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Workers of the World, Unite!

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MILITANT

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The Millstone About His Neck



NEGRO VOTE WAS OVERWHELMINGLY DEMOCRATIC; NEW PROGRAM NEEDED

National Association for the Ad-| ent; to have his party - even By George Lavan vancement of Colored People with a weaker civil-rights plank- As further information became Election returns have borne out reports that the ratio was about repudiated at the polls would be what was apparent in the course three-to-one for Stevenson. In even worse. Negro voters feared of the campaign - the Negro some cities such as Detroit and that a Republican victory would people everwhelmingly supported Durham, N. C., the ratio was as not only strengthen the Southern the workers in the big cities and the Democratic Party. In a politicians and other white suhigh as nine-to-one.

eliminary survey of the voting What were the principal reasons premacists in the Democratic in the Negro districts of 13 cities - both North and South - the for this sentiment on the part of Party but would make politicians the Negro people? First and in the future extremely wary of



oremost was the knowledge that even verbal support of anti-Jim

their most open enemies — the Dixiecrats — were pro-Eisen-hower. This was demonstrated in the election itself in which the voters to Stevenson was the now-Dixiecrats delivered a substantial recognized alliance between oppart of the South's electoral vote pressed minorities and the labor wement Not only do to the Republican Party. But it was made equally apparent dur- members of unions feel that the ng the campaign by the Eisen- labor movement is the most nower-Byrnes confab and by the dependable ally of the Negro peosupport given Eisenhower by a ple, but most Negroes who are majority (in circulation) of the not union members, or even workers, feel this too. Negroes

Labor Needs Own Party To Beat Back Reaction

Late CIO Chief **WORKERS VOTED IN LINE** WITH POLICY OF UNIONS

The election returns were still coming in on Nov. 5 when the capitalist press started a concerted campaign to make it appear that there was a decisive shift of union members from the Democratic to

the Republican column. cratic Party in about the same The editors of the N. Y. Times numbers as in 1948, with minor gleefully declared on Nov. 6 that exceptions."

"great numbers of trade union NATIONAL VOTE workers" voted for Eisenhower. For "proof" it pointed to "the sharp drop in the Democratic Democrats got a minority of the majorities in cities like Cleveland, Boston and New York." Arthur the big cities were reduced. But Krock of the Times claimed it was that does not mean that the an "obvious fact" that "possibly Democrats lost any of the votes as high as one-third" of the union they had in 1948, either nationally members disregarded the advice or in the main working class of their leaders and supported canters. On the contrary: Eisenhower.

The conclusions presented by these and many other papers were

to "deliver" and that the workers "voted as they pleased" and not gether. as they were "ordered." They all in the cities were lower than in agreed that this was one of the 1948, this was not because they finest things that could have happened

But their joy was premature. available, it was shown that The Militant was correct last week when it wrote: "By and large the Negroes stuck to the Demo-

Trucks Act Moves To Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court announced on Nov. 10 that it will rule on the constitutionality of | INDUSTRIAL COUNTIES Michigan's police-state Trucks Law on an appeal brought by

It is true that nationally the vote and that their majorities in Nationally, Stevenson's vote

was over 27 million - three million more than Truman got in 1948, and more than Truman, that the labor leaders had failed Wallace and Thurmond got to-

While the Democratic majorities lost votes they had then but because they did not gain as many

as the Republicans did. In fact, n almost all big cities the Democratic vote was slightly higher this year than four years ago. In other words, contrary to the

mpression the capitalist press ried to give, the Democrats lost the election not because of any mportant shift among the workers but because there was an inusually big turnout of "new voters" among the middle classes, and most of them went to Eisen-

This fact became so obvious

ter a few days that the Times



By Art Preis

It is too early to assess the full effect on the American labor movement of the shock of the Republican landslide. But it is evident that among both the union ranks and leadership the impact of the defeat of the Democraticlabor coalition has induced considerable thought on the future political policy of organiz-

War Leader

Some among the ranks and local leaders, like those of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, have already drawn the conclusion that reaction cannot be halted by dependence on the Democratic Party and that labor must build its own party. Some among the top union leaders are already indicating that they are ready to "live with" the Republican regime.

ed labor.

An encouraging sign is that union workers are not apathetically accepting the election results and are trying to figure out their meaning and what to do next. The Nov. 8 Ford Facts of Local 600 notes that "at the change of shift Wednesday morn-

"POST MORTEMS"

tance to discuss the elections and

GEN. EISENHOWER

mortem of the election because it might expose their respon-Among the union bureaucrats, sibility for the present disastrous continue



PHILIP MURRAY

postponement of the national CIO faces and worried looks. Little convention, originally scheduled groups formed. Everywhere to begin on Nov. 17 in Los An-cussion." This, no doubt, was geles, to Dec. 1 in Atlantic City. duplicated wherever workers This change of plan was recom- gathered. mended to the CIO National Ex-

'Now Is Not the Time' -- A Moth-Eaten Alibi

ecutive Board by a meeting of the vice presidents and executive of- however, there has been a reluc- political position of labor and the ficers.

By George Clarke

Information on the number of EFFECT ON FEPC

votes received by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss has not yet been made available by the election boards in the seven states where the Socialist Workers Party was on the ballot. First unofficial reports in few major cities reveal,

however, that the SWP vote will probably be below our 1948 total of 14.000. The small vote was characteristic: There were slim pickings for all the radical parties at the ballot box in 1952. Judging by the New York returns, the national Progressive Party

vote, well over a million in 1948, dropped to around one-eighth its size this year. The bottom dropped out of the Socialist Party vote. And the Socialist Labor Party, which probably spent more money than all the other radical parties together on radio and TV time, newspaper ads and leaflets, seems

with 1948. We feel no dismay or disap-The combination of "war boom" by U.S. capital. left a deep imprint over the last the people of Bolivia. Here in 1942 four years. It will take a big the mine owners met the demand shake-up to stir the country along for a wage increase by masclass and socialist lines and to sacring over 1,000 miners. align it with the thinking of Catavi's soil was red with blood working people in the rest of the again in 1949 when for days world. That shake-up is inevitable, miners fought company police and but it hasn't come yet.

Difficult as it was, we con- union. sidered it our task in this election campaign to blaze a trail for the coming radicalization of the the nation, and the terrible over the Big Three mines. Then, dangers it faces by taking Wall the actual provisions of the na-Street's road of world counter- tionalization.

revolutionary war. We were in the campaign to expose the trend PLUNDERED BOLIVIA

to the police state, to show the The preamble explains how the true origin of McCarthyism. We tin millionaires exploited the tried to demonstrate how the in- whole Bolivian people and pre- Bolivian Mining Corporation. Na- measures in 1936 to divert this potentialities or spread beyond not yet." dependent strength of the work- vented other sectors of the ers could be rallied in their own economy such as agriculture, the confiscated companies /are velt for a second term. interests, how a movement could cattle raising and industry from be mobilized against the war and developing.

the witch hunt. Above all, we attempted to show the prime im- trolled the government by bribery, execrcise control over the mines labor party was adopted over- favors between the Democratic Michigan and New Jersey. The muttering threats publicly about might have been a government portance of the socialist program. corruption and intimidation of labor whelmingly. John L. Lewis, then and Republican machines in New Wayne County (Detroit) LNPL forming a third party. UAW-CIO of labor, farmers and the minorofficials. They controlled the delegates. (Continued on Page 2)

Southern press.

same defeat and humiliation at Then, too, the Negro people felt the Democratic convention in that of all the politicians on the Chicago. Labor had swallowed its national stage, Truman - even chagrin. The Negro leaders did with his purely verbal support of the same and campaigned for civil rights - was most promi- Stevenson and Sparkman as the nently identified with an FEPC "lesser evil" ticket.

program. They believed that his ARGUMENTS FAIL

identification with this had been Although the Republicans made responsible for his inability to secure the Democratic nomination great efforts to win the Negro - despite the reasons he gave for vote and although they had strong not running again. To have a arguments such as the contrast in president deprived of 're-nomina- promises and performance of tion because of his civil rights Truman on civil rights and the

stand was a bad enough preced-

the Communist Party. The Trucks Law is one of the

THE

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most flagrantly unconstitutional laws passed during the current witch - hunt hysteria. Not only does it violate free and labor had both suffered the speech and free assembly but it has provisions that can be used against strikers and unions. The law requires members and sympathizers of proscribed organizations to register with the state police and answer any questions the police might desire to ask them. Failure to register carries a 10-year prison term and \$10.000 fine. First action under this law was the removal from the Michigan ballot of the Socialist Workers Party. This move was later beaten.

By Joseph Keller

toric gathering. It also debated a

resolution calling for a labor

had to print an article that flatly contradicted the claims of its raised by the Republican victory of the Democratic-labor coalition editors and Krock. On Nov. 9 and the defeat of the Democratic- to contain reaction after 20 years LABOR'S SOLIDITY Elie Abel, reporting from Detroit labor coalition, the CIO is now of alleged "progress" under on what happened in seven Ohio confronted by Murray's death Democratic rule. The Advance, whom are now seeking an unocand six Michigan industrial counties, showed that in each and ship. A long-existing but subdued Clothing Workers, on Nov. 15 the Republican bandwagon, try to every case Stevenson's vote was conflict among factions in the CIO asserted that "post mortems have blame the GOP victory on the

leadership, between whom Murray no place in our affairs." higher than Truman's in 1948. had acted as arbitrator, may flare This, Abel correctly wrote, "exploded as false" the assumpinto the open. tion that "organized labor fumbled the job of getting out the big city vote." If one-fourth Executive Vice President Allan S. just witnessed the death of a icans, despite endorsements of of the union members voted GOP Haywood and United Auto Work- whole political era founded on in 1948, as is estimated, there is ers President Walter Reuther, the coalition of labor with the ment of organized labor."

absolutely no reason to believe who represents a more ambitious Democratic Party. What caused that way this year. gimented by labor bosses" and summing up the role of Philip future. voting under "orders" - presum- Murray and reporting develop-

(Continued on Page 2) ments in the CIO.

In addition to the problems to analyze the causes for failure the form of a Republican victory.

