

U.S.-China Clash In North Korea Deepens Crisis

By John G. Wright

General MacArthur's formal notification to the United Nations that "Chinese Communist military units" were in action in North Korea has confronted this "guardian of world peace" with the gravest international crisis since its formation.

In marked contrast to the openly bellicose attitude displayed both in Washington and at Lake Success when the Korean hostilities first broke out in June, this time the initial tactic is to "go slow" and to make a public show of probing for all the available avenues of "negotiating some settlement." These diplomatic maneuvers, of course, represent a jockeying for positions but they also underscore the gravity of the existing international situation.

To date, there have been two UN actions. First, the UN Interim Committee on Korea issued a declaration that the interest of all countries "neighboring on Korea" will be "protected." This gesture is obviously intended to "placate" and "reassure" Mao's regime, and couldn't have been made without the consent of the U. S. State Department. On the next day, the Security Council passed a resolution "inviting" Mao's regime to discuss MacArthur's "charges" before the Security Council. The vote was 8 to 2 with the U. S. delegate Austin demonstratively voting in favor.

Meanwhile, the American resolution, which will reportedly contain an ultimatum to Peking to withdraw its troops from Korea, is still to be formally introduced. The official explanation for the delay is that the final draft is "not yet ready." How long this diplomatic game will continue is anybody's guess.

Peking has acknowledged the presence of only "Chinese volunteers" in Korea. The number of these troops has been variously estimated in the press at from two to six divisions, with a tendency to revise these figures upwards. MacArthur's note fixes no definite figure but mentions formations amounting to some 30,000.

CAUTIOUS APPROACH

The press in general, undoubtedly by order of the State Department, has handled the activity of these troops with noteworthy caution. MacArthur's first communique of Nov. 6 while denouncing Mao's move as "one of the most offensive acts of international lawlessness on historic record," contented itself with a reference to "alien" forces and reserves, while carefully refraining from singling out China by name as MacArthur later did in his "report" to the UN.

The consensus of newspaper opinion—as well as the diplomatic line taken at Lake Success—is that the "extent and purpose" of Mao's intervention in Korea remains as yet "unclear."

The power dams and plants on the Yalu river are widely cited as the most "obvious reason" for the action of the Mao regime. And they are indeed vital to China. The hydroelectric system on the Yalu river is indispensable to the Manchurian industry which depends for its power on these dams and power plants. The largest installation in this system is the Sulho dam whose capacity is estimated at two-thirds the output of the Hoover Dam on the Colorado River.

The AP reported from Washington on Nov. 5 that the Truman administration was "weighing" an ultimatum to Peking that these power plants "would be attacked" (Continued on page 3)

Harry Press Gets 2,972 Votes for Calif. Assembly

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8 — Harry Press, independent candidate for State Assembly in the 20th District who was endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, received 2,972 votes in today's election. His incumbent opponent, Thomas A. Maloney, got 18,963 votes. Press' vote represented 14% of the total cast in this contest.

In 1948, Press had received 3,435 votes to 21,649 for Maloney. The total vote was higher that year, but the percentages were the same.

This year Press spoke to over 3,000 union members in 24 different local unions. He toured the AFL Labor Temple nightly and although the local bureaucrats told him to keep out, no local union refused his request to speak and present his socialist platform to their membership. He also spoke to two large waterfront unions, the Marine Cooks and Stewards and the CIO National Maritime Union.

In addition, Press made a special appeal to members of the Independent Progressive Party, stressing the bankruptcy of the policy of voting for liberal capitalist politicians. His election platform was sent to all registered IPP voters in the district.

Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes: 2

WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED

By Ernest Germain

Before the war, Yugoslavia was a backward country, semi-colonial in its economic structure. It exported its cheap labor in the form of raw materials and agricultural products; it imported finished manufactured goods. Foreign capital controlled the mines, the banks and the few heavy industry factories. Most of the peasants, who constituted 80% of the population, worked with century-old equipment: 18% of all the farmers had only wooden ploughs, and 32% not even that rudimentary tool. Modern technology and civilization were unknown to the great majority of the people.

Today, this structure of backwardness and stagnation is being radically altered, as a result of two revolutionary developments: the expropriation of all foreign and "native" capitalists and landowners on the one hand; the launching of the first Five-Year Plan of industrialization on the other. Owing to these two big revolutionary processes, Yugoslavia is today on the way to becoming a highly developed industrial country.

Industrialization Through Electrification

The basic goal of the Five-Year Plan was to be achieved through releasing a huge potential of hydroelectric power. Up to now big hydro-electric installations have been built or completely renovated in Maribor, Sokolowitza, Bitolj, Kotor, Wlasenitza, Snowci, Mesitchi, Muschowitza, Senitza and many other places. Big turbine factories have been built in order to equip these central hydro-electric stations, such as the turbine plant Litostroj at Ljubljana and another one at Zagreb. The steel plants of Jesenitza, Senitza and Sisak have been expanded and renovated; at Sisak the Yugoslavs, with their own means, constructed two new blast furnaces. Iron ore mines and many other mines were opened up and expanded.

For the first time, Yugoslavia had its own machine tool plant, Ivo Lola Ribar near Belgrade, while a motor

(Continued on page 2)

This new series of articles on Yugoslavia is based on scores of reports brought back by members of the many youth brigades and workers' delegations that visited Yugoslavia last summer, which have been carefully checked and compared with printed material from Yugoslav sources and the findings of foreign correspondents. — Ed.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

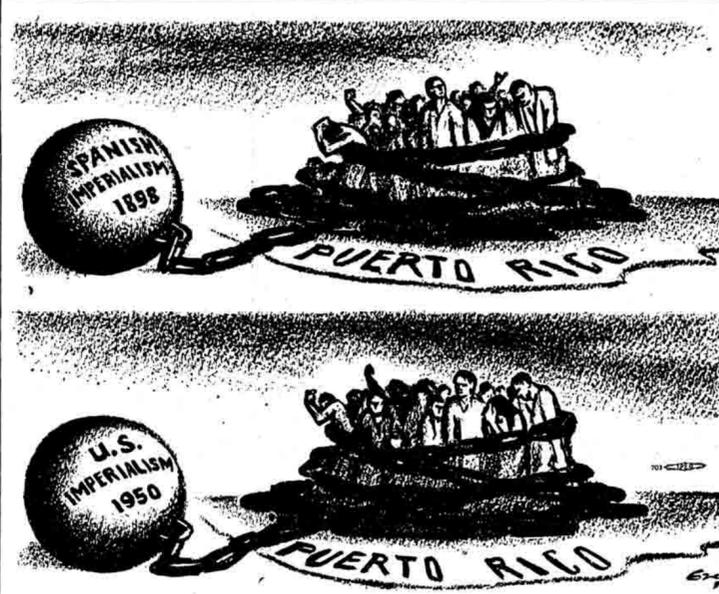
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIV - No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Political Set-back for Labor Due to Leaders' False Policy



17,000 STRIKE AGAINST FIRING OF UNION LEADER AT LACKAWANNA PLANT

BUFFALO, Nov. 8 — The huge Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company was shut tight here this week by 17,000 workers in an unprecedented labor demonstration for Vincent Copeland, Lackawanna Steel union leader, who was discharged by the company on a trumped-up charge of "instigating a wildcat walkout" of the blast-furnace department where he is the chief grievance man. The demonstration showed the determination of the Lackawanna steel workers to reinstate Vince Copeland, who is widely known in all labor circles on the Niagara Frontier as an outstanding militant.

The company knew that a walkout would follow if they tried to discharge Copeland. It therefore issued instructions to bank the furnaces long before any of the workers knew that Copeland was about to be fired. The first so-called "wildcat" walkout, which took place last week, was provoked by the company when it deliberately attempted to violate the seniority provisions of the contract, by announcing that it would hire men

Puerto Ricans Hounded

Almost simultaneously with the proclamation that the Nationalist uprising in Puerto Rico had been quelled, the regime of Governor Muroz Marin, Truman's hand-picked ruler of this U. S. colony, proceeded to utilize the assassination attempt against Truman in Washington to institute a reign of terror throughout the entire island.

San Juan, the capital, was placed under virtual martial law, although this was not done formally. National Guard and heavily armed police raided various districts of the city, set up cordons, and arrested hundreds without any specific charges, holding many incommunicado and "detaining" others as "witnesses for investigation."

Elsewhere through the island arrests were made by the military on the basis of lists drawn up by local mayors who, naturally, did not fail to include anyone whom they disliked for political or other reasons.

Among those arrested were leaders of the Nationalist Party, the Communist Party and the Independence party, a moderate parliamentary opposition led by

Carlson Makes Good Showing in Minnesota Race

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 8 — The latest returns give Grace Carlson 1,305 votes as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Fifth District in Minnesota. The complete official results will not be available until next week. The election was won by the Republican incumbent, Walter H. Judd.

It was only last week that the Minnesota Supreme Court handed down its decision over-ruling a Hennepin County judge and putting Grace Carlson's name on the ballot. Commenting on the failure of this third attempt to deprive the voters of the Fifth District of the right to vote for a revolutionary socialist anti-war candidate, Grace Carlson said last week:

"I regard the Supreme Court decision as a true victory for democratic rights. It is especially gratifying in this period of witch-hunts and hysteria to know that a vigorous fight for civil liberties can win support from wide circles of Minnesota citizens."

Dr. Gilberto Concepcion de Gracia, and leaders of the left wing labor unions, the General Workers Union (UGT) and the dissident General Confederation of Workers.

