which was the logical consequence of their political bankruptcy. These votes really belonged to the SWP. For the SWP refused to be intimidated; it fought back against the forces of reaction at a time when most other radical parties were retreating without resistance or trying to make their peace with the capitalist parties; it went through the arduous process of collecting the necessary signatures to get on the ballot in the face of many obstacles; and it challenged the capitalist candidates under the banner of revolutionary socialism in the streets, over the radio and at the polls wherever it had the resources to do so. By its political boldness and intransigence, the SWP earned those votes and it is justified in viewing them as endorsement of the platform it presented without equivocation in the 1950 campaign.

This is a period of reaction, probably the worst in the history of this country, and in such periods the ruling class is able to temporarily intimidate and silence great sections of the population. But the effect is not uniform; there is always a minority of the population, including some who have been previously uninterested in politics, who are angered and aroused by the methods of the ruling class and are willing to listen with greater receptivity and even sympathy to the message of revolutionary socialism. The increase in the SWP vote is evidence of this; it demonstrates the existence of a body of people, considerably larger than the ranks of our movement, who have given a vote of confidence to our party even in these difficult times. Part of our job now is to make direct contact with these people and their counterparts in states where we were unable to get on the ballot, to introduce them to our party literature and *The Militant*, and to teach them that there is more to the struggle for socialism than voting the right ticket on election day, important as that is. From their ranks will come reinforcements that will help to transform the SWP into a mass party capable of achieving its historic goals.

WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM

Another scheme that blew up in this election was that of the labor leaders who tried to sell millionaire "Soapy" Williams — heir to the Mennen shaving cream fortune — to the workers as a messiah. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets flooded the plants, the workers were harangued at union meetings and with sound equipment blaring at plant gates and every other means of propaganda at the disposal of both CIO and AFL.

Despite this, fully one-third of Michigan's registered voters could see no reason for going to the polls, as compared with one-fifth who did not vote two years ago. Many more did not even bother to register. Negro and white workers who voted the

results." One article finished this way: "Stalin and the Politburo are even happier over the 1950 elections than they were even at the time of the Communist victory in China or the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939." That's called "political education" in top AFL circles.

A week after the elections AFL President William Green still didn't understand why Taft won in Ohio, although he conceded "a lot of labor men" must have voted for him. CIO President Philip Murray, asked if he too was "bewildered" by the Ohio results, retorted that Taft himself must have been bewildered by the size of his majority. That's what passes as "labor statesmanship" in the labor bureaucracy.

CIO News editor Allan L. Swin's major post-election plea is for "Congress to quit playing partisan politics with our foreign policy. . . . Regardless of how we're divided on domestic matters we must present a reasonably united front to the world on international issues." With such a viewpoint, the election results don't seem so important. But if the chief need after the elections is a united front of labor with the reactionaries, why did the union leaders make such a fuss during the campaign?

The CIO Toledo Union Journal prints an article by UAW Vice President Gosser, blaming the defeat of Congressman Burke on the kept press and the "gullibility and complacency" of working people "when they have full time jobs, real wages and some decent living conditions." Apparently everybody is to blame except, naturally, the labor leaders who support capitalist politics.

The Social Democrats haven't changed either.

Norman Thomas, writing in the *Socialist Call*, says, "The real tragedy of the campaign was the abysmal failure of those whom we call 'liberal' to take the aggressive." Their failure to put on a better show of "liberalism" of course makes it more difficult for Thomas to drag the remnants of the Socialist Party into the Democratic Party. And Daniel James, *New Leader* managing editor, scolds the liberals for committing "a bad strategic and tactical error by glossing over or defending the Administration's sorry record on the Communist issue. . . . If they honestly want to defeat reaction, they must henceforth seize the initiative in combatting Communism here and abroad, otherwise they will forfeit leadership of the nation for a long time to come." That is, the way to fight reaction is by surpassing it at witch-hunting, a la the *New Leader*!

Nor were the Democrats the only ones. Many prominent Republicans of the time sounded the same warning. Only the oldest generation in this country may still recall what the occasion was. It was the aftermath of the first major venture into imperialism and Big Power politics by Washington — the Spanish-American War.

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LEADS TO DESPOTISM

Again we quote: "We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly inevitably to despotism at home. . . . we are not willing to surrender our civilization, or to convert the Republic into an empire. . . . The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. . . . The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in nowise diminished. . . . but the burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions."

Government officials announced last week that controls affecting civilian production will begin to be felt nationally by next summer, and within a year the nation will be "well into an economy of austerity." In case anybody thinks this is an exaggeration or a reference to the kind of conditions that prevailed here, say, during the last war, we call attention to columnist Drew Pearson's comment on the price of the war preparations now under way: "In fact, to pay this huge armament bill we must inevitably and definitely lower our standard of living to a point similar to or even lower than Europe's."

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