The AFL leaders, many of with a possible crisis of leader- paper of the CIO Amalgamated cupied corner for themselves on workers. "The working men and Post mortems are as essential women of the country," com-

in determining the cause of poli- plains the Nov. 7 AFL News-The issue of successor to Mur- tical deaths as in ascertaining the Reporter, "voted right along with ray appears to lie between CIO cause of physical deaths. We have the rest of their fellow - Amer-Stevenson by every major seg-

That's false. The organized that a greater percentage voted and politically aggressive ten- the demise? The workers need workers responded as they have dency. The next issues of The to know in order to develop a in the past, and in even greater The picture of workers "re- Militant will present articles healthier political policy for the numbers, to the appeal of their union leaders to support the Democrats. This explains why The labor bureaucrats fear an

objective and scientific post (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

BOLIVIAN TIN DECREE SCORES BRUTAL FOREIGN OWNERSHIP

On October 31, the government of Bolivia nationalized to have held its own as compared the tin mines of the foreign-owned Big Three companies, Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo. The decree was proclaimed at ceremonies in Catavi,

We expected this outcome so far chief center of the Patino Com- political parties and newspapers. as the radicals were concerned. vany, which is principally owned They persecuted those who opment became reluctant to do their

and anti-communist hysteria has Catavi has special meaning for bidding they organize military coup d'etats.

The preamble also describes tells how demands by the workers for increased wages were met juncture for labor, the question with firings, persecution and mass of a labor party has been placed army troops sent to smash their killings.

GRANT INDEMNIFICATION The nationalization decree con-

The decree provides for in- party with the plaint used by the sists of two major sections. First, a series of preambles explaining demnification of the companies. American people. It was our pur- and justifying to the world the However, this is to be paid only pose to explain the real state of government's action in taking when the companies settle the taxes, fines and sums of which

> meager first-term concessions illegal foreign-exchange transactions. This is many times the created such demand for a labor valuation of the mines.

The mines are to be operat- ficialdom, particularly of the new party. ed by a government - appointed CIO, had to take extraordinary

tional and foreign employees of sentiment into support of Roose-

guaranteed all their legal rights. At the May 1936 convention Stalinists, used the ALP primarily The Big Three companies con- declares that mine workers will ers, a resolution calling for a ist politicians. They bargained for in key industrial states like Truman, that union leaders were

RANKS RESTIVE

American labor, rushed to the ing Rooseveltian politics, the CIO to form an independent labor Truman "hopelessly inadequate" When John L. Lewis landed the UAW convention to get it to pass Social - Democratic and Stalinist party. At the Michigan CIO con- and in August proposed "a new punch "heard round the world" a rider to the labor party resolu- leaders fought each other for con- vention a few weeks later, one political alignment" - after elecon the jaw of "Big Bill" Hutche- tion to endorse Roosevelt once trol of the ALP. In 1944, Dubinsky resolution for a labor party was tions.

son at the October 1935 AFL con- more. vention, industrial unionism was LEAGUE FOUNDED not the only issue before that his-

President Lewis, George Berry of Party. In 1948, all but the few labor party." party. This resolution, which won the Printing Pressmen and Sidney Stalinist-led unions quit the ALP

defeated by the AFL leaders who Amalgamated Clothing Workers, argued that they agreed "in prin- established Labor's Non-Partisan lace. With no labor base, the ALP Reuther and the Stalinists with imposed by the companies and party but "now is not the time." what appeared to be an inde-Since then, at every critical pendent labor political organizaon the agenda. And each time,

union leaders agree with the need, cursor to a labor party. but side-track building a labor

they had to form the American sentiment was widespread and AFL moss-backs 17 years ago: "Now is not the time."

because hundreds of thousands of of 40 labor organizations in representing a quarter of a mil-Dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's

to accept the LNPL as a sub- State Federation of Labor, ad- Michigan Commonwealth Federaparty tht the top union of stitute for labor's own class mitted that many workers in that tion. But it was turned into an

> New York because its leaders LOCAL MOVEMENTS mainly Social Democrats and

Active movements for forma-

the most powerful figure in York state and city. While back- in June 1943 called on the state President Reuther in April called ities in Washington today.

of the AFL International Ladies defeated only by the substitution At the UAW convention in Garment Workers and his Social- of another which said that "sup- April 1951 overwhelming senti-Democrat associates split the port of Roosevelt in Michigan can ment was voiced for a labor Then United Mine Workers ALP and formed the Liberal best be served by an independent party. Only an impassioned plea by Reuther that "this sentiment To counteract this movement is fine ... but the timing is bad"

substantial support, was finally Hillman, late president of the when the Stalinists shoved for a labor party, CIO leaders was able to hold back the labor through an endorsement of Wal- Hillman, Philip Murray, Walter party tide.

As the 1952 campaign got under the inhuman working conditions ciple" with the idea of a labor League to give the union workers was reduced by 1952 to a shell. whom they then played ball, set way, there was not a labor leader Each election after 1936 found up the CIO Political Action Com- who opposed a labor party "in the workers less enthusiastic for mittee on the lines of the old principle." Rather, they spoke like tion, but which would support the Democratic Party and Roose- LNPL. As the result of PAC Joseph Curran, President of the Roosevelt and not challenge the velt. In the Nov. 1942 elections, activity, Hillman was later able CIO National Maritime Union, rule of the two old parties. The the Republicans got 50.6% of the to boast with a sigh of relief that who said in the May 1, 1952, Pilot, LNPL was represented as pre- popular vote to the Democrats' "third party moves in Michigan, that if only there were "one labor 47.4% and the GOP came near to New Jersey and Pennsylvania movement and labor unity" it In New York state, however, capturing Congress. Labor party have died out." would "be possible to think in

But not for long. In March terms of a third party." But, Labor Party, including all CIO vocal. At a Philadelphia meeting 1944, some 415 delegates from 85 alas, "any effort to talk third unions and a number of AFL, in March 1943 of representatives CIO and AFL unions in Michigan, party this year, would, without doubt, split the progressive forces unionists with a radical tradition, Pennsylvania, James McDevitt, lion members, launched a labor and throw the election to the Socialist or Communist, refused President of the Pennsylvania party which they called the reactionary Republicans."

But there was "labor unity" behind the Democrats. The state waited the day of a labor clectioneering machine for Roose- gressive forces" were not "split" The ALP could never realize its party. But he added, "The day is velt and Truman. It dwindled by a "third party." Yet, this did away because of the opposition not prevent the reactionary Reand sabotage of top union leadpublicans from winning. If labor ers. over the past 16 years had built

By 1948, however, so great was its own powerful party, with a The final article of the decree of the United Automobile work- to line up labor votes for capital- tion of a labor party sprang up the antipathy in labor's ranks to program to attract all the oppressed and disaffected, there

they defrauded the government by

THE MILITANT

story.

An Era Ends for Labor as Democrats Go Out

Unions' 20-Year Support of Regime Brought Few Gains, Many Betrayals

By Harry Frankel revived, he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for The passing of the Democratic Party from power marks the end of an era for labor. For the past berating his friend because the 20 years, the labor movement has silk hat was lost.' consistently supported the ad-

ministration party. That relation- straight from the horse's month. ip is now shattered. Precisely The Roosevelt regime shielded CROPS PLOWED UNDER what new relations the labor the capitalist class from an movement will form in American aroused populace, and helped it to politics remain to be seen.

Paga Prairie

The Democratic Party has leaned heavily, both in operating the capitalist government and in cessions that Roosevelt was able ectoral contests with the Repub- to symbolize them in a "hat." licans, on social demagogy, which means the sowing of illusions among the masses. An important peculiarity of the present situation is that the era is ended, but these were called forth by events the illusions remain. The Demowhich were absolutely unprececratic Party did not lose power in a shift to the left, in which a labor or radical party was beneficiary, but in a rightward swing, in which the organized by more than about one-fifth or of-living increases. The rise in wonkers continued to support the Democratic Party to the end.

The Democratic administrations the so-called "automatic recovery of the CIO in 1935-37. since 1940 have relied for popular mechanism" of capitalism had It has been widely said that the NRA permitted bosses to ment averaged about 19% of the days of 1933-39. The New Deal but in this case it never worked. true that labor tried to take ad- in some cases became worse than Hoover. record has never yet been ade- and only World War II restored vantage of Section 7A of the before. Roosevelt succeeded in quately summarized, and cer- 1929 levels of production.

tainly is not yet adequately un-LABOR ON THE MARCH derstood by the mass of the people, but Roosevelt himself made which he summed his work up sessed farmers been on the march, the NRA was in effect it gave this way: threatening the very foundations great aid to the employers' com-

SILK HAT LOST

In this crisis, the unions more "In the summer of 1936, a nice than tripled their membership in almost entirely by business in old gentleman wearing a silk hat a few years, storming the reacfell off the end of a pier. He was tionary baronies of capitalism in under section 7A were company unable to swim. A friend ran Pittsburgh, Detroit, Akron, Flint. unions, and NRA was called Naand pulled him out; but the silk farmers disputed with giant militants in auto, textile, steel floated off with the tide. banks for control of farmland. and rubber. After the old gentleman had been In this situation the workers

of capitalism during a depression.

gained a few small concessions, but gained nothing which improved their lot. They only wrung

enough from the administration to slightly alleviate some of the worst effects of the crisis. In those cases where the labor movement remained independent of the administration, it won victories; saving his life. Today, three in those cases where it permitted vears later, the old gentleman is Roosevelt and some of the union leaders to talk them into trusting the government, it suffered set-And that's about the size of it, backs, often very sharp defeats.

The Roosevelt regime met th crisis entirely with capitalist ride out a tremendous storm of measures. How does a company labor-farmer-middle class dis- act during a depression? It cuts content with such paltry con- production to the bone. This is what Roosevelt attempted to do in cases where production was It cannot be denied that the not already slashed. For example Roosevelt regime initiated certain in agriculture, Roosevelt forced new activities of the government the destruction of crops and livein relation to the economy. But stock to keep prices up.

The NRA did not raise the real wages of workers. The slight pay dented in U.S. history, and would gains that took place were more have been forced from any ad- than cancelled out by the 25% ministration. Never in any crisis rise in food costs under the two had industrial production been cut years of AAA, and by other costone-fourth. In this crisis it was workers' real wages did not begin out in half. Always in the past, until the powerful forward surge

pany union movement. The NRA industry "codes" were framed in 16 states.