MANY STILL HELD
The number of arrested has been variously estimated at from 600 to 2,500, the latter figure being set by Dr. Concepcion, leader of the Independence Party. That not less than 1,000 are involved was officially confirmed last week, when Governor Marin announced the release of 750 "Communists and Nationalists," with 250 others still being held.

This action of releasing hundreds of prisoners is an obvious attempt to placate public opinion, perhaps by direct order from Washington which has been greatly embarrassed by events in Puerto Rico. This does not at all mean that the reign of terror and intimidation is ended in Puerto Rico, but simply that it is to be conducted with a little more caution and discretion. Stringent "anti-subversive" legislation is now in preparation there. Meanwhile in this country the police and the FBI have made

SWP SCORES BIG GAINS; GOP Gains; McCarthyism Strengthened

First returns on the Nov. 7 elections, incomplete in most cases, point to the highest vote ever given to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

In New York State, where the SWP ran for five state-wide offices, returns have been released only on the vote in New York City.

Joseph Hansen, candidate for U. S. Senator, headed the list with 13,135 votes. Michael Bartell, for Governor, was credited with 12,065. Gladys Barker, for Lt. Governor, got 11,388. Arthur Preis, for Attorney General, got 9,833. Harry Ring, for Comptroller, got 9,692.

These figures represent heavy increases over the SWP vote in 1948 and 1949. In last year's mayoralty campaign, the SWP tally ranged from 1,379 to 2,334. In 1948 the Dobbs-Carlson ticket got 2,249 votes in New York City.

The only other independent party on the New York state ballot this year was the Socialist Labor Party, running as the Industrial Government Party, whose senatorial and gubernatorial candidates got between 6,000 and 7,000 votes in New York City.

In San Francisco, Harry Press, SWP-endorsed candidate for Assembly in the 20th District, received 2,972 votes, about 14% of the total, the same percentage he got in 1948.

In the Fifth Minnesota congressional district, Grace Carlson, after beating off three attempts to bar her from the ballot,



JOSEPH HANSEN

Where Can Labor Go From Here?

By The Editors

Where can labor go from here? It is obvious that the political policies of the trade union leaders have led to bankruptcy.

Their continued support of the old-time capitalist parties and candidates has heaped one disaster upon another for labor.

In 1946, their alliance with the strikebreaking Truman administration and corrupt Democratic Party led to a crushing defeat, and to the Republican domination of Congress and the Taft-Hartley Act.

In 1948, the "victory" scored by the labor leaders for the Democratic machine produced no gains and ended in the violation of all the Trumanite promises, and a strengthening of reaction climaxed by the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law.

Now, in 1950, their blind-alley policy has led to another defeat for labor — and a further strengthening of reaction. They backed Trumanism and got McCarthyism.

The labor leaders bear the main responsibility for the failure to halt the swing to reaction. They offered the American people no real answer to the bi-partisan drive toward war, the rising prices and higher taxes.

Instead of fighting the Democratic Party for betraying its 1948 promises, they covered up its crimes and again lent themselves as vote-catching ward-healers to the graft-ridden, boss-ruled Democratic machine.

They further discredited themselves by accepting almost any Democratic hack the machine offered like Ferguson in Ohio, Lynch and Pecora in New York and Lucas in Illinois, even though they had to hold their noses when they voted for them.

Worst of all, by accepting the administration's war program, they have had to take co-responsibility for the price-gouging, tax-extortion and big Korean war casualties that flow from that program.

Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, attributes the election results to "a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty on the part of the American people." But will they feel any less insecure and uncertain in the years to come, with an ever heavier burden of militarism, inflation and taxes? And will the labor leaders believe that insecurity and uncertainty tomorrow by the same kind of politics that could not quell the people's doubts and fears today, but has only intensified them?

The American people — the workers, the oppressed Negroes, the poor farmers — aren't going to respond forever to the old lure of the "lesser evil" — the futile quest for a few "good apples" in a barrel of rotten capitalist two-party politics.

They are looking for a new road. They will respond eagerly to the call of a party that is truly free of capitalist political ties. The day organized labor proclaims the formation of an independent labor party will be the day when the great mass of American people will come forth in their tens of millions to march behind labor's political banner.

Build labor's own party and run labor's own candidates! That was one theme of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign this year. That is the truth hammered home by the 1950 elections results.

By George Breitman

The union leaders' policy of supporting capitalist politicians got another test on Nov. 7, and again demonstrated its bankruptcy.

The witch-hunt, initiated by the Truman administration, boomeranged on the Democrats and cost them a number of key congressional seats and states. There was a marked trend toward independent and cross-ticket voting, indicating a growing disregard for party labels and the existence of a mass sentiment that could be won to independent labor political action.

The hopes that many workers had of gaining concessions and social reforms through Truman's Fair Deal will have to be abandoned or deferred indefinitely.

Those are the main lessons of the 1950 elections.

UNION LEADERS' POLICY

The labor leaders poured a great deal of money and manpower into the efforts to retain or increase the Democratic majorities in Congress. They succeeded in getting a larger turnout than usual in off-election years, but little else. The Democratic majority fell from 54-42 in the Senate to 49-47. In the House it fell from 262-172 to 224-180, with the remainder still in doubt.

Still more significant, they failed to elect or unseat most of the candidates they devoted their major attention to. Republicans (raft and Millikin (Colo.), Hickenlooper (Iowa), Wiley (Wisc.) — special targets of the labor leaders — were re-elected to the Senate. Truman's Senate majority leader Lucas (Ill.), his Senate whip Myers (Pa.), the veteran Elbert Thomas (Utah), Helen Douglas (Calif.), all were beaten. Administration supporters eliminated earlier in the primaries were Pepper (Fla.), Graham (N. C.), Taylor (Idaho) and Elmer Thomas (Okla.).

The unions helped to re-elect Lehman (N. Y.) and two Democratic Senate incumbents in Conn., and to defeat Republican Donnell (Mo.).

OHIO FIASCO

The union leaders had made the Taft race the center and symbol of their efforts; that made his unexpectedly large victory a pronounced setback for them. Their aim was to show that support of the Democrats would hand Taft-Hartleyism a defeat at the polls. Now Taft's return has strengthened Taft-Hartleyism in Congress. The prestige of the labor politicians has been damaged, their influence in the Democratic Party will be reduced, and labor-baiters everywhere will feel encouraged to make new assaults against the workers.

In part, they can thank the White House for helping along the fiasco in Ohio. It is well known that Truman participated in the maneuvers that gave the Ohio Democratic nomination to Ferguson, a political nonentity and liability if ever there was one. Truman would like to see Taft win the GOP presidential nomination in 1952, the idea being that almost anyone could defeat him in a national contest. Incomplete studies show that the workers in the cities by and large continued to vote for the

(Continued on page 4)

More on Elections

Other election stories will be found on Page 4 of this issue. Next week we will print a number of articles from key election centers throughout the country, together with additional analysis of the results and post-election prospects.

17,000 Strike in Protest Against Firing

(Continued from Page 1)
 "resolution expressing support and sympathy in the fight to reinstate Copeland was passed." A meeting with the company was arranged for the next morning.

It was obvious, however, from the very start of the meeting, that the company was intent on discharging Copeland. The negotiations, which lasted for several hours, proved entirely fruitless. The company refused to budge on the reinstatement, even though it never once denied that part of the understanding reached between the union and the company in the earlier walkout was that everyone was to go back to work without any discrimination.

COMPANY MISCALCULATES

At three o'clock Tuesday the walkout began in the blast furnace and coke-ovens, and by Thursday evening the entire steel city was practically shut down. The company had obviously miscalculated. It had not expected that the thousands of workers outside of Copeland's local would readily join the walkout and give their enthusiastic support for his reinstatement.

Everywhere the workers were repeating, "We can't let the company get away with it." The blast furnace and coke-oven employees everywhere were chanting, "We won our grievance; now we mustn't lose our grievance man." Everything pointed in the direction of a swift victory for the workers and the reinstatement of Copeland.

Then the company, in collusion with the viciously anti-labor Buffalo Evening News, cooked up a conspiracy to divide and confuse the workers by a series of virulent Trotsky-baiting articles against Copeland in the News. Taking a leaf from other local industrial magnates, such as Bell Aircraft and Westinghouse, the Bethlehem Steel Company saw its best hope

Businessmen Gave Heavy Donations to Democrats

The Democrats used to "prove" that they weren't a party of Big Business because the Republicans got a major share of financial contributions from the big corporations. They can't complain any more. In 1950, columnist Robert S. Allen points out after a study of contribution lists made public by both parties, "Democrats have received more and larger campaign checks from businessmen than the Republicans." The donations come "from virtually every important segment of U. S. industry and finance."

in Fred Turner, the News' red-baiting and anti-Trotskyist expert. On Wednesday, under Turner's by-line, the News published the first of several articles calculated to smear Copeland and break the ranks of the workers.

REDBAITING ARTICLES

The News articles pictured the strike as one which was engineered by the "Trotskyist Copeland" who was allegedly a member of the executive committee of the Socialist Workers Party, which advocated a "revolutionary brand of communism," propagated "Trotsky's ideas of the permanent revolution," etc., etc.

The articles in themselves could not have greatly affected the morale of the steel workers or their determination to reinstate Copeland, but the district leaders of the steel union immediately made an about-face from their previous position of sympathy for Copeland and suddenly called a special meeting of all the Lackawanna locals for purposes of "determining whether the men should go back to work or not," as they phrased it.

MEETING CALLED

The meeting that evening, obviously called on short notice, was deliberately packed by United Steelworkers international representative Julian Bruce with a preponderance of workers from the so-called "strip mill," a notoriously Jim Crow mill, in order to counteract the many Negro workers with whom Copeland has been extremely popular on the basis of many years' activity on their behalf.