THE WAGNER ACT terests. Half the "unions" formed

ROOSEVELT

ministration was similarly reluc- stable days of capitalism were tant seems doubtful. In any event, ended, and nothing that he or After NRA was declared un- nothing served to get us out of any other individual can do within constitutional, labor demanded a the depression, or offered pro- the framework of capitalism can were altogether different from the miserable industrial down the pler, dived overboard etc., and organized (even armed) tional Run Around by union new legislative guarantee of the spect of doing so, until war came exorcise the specter of permanent right to organize. The Wagner along." And Hofstadter adds to crisis.

Act has been held up in recent this the following question: "What (Next Week: New Deal Into In the textile strike of Sept. years as a "New Deal gift" to would have happened to the War Deal.)

WOMEN IN FACTORY JOBS --AN OLD STORY IN AMERICA By Joyce Cowley

During the last war when millions of women were Hofstadter puts the question that "the Wagner Act had never softly, but the answer is very added to the labor force, I got interested in how this changbeen an administration measure," clear: Roosevelt would have been ed the lives of women and the many new problems it having been "buffeted about the recorded in history as the total legislative chambers for more and abysmal failure that he was created - that is, I thought they were new.

I found that millions of women were added to the labor force in the first world war. There was an influx of women into industry in the Civil War and to a more limited extent, even during the Revolutionary War. In the early part of the 19th century, the majority of workers in manufacturing industries were women. In other words, whenever there was a shortage of male labor, employers forgot about women's place in the home and were only too happy to hire this as on other points, was an history. The war prosperity saved them.

> In the New England cotton mills of Lowell and Waltham — the first big industry in this country — 90 to 95U.S. capitalism from a mass left- per cent of the employees were women. The interesting thing is that the use of female labor was deliberate policy.

Adult male labor was hard to get in America in those frontier days. Francis Lowell, who introduced the power Towards the end of 1937, after life as so many liberals thought loom in this country, decided to use women workers in the more than six and a half years and as so many radicals pretended first really modern factory which took in a bale of cotton at one end and turned out yards of cloth at the other.

Hannah Josephson in her book on the New England mill girls The Golden Threads explains some of Lowell's reasons. It was commonly assumed, she says, that girls and young women who were not incessantly occupied were "subject to temptation and vicious habits, as well as being without a war or armaments that he would not only have docile and tractable workers, The liberal economic historian economy. This fact is needed to but would overcome much of the opposition to his schemes that might be expected from the agricultural interests."

> Another important factor was that the girls were not permanent residents. In case of unemployment, they could return to their homes in the country instead of, as one of Lowell's admirers said, "clamoring for work, ready for a

> Lowell recruited his labor from the farms. To reassure parents, he established boarding houses strictly chaperoned by house mothers. The first New England factory towns slums of England. Boarding houses were crowded and did not permit the girls much freedom, but they were clean, freshly painted, surrounded by lawns and flowers.

> Employers constantly emphasized the well-bred, ladylike behavior of the girls. One Lowell manufacturer boast-although there were a few hasty marriages. This again was in sharp contrast to conditions in the English mills and was due, of course, to the Puritanical training of the girls and was not a special achievement of the employers.

The girls soon got tired of hearing about their fine this enthusiasm for the Democrats, against capitalist war and eco-state laws and opposition to civil especially from the Korean war, to improve wages, hours and working conditions. The girls they nevertheless showed a re- nomic insecurity that permitted rights legislation. Philip Murray, CIO President, the most reactionary Republican was suffocating because even in summer the overseers The Democratic machine, it has bewailed the fact that Congress elements were reinforced by the kept windows nailed shut to preserve the proper humidity demonstrated by the strategy and labor coalition resulted primarily become apparent to wide sections under Democratic control had continuous trend to the right in the air. From year to year there was a constant speedup with a corresponding cut in piece rates. But nice girls President Richard T. were supposed to docilely accept these conditions. Any

> Yet women in the New England textile mills led some of the earliest strikes in this country. Although they were ., in the simple fact that the denounced by the public and the press for their unscemly, people believed what Gen. Eisen- unlady-like and un-American behavior, within a few years hower had told them ... believed the shy New England farm girls were marching on picket

WHY NEGRO PEOPLE VOTED **HEAVILY FOR DEMOCRATS**

(Continued from page 1) Had the Negro people cast their 100% anti-Negro voting record of Sparkman, the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by them ferent than they are at on ads in the Negro press made moment.

dent. Every predominantly Negro ward in the country went BOLDNESS PAYS OFF Democratic.

That boldness pays off is well The vote proves that the Negro people have no confidence what-victory of the Dixiecrats. These from a big shift in the vote of of the population, has not served failed to enact any progressive fostered by the Democrats since soever in the Republican Party reactionaries are not taken for the lower middle class and, to a the interests of the people. It has social legislation "in nine years." [1937.

Labor Needs Own Party to Defeat Reaction

(Continued from Page 1) discredited Democratic Party of its "containment of Communism" than in waging an independent Stevenson in defeat got nearly war, inflation, high taxes and war drive, through a vast political struggle on behalf of the millions of votes for an inde- three million more votes than corruption and their failure to "loyalty" purge in government, people against the reactionary pendent candidate their political Truman four years ago in victory. provide an independent political Smith Act trials of Stalinists, policies of the Democrats. Thus, lady-like behavior, especially when they found that the prospects would be indeed dif- While union workers felt no instrument and program to fight support of anti-labor and police- many people saw no way out, most strictly enforced regulation was against any attempt

markable solidity in following the Republicans to capture dissatisfied middle-class voters. union political policy.

The defeat of the Democratic-

granted by either Democrats or lesser degree, of the unorganized kept this country in war and In the past period, large sections rats in the struggle for equal Republicans now. They went into workers in the lowest income war preparations throughout the of the people have been in a con- Gosser of the CIO auto workers, protest was improper and morally reprehensible. rights. Like labor they regard it the Chicago convention with brackets. Thus, a major argument major part of its 20-year rule, stant, nerve - wracking scramble writing for the Toledo Union as the party of Big Business - strong demands. These demands of the union leaders for continu- climaxed by the atrocious and for increased incomes to keep Journal, tries to explain "this

As long ago as 1946, the late Republicans. At the same time,

Vice

end to the permanent depression. ing a new beginning in American of administration efforts on a to think, was the beginning of capitalist basis, the economy permanent crisis. With 1929, the fell into a new pit almost as days of "normalcy" ended for deep as 1933, and fell at a far good, and the "abnormal" - stag

finished the system.

faster rate than the drop of 1929- nation, decline, crisis - has taken 33. In the entire Roosevelt pre- its place as ruler in America. 1934, the workers complained that war period, 1933-39, unemploy-The greatest single fact of our

labor, but the facts tell another political fortunes of Franklin D.

to Rooseveltianism (Richard leadership?"

Hofstadter) is forced to conclude

retary of Labor Frances Perkins.

says in her book of reminiscences

that Roosevelt took no part in

far more had it been politically

Nor did the New Deal bring an

independent.

1937 DECLINE

One recent historian friendly created a new theater for his

than a year without winning so far as the depression and

developing the Wagner Act, "was ready moving leftward politically

hardly consulted about it," and in the immediate pre-war years,

"it did not particularly appeal to and a labor party was closer in him when it was described to those days than possibly in any

him." Roosevelt's concession, on other time in recent American

involuntary vielding to a power- the Democratic Party from com-

ful force which could have won plete exposure in the eyes of the

Roosevelt's interest." Former Sec- recovery are concerned.

Roosevelt if the war had not

The labor movement was al-

workers, and temporarily saved

ward shift that would have

The New Deal, far from mark-

WAR PROSPERITY

recent times is this: that since support chiefly upon illusions acted to restore production and Roosevelt "helped" to organize reduce factory output and speed labor force, only a few percent 1929, there has been not one a financial drain on their parents and a burden to society. which were built up in the earlier employment to pre-crisis levels, the workers into unions. It is up workers so that unemployment lower than the worst years of single year of relative prosperity By offering employment to this useless class, Lowell saw

NRA which "recognized" labor's getting these workers back on Broadus Mitchell concludes: "In put everything into perspective, right to organize. But this claus the job with promises, and in the spite of all, in the autumn of and it is needed to get a proper was wrung from an unwilling end they got exactly nothing. In 1939, after six and one half years understanding of the Roosevelt Never before had millions of administration by threats from those two years of NRA, strikes of trying, the solid deposit of ten epoch. The measures that Roosegood start in a 1936 speech in industrial workers and dispos- such unions as the miners. When on a scale never before known million unemployed remained, the velt took might have been more took place, and more than 40 tragic symbol of failure. . . The successful and might have justifiworkers were killed, mainly by American people, until the attack ed some of his "liberal" reputatroops that were called into action on Pearl Harbor, were reluctant tion if not for this situation which riot and the destruction of property."

to go to war. Whether the ad- he was powerless to alter. The

and no possibility of a switchback But when Stevenson wouldn't or Party instead of building a labor civil war.

IN THE SOUTH

Some people are of the opinion Eisenhower. that a two-party system will now

emerge in the South and that this They are in the strongest posiwill be good because the Negro tion they ever have been in. Both people can throw their vote first parties are wooing them. Thus one way, then the other, in return they have a strong hand in the for concessions. However, there is decisions of both major varties. immediate prospect of this. The Republican administration was just that - a vote for the important positions in the hope Republican presidential candidate. of wooing them permanently into same vote was cast for the old of keeping them from returning Democratic machine. Indeed it completely to the Democratic was the one-party Democratic fold. On the other hand the Demomachine in revolt against the ad- crats will try to outdo the Repub-

ministration that dictated this licans to lure them back. strategy. Thus for the immediate future Negro voters in the South customed to pooh-nooh the sug-The Negro leaders are acwill be limited to what they have gestions of socialists and labor class readers. Such a thing never been doing for so long now - party proponents by saying that voting for "lesser evil" factions talk of political independence is

inside the Democratic Party. impractical and that as Negro advice of their union leaders at All the calculations, hopes and leaders they must play practical the polls, they do so because they

plans of the Negro leaders have politics. On the basis of results, believe this advice to be generally come to nought as a result of how practical have the "practical correct, and for no other reason. Eisenhower's election. "Friends" politics" of the Negro leaders That's how it was in 1952, and of the Negro people such as Tru- proven? The Negro people might that's how it was in previous man and Stevenson are out of well study the practical politics elections. office, the Dixiecrats are riding of their enemies, the Dixiecrats.

higher than ever, the prospect The lesson is plain: independence capitalist politicians and journalfor civil rights legislation is and boldness pay off. gloomy indeed. Looking back on it, the Negro people should ask themselves these questions: Could

The government has allowed to we have cast our vote more effectively? Would our vote have date a total of \$23,287,285,000 in they have learned from union commanded more attention and tax write-offs to corporations struggles and the need for labor frightened the politicians more if engaged on war-related projects solidarity against the employers we had cast it independently - a method of handing the war on the economic field. rather than as faithful captives of profiteers new plants free through the Democratic Party? five-year tax amortizations.

Free Plants



taxes, the result mainly of war by them to Republicanism exists. couldn't back down sufficiently to party has been proved fallacious. It initiated the witch hunt costs.

SAW NO WAY OUT the Democratic Party and went to they have claimed, would "alienate adoption of the Smith "Gag" Act, The labor leaders were more the middle class" and drive it into first used in 1941 against Social-

Today they are sitting pretty. the arms of Republican reaction. ist Workers Party and CIO concerned with preserving their But it is the labor leaders' con- leaders in Minneapolis. It ex- coalition with the corrupt city tinued support for the rotten, tended the witch hunt, along with bosses and Southern lynchocrats

The Eisenhower vote in the South was just that — a vote for the important nositions in the here For state and local office the same vote was cast for the old of keeping them from returning AND CONTINUED TO VOTE DEMOCRAT

(Continued from page 1) conditions keeping the workers shows no sign of working. If it tied to the Democratic Party are ever does, this will be a far difably against their own convictions - is a fantasy invented by going to be changed, perhaps ferent America."

very soon, and that when that The Journal here is mixing up happens the workers will break two related but different things the workers to vote togeher will working all too well for the taste draw to labor's side middle-class then impart a dynamism and of the capitalists, as reflected allies. Many are thinking of party that will make it a major the workers vote in accordance ministration. force challenging both capitalist with the political advice of their

they do, then, we agree with the menting on the election results far different America.

which is spontaneous and not and advising the unions to stick The tendency of the workers to wrote in an editorial on Nov. 10. couraging thing. When it is joined ". . . some American labor to an independent class program leaders have been influenced by and given a different political

> borrowed from Marx - that the labor party, then the reactionary gains at home and the program s consciousness' and that he country will be stopped dead in port." be induced to vote accord- their tracks and the future of the 7. And the only good thing United States will be placed in mow about that idea is that the hands of the working people as not worked in America and where it belongs.

were in large part satisfied there. ing to support the Democratic costly intervention in the Korean abreast of soaring prices and tremendous Republican victory the promises that the Republican lines. candidate had made." This is

> standing matters on their head. People no longer believed the promises of the Democrats. They were fed up with Democratic lies. They turned from the Democrats. And they went to the Repub-

he would give them a little - end

WHICH ROAD NOW?

The Wall Street Journal, com- Journal, this certainly will be a Eisenhower in the fight for survival against Communism,"

to their "economic function," vote together is already an en- Amalgamated Clothing Workers urged by the advocates of the The outstanding significance of "lesser evil." We admit they were the SWP campaign was its leaders say in their paper Advance: "So long as the forth- more successful than we, and significance as an action. The coming Republican Administrathe European idea - clearly form through an independent tion does not tamper with the ticularly in the decline of the over these years has been inruling class even though up to industrial worker possesses a forces now in control of this abroad, it will have our sup- cialist Party votes. The "lesser

tors. They are preparing new and posal appeared as against the ing the campaign to further the worse betrayals and defeats of "doctrinaire" course followed by cause of democratic rights. For the workers.

The huge working-class vote volved was a 20-year-old debate served as a rallying ground for can become a potent political with Stalinists. social democrats, the anti-capital'st opposition force only if it is turned in an liberals and labor leaders who so which was undoubtedly heartened entirely new direction. That firmly believed they had found the and inspired by the bold, aggresdirection is pointed out by the easy substitute for independent sive fight of the only principled General Council of Ford Local class politics and a labor party. party of American radicalism. 600, which on Nov. 9 unanimously The debate must resume again in The electoral campaign was one adopted a resolution calling on the near future under vastly dif-the forthcoming national CIO ferent conditions. In the light of the American workers. That is convention and CIO's Political the record and the results, the Action Committee to discuss the SWP program and electoral acsetting up of an independent fivities should assume far greater struck a blow for the today and Farmer-Labor Party. importance.

Campaigning for Socialism

(Continued from page 1) The election campaign further

icans not from any great con- It was a modest but essential task demonstrated that mincing words idence in Eisenhower's promises, and within our limited means and and watering down programs is but in desperate hope that maybe resources we succeeded admirably. no high road even to temporary Some millions of people heard success. Its outstanding effect is the Korean fighting, if nothing the SWP candidates over a dozen to demoralize one's own follownation-wide radio and TV hook- ing. This was the case with the ups and many other local broad- Progressive Party, which threw casts in the major cities. Letters out its 1948 nationalization plank, Naturally, Republican promises printed on these pages demon- and refused to go further than

will prove as false as Democratic. strated that it was understood as the utopian goal of "progressive But the union officials are not a forceful socialist challenge to capitalism" as the way to estabthinking in terms of mobilizing capitalist insecurity and war. If a lish peace in the world. Those with the two-party system and _ "class consciousness" and labor's gigantic forces for a remaining democratic law per- who believed in that program start to build an independent "union consciousness." Union con- struggle against Republican re- mitted the SWP to be heard over went along with the Democratic labor party of their own. And sciousness is already here in action or of organizing inde- the airwaves, no similar demo- Party. Those who remained had to they fear that the tendency of America and it is working - pendent political action that will cratic right applies to the press. swallow their principles in play-Yet despite the blackout in the ing a game that fooled noobody daily press of news about radical and weakened the moral fibre of speed to the growth of their new among other things in the way toadying up to the Republican ad- parties, the SWP candidates suc- the forces standing up against ceeded in forcing many local news- the war and the witch hunt. The Speaking for the AFL leaders, papers to carry some news of its SWP said before and during the

parties for power from the very unions. Most American workers the AFL News-Reporter on Nov, campaign. In addition the candi- campaign that the big job of 1952 have still not reached the level 7 proclaimed: "It is time now to dates spoke before thousands of was to speak the truth - but of class consciousness, but when close ranks" - behind Eisen- persons at the universities and at above all to mobilize the vanhower. "Unite now behind Gen. forums, symposiums and debates. guard of American working class The election proved how correct resistance to Wall Street imthe SWP was in choosing its perialism. That has proved to be the AFL paper calls. The CIO course against the easier road just right.

> their success showed up par- clear purpose of the witch hunt Progressive Party and the So- timidation, to silence the opposition to imperialist war by threat evil" theory defeated the radicals and denunciation. The SWP re-The union leaders dream of re- but it didn't defeat the Repub- fused to be silenced or intimidatconstituting the Democratic-labor licans. One more such victory. . . ed. In continuing the fight for coalition on the same basis as in Yet if you look back to only a few James Kutcher and against the the past or of founding a new months ago, you will recall how Michigan Trucks Law and the coalition with the political vic- "attractive" this "realistic" pro- Illinois Law 1030, it was utiliz-

the SWP. What was really in- the SWP, the campaign itself

how we viewed the campaign. We the tomorrow of that struggle.

Subscribe!	now the working class vote con- tinues to go to one of the capital- ist parties. Why does it bother them so much? Because they know that the	can be induced to vote accor
Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1 50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y Name	ORDER NOW MARXISM & SCIENCE by Leon Trotsky 20 pages15c PERSPECTIVES OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT by Leon Trotsky 35 pages20c THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA by Colvin R. De Silva 17 pages15c PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University PL, N. Y. 3	Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum presents a talk on The Theory of "Co-existence" Speaker: James Dall Fri., Nov. 21, 8:30 P.M. at 52 Market St.
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beginning. The thing that bothers the WALL ST. JOURNAL ists is that the workers in recent years have begun to vote more or less as a class. This tendency,

the Big Business press for the

purpose of horrifying its middle

When the workers follow the

has happened, and can't.

forced, is a product of the lessons

This tendency worries the

lewark Fri. Night Socialist Forum presents a talk on The Theory of "Co-existence" Speaker: James Dall MILITANT HALI

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum Africa in Revolt Speaker: George Lavan Lecturer and Writer Fri., Nov. 21, 8 P.M.

116 University Place

(near Union Square)



Eisenhower's Trip to Korea

The N. Y. Post, the only big newspaper in New York City that campaigned for Stevenson, suggested Nov. 10 that Gen. Eisenhower "pass up his trip to Korea."

The Post editors explain that during the campaign they considered Eisenhower's promise about bringing an end to the war in Korea as "just so much election oratory." They see no reason now why the promise shouldn't be filed in the waste basket as is customary with the campaign promises of the twin parties of Big Business.

This cynical attitude toward the election oratory of the Republicans is perfectly natural, reflecting as it does, the Post's attitude toward the election oratory of the Democrats which they helped write.

The Post is not interested in exposing this lying promise of Eisenhower's and trying to cash in on the rebound of the voters when they realize they were taken for a ride. They want to let "the man off the hook," as they put it. This magnanimity is not strange.

Like the Republicans, who promised peace in order to win the election, these Democrats understand that capitalism must conquer the world if it is to avoid depression and gain a few more years lease on life. They know that Wall Street views World War III as only a question of time, and they want to do everything possible to prepare for it. The Post's generous proposal is therefore an olive branch to the Republicans offering resumption of the bi-partisan foreign policy that led up to Korea and that was maintained up to the time of the election campaign.