Even so, the meeting, which was attended by more than 2,000 workers, would have overwhelmingly voted to stay out for Copeland's reinstatement, but for the fact that Julian Bruce had decided to line up with the company and the Buffalo Evening News in their conspiracy to break the back of the greatest spontaneous labor demonstration in the history of the Niagara Frontier.

WORKERS' SENTIMENTS

Bruce opened the meeting with a long "statement of the facts in the case." For a while during his speech it seemed that Bruce was still giving cautious support to Copeland's reinstatement. "The fact that the plant is shut down tonight," he said, "is evidence that, even though we differ with Mr. Copeland's ideas of government, we're union men, and supporting him."

This statement of Bruce's was followed by thunderous applause

from the audience. Even the biased News reporter said that at that moment "applause filled the hot, smoky hall." Then Bruce started his dirty work. "I have never seen this company so adamant on anything," he asserted, trying to scare the men with the specter of a long strike. "Management has said it would be worth the loss to get rid of Vincent Copeland even if it meant our staying out for weeks."

But even this was not enough. Bruce then opened up with the same Trotsky-baiting used by the News. He even went further, alleging that Copeland had told him five years ago that he was a member of the "Trotskyite party," and that the Socialist Workers Party was nothing but "a twin of the Communist Party."

TURNED INTO WITCH-HUNT

Later, after Bruce had obviously fanned the flames of the red-baiting hysteria among his followers to a pitch, some of his hecklers were shouting in unison: "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" "Are you a member of a subversive organization?" Copeland denied this. Then Bruce rose again to the microphone, charging him with membership in the Socialist Workers Party and turning the issue of his discharge into a witch-hunt.

By the time Copeland had the floor, it was clear that Bruce's supporters from the more backward mills were intent on browbeating the rest of the workers into submitting to a back-to-work referendum vote, not based on the company's union-busting discharge but on the red-baiting issue injected by the company and the News.

Nevertheless, when Copeland, during the course of his stirring, militant speech, asked the membership point-blank, "How many men will stay out?" even the biased News reporter admitted that "about fifty percent of those in the audience raised their hands." But, according to the same News reporter, "Mr. Bruce immediately objected, reminding Mr. Copeland that it was agreed no man from the platform could bring a motion before the meeting."

Bruce had previously announced at the meeting "that in the interests of an orderly session" he would dispense with all the parliamentary rules of procedure and conduct the meeting as he saw fit, "so as to protect you." No vote on the main issue of the discharge was therefore taken except for the election of a committee to

conduct a referendum vote by secret ballot among all the Lackawanna Steel Locals.

Although this procedure is not objectionable from a general point of view, it must be noted that the international rarely resorts to such a measure, always fearing to entrust such matters to the membership. In the last steel strike the steel workers were neither afforded an opportunity to vote on the walkout nor even to vote on acceptance or rejection of the settlement.

REAL REASON

The real reason for proposing the referendum vote to all the locals was that Bruce and his stooges felt they could rely on the local capitalist press and the general red-baiting hysteria throughout the country to cloud the real issue in the Lackawanna walkout.

Nevertheless, out of some 4,000 workers who participated in the referendum vote, 926 voted to stay out. Considering the fact that those who voted to stay out knew that they would not only have to buck the company, the capitalist press and radio, but also the steel union's heavy-handed bureau-

cracy, the vote was considered a magnificent demonstration of support by the militant steel workers and a tribute to Copeland's many years of service to the Lackawanna steel workers.

READY TO STAY OUT

Copeland's own local, Local 2601, comprising the key blast furnace and coke oven departments, was nevertheless ready to "stay out on their own until he is reinstated." But Copeland himself, at a membership meeting of his local, after thanking them for their support, urged them to go back with the rest of the steel locals and fight his case by submitting it promptly to arbitration.

The four-day work stoppage on behalf of Copeland by Lackawanna's 17,000 steel workers was the most magnificent labor demonstration ever undertaken on behalf of a local grievance man. The fact that it had only a limited success is not due to the unwillingness of the workers to render him all the support they could muster, but to the conspiracy between a giant steel corporation and the local capitalist press, and the weak-kneed and treacherous role of the labor bureaucrats.

George Bernard Shaw-- His Life and His Politics

By George Lavan

The death of George Bernard Shaw raises again the question of his personality and politics. One of the great literary figures of the age, an iconoclast professing to believe in socialism, he evoked praise and condemnation from Marxists, Lenin and Trotsky both alike, in passing, not unkindly of him. The ruling class which he ridiculed ended by regarding him affectionately as its court jester. What was the pattern of his life and his politics?

Shaw's youth was a struggle to keep himself and his mother within the respectability of the middle class. In snobbish Victorian England this was a bitter task. Here he learned the injustice of the social system. Reading Karl Marx opened new vistas for him and furnished his wit with a razor edge in dissecting the hypocrisies of capitalism. It also opened up two paths to him.

TWO PATHS

One led to the working class — that mass of toiling humanity into which he and his mother had so feared to sink. The other led to drawing rooms of middle class respectability — the "rightful" place for those of his family's origin. In Shaw's eyes both paths bore the label "socialist." He tried both. One centered about William Morris, famous poet and artist, who had plunged into the Marxist movement and was trying to build a proletarian group. The other "socialist" movement was based on discussion groups in cultured middle class parlors. These Fabian parlors were never sullied by the presence of a worker — who would not only have made his hosts uncomfortable but would himself feel out of place.

Shaw tried both movements. With the workers he participated in the great unemployed movement of the 1880's. This was smashed by the government on Bloody Sunday, 1887. In the fighting in Trafalgar Square Shaw participated.

BECAME FABIAN

After this great defeat Shaw gave his sole allegiance to the Fabians who declared that the period of "revolutionary heroics" was past and that "practical reform" was now the only feasible path. The Fabians were led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. He was a statistician and civil servant, she was an aristocratic so-

cial worker. The Fabians treated Marxism with an outward respect but steadily cut the heart out of it by shifting the emphasis away from the working class. Instead of the producers in society being important they held up the consumers. The class struggle was declared to exist no longer. In essence they told the workers that struggle was unavailing and that socialism would be achieved by experts, such as themselves, negotiating the government and business.

This outlook — based on the middle class origin of the Fabians — was embraced by Shaw and is the key to his politics for the rest of his life. He saw the working class as a victimized class unable to achieve its own salvation; it would be delivered only by superior people or by a superman.

SOCIALIST CRITICISM

The socialist publications had afforded Shaw a means of breaking into print. He pursued his literary career and made his success in drama. His plays utilized socialist criticism of society. His sharp wit pierced the bubbles of capitalist hypocrisy and Victorian morality. The whole reading and playing public knows how effectively and artistically he did this. His plays also served to clear the air for discussion of social problems, encouraging those who were calling for the destruction of the old corrupt society and the creation of a socialist world.

The general impression that Shaw opposed World War I is false. When the war started he refused to swallow the excesses of anti-German propaganda and ridiculed it. In discussing the war he even stated that "if soldiers were wise they would shoot their officers and return home to mind their own business." However, he never meant anyone to take this seriously and justified his support of British imperialism by such quips as: "You cannot be impartial in a conflict between two pirate fleets if you happen to be aboard one of them." He toured the front as guest of Marshal Haig and did some work for the Propaganda Ministry.

To his everlasting credit it must be recorded that he defended

the Russian Revolution of 1917. And he remained to his death firm against labor leaders and fellow Fabians who called for armed intervention against the Soviet Union.

How can we reconcile this man's support of British imperialism and obvious pleasure in wealth and association with the British aristocracy with his sympathy for socialism? The key lies in his middle class, Fabian belief that though justice demanded socialism, the workers were not intelligent enough to achieve it themselves. He looked for superior people like the educated Fabians or a benevolent dictator to accomplish that task.

His attitude toward Mussolini and Fascism illustrates this. Shaw was long an admirer and defender of Mussolini. In 1927 he said, "Some of the things Mussolini has done and some that he is threatening to do go further in the direction of Socialism than the English Labor Party could yet venture... and it is certainly not my business nor that of any Socialist to weaken him..."

ADMIRING DICTATORS

He supported the Duce's war on Ethiopia and was mild in his criticism of Hitler. He deplored Hitler's anti-Semitism as a "craze" or "complex" in an otherwise statesmanlike policy. This attitude Shaw carried over to Stalin.

In 1944 Shaw wrote that "we shall have to defend all the good public work done by the Fascists and Nazis under the subtitle of National Socialists. We shall have to defend as best we can their nationalization of trade unionism... In the USSR, where this nationalization has been effected, Trade Unionism is much stronger than in England or the USA." He furthermore asserted that Stalin's policies had proved that the Fabian criticism of Bolshevism had been correct and that "the Russian system is now a Fabian system."

Shaw's career proves that mental brilliance and good-heartedness are not enough. Only with the science of Marxism and a party of the working class can an individual — no matter how gifted — struggle effectively for a better world.

Tragic Telegram



Clutching a telegram from the Defense Department advising her that her son Alvin had been killed in Korea, Mrs. Johanna J. Fowler gives vent to her grief. The Roxbury, Mass., widow lost another son in the Battle of the Bulge in 1944.