But can Eisenhower thus cavalierly flout the sentiments of the millions of people who voted for him because they believed him when he promised to bring an end to the war in Korea? What about the effect of the too-sudden disillusionment?

It seems likely, therefore, that Eisenhower will take a trip to Korea. From there on out, Stalinist party, dwelt at length however, his probable course of action is more doubtful.

If he decides to continue the dragged-out even "under Communism"! stalemate in Korea, he will seek some lying explanation about the "impossibility" of ending the fighting — throwing all the blame, naturally, on the other side although only one than even before, the Stalin issue, the question of prisoner exchange, blocks regime ought, it seems, to feel a truce.

Eisenhower will not bring peace to Korea. at least not to require an im-He will not withdraw the troops. But he may mediate intensification. But just the contrary is true.

arrange a truce. Eisenhower's declaration dur-At the 19th conference the cult ing the campaign about letting "Asians fight of the state was elevated to new Asians" might well mean that he has in mind heights and new stress was placed the speedy rearmament of Japan and the on "reenforcing" the already unheard-of machine of coercion. assignment to Japanese imperialism of a fight- Malenkov reserved some of his ing role in Korea in addition to its current bitterest attacks for the advocates supporting action as a base of operations. A of "the theory most harmful to to guard against the threat of ex-land of socialism." If this had truce would supply time for the conversion of withering away of the Soviet that "In the postwar period the Japan into a new nest of rampant militarism state in conditions of capitalist basic function of our state (is) for action in Korea, China and especially encirclement." Siberia.

'ROTTEN THEORY''

Whatever action Eisenhower takes,, however, will be calculated in the light of Wall Street's were denounced by Malenkov as over-all plans for war on the Soviet Union, Marxism," and he announced that Eastern Europe, the colonial areas and China. they had been "smashed" and izational" activity, not to mention also proclaimed that every vestige And in the final analysis what he does about that "this rotten theory" had been Korea will aim at better — and, yes, speedier added, the party "advanced and sion, that is the role of the state - preparation for the war the Truman ad- substantiated the thesis that ... itself, ought not to increase but Trials and the accompanying ministration has been preparing since 1945 the country where the revolution to fall away, especially in the monstrous blood purges. has triumphed must not weaken, when Gen. Marshall shortly after V-J Day but strengthen its state to the announced that another conflict was inevi- utmost, that the state is preserved even under Communism should

Brass Hat in the White House

table.

The newspapers have been hailing the Republican victory as a "great personal triumph" for Eisenhower. That's their explanation for the fact that the General in most places outdistanced the other Republican candidates. Senator Taft questions this interpretation. If it was a personal triumph for Eisenhower to get 55.4 percent of the popular vote, Taft observes sourly, then how do you assess the Republican victory in 1928 when Herbert Hoover got 69 percent of the vote? Taft may have scored a point there, although he should have continued and let us know if we can

part of the Roosevelt heritage - one of the either isolated or encircled by time self-protective reactions by was unable to serve up anything products of his taking America into World War II. By the end of that conflict it was already a powerful political force, its representatives honey-combing the government existing, "parallel" capitalist Kremlin feels itself more and bureaucracy.

Truman did nothing to stem this sinister development. In fact he did everything to nurture it, making Gen. Marshall, for instance, tional isolation." one of his' chief advisors. Truman's appointment of Gen. Marshall as Secretary of State was a logical extension of this drift. Now the expect the General's popularity to prove as enduring as Hoover's. Big Brass has taken over the White House. This is a manifestation of the trend long Washington — the decreasing the decr

Is There an Opposition to Stalin in USSR?

By John G. Wright

One of the main preoccupations f the Kremlin rulers is, as it always has been, to keep on "consolidating" and "strengthening" their state machinery. Stalin slurred over this aspect of Soviet reality in his 25,000 word document, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR." But Malenkov, the main reporter at the 19th conference of the Russian and quite emphatically on the need to "preserve" the state and strengthen it "to the utmost" -

With the enormous successe recorded by Soviet industry, with the relations between the city and country presumably healthier tion of the need to "strengthen" stable and confident enough, if

latest "analysis" of world relanot to relax its repressions, then tions? It doesn't. It is in flagrant contradiction with it. Malenkov

declares capitalist encirclement to be ended "once and for all" only to drag it in by the hair when it comes to the question of the Soviet state.

STALIN

not even go on to claim that the main task of the Soviet state is ternal attack. He asserted instead the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational Proponents of this Marxist idea if anything, a relaxation of needed?

Compulsion is the worst of classes were officially acknowlstimulants for "economic - organ- edged any longer to exist. It was "cultural - educational work." In of political opposition inside the rejected by the party. Instead, he these fields, the role of compul- Soviet Union had been obliterated alleged period of transition "from

socialism to communism."

FEAR OPPOSITION the capitalist encirclement remain." This declaration was greeted with "tumultuous applause."

The new official doctrine, as are not just a product of bureau- ously at a loss for some "new," enunciated by Stalin, declares cratic ignorance, arrogance and superficially plausible answer The enormously swollen military caste is that the Soviet Union is no longer impunity. They are at the same Stalin remained silent. Malenkov capitalism. On the contrary, the the ruling bureaucrats, attempts more than a rehash of Stalin' JSSR now heads an independent to allay growing mass discontent 1939 "theory" which flies in the "socialist camp" and a "world and opposition to their regime face of Stalin's 1952 "worldmarket" stronger than the co-In addition to naked force, the historic" doctrine.

> camp and market. Malenkov more in need of "ideological Stalin's regime boasts create for repeated all this and even noted as weapons" to guard and justify its it the sharpest of difficulties. The "historic fact" that the "Soviet rule. Union has emerged once and for And among the most ticklish productive forces, the unquestion-

> all from the position of interna- of problems is to invent some able economic successes and the sort of plausible argument for corresponding numerical, tech-

every field of Soviet social Soviet working class, the higher it immediately begins to with activity, for perpetuating its demands of an industrialized away and cannot help withering arbitrariness and mounting privi- country as against the pre- away." Daily experience teaches dominantly agricultural Soviet the Soviet people how onerous and eges.

not too much concerned with this. these feed the mass opposition to bureaucratic rule, least willing to congress in 1934 Stalin declared incubus. that his brutal regime was inrepressions than sufficed to really needs. destroy the entire Czarist regime when, under Lenin, party and Soviet democracy flourished. It One need only t

was nevertheless hailed at the State and Revolution to read there the state square with Stalin's time as Stalin's "world-historic" contribution to the theory of the Soviet state

NEW THEORY

Five years later, this "theory" had to be discarded. At the 18th party congress in 1939 Stalin advanced instead a new theory to the effect that "the necessity But that isn't all. Malenkov did of the state is demanded by

capitalist encirclement and the langers flowing therefrom to the any meaning, it simply meant that the coercive powers of the state had to be turned outwards. against the external danger. But against what internal danger work. . . ." This should require, were the greater repressions still

Not even "remnants" of the ol - by the infamous Moscow

SAME PROBLEM

Thirteen years later we find the bureaucracy confronted with The Kremlin rulers are entan- the same problem, with the idengling themselves in absurd self- tical need to strengthen its rule contradictions. These absurdities "to the utmost." And it is obvi

The very successes of which stepped-up dynamic of Soviet



The first piece of sophistry that the bureaucratic regime, reinforce begin dying away. came to hand was deemed suf- the tendencies to rid the economy As Malenkov himself announcficient. Thus at the 17th party and the people of this parasitic ed, this "withering away" theory dispensable for waging a strug- tions, the works of Marx, Engels in the ranks of the bureaucracy. gle against the "remnants" of the and Lenin continue to circulate They were, he says, crushed, and

old ruling classes, and in par- in millions of copies. In them there is no reason to doubt icular against the "remnants" of every thinking Soviet worker and Malenkov on this score, But the Protskyism. This miserable ex- student can discover for himself idea itself it is impossible to planation left unexplained why exactly what kind of state it is crush. The bureaucracy obviously remnants" should require greater that the victorious working class fears this "rotten theory" greatly.

of Marx, Engels and Lenin had Under the new Soviet condi- its advocates, apparently even

Page Three

For the very conditions of Soviet life are now breeding more and more advocates of the "withering

One need only turn to Lenin's away of the state." The anti-Stalinist opposition inside the Soviet Union keeps reappearing that "the proletariat needs only "utmost" re-

a dying state — that is, a state despite all the constructed in such a way that pressions.





Africans are corralled in one of many barbed-wire cages set up by British authorities throughout the Kikuyu reserve in Kenya after mass arrests in imperialist attempt to break colonial independence movement. Latest reports show movement still growing.



FIRST RETURNS from abroad | and bonds bounced up 10 to 15 indicate a mixed reaction to points on the Tokyo stock market Eisenhower's victory. In general, at the prospect of an increasing How does Malenkov's explana- not relaxing its stranglehold on nical and cultural growth of the the most reactionary forces hailed arms program. This was exit. others deplored it and were pected no matter who won, but fearful of the consequences. In- the election returns in the U.S. terest in the election was great gave the signal for the stock in other countries because of the market celebration.

> **YEARNINGS** of Japanese bu decisive weight in determining the ness interests for trade with New answer to the great question of China and the Soviet Union got, war or peace in the coming a setback, according to Scrippsperiod. "Europe tightens belt for Howard Foreign Editor Ludwell tougher U.S. policy," was the Denny. Such "flirtation" he said comment of Scripps-Howard staff would constitute "the worst writer R. H. Shackford from calamity that could befall us in London. "The general reaction the Far East."

Many people, it appears, split their ticket, yoting for Eisenhower to register a protest against the war in Korea, against high prices, against high taxes and the whole "mess" associated with Truman. These voters may have felt considerable qualms about voting for a professional military man for President. Generals are déservedly suspect, especially when they begin to throw their weight around in politics. But the two-party system is designed to detour such progressive sentiments. In the 1952 election we see the startling paradox of a good deal of anti-war sentiment serving to put a professional militarist in the White House.

apparent in Washington — the decreasing decree rule, the tendency of Congress to act as a rubber stamp especially in regard to Pentagon demands.

For years The Militant has warned about of reactionary militarism. This is one of the ominous developments that cries out for rectification by organization of a labor party. The seating of a general in the White House is another milestone on the road to the militarypolice state. Labor had better wake up!

government found its rut for 20 years in

owners will be more inclined to assume a fight-

ing stance towards each other, and the labor

bureaucrats are caught in the middle.

of capitalism, etc.) are concerned.

Labor Needs a **Fighting Stance**

The past relation of labor as an active supporter of the administration party has been shattered by the election results. The relation of labor to the new regime is still to be formed.

This problem of the labor movement is really two problems. The rank and file of the union movement, together with many conscientious and sincere local leaders, want to participate in politics in such a way as to conserve union gains, increase labor's political power, advance the cause and condition of the working man and his family. Thus most workers have supported the Democrats in the belief — a mistaken belief in our opinion that this was the best available way to keep gains and make new ones.

The problem presents itself somewhat differently so far as the top officialdom of the trade-union movement is concerned. Of course, these top officials cannot be entirely contemptuous of the desires of the ranks, since their position in the unions is at least partly dependent upon their achievement record. But for them the political problem shapes up in another way. They like nothing better than to slide into an easy groove politically, and try to make some sort of frictionless relation to the capitalist government. This inclination on their part is heightened by the fact that their whole outlook is similar to that of the most reactionary capitalists so far as the chief political problems (Korea, the impending war, with the Soviet and colonial world, the defense in the government-labor relation will come at the modulities that argraph in perialist aggressors. This armed against imperialism. once. The top labor officials have already made pact could put an end to the wars peace is the struggle against imremarks indicating a desire to continue in the now raging, and lift from mankind perialism and is our struggle, and old way, as kowtowers to Washington. The word war. . . It could lift the that this Conference supports Republican administration, far its part, will burden of armaments from the their struggle for national inde face precisely the same problem as did the backs of the peoples, and end pendence. Democrats in the past. They will not find it trade barriers so that they may freely exchange the fruits of

the war; as a matter of fact, such an attempt croachments on their lands and might very well cripple the capitalist war drive liberties by others, opening the in the sole remaining solid bastion of world for all, and enabling each people capitalism. So the Republicans will be forced to live its own chosen life." Asking that this be deleted, to go slow on this front like the Democrats.

Nevertheless, labor has always found it best to prepare for the worst. Many individual in the world, we cannot achieve imperialism. In these countries best medical care was provided for corporations will try to toughen their policy lasting peace. Hence, to state that the political struggle is not in Phillips and other injured miners. towards the unions in the immediate period a Five Power Pact will bring the hands of imperialist aggres- After four years of treatment, ahead. The fighting attitude which the workers illusion." Fernando's motion was independence. will instinctively assume as the Republicans defeated by the Stalinist majority. come to power is a far healthier attitude than STALINIST ATTEMPT

the continued subservience that the top union TO ANSWER SAMARAKKODY these countries is somewhat father still work in the mines. leaders will (also instinctively) try to foist on the labor movement.

weight of Congress, the increasing concentra-tion of power in the White House, the shift to decree rule, the tendency of Congress to act as At Peking Conference

The key-note speech made by Ceylon delegation to issue a and assisting the war plans of Edmund Samarakkody in the counter-statement which ran as American imperialism. Commission on National Inde- follows: "We are opposed to The struggle of the partisans pendence at the Peking Peace Cone equating the national liberation of peace in these countries is the the rise of a caste that looks at America's acute | ference "created a sensation and movement to the peace movement. | struggle against imperialism. In social and political problem through the eyes drew the enthusiastic support of We must realize that the peace the course of the struggle, the the delegates from Latin America, movement is a broader movement partisans of peace in these counthe Middle East and the Pacific and that the realization of peace tries are persecuted and im-Region countries," reports the will ensure the conditions for the prisoned. We need all these par-Nov. 6 Samasamajist, weekly realization of real independence. tisans of peace. English publication of the Cey- We must realize that this is a onese Lanka Samasamaja Party. Peace Conference and that we of peace have to fight against did many Europeans, with a ready established by the Truman

Hector Fernando as a Lanka Imperialist Conference. Samasamaja delegate to the Peace Conference, presented the kody's speech, as reported by the Trotskyist position of the Fourth Samasamajist is as follows: International that "the struggle

for peace in these countries" is This subservient attitude towards capitalist part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism. His speech "the movement for the defense of "cut across the Stalinist Five peace is inseparable from the Democratic Party rule, but with the Repub- Power Pact line which subor-struggle for national independence licans in power, the situation is somewhat dif- dinates the struggle for national and freedom." The struggle for liberation to the struggle for national sovereignty assumes different. Both the workers and the corporation peace," says the Samasamajist.

> AGAINST STALINIST LINE In the Five Power Peace Com-

mission of the Peking Peace Con- nam are carrying on an armed It is not likely, however, that big changes ference, Hector Fernando moved struggle for peace against im- gle for peace is the struggle the resolution that read: "Such a struggle of these partisans of

possible to smash the labor movement before their labor. It could end the en-IS FIGHT FOR PEACE

peace to the world is to create an sors. There is formal political Phillips, on special crutches

mperialism compelled the Stal- of the republics of Latin America Rockefeller interests in the 1914

Samarakkody, who served with must not reduce it to an Anti- imperialist military occupation. "feeling of nervousness, anxiety regime. The Spanish radio warmly The text of Edmund Samarak- to our movement. In all these countries it will be lican landslide to the hope for

seen that in whatever form it may express itself the struggle for peace is a struggle against that a change in government was In the words of Mr. Kuo Mo Jo

imperialism. This Conference has openly ondemned imperialist aggression. Delegates from various countries have condemned imperialism. In order to draw in the partisans of ferent forms in different countries of South-East Asia and the peace in all the countries of Asia and the Pacific regions and the Pacific. The partisans of peace in Middle East it is necessary to countries like Malaya and Vietunequivocally state that the strug-

> UMW Medical Care **Rehabilitates Miner**

The work of the United Mine Worker's Welfare and Retirement Fund was dramatically illustrated ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT

at the union's 41st convention in farm products as did previous Cincinnati. The partisans of peace in coun-Back in 1940 Benny Phillips, tries like Burma, Thailand and 26-year old Colorado miner, was

way to independent nationhood Laos are also carrying on an hit by runaway coal cars. He lost armed struggle for peace against an arm and was paralyzed. A their own puppet governments paraplegic, he lay helpless on his which are supported and directed stomach for eight years. Then Fernando said: "So long as im- by British and American imperial- through strike action the UMW perialism and capitalism remain isms. This is a struggle against won its Welfare Fund and the

> Although there is no armed of the convention hall. struggle in the countries of Phillips is a third generation

Latin America, the position in coal miner. His brother and step-Samarakkody's speech against similar. The puppet governments His father was killed by the

inists and their allies in the are carrying out the directions Ludlow massacre.

could be described as little-con-SPANISH FASCISTS welcomed

the Eisenhower victory, inter-BRITONS generally were in preting it as the opening of a no mood to celebrate, according new era of closer relations beto N. Y. Times correspondent tween the U.S. and Franco's Raymond Daniel. Gen. Eisen- regime. This is somewhat strange In the Middle East the partisans hower's victory left them, as it in view of the close relations al-These partisans of peace belong and puzzlement." The Manchester praised Eisenhower's character Guardian attributes the Repub- and personality.

> peace in Korea due to Eisen-THE STRUGGLE FOR hower's promises and the feeling NEGRO EQUALITY By John Saunders and Albert Parker ANEURAN BEVAN, leader of 10 cents the British Labor Party left wing, voiced widespread sentiment when THE be warned that Gen. Eisenhower COMING AMERICAN would not have the support of the REVOLUTION British people if he tried to end By James P. Cannon the war in Korea by extending 10 cents it to other areas, especially the mainland of China. The Bevanist AMERICAN WORKERS weekly Tribune carried the banner NEED A LABOR PARTY headline: "U.S. Election Brings By Joseph Hansen 15 cents IN CANADA business circles SOCIALISM ON TRIAL expressed concern over a possible Official Court Record of return of high-tariff policies James P. Cannon's testimony under a Republican administration. Canadians fear that the U.S. in the first trial under the

Smith Act, in Minneapolis, '41 35 cents THE ROAD TO PEACE According to Lenin and

According to Stalin By James P. Cannon 25 cents

BOLSHEVISM By Leon Trotsky 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Catalog on Request

ALL MUNITIONS, steel, heavy

industrials and shipping stocks

the new administration in Wash-

ington. Prime Minister Nehru declined comment.

cealed apprehension."

needed.

Peril of a Slump."

SOME INDIAN government officials said that although they had favored the election of Gov. Stevenson, they would maintain a walked unassisted down the aisle wait - and - see" attitude toward

gress.

AUSTRALIAN LABOR opposition leader Dr. Herbert V. Evatt described Gen. Eisenhower's victory as "due to his promise to try and achieve peace in Korea."

may try to shut out Canadian

Republican majorities in Con-

STALINISM AND

Order from

"Limelight"

By Charles Hanley

When Charles Chaplin produced "Monsieur Verdoux" after World War II, the picture was violently attacked by the capitalist press, the Catholic hierarchy and various other reactionary groups because of its social ideas. A big hit in Europe, pressure forced American theaters to withdraw "Monsieur Verdoux" after a short run. The self-appointed guardians of "moral values" did not permit the American public to see a film directed against war and capitalist hypocrisy.

"Limelight" is the first Chaplin movie in many years that lacks explicit political or social satire. Critics in the capitalist press have praised it for this. Nonetheless the Amerian Legion is pressing for its withdrawal because Chaplin's right to return to the United States where he has lived for 40 years has been challenged by witch-hunter Attorney General McGranery.

In New York this will not be easy. In smaller cities, however, the Legion may succeed in preventing the public from seeing Chaplin's new master work. That's democracy for you.

"Limelight" has none of the social bite of "Monsieur Verdoux" but that is not to deny its beauty and artistic value. Why should an artist who has achieved great social satire not try his hand at something else too?

Of course, we socialists are gratified when a great artist focuses his attention on a big problem of our time. But we do not believe an artist is rigidly bound to adhere to such themes.