What Yugoslavia Has Achieved

(Cont. from page 1)

plant at Rakowitsa, precision factories at Belgrade and electrical equipment plants were modernized technologically. For the first time Yugoslavia manufactures its own tractors at Rakowitsa and its own trucks at the T.A.M. plants at Maribor. Construction equipment plants have been built side by side with chemical plants and new installations in the food industry. The first drug plants — the penicillin plant Galenika and the nicotine plant at Skoplje — have arisen. Dozens of other small and medium-sized plants in all fields of industry have been expanded to become great and modern enterprises. For example, a small workshop of 50 workers at Zagreb has become today the Rade Kontchar factory where 4,000 workers build electrical transformers at a rapid pace.

At the same time the Yugoslav transport system, one of the most backward in the world before the war, has become completely transformed. 1,300 km. of new track have been laid since the war, 680 km. of highway were newly built and 4,000 km. of roads were repaired and renovated. Some of these projects necessitated gigantic efforts, like the Samats-Sarajevo railway for which more and deeper tunnels had to be dug out than for any other railway in Europe. Six new ocean liners were built during the same period and nine others renovated and modernized.

Many of these factories are still insufficiently equipped; in many others the organization of production is very backward. Productivity is still lower than in advanced countries. But industry is on the way to catching up with modern technology. That's the meaning of what has been achieved. One can say without exaggeration that never before was the economic structure of any country changed as radically in so few years.

Development of Heavy and Light Industry

But the problem of industrialization and electrification of the country is only one side of the picture. We know that the method of industrialization is a decisive

criterion in judging the relations between a state and its people. We know the methods used by the Soviet bureaucracy in industrialization at the expense of millions of human lives and of years and years of misery and hardship for tens of millions of people. Can the same thing be said about the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia?

Statistics as well as the impressions and discussions which several thousand foreign youth had in the summer of 1950 in Yugoslavia permit a categorical answer to that question. Of course, the standard of living of the population is still far from the standard of living of privileged capitalist countries, like the USA, Britain, Australia or Switzerland. Many discrepancies and differences remain between different parts of the country and different layers of the population. But some outstanding facts indicate what has been done. In Russia the development of heavy industry was achieved at a much quicker rate than that of light industry, therefore at the expense of consumption of the working population. In Yugoslavia, while steel production increased from 1938 to 1949 from 235,000 tons to 400,000 tons, electricity from 1.1 billion kwh to 2.2 billion kwh, copper production from 30,000 to 35,000 tons, wood production from 1 million to 3 million cubic meters, and brickmaking from 640 million bricks to 975 million bricks, in the field of consumer goods the following progress has been achieved:

	1938	1949
Furniture	10,500 complete sets	44,000 complete sets
Cotton goods	116 million sq. meters	170 million sq. meters
Woolen goods	13.3 million sq. meters	28 million sq. meters
Shoes	3.85 million pairs	7.75 million pairs
Rubber sandals	1.7 million pairs	4.1 million pairs, etc.

Greater Production and Demand

These figures indicate clearly that the rate of expansion of consumer goods industry is at least as rapid as the rate of expansion of heavy industry. They are reflected in the day-to-day life of the people in thousands of different ways. Whereas before the war millions of people bought a pair of shoes every four years, they now buy one every other year. Whereas a prewar peasant would wear his shirt till it was in shreds, he now buys a couple of shirts every six months. Whereas sugar before the war was a luxury product which only the middle class and bourgeoisie of the cities could afford, it has today become a common consumer product used as much in the most backward sections of the countryside as in the cities (average consumption per capita is 4 times as high as before the war). Yet precisely the products which have greatly increased in production and which have become universal consumer goods are scarcer than ever before, because everyone wants them, and wants more of them now. The people have acquired tremendous new aspirations, and the more production increases the more the

needs grow and the more must the increase of production be stepped up, till all the basic needs of the people can be satisfied.

The Yugoslav workers and communists are very conscious of this process. The members of the foreign brigades often posed questions like this one: "Would you agree to build socialism for your children and grandchildren, like the Russian workers are told?" The answer would be unanimous: "We want to have socialism for ourselves. We want to have a good apartment, decent food and clothing, medical care, good vacation, good books, for ourselves in a couple of years. We want our government to keep that in mind. That's objective No. 1." With such a clear consciousness, the struggle against bureaucracy has a better chance of success than in the Soviet Union.

Social and Cultural Achievements

Important as they are, these economic achievements are still far from sufficient to lift the Yugoslav people to an advanced standard of living. Giant strides have been made in the cultural and social spheres in Yugoslavia in a couple of years, its legislation being among the most advanced in the world.

Although education was already compulsory in prewar Yugoslavia, and the number of children attending primary schools only increased by 10%, the number of children sent to vacation centers increased from 37,400 in 1939 to 162,000 in 1949. The number of students in colleges and other institutions of higher education jumped from 168,000 in 1939 to 435,000 in 1949; higher technical institutions had an enrollment of 11,000 students in 1939, and of 66,000 in 1949. There were 17,700 university students in prewar Yugoslavia; there are 55,000 today. There were 3,000 students in art academies in 1939; there are 20,000 today.

Social security is completely non-contributory for the masses. It includes compensation for sickness, disability and pensions at the age of 60. Industrial workers and employees, functionaries, members of the armed forces and members of the peasant cooperatives benefit from this system. Although there is a terrible lack of medical personnel, in 1949 100,000 pregnant women — 1 out of every 4 — were cared for by special state institutions while in 1938 only 6,000 women visited these centers. And finally, hundreds of thousands of workers now spend their fortnight's vacation in the richest and swankiest bathing resorts on the sea coast or in the mountains which were reserved exclusively before the war for foreigners or very rich bourgeois and landowners. This vacation is not restricted to a few privileged pace-setters (Stakhanovists) as in Russia; in 1950 some 50% of the workers of big factories spent their vacations in the choicest spots.

(Next week: Economic Difficulties)

THE MILITANT ARMY

Howard Mason, Literature Agent for the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, reports good sales of *The Militant* during the election campaign. "In the past week we covered a number of meetings," he writes. At Local 600 of the CIO Auto Workers Union, the score was 50 Militants. At other union gatherings, 25. In addition the branch distributed 25,000 leaflets opposing a reactionary "anti-subversive" proposal on the ballot.

From Los Angeles, Literature Agent Al Lynn writes that 45 Militants were sold at an election rally of the Communist Party. In the Negro community in Watts a former New Yorker sold 50 Militants to his neighbors in a couple of days.

Literature Agents also report good sales of Art Preis's pamphlet, "Welfare State or Socialism." The pamphlet makes a good combination with *The Militant* to introduce workers to the program of socialism. C. A. of Milwaukee, ordering 75 more copies, observes that sales of the pamphlet "have been going pretty well at union meetings."

Milwaukee's Literature Agent, H. B., sent in a batch of subscriptions to *The Militant*. One of them he reports, is for an old school chum of some of the Milwaukee Trotskyists who had not been seen for almost 15 years. "He was quite impressed with our program and donated \$5."

L. B. Courts of Sharonville, Ohio, dropped us a note the other day. He reached his 80th birthday on November 8 and is still a staunch socialist. "The capitalist class," he writes, "lies to stay in power. It rules us in order to dispose of our lives on the battlefields." He asks the workers to listen to the message of socialism. "The Socialists have come to you day by day, week by week, month after month and year after year telling you the truth. My view is that the man who knows about socialism and still hands his vote to the Siamese twins would

help put Christ on the cross." We congratulate Comrade Courts on his 80th birthday and hope he will see socialism growing into a mighty movement in America before many more elections have passed.

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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

Single Copies (6 or more copies): 30 each in U.S., 40 each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIV - No. 46 Monday, November 13, 1950

Yugoslav Foreign Policy Continues Drift to Right

By Paul G. Stevens

Yugoslav foreign policy, based formally on the concept that the United Nations is a genuine instrument for peace and that the struggle against war hinges on abstract definitions of "aggression" regardless of class considerations, took a swing to the right after the opening of hostilities in Korea last June. Last week it threatened to move even further to the right with the involvement of Mao Tse-tung's China in the Korean hostilities. In reply to a question from a N. Y. Times correspondent what his country's stand would be in case of war between the United States and China, Marshal Tito reportedly answered:

"My attitude is, of course, the same as that of our delegation to the United Nations. If such a situation as you mention should develop, we would take a stand against any and all aggression. I should not like to be misunderstood. It is the United Nations itself which must decide who is the aggressor. Our stand will be the same — that of the United Nations. We will adhere to that body's decision."

Since it is abundantly clear that UN policy is determined by the power bloc headed by Washington — the UN vote to open the door to Franco Spain is one more crushing bit of evidence for that! — Tito's quoted stand, for all its circumspect language, can mean only that in case of war against China, the Yugoslav regime will be lined up with the American power bloc.

Yugoslavia's delegation in the General Assembly joined in passing what has been called a "history-making" resolution, which provides (a) for the Assembly to be called within 24 hours to deal by a majority vote with "aggression" in case of a (Russian) veto on proposed action in the Security Council; (b) gives the Assembly the right to make "appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures" including the use of armed forces; and (c) instructs each UN member to "maintain within its national armed forces elements so trained and organized and equipped that they could promptly be made available . . . for service as a United Nations unit or units."

Asked pointedly by the correspondent whether Yugoslavia would live up to this resolution and "earmark" troops for UN disposal, Tito replied that this was a matter for the future, that "the Yugoslavs were not 'enthusiastic' about such symbolic

help "because it means nothing and can only lead to trouble," but stressed nevertheless that: "When our country undertakes an obligation, it keeps it."