We do not tell artists what they must write or compose, as the Stalinists do. We think that the artist who follows a party order instead of his own inspiration cannot create anything worthwhile. And VOLUME XVI we know perfectly well that there exist innumerable human master works without any special social significance; and on the other hand many books, poems, etc., which are supposed to have social significance or

"Limelight" has, in fact, tremendous human significance. This is not merely a story about people in the show business, as some of the critics wish to make us believe. It is a story about things that matter, about life itself - a serious film, serious like Shakespeare's tragedies with their comic interludes.

The elderly clown Calvero saves the life of Thereza, a lonely young ballet dancer who wanted to commit suicide. He rekindles her energy, her courage. This act of human solidarity not only affects Thereza but Calvero himself. With the strength she regains through his kindliness and and this was followed by a wisdom, she helps him surmount demoralization and defeat.

Despite disappointment and failure, Cal- sugar-coat the yellow-dog agreevero never quite gives up in his pathetic ment the company wants to force struggle for human dignity and finally makes a triumphant come-back.

The lonely and the outcast helping each other, struggling for human dignity this is an important theme which goes through many Chaplin creations. "Limelight" is in this fine tradition.

movies in general should reply to the "Hate terrorism, but the press buried Chaplin" campaign by seeing this marvel- this, although they found room ous picture as soon as possible. They will editorials. not be disappointed.

COMPANY PRESSURE

Behind this propaganda smoke screen, the Harvester Corp. moved its ground troops into action. An army of scab-herding foremen workers in an effort to start a back-to-work move. Proposals

were adorned with offers of free chauffeur service to and from work, with cigars and whiskey Liberties Union. thrown in. The company has also sought to get landlords to evict strikers from their homes.

In spite of all this the Tractor workers have held solidly. Their shown them the door. Despite 13 court, and review was denied by weeks on the picket line, deter- the Supreme Court, which is now think of going back without one. The AFL federal local in Mil-

waukee recently sent a substantial donation to the strikers, and a

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1952

Harvester Strike Still Solid Despite Michigan Vote Results Underscore **Harvester Strike** "socialist realism" (as the Kremlin bureau-crats call it) that are nothing but trite fakery without realism or artistic value whatsoever. "Limelight" needs no excuse. By Frank Roberts

Wounded in Korea

Marines give water to American youth wounded when first marine division won back control of the Hook, ridge on western Korean front. Defense Department reported that U.S. casualties were up to 1,318 in a week, highest in a year.

ROSENBERG DEATH SENTENCE ing and burning five prisoners with lit of strikers, where they coaxed, HELD "WITHOUT PRECEDENT"

An important expression of opinion on the Rosenberg case appeared in the Nov. 8 Nation, written by Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel for the American Civil

The Rosenbergs have been con- protections which would have been required in a treason trial."

victed of passing information Hays points out: "So far as I about the atom bomb to the know, there is no precedent for crats were responsible for the Soviet Union, their conviction has a death penalty in a case like social gains since 1929 and that wives have told foremen off and been upheld by an Appellate this." And he concludes: "It is Truman's party had a recipe for ing. They are in Sing Sing death

Hays writes: "Russia was our millions in other parts of the gram of the administration, and ally in 1944, but under the statute world. You can imagine what presented the Republicans as a crime exists if secret informa- would be our own emotional alone responsible for the depresa crime exists il secret intorina- would be out Russians were sion, saying nothing about the could nave overcome the rear tion is turned over to a foreign response if two Russians were sion, saying nothing about the baiting smokescreen which Big government with reason to be- sentenced to death for supplying inevitability of war or depression Business threw up as a cover for

William Scott Steward, Chicago of advantage to the recipient. The allied with Russia. Somehow I With this line Reuther was able millionaires and labor haters seek criminal lawyer with a top-flight reputation in his field, has under-defendants were not indicted or British treatment of Fuchs shows ticket to a majority of the in-

class. So do the Progressive

Thus the dispute between them

of a difference over principle, but

DETROIT, Nov. 10 - The Republican victories in industrial Michigan prove again that the political alliance of the Reuther-CIO leadership with the Democratic Party works to the advantage of the auto corporations. For them it is a heads-we-win-tails-

you-lose proposition. This was the pay-off for supporting the dis-Negro Convicted credited Democratic agents of big business. In spite of the fact that the unions engaged in record activities, publicity and finances

their voting appeal declined. Only in Wayne County, the heavily concentrated auto area where the weight of the union officialdom and of the union is greatest, was the Democraticlabor coalition successful in holding five federal Congressmen and all the county officials up for election. Here the bloc won a clear majority, but the size of

Ingram was given a sixmonth suspended sentence and the majority did not come up to put on probation for five years union expectations. on complaint of Mrs. Edward In Wayne County the Demo-Webster, 19, who admitted that crats made larger increases than he had not come within 60 feet

the Republicans as compared to of her at any time. She was 1948 but throughout the state the frightened she said when he Eisenhower - Nixon ticket made looked "curiously" at her crossgreater increases among the 700. ing a field. She was dressed in 00 new voters in Michigan. dungarees. She also admitted Wayne, for instance, gave Stevshe had to look up the word enson 615,652 votes, compared "leer" in the dictionary after with 489,654 for Truman. Eisenher lawyer had put it in her

hower got only 130,000 more Wayne votes than Dewey got four years earlier. new voters were more concerned However, in such places as Oakland County, which borders about the Democratic record in

Wayne, Stevenson's vote jumped Korea and the increasing burden 22,000 over Truman's, while of taxes under the Democrats than Eisenhower ran Dewey's 62,000 up they were with pre-war depres to 114,503. Genesee County, which includes

Flint, dug up another 22,000 for classes and the new voters no Eisenhower while Stevenson was rallying point of struggle against improving on the Truman score the war program. Therefore, they by only 4,000. Stevenson trailed became victims of the fake and the state Democratic ticket, while hypocritical Republican propa-Eisenhower outran the Repubganda.

licans. Walter Reuther campaigned on the false basis that the Demothe damnable death penalty that avoiding depression. He comcauses the uneasiness. . . If this pletely ignored the struggles of judgment is carried through, we the unions and minority organizashall make martyrs of the Rosen- tions as the force that won the bergs, perhaps not to many peo- social gains. Reuther fully enple in the United States, but to dorsed the war and tax pro-

the effects of a low vote.

cut. What little labor support

Thus the Progressive Party

A VITAL LACK

WHAT WAS NEEDED A class struggle program of independent political action by labor could have swept the state, A campaign in behalf of a cut in the taxes of small property owners coupled with a stiff corporation and war profits tax, a series of bold actions defending poor farmers; and a demand for the withdrawal of troops from Korea would have won tens of thousands of votes from the Republican camp. Such a program

mouth.

sion problems.

Labor offered the lower middle

the cynical gang of witch hunters, ing office.

"They did it better (in New Jersey) with tear gas grenades. We used to use ammonia guns. Get a shot of that and you surrender. That's the way to treat them!" In this terse fashion, John Sheehy, exkeeper at Sing Sing, summed up his criticism of the negotiated settlement of the prison riot at Jackson, Mich., last May. His approach sheds some light on the cause of the prison outbreaks which have been hitting the front pages of the national press with increasing frequency.

"I saw a prisoner in a western state after he got a going over from a guard. He had been forced to stand while the officer, taking his time, swung on him unmercifully with a club for ten minutes. The man's head was open. His face was a pudding of blood. His lip was cut. One eve was closed. His nose was broken. Three teeth were knocked out. His cheek bore a deep gash. Two ribs were cracked. His knee cap was crushed. . . . His offense was speaking while in line." These are the words of David Dressler, former Director of the New York State Division of Parole." They throw a bit more light on the cause of prison riots. A minimum of five states still have legal provisions for corporal punishment in their prisons, according to the N.Y. Post, which recently put the spotlight on prison conditions in America. Penal authorities agree that corporal punishment is practiced in a majority of prisons, even though the legal provisos may be lacking. The flogging of women prisoners at Wetumpka State Prison, Alabama, recently led to the warden's resignation. Last spring, Warden Roy Best of Colorado State Penitentiary, and eight of his guards were indicted and charged with flogging, chok-

The outbreaks at Jackson Prison come the closest to revealing the full story. Jackson is the biggest prison in the world. With a capacity of 6,000 inmates, it often houses up to 7,000. Many of the prisoners are forced to sleep in the cell block corridors. More than 1,400 of them are totally idle. Officials boast of the social service workers and psychologists attached to the staff. Their case loads run from 500 to 750. The results are virtually non-existent. put it, "It's bad enough working ing appealed to for a re-hear-The declared policy of Warden Frisbie is at Harvester with a contract to house, awaiting execution. to run the prison "tough."

The demands drawn up by the Jackson prisoners during the May revolt are required reading for any one seriously inter- | car-load of workers to help enested in prison reform. They demanded a force the picket line. cleanup of The Hole (the tier of solitary confinement cells). Impartial obsevers

Why They By Harry Ring cigarettes.

Riot

Radicals, liberals and friends of better the company could gain by such

CHICAGO, Nov. 10 - "Operation Scab," International Harvester's big push to smash the

strike of farm equipment workers, has been stopped short by the spirited picketing and organ-

ized action of the strikers. The company offensive shifted from the McCormick works over to the Tractor plant after failing to dent the strike in the former plant. The Tractor plant strikebusting moves began with the usual mounting company claims of "workers returning to work,"

barrage of letters to strikers in which an attempt was made to on the union.

As this offensive mounted, two scab-herding foremen's front porches were bombed, and although no one was hurt in either case the newspapers built up the biggest scare they could. A

union statement condemned the bombing and pointed out that only for a steady stream of anti-strike



NUMBER 46

Of 'Leer Assault'

An all-white jury of farmers

at Yanceyville, N.C., on Nov. 12 convicted Mack Ingram, 45-

year-old Negro sharecropper, of "assault" on a white girl

who claimed that the defendant

had merely "leered" at her

from a distance of more than

60 feet. Ingram said he had

mistaken her for a boy.

blackjacks and chains, they insisted that personal observation." The prisoners showed newsmen chains and blackjacks taken from the guards.