DISCREDITING YUGOSLAVIA

Thus, the fetishism of the UN as a peace instrument and the clinging to the concept of opposing "aggression" as a means of avoiding war has led Yugoslav foreign policy into a position in which that country may be used by Western imperialism against the aroused colonial peoples not only for propaganda purposes but even in direct combat. That such an eventuality could only discredit Yugoslavia in the eyes of the millions of Asian people for whom the UN has become identified, particularly after the Korean events, with U. S. imperialist aggression, is a foregone conclusion. It would, moreover, also create the greatest mistrust among the progressive forces in Europe and America who have come forward to defend revolutionary Yugoslavia against rapacious imperialism as well as the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy and its Cominform.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy is all the more disastrous because it flies in the face of recent internal developments in that country. The revival of the power of the people's committees, the laws instituting workers' control and management in the factories, the decree equalizing rations for state and party functionaries with those of the general population — all these are evidence in action of the Tito government's desire to promote the socialist revolution. But how can the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia be defended on the international arena in league with a United Nations organization that is even now being used as camouflage in the imperialist effort to put down Asia's colonial revolutions? The dilemma before the Yugoslav people is obvious.

It is not difficult to understand the motivation for this self-defeating and false foreign policy. Edward Kardelj, Foreign Minister and head of the Yugoslav delegation at the UN, openly expressed it at the General Assembly on Sept. 25: "It goes without saying that the aggressive policy of the Soviet and other East European Governments with regard to Yugoslavia is one of the chief factors determining the international position of the Yugoslav Government and its attitude to the fundamental questions of world peace."

The leaders of revolutionary Yugoslavia do, indeed, face un-

precedented hardships on the international arena. The direct threat of military attack from the Kremlin and its Cominform satellites is attested to by the 896 frontier incidents in two years, which the Yugoslav foreign minister recounted. Coupled with these armed harassments, the Yugoslavs have had to face a debilitating economic blockade from the same source since 1948. On top of that, the country has suffered a devastating natural calamity, a drought, which multiplies all the previous economic and political difficulties.

Only dilettantes who have never given serious thought to the problems of revolutionary leadership, or demagogues who serve the Kremlin bureaucracy, can ignore the life-and-death questions that the Tito regime is confronted with. It must find immediate means to prevent famine from overcoming a population of 16,000,000. It must be prepared with adequate modern weapons to prevent a murderous stab in the back from Stalin's legions which stand alerted on all its borders. It must build its industrial potential rapidly to prevent discontent among the peasantry in a preponderantly agricultural country.

"REALISTIC" ANSWERS

The Yugoslav leaders have sought "realistic" answers to these questions, as they had to. Internally, their "realism" has led them — belatedly or not, firmly or gropingly, but in any case in increasing measure — to a mobilization of the working class and its active, enthusiastic participation in industry, in defense, in the struggle against bureaucracy. In the course of this whole internal development, the Yugoslav communists have had to shed more and more of the opportunist, class-collaborationist lessons learned in the school of Stalinism. On the international arena, on the other hand, the development has been in an entirely different direction.

"Realism" in foreign policy no doubt demands, from a revolutionary point of view also, utilization of the platform of the United Nations, skilful diplomacy and seizure of such advantages as maneuvers afford without the compromise of principle. Devotion to socialist principle, in foreign policy as in domestic — requires first of all, however, a clear-cut stand on all problems from the point of view of the class struggle and bearing in mind that the main, the only reliable, ally is to be found in the masses fighting to free themselves from imperialist oppression.

LENIN'S POLICY

That was Lenin's international policy when the Soviet state was beset by troubles and dangers not comparable with those that Yugoslavia faces today, and that policy aroused a world-wide response that saved the Russian revolution and the young Soviet Republic. Violation of this principle in foreign policy by the USSR was the work of Stalin.

To gain temporary advantages, to ward off an immediate threat Stalin was always ready to make common cause with imperialists, fascist and "democratic" alike, against the masses. The Kremlin's maneuvers with the Allies against the Yugoslav revolution during World War II — so brilliantly exposed by Moshe Pyade — are an excellent case in point. Such Stalinist "realism" in international policy only served the reactionary bureaucracy, never the proletarian revolution in Russia or anywhere else.

The present Yugoslav foreign policy, which brings it in conflict with China's millions today as it did with those of Korea yesterday, arises from a desire to combat the real threat of Stalinist attack. But paradoxically, it is taken over in sum and substance from the anti-Leninist practices of Stalinism.

The basic fact about China and Korea today, as it was with Yugoslavia after 1941, is that, despite their involvement with the Kremlin and its agents, the masses are in upsurge against imperialist intervention and against native capitalism. By aligning themselves with the United Nations policy the Yugoslav Communists damage their own cause in three vital respects.

They lose the confidence of the Asian peoples fighting for freedom and of those anti-Stalinist forces looking for an independent socialist course. They help the Kremlin's machinations by lending some plausibility to its accusation that Belgrade has fallen into the clutches of the imperialists. And they endanger their own revolutionary achievements at home by a foreign policy which breaks the solidarity of the forces engaged in combating world capitalism.

PUERTO RICO'S LOT: COLONIAL ENSLAVEMENT

By Larissa Reed

A glimpse into the unendurable misery and squalor of the Puerto Rican people is given in a report issued on Nov. 3 by a federal interdepartmental committee on children and youth, headed by Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing. Although modified as much as possible by an agency whose first task is to whitewash U.S. crimes, these "cold" statistics are a burning indictment of U.S. colonial rule. For over fifty years Wall Street profiteers have been exploiting these colonial people, grinding them down into increasingly hopeless poverty and misery in order to extract their super-profits from its rich sugar crops.

The report stresses that the needs of the population are "greater than any comparable group under the United States flag." It points this up by comparison with Mississippi, "the poorest state in the Union." In Puerto Rico the per capita income in 1947 was \$306 — less than half the \$659 per capita income in Mississippi. Compared with the U.S. as a whole, which includes not only Mississippi, but all the other impoverished southern states, the per capita income here is \$1,323 — in other words, over \$1,000 more than the Puerto Rican's.

Starvation Wages

Workers are miserably underpaid. The official figures, as of August, 1949, fix hourly earnings in all industries at an "average" of 43.8 cents an hour. The majority of the workers earn far less, thus tobacco workers receive only 29.4 cents an hour.

As can be expected on a one-crop island, "employment opportunities are limited, and much of the employment is seasonal." This means severe chronic unemployment. In 1949, one out of six families were either on relief or had applied for it. Yet only the most "desperately" needy were eligible for this pittance which amounted to only \$7.50 a month for an entire family. What kind of daily life can be eked out from such tiny sums? The report sketches it as follows:

In place of housing, an increasingly crowded and stinking ghetto. In 1947 more than 84,000 families were packed into slums, and the slum population has been increasing at the rate of over 2,000 families a year. Children are born without medical aid or attention, some of the mothers being attended by midwives.

For all the ill, adult or child, there is only an average of one physician for every 2,500 persons, compared with one for every 200 in New York State, and one for every 1,500 in Mississippi. The infant death rate is 2 1/2 times that in the U.S. with the main casualties resulting from poverty diseases, such as enteritis, diarrhea and tuberculosis. In January, 1949, over 1,700 crippled children were on the waiting list for medical treatment.

Horrible Social Conditions

If a child survives the first critical year, it has a wretched youth to look forward to. Only one-half the island's children are in the inadequate, overcrowded schools, and these for only half a day. Most of them never get beyond the fourth grade. General illiteracy of the population is over 25% — compared with 3% in the U.S. Because of malnutrition, Puerto Rican children on the average are two years behind American children in physical development.

Recreational facilities are "few and inadequate." Instead of playground activities, many of the children beg on the streets or sell legalized lottery tickets. Every year new lost generations of abandoned children without families or means of support wander about the streets. Is it any wonder that there is an excessive amount of "juvenile delinquency"? But for these, the colonial rulers will always provide plenty in the way of prisons, punishments and terror.

Even the N. Y. Times, ardent upholder of Wall Street's rule, in an editorial on Nov. 5 is obliged to confess that these conditions are "appalling," and that the "children, and indeed the whole population, of Puerto Rico face desperate needs, economic, social, and educational." The Times is well aware that "desperate" needs can breed desperate actions — as was so forcibly demonstrated last week. Such actions throw a world-wide spotlight on human lives blighted and broken by U.S. capitalist greed — and throw a monkey wrench into the propaganda and lies that the U.S. is an exporter of "democracy," "prosperity," and "freedom."

The Times knows that the U.S. ruling class have big fish to fry in their coming imperialist gambles on a vast colonial scale, so it pleads for a little clean-up job in its own colonial backyard first. Something must be done to offset "the propagandists and extremists who say we are exploiting Puerto Rico," state the editors. Otherwise, they fear, the U.S. will have difficulty in exporting its "world wide Point Four Program" — a program designed to convert vast colonial areas elsewhere into bigger and even more profitable Puerto Ricos.

CRISIS SHARPENED BY CLASH WITH CHINA IN NORTH KOREA

(Continued from page 1)

and destroyed if more Red troops were sent" into Korea. Another rumored reason is that the intervention has been dictated not only for economic reasons but also by Mao's determination to back up the North Korean government.

ON OWN INITIATIVE

What is most noteworthy about all these comments and speculations — both in the press and at the UN — is the absence of the charge that Mao is simply blindly following instructions from the Kremlin. As a matter of fact, it has thus far been generally taken for granted that the Mao regime has been acting by and large on its own initiative. And from all indications this appears to be the case.

The sudden turn in the Korean war was not expected either by the political or military strategists in Washington. At any rate, the military both in the field and at the Tokyo headquarters seem to have been caught by surprise. According to Joseph C. Harsch, head of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington Bureau whose factual reports have proved as a rule quite accurate, Mao's troops have been in North Korea for some time now, holding well concealed and strongly fortified positions.

"It is now established," says Harsch, "that the Chinese Communists have dug themselves in along a rough line running parallel to, and about 50 miles south of, the Yalu River. . . . The American units which have been surrounded were caught because they had driven through this line without knowing of its existence until the trap closed behind them."

"HARD DECISIONS"

Among the most outspoken comment was that made by the U. S. News of Nov. 10 which characterizes the turn in Korea as "bad, really bad," and sees Washington as being "up against some very hard decisions." The choice, according to the U. S. News editors, lies between "ignoring" the Chinese troops and continuing with the Korean war as if nothing had happened, or forcing a "show-down" with Mao, that is, plunging into full-scale war with China. The Truman administration, they add, leans toward "localizing" the war in Korea which would be an "endless, even if local, war" and which "may be hard to sell to the American people."



TROTSKY

"When we say that America is moving toward world domination, it does not at all mean that this domination will be completely realized, nor, all the less so, that after it is realized to one degree or another, it will endure for centuries or even decades. We are discussing a historical tendency which, in actuality, will be criss-crossed and modified by other historical tendencies. If the capitalist world were able to endure several more decades without revolutionary paroxysms, then these decades would unquestionably witness the uninterrupted growth of American world dictatorship. But the whole point is that this process will inevitably develop its own contradictions which will become coupled with all the other contradictions of the capitalist system."

— Leon Trotsky, "Disarmament and the United States of Europe," 1929.



LENIN

What the Future Holds

Higher prices and shortages, with an ever-increasing squeeze on the consumers, will prevail for a long time to come even if no major war breaks out. That is the prospect held forth by General George C. Marshall, Secretary of Defense. He told a conference of the Commerce Department's Business Advisory Council that the blue-prints are nearing completion for a vastly expanded war production program extending over the next four years and even longer.

Although he cited no specific figures, Marshall made it clear that this year's doubled war appropriations, which have raised total federal spending to nearly \$60 billion annually, are far short of what the Truman administration and militarists plan to spend next year and thereafter. According to the press accounts of the conference, "unofficial reports" placed the anticipated costs of next year's military budget at about \$55 billion. This would bring the total federal annual budget to around \$85 billion.

Such an enormous sum has never been spent by the government in any year of war or peace except in 1944 and 1945, at the height of World War II. It is only \$13 billion below the 1945 war-time peak

of \$98 billion and higher than the \$79 1/2 billion spending in 1943.

The last war's spending was made possible by running up a debt of \$272 billion. This debt still remains at more than \$250 billion. Thus, the American people are going to have to foot, for an indefinite period in what is technically, at any rate, peace-time, a war bill almost as great as during the world war five years ago and starting on the basis of an already monumental debt.

No one needs to be an economics expert to realize what is in store for us. Militarism as a permanent way of life is going to mean a tremendous slash in living standards. The diversion of labor and raw materials to war production must inevitably create shortages and a huge rise in prices, as well as a staggering increase in taxes.

The results of the elections already indicate, as one N. Y. Times commentator observed, that many people are "tired of war, high prices and high taxes." They are going to grow even more tired of them in the years to come. And, as the militarist load becomes intolerable, they are going to seek effective ways to throw it off their backs.

Puerto Rico--A Reminder for Asia

It has become quite the fashion in the American press of recent years to speak disparagingly of British and French colonialism as "old-style imperialism," by which is meant the seizure of colonies by force and their rule by foreign powers. This is usually contrasted with the allegedly more benevolent policies of the United States toward backward countries.

The nationalist uprising in Puerto Rico has sharply reminded the world that the U. S. along with its more stream-lined method of controlling other countries indirectly through economic penetration and pressure, is also an established practitioner of "old-style imperialism."

Compared to those of the older imperialist powers, American colonial holdings are small (if we exclude Japan, Western Germany, most of Korea and other territories where the U. S. is presumably only in "temporary occupation"). But let us not forget that part of American capitalism's wealth and super-profits come from the ruthless exploitation of the people and rich resources of Puerto Rico, which the U. S. seized by force and has ruled by force.

U. S. Labor and Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia, whose heroic defiance of the Kremlin has dealt Stalinism its hardest blow, is faced with a crisis due to an accident of nature beyond the Yugoslav people's control, a severe drought. This natural catastrophe may so weaken Yugoslavia internally as to make it vulnerable to Moscow's onslaught.

For many months — long prior to the unexpected drought — Yugoslavia has been unsuccessfully seeking loans and other assistance from Washington and various world agencies under Washington's control or influence. It is quite apparent that the U. S. State Department has been putting a squeeze on Yugoslavia by holding up needed assistance, under one pretext or another, in order to extract political concessions.

The further withholding of loans and the delay in dispatching large supplies of surplus food will mean not only immense suffering in Yugoslavia this winter but a great lessening of its power to resist Moscow.

The American trade union leaders, who have been so quick to urge aid for other small countries, have been silent about Yugoslavia. They have backed aid to the monarcho-capitalist regime of Greece; they have poured out their own funds for Israel; the AFL leaders have even called for all-out U. S. support to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek. But when it comes to a country where the workers have taken power, the only country

That foreign rule for 52 years has reduced the Puerto Ricans to a state of chronic and abysmal poverty and degradation. The recent revolt has blazoned the plight of the Puerto Ricans to the entire world.

It will not fail to have its effect upon the peoples of Asia and other backward areas who are being bombarded with U. S. propaganda about the benefits of American "democracy" and "liberation." Puerto Rico after 52 years of U. S. rule is not likely to diminish the current distrust and hostility in a good part of the globe regarding this country and its intentions.

What, for instance, can the people of Korea expect from the U. S., when Washington maintains such abominable conditions in its own backyard? Will Wall Street imperialism provide the peoples of Asia any more, in the way of improved living standards and democratic rights, than it has accorded the people of Puerto Rico? On the contrary, the tragic conditions in Puerto Rico give other colonial peoples a forewarning — if they need it — of what their own fate will be if they fall under the control, direct or indirect, of the American plutocracy.

Now news dispatches from Seoul give further evidence of how little Rhee represents the Korean people. A Nov. 3 Associated Press dispatch reports that the South Korean National Assembly, despite the fact that many delegates opposed to Rhee are missing, voted 100 to 21 against his appointment of Paik Nak Choon as Minister of Education.

Rhee had appointed Choon last May 4 before the Korean civil war began and prior to the May 30 elections. At that time the voters, in the face of Rhee's unbridled terrorism including mass arrests, tortures, executions and murders, repudiated 80% of the members of the first National Assembly and elected a majority of delegates from anti-Rhee opposition groups.

The Assembly's rejection last week of Rhee's appointee Choon is, in effect, a repudiation of the Rhee government. However, he controls the army and police, equipped and trained by the U. S., which are the real ruling force in Korea. In the notorious "Human Flesh Case" last spring, a number of anti-Rhee delegates were left before their own doors in various states of dismemberment. Rhee's firing squads now are working busily all over Korea, according to eye-witness accounts quoted in last week's Militant, dispatching so-called "collaborationists" with only a pretense of trials.

The cold-blooded atrocities and reactionary policies of the Rhee government make it difficult for Washington and its UN stooges to keep up the fiction about the "restoration" of "democracy" in Korea. Some of the capitalist papers speak of the "dilemma" which the UN is facing because "its representatives must at the

UNPOPULAR RHEE GOVT. RULES BY TERRORISM

When Gen. MacArthur, in that grotesque ceremony last month amidst the smoking ruins of Seoul, restored Syngman Rhee to power in South Korea, the claim that U. S. forces were in Korea to liberate the Korean people and bring them democracy was pretty well exploded.

Now news dispatches from Seoul give further evidence of how little Rhee represents the Korean people. A Nov. 3 Associated Press dispatch reports that the South Korean National Assembly, despite the fact that many delegates opposed to Rhee are missing, voted 100 to 21 against his appointment of Paik Nak Choon as Minister of Education.

Rhee had appointed Choon last May 4 before the Korean civil war began and prior to the May 30 elections. At that time the voters, in the face of Rhee's unbridled terrorism including mass arrests, tortures, executions and murders, repudiated 80% of the members of the first National Assembly and elected a majority of delegates from anti-Rhee opposition groups.

The Assembly's rejection last week of Rhee's appointee Choon is, in effect, a repudiation of the Rhee government. However, he controls the army and police, equipped and trained by the U. S., which are the real ruling force in Korea. In the notorious "Human Flesh Case" last spring, a number of anti-Rhee delegates were left before their own doors in various states of dismemberment. Rhee's firing squads now are working busily all over Korea, according to eye-witness accounts quoted in last week's Militant, dispatching so-called "collaborationists" with only a pretense of trials.

The cold-blooded atrocities and reactionary policies of the Rhee government make it difficult for Washington and its UN stooges to keep up the fiction about the "restoration" of "democracy" in Korea. Some of the capitalist papers speak of the "dilemma" which the UN is facing because "its representatives must at the

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

"Cruelly Deceptive"

By Frank Poole

While the CIO leaders went around calling for the election of more Trumanites, they were bitterly complaining about one of the major pieces of legislation passed by the last Democratic-controlled Congress and signed by Truman, the Defense Production Act which gives Truman power to fix ceilings on certain prices and to freeze wages.

The current CIO Economic Outlook assails the wage-price control act as "cruelly deceptive." "Under its terms," says the CIO publication, "wages and salaries can be clamped down, but the cost of living can still go up. Food, rent, and medical costs are major items in the average family budget. But neither the act nor any other Federal legislation provides for a real freeze of these major family costs. The largest expenditure of the average family is for food. But the Defense Production Act does not provide for a firm ceiling over food prices."