Finally, the prisoners called for revision confer regularly with prison officials on their grievances.

official rackets.)

agree that The Hole is a page out of reputation in his new, has under user not indicate which an enemy, a higher degree of civilization dustrial workers. However, he Charles Dickens. They demanded that ade- victimized secretary of Local 108 In a treason trial there would than the sentence in this case." quate counseling and psychiatric service of the Farm Equipment division have been certain constitutional Judge Frank of the Circuit ers, lower middle class and small be provided and that homosexuals and of United Electrical Workers safeguards. Thus, the defendants Court was apparently influenced home owners. It is these elements union, charged with killing a scab. argue that the crime of which they by the reasons given for com- that are strategically placed in mental cases be better segregated. About union, charged with annual a stars argue that were accused was of the same muting the death sentence, and the gerrymandered voting dis-125 psychotics a year are sent to Jackson defense movement for Ward, kind as treason but of a lesser set them forth in his opinion, but tricts to offset labor - supported for lack of room 'at the mental hospitals. which is out to enlist support degree, and that they were at claimed that this move would majorities. Charging that they were beaten with from the entire labor movement. least entitled to the constitutional exceed his powers. In addition, the masses of the

"inhuman" restraints and dangerous hand weapons be discarded. Said Deputy War-den Fox. "I know of no such incident from The Progressive Party Vote: Why it Declined

leaders.

1948 it was still possible for Sweezy proposal. But they did ed this year even if the party had By Albert Parker Total election results of the readers of the daily press to get not succeed in preventing fairly a different perspective and a minor parties still have not been fairly full news coverage of the widespread defections because better program. But with a difcompiled, but the local figures al- Wallace campaign. It was alto- they share the Stone-Sweezy con- ferent outlook, the party would of the 'slow,' 'tough' parole procedure. ready available show that the gether different with Hallinan. ception of the Progressive Party. not have the acute problem of Their key proposition was for the election Progressive Party's vote this Wallace was well known and had Stone proceeds from the pre- morale that it now faces. of a permanent council by the inmates to year suffered a drastic decline a certain amount of prestige, even mise that it is not the function of though it declined as his campaign the Progressive Party to try to point a minor party but need not

as compared with 1948. Four years ago the party's proceeded, while Hallinan was organize the American people prove demoralizing so long as its presidential candidate, Henry virtually unknown outside of a for a struggle to win political (Next week: Who's the thief? The scope of Wallace, got 1,150,000 votes. This narrow circle.

vear's candidate, Vincent Hal-CRISIS OF COLD FEET linan, predicted that his vote These were difficulties over

would be higher. But it is certain which the Progressive leaders had tion of the Progressive Party to not inspire its membership with that his vote will not come anylittle control. But there were be the exerting of pressure on a program and perspective that where near the million mark. others, flowing directly out of the the capitalist parties to accept an can sustain them in a period of More than 500,000 votes for More than 500,000 votes for nature and structure of the party agreement with the Soviet Union, reaction, will not easily overcome itself. The most spectacular was So do the Progressive leaders. total) were polled on the ticket the crisis of cold feet that broke of the American Labor Party, the out during the last weeks of the was not conducted on the basis Progressives' New York affiliate campaign. and main stronghold. Hallinan's

I. F. Stone and T. O. Thackrey purely over tactics. On this level, vote in New York State was only of the Daily Compass and Paul Stone seemed to many Progres- that it is impossible to build a 63,000 - about one-eighth of Sweezy of the Monthly Review sives to have the better of the mass progressive political move-

Wallace's. CAUSES OF DECLINE In part, the drop in the Pro- around the Progressive Party to promote its main objective movement. The Progressives when they urged Progressives to under a Stevenson administration thought they could take a short gressive Party vote must be attributed to the general political vote for Stevenson as a "lesser than under an Eisenhower. atmosphere prevailing this year, evil" and to express their protest Moreover, the Progressive they had at the start has disap-

doubtedly produced a smaller Corliss Lamont, ALP candidate to capitulate to "lesser evilism" which endorsed Wallace in 1948, Chicago SWP Local parties than in any election since

the 1920's.

protest votes from being given to any minor party.

versely, also weakened the Pro- sentatives of the non-Stalinist some easy "get-rich-quick"

judge dismiss one of the contempt-of-Congress imposed a virtual blackout on the war, as Henry Wallace and many decisive role in American poli- largest weekly toll in a year. This SWP hall, 734 South Wabash. charges brought against him. He had refused to Progressives this year, treating of his followers did. tical life. turn over his union's records and books to the them practically the same way Of course the Progressive lead- To be sure, the Progressive wounded and missing since the writing to the SWP hall, or call they treat other minor parties. In ers hotly opposed the Stone- vote probably would have declin- war began to 125,887.

Big Business also defeated the union-supported reapportionment could not sell it to the poor farmproposal No. 2 by a three-to-two margin and carried its own proposal No. 3 by a five-to-four margin. The Detroit Free Press openly

hailed the further stifling of democracy in Michigan on the day following the election. "Rural control of Senate cemented!" it said. "Seven counties in South Eastern Michigan including Wayne, which has more than half the state's population, will elect 12 senators. A minority in the 76 other counties will elect 22 senators." In spite of this costly setback, Reuther has the gall to defend his PAC policy as "practical" and "successful"!

The Republican victory will A decrease in votes may disapraise stronger doubts in the minds of the workers about support of the Democratic Party. Many peop members feel they have taken full power away from the capitalist advantage of a campaign in order ple report a greater interest in to educate as many people as they the labor party since the election, discussing the Korean war and Stone considers the chief func- Party, precisely because it does

> **Bohannan Scores** 1,750 Votes in N. J. 11th District

NEWARK - Election officials report that William E. Bohannan The experience of the last four years has confirmed our warning received 1,750 votes as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from New Jersey's 11th evidently expressed the senti- argument when he contended that ment in this country unless it is District. This amounted to a ments of many people in and their party would be better able based on the organized labor little over one per cent of the total vote in the district.

In 1948 Bohannan received 2, 387 votes for the same post; in 1950 he got 883.

Invites Friends estimating how many votes this most Fair Deal candidates for not the mass party it hoped to To Turkey Dinner

The Chicago Local of the Socontrast to 1948, when most peo- the fact that Lamont polled over then what principle stands in the than other minor parties, but cialist Workers Party will open can inspire an opposition move- gala Turkey Dinner on Novemment in times like the present. ter 22.

That is why, aside from the vote, An after dinner program featuring Joseph Andrews, former Militant editor, as MC and Irving Beinin, SWP State Chairman, as speaker, will follow. A donation

The Defense Dept. on Nov. 12 of \$1.50 covers the cost of the reported 1,318 U.S. battle casual- dinner and social. The affair will be held at the ties for the week in Korea —

brought the total of killed, Reservations can be obtained by Harrison 7-0403.

Notes from the News deprived of books and magazines which they had

ordered.

JOSEPHINE BAKER, American-born Negro singer now in Argentina, may be barred from the . U.S. if she ever tries to re-enter, Justice Department spokesmen declared. Officials are angry at Miss Baker because she has made bitter attacks on the Jim Crow system and the "hypocrisy" of U.S. democracy. * * *

HOW TO PROFIT FROM WITCH HUNT was demonstrated by Robert Clifford of Sidney, Australia. He obtained four jobs in a row. Each day after getting a job he would make an anonymous phone call to the employer and tip him off that the new worker he had hired was a Communist. In each case Clifford was fired and given a week's pay in lieu of notice. Police don't know exactly what crime to charge Clifford with.

* * *

INTERFERENCE WITH THE MAIL was the charge brought against the U.S. Post Office Department by the American Civil Liberties Union. The Post Office has been destroying books, magazines, pamphlets and mimeographed matter mailed to subscribers in this country from Sovietbloc countries. The Post Office does this without notifying the people to whom the printed matter was addressed on the grounds that such material is "propaganda." First inkling of this arbitrary censorship by the Post Office was revealed when David J. Dallin, bitter opponent of the Soviet government and an editor of the New Leader, revealed that publications to which he subscribed had stopped coming. He later learned that many university professors who followed the East European press for their studies also were being

* * * PAUL ROBESON is scheduled to sing at Progressive Party rally in a high school auditorium in Hartford, Conn. The Board of Education

which voted six-to-three to let the PP rent the auditorium as other political organizations do is under attack by the yellow press, the Hartford City Council and such unsavory public figures as Walter Winchell. Among those defending the Board of Education's action on grounds of preserving free speech is the Hartford chapter of the Disabled American Veterans, the Hartford women's division of the American Jewish Congress and the conservative Hartford Courant. * * *

POLL ON KOREAN WAR was taken by the Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer. 38% were for getting "completely out of Korea," 32% wanted to "keep trying for a truce," only 16% were ble figured Dewey was a sure 50% more votes than Hallinan way of supporting them for Presi- lacking the principles that alone its post-election season with a for all-out war against China, and 16% were thing) kept many thousands of in New York State. recorded as undecided.

THE U.S. NAVY is as big as all the other navies in the world put together. It is the largest spread much farther and deeper morale of the party. For Stone further demoralize many mem- Party don't look good today. peacetime navy ever maintained by any country in the last four years, and which and Sweezy exercise considerable bers of the party, especially those in the history of the world.

ABRAM FLAXER, president of the United gressive campaign. Public Workers, succeeded in having a federal Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

The feeling that the major- split cost Hallinan, although it Congress. If it's all right to sup- become, but primarily a propaparty contest would be close (in surely had something to do with port Democrats for Congress, ganda group - somewhat larger

affected even the Democrats ad- influence in the party as repre- who had illusions that there is

elements who refused to walk out method of building a mass third

In addition, the capitalist press of the party over the Korean party capable of playing a

dent? Even more important than its effect on the Progressive vote PROBLEM OF MORALE The witch hunt, which has was the effect it had on the The fall in their vote will the prospects of the Progressive

which was unfavorable to all against the major parties' policies leadership as a whole strengthen. peared; even the unions expelled parties considered radical and un- by voting for such candidates as ed the tendency inside the party from the CIO as Stalinist - led

combined vote for all the minor for U.S. Senator in New York. by withdrawing or refusing to hedged on Hallinan this year. There is no way of accurately run their own candidates against