Under the law, the Economic Outlook points out, the president is required to freeze wages in any industry where he puts a ceiling on prices. "If the price of steel or rubber were frozen, for example, wages of steel and rubber workers would go under controls automatically. If steel workers ate steel and rubber workers ate rubber, this might make sense. But they spend their pay checks for food and clothing."

The CIO publication called for new controls to halt profiteering, charging that the major cause of the price rises since June 25 is "old-fashioned speculative profiteering." It denied that either the unions or the housewives can be blamed for the sharp rise in prices since the Korean war began. "She (the housewife) just hasn't been

hoarding copper, gasoline, rubber, lard, milk or bread in the kitchen pantry, but the prices of all these are up," the Outlook states.

Its contention that the corporations are not justified in raising prices on the grounds of inadequate profits is borne out by the latest profits reports of the leading corporations. These average a 51% increase for the third-quarter of this year compared to the same period in 1949.

Profits of the major war corporations have reached unprecedented heights during the period of the Korean war. General Motors reported a record net profit of over \$702 million for the first nine months of this year and on Nov. 8 declared the largest cash dividend payments in the history of GM or any other corporation.

Similarly, U. S. Steel recently declared the largest dividend disbursement in its history. Its net income for the first nine months of 1950 was more than \$178 million compared to the \$123 million take in the same period of 1949, a banner year.

As usual, the CIO leaders make a strong stand in the battle of statistics, but have nothing to offer when it comes to real action against the conditions of which they complain.

They support the militarization program that has bred the inflation and Truman's "police action" in Korea that has brought it to bloom. Their program boils down to a plea to the capitalist war government to "control" prices and profits.

The union leaders' complaints remain empty words unless they are prepared to lead a mass action fight against wage freezing and for a program of price control by consumers committees of the unions, housewives and farmers.

Atomic Pie in the Sky

By Fred Hart

Gordon Dean, who now heads the Atomic Energy Commission, gave an interview last week to the U. S. News, purporting to reveal "new facts" about the atom bomb.

The U. S. News headlined this interview as follows: "ALL A-BOMBS CAN BE CONVERTED TO PEACETIME USES." As if passing on a world-shaking discovery, Mr. Dean announced that the "nuclear components" of the atomic weapons now being manufactured and stockpiled faster than ever before "don't deteriorate." All that is needed, he reassured, is to "refabricate them into fuel elements for power piles, and we've something much more valuable than the gold at Fort Knox."

When will that happy day come? Here Dean preferred to be vague. "Some day," he said. When pressed by the reporter he added: "I think it depends largely on how fast we can really develop reactors for power purposes. . . . I would say it's 15 years off."

It was not so long ago that spokesmen of the Atomic Energy Commission confidently forecast such developments within a decade, if not sooner. Dean now pushes it off for another half a decade. When it comes to atom-powered submarines, the situation is far brighter. "On powered submarines we are moving much faster," announced Dean with obvious satisfaction.

Then apparently reminding himself that submarines do not easily fall into the category of "swords transformed into plowshares," he hastily added that the "first practical civilian use of power from nuclear fuels will probably be in ship turbines."

Election Sidelights

Chicago Democratic boss Arvey resigned as Cook County chairman on Nov. 8 and explained the Democratic defeats as follows: "The war has made people nervous and unhappy. They're afraid their boys are going to war, and they took it out on us."

The so-called "intellectual left" — New Deal and Fair Deal college professors, artists, actors, etc. — stayed largely in the background during the current campaign, James Reston reported in a N.Y. Times survey based on a country-wide tour. The reason they give, Reston says, is: "In the present atmosphere of suspicion, no liberal can get up and pronounce his views with any vigor without being smeared as a fellow-traveler, and without embarrassment to the candidate he supports and the institution he represents." As for the ADA, "candidates are showing a distinct lack of enthusiasm for its support, and some are even repudiating it entirely." Reston correctly notes that the ADA and other liberal intellectuals are "in a more difficult political position in this election because of the success they had in 1948 in their fight against the extreme left wing as represented by Henry Wallace's Progressive Party." In short, they are now the victims of the red-baiting they themselves used and made fashionable.

One of the most amusing incidents of the 1950 campaign was the complaint by Thomas A. Maloney, 20th District Assemblyman in California, that Harry Press was guilty of "unfair tactics" because he had gotten on the ballot as an independent after Maloney won both the Democratic and Republican nominations in the primaries and had assumed that therefore the election was "all over."

The costs of the unsuccessful attempts to keep Grace Carlson off the ballot in the 5th congressional district in Minnesota ran into real money. County Auditor Fitzsimmons complained that the reprinting and repacking of 150,000 ballots containing her name would cost "about \$4,000 to \$5,000 extra." Stanley Danielson, secretary-treasurer of the Transit Employees Union, who brought the suit to bar the SWP candidate from the ballot, was ordered to pay court costs, including those incurred by Grace Carlson.

A few weeks before the election Marianne Stanley, campaign manager for Daniel Roberts in Seattle, paid a visit to the office of Gordon Clinton, campaign manager of Roberts' Republican opponent. Mrs. F. F. Powell, to ask where she stood on a number of issues. Clinton squirmed at the questions about Mrs. Powell's record, and seemed unable to answer most of them. But he showed a remarkable aptitude for answering her questions with questions of his own, voicing considerable suspicion that anyone would really be interested in his candidate's record on certain matters, and acting in general as though

he were conducting a third degree. The whole thing was explained when he proudly boasted that he used to work for the FBI.

The reactionaries and liberals who ganged up to defeat Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) may yet be sorry, for he was one of their chief propaganda arguments. Thus, for example, Walter Reuther's big pitch against conservative Rep. Clarence Brown (R. O.) was the number of times he had voted the same way as Marcantonio, while the opponents of Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) made that the "criticism" for opposing her election to the Senate.

For the last two or three years the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League told its supporters at election to "vote socialist," by which they meant support of either the pro-war SP, the anti-war SWP or the nummified SLP. This year, however, when the SP ran almost no candidates and Shachtman decided it was correct to participate in Democratic primaries, the ISL raised this slogan only in connection with Pennsylvania, one of the few places where the SP had a ticket. About the New York campaign, for example, where the SP had no ticket, the ISL's only advice was to enroll in the Liberal Party.

After Assemblyman Thomas A. Maloney had charged Harry Press with "unfair tactics" because he dared to run against him as an independent, Press challenged Maloney to a public debate. But the only time they met face to face in the campaign was at a League of Women Voters forum. There Press outlined his socialist program in defense of labor and minority groups and against the war and witch-hunt drives of Big Business. Maloney presented his program too — he said he supported the bill to legalize the sale of colored oleo.

Harold L. Keith, labor columnist on the Pittsburgh edition of the Pittsburgh Courier, devoted an entire column of snide remarks to the SWP and Clyde Turner, its candidate for U.S. Senator in Pennsylvania. Calling her "a talented young lady," he shed tears over the "waste" of her ability in "a lost cause." Keith seems to hold the idiotic idea that the SWP directs its propaganda "at the colored folks" exclusively because he says he feels "the SWP would probably be more successful if it directed its propaganda at the white folks."

Among the most important referendums on election day were those in South Carolina, where the voters decided to abolish the state poll tax as a requisite for voting privileges; in Maryland, where the Ober police state law was upheld; and in Michigan, where a constitutional amendment was adopted, making "subversion" a crime and lifting guarantees of freedom of speech as a defense in "subversive" trials.

What Happened To the Opponents Of McCarran Law

By J. Blake

During the congressional debate on the McCarran-Kilgore police-state bill, its sponsors tried to intimidate their colleagues with threats that opposition to the bill would mean certain defeat in the coming elections.

The vote on Nov. 7 revealed how empty those threats were and how little the vote to sustain Truman's veto of the bill hurt anyone.

Of the 48 Representatives who voted to uphold the veto, four did not run for re-election to the House. Of the other 44, only six were defeated. One of these, Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.), lost against a candidate of a Democratic-Republican-Liberal coalition, for reasons other than his stand against the McCarran law.

Of the additional 8 members of the House who paired to uphold the veto, none were ousted.

SENATE RESULTS

In the Senate, where 10 voted to sustain the veto, only Lehman (D, N. Y.) was up for re-election this year, and he won a higher vote than any of his running mates (including Lynch, who voted in the House to override the presidential veto). Lehman undoubtedly picked up many former ALP votes by his vote against the law.

Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) and John Carroll (D, Colo.), who had voted in the House against the bill, failed to win election to the Senate. But this cannot be attributed to their vote on the bill because they were replaced in the House by members of their own party.

Lending further emphasis to the fact that voting to uphold the veto was NOT a decisive cause in the defeat of the Democrats were the most serious Democratic losses — Senate majority leader Lucas, majority whip Myers, and Tydings, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. All three favored the McCarran-Kilgore law, but that did not save them.

SWP in N J Runs Best Campaign In Its History

NEWARK, Nov. 7 — The number of votes received by William E. Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 11th New Jersey District, will not be known until next Monday.

Aside from the vote, however, SWP members here agree that it was one of the most effective campaigns ever run by the party in this congressional district. In terms of literature sold, it surpassed past campaigns. In the last month alone, over 400 copies of Bohannon's pamphlet, A Letter to American Negroes, were sold on the streets and house to house. More Militants were sold than in any past campaign.

WIDELY PUBLICIZED

Publicity in the daily press was also the greatest in local SWP history. Recognizing that the size of the SWP vote might affect the outcome of the election, the Newark News carried an average of one article daily about Bohannon's activities during the two weeks before election day.

The 11th District seat was retained by the incumbent Democrat, Hugh J. Addonizio, who beat the Republican by about 4,000 votes, or twice his plurality in 1948.

All of the state's 14 congressional seats were won by the party now holding them. The New Jersey CIO-PAC endorsed eight of the Democrats running for these seats, of whom five were elected.

In the 12th District, Katherine Van Orden of the Progressive Party received about half of the 5,000 votes she got in 1948.

From India

Rise and Fall of the Comintern

by K. Tilak. 157 pp. \$1.50 — a pioneer of the Indian Trotskyist Party traces the Stalinist betrayals of the working class from 1923 to the end of the last war.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3

From Esso to AEC



Marion W. Boyer, former vice-president of Esso Standard Oil Inc., has been named general manager of the Atomic Energy Commission. Here he is sworn in by Judge Henry Schweinhaut (l.), notorious as prosecutor in the Minneapolis trial of 1941.

POLITICAL SETBACK DUE TO LEADERS' POLICIES

(Continued from Page 1)

Democrats as a "lesser evil," but even some of them seem to have been driven to support of Republican candidates. This, together with a shift among the middle class and the farmers, accounts for the Republican gains. But the continued adherence of most workers to the Democrats does not change the fact that the labor leaders failed to make good on their promise that support of the Democrats would prevent the growth of reaction.

spreading restlessness and discontent. Where the voters thought they were confronted with independent candidates who had a chance of winning, as in the New York mayoralty campaign, they upset the apparatus.

Even more evident was the cross-ticket voting, which resulted in a GOP Governor and Democratic Senator in New York, a Democratic Governor and GOP Senator in Ohio, the defeat of Fair Deal Governor Bowles while his two Senatorial running mates beat the Republicans in Connecticut, etc.

The widespread practice of cross-voting between the two capitalist parties represents the beginning of a departure from traditional procedure for many voters. It is a sign of what James Reston in the N. Y. Times called "a kind of political homelessness."

In other words, there is a growing reservoir of sentiment that could be attracted by a new and different national party. Many voters undoubtedly felt like the one in Chicago who told Reston: "I wish I had two votes. Then I could vote against both parties." Such people too could be won to an independent labor party, through which they could "vote against both parties" with a single ballot. The cardinal political crime of the labor leaders is that they drive such elements into the hands of reaction as a means of expressing opposition to the status quo.

M'CARATHYISM RAMPANT

Helen Douglas was unquestionably beaten on this issue by professional witch-hunter Nixon in California. So were many other administration stalwarts. But the most striking example was Tydings in Maryland. In that Democratic stronghold, the Republicans beat Tydings (whom even Roosevelt had been unable to purge in 1938) by concentrating their fire on his alleged "whitewash" of McCarthy's rabid charges against the State Department.

McCarthyism will have a much freer hand in the next Congress, and the witch-hunting will be much less restrained. With the memory of Tydings as a horrible example, congressmen will think it over two or three times in the next period before raising objections to purges, thought-control measures, etc. And in most cases they will remain silent even after thinking it over.

There were exceptions, of course. Lehman was elected despite his pose as an enemy of the witch-hunt, but that was due to the special political climate in New York. And most of the House members who voted to uphold Truman's veto of the McCarran-Kilgore law managed to get re-elected anyhow. (See J. Blake's article above). But on the whole it is clear that the liberals were guilty of wishful thinking when they pronounced McCarthyism dead after the Senate hearings earlier this year.

The irony of the situation is that the Democrats themselves started the "loyalty" purges and witch-hunts, and that the labor leaders either tolerated it or even initiated it inside the unions. Now they have been burned by the fires they lit and fed.

HEAVY TURNOUT

One common feature was the relatively large turnout for a non-presidential election. This was a sign of decreased apathy and

Elections Show Decline of ALP, Liberal Party

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, Nov. 8 — One significant result of the New York state and city elections is the greatly weakened position of the American Labor and Liberal parties, both self-styled "independent." Their votes declined drastically in spite of much heavier voting this year than last.

The ALP is Stalinist-controlled and is the strongest base of the national Progressive Party, formerly headed by Henry Wallace who deserted at the start of the Korean war. Begun as a split-off from the ALP, the Liberal Party is controlled by Social Democratic types like Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who bend the knee to American imperialism in preference to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

60% DECLINE IN N. Y. C. The ALP's top vote in the state this year was received by its candidate for governor, John T. McManus, who polled 207,543 votes compared to the 509,599 cast for Wallace two years ago. Even more revealing is the contrast between the ALP vote for mayor last year and this. In 1949, Vito Marcantonio polled 356,626 votes. Paul Ross, this year's ALP mayoralty candidate, got only 149,182, almost a 60% decline.

Part of the ALP's moves to put pressure on the Democrats for a resumption of their previous coalition was its running of the Negro author and scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, for U. S. Senate against Lehman. DuBois, who was expected to poll the top ALP vote, got only 190,116. Many ALP'ers themselves voted for Lehman. If the ALP threw its votes to Lehman last year, they undoubtedly reasoned, why not this?

LIBERAL-TAMMANY DEAL The Liberal Party, which ran up 426,675 votes for Senator Lehman in 1949, tallied only 304,608 for him this time. This indicates that many unionists who formerly voted on the Liberal line were disgusted with the Liberal leaders' unsavory deals with Tammany.

One of the deals was an agreement to support Boss Flynn's man, Congressman Lynch, as gubernatorial candidate, in return for Flynn's acceptance of Justice Pecora as mayoralty candidate. In the debacle that saw the regular Tammany candidate, Pecora, defeated by Impellitteri, the Liberal Party found itself tarred and discredited. Whatever claim it had to "independence" was exploded by its Tammany Hall alliance.

Tammany's Ticket Loses Out In Scandal-Drenched Contest

NEW YORK, Nov. 8 — The regular Democratic Party machine came out second-best in the scandal-drenched elections in New York state and city. Despite the support

of most CIO and AFL leaders as well as the "independent" Liberal Party, all the major Tammany-backed Democratic candidates except Herbert H. Lehman went down to defeat.

All state posts were captured by the Republicans and Thomas E. Dewey was returned to the governorship. Dewey's opposition was the relatively unknown Tammany hack and tool of Boss Flynn, Rep. Walter A. Lynch.

A big blow to the Democratic ticket was the election of an "independent" Democrat running on an "Experience Party" label, Acting Mayor V. Impellitteri, as New York City mayor over Judge Ferdinand Pecora, who had the backing of the Democratic and Liberal parties. Some voted for Impellitteri on the bottom row of the voting machine and did not bother to go back up the line to pull the levers for the other Democratic candidates.

SPLIT TICKETS

A significant feature of the elections was the split-ticket voting. Hundreds of thousands ignored party labels and crossed party lines to pick their way through different tickets and select individuals they hoped would be least likely to walk off with the state and city treasuries. Thus, they elected a Republican for governor, a Democrat for senator and an "anti-machine" Democrat to the top post in New York's city hall.

Lehman was re-elected to the U. S. Senate despite the statewide trend against the Democrats. He has always been a strong vote-getter in the state and had been governor for several terms. During the campaign he put on a super-liberal pose. His supporters stressed particularly his vote against the McCarran-Kilgore police state law in the last session of Congress, although they did not mention, naturally, his sponsorship of the Kilgore detention

In fact, the one "victory" the ALP could claim this year was the election of a Republican, William J. Bianchi, to the state assembly from Marcantonio's East Harlem district. Bianchi made a deal accepting ALP endorsement and got a majority of his votes on the ALP line. His support, however, did not help Marcantonio.

The latter was defeated for re-election to Congress for the first time since 1936. His vote was only slightly less than in 1949, but he was overwhelmed by a coalition of the Democrats, Republicans and Liberals, who backed James G. Donovan, a reactionary Democrat.

With its principal "progressive capitalist" figureheads gone—like Wallace, O. John Rogge and Leo Isaacs — the ALP is reduced to a hard-core of Stalinists and their sympathizers. Its union base is down to a shadow, largely due to defections of former Stalinist stooges like Michael Quill of the CIO Transport Workers Union and Joseph Curran of the CIO National Maritime Union. The expulsion of the Stalinist-led unions from the CIO further undermined the ALP's labor influence.

The ALP has had a lot of "explaining" to do about its previous support of discredited capitalist politicians, like Tammany's ex-mayor O'Dwyer and other disreputable elements. Its "independence" is generally known, is a mockery of its inability to make further deals with the capitalist political machines.

Basic political issues were obscured because both major parties were involved in corruption scandals. The Republicans pointed to the disclosure of the New York City police tie-up with the gambling syndicates. The Democrats made the most of Hanley's letter describing how Dewey induced him to step out of the governorship race with a promise of financial security.

For many voters the issue boiled down to which party and which candidates were least corrupt. Evidently they didn't consider Dewey's deal with Hanley, a customary thing in capitalist party circles, as bad as the police corruption and gangster influence in the Democratic Party.

Impellitteri's victory clearly expressed the voters' opposition to machine-rule. He played the "fearless independent" defying Tammany. His "independence" began when Tammany refused him its backing.

Impellitteri, a Tammany man who headed the City Council for five years and became Acting Mayor when O'Dwyer skipped town ahead of the police scandal and took up an ambassadorship in Mexico, set himself up as the "Experience Party" candidate, the only one on the ticket.

His refusal to accept the bribe of a judgeship and his persistence in running despite Tammany threats and pressure won the sympathy of voters who thought that by voting for him they were voting for an independent opposition to the corrupt Tammany machine and bosses. His victory will, however, merely cause a realignment within Tammany and the local Democratic Party.