

DOUGLAS SPEECH TO THE CIO

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THE

MILITANT

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TRUMAN APPEASES CAPITALIST CLASS

Exiled Venezuelan Leader Links U. S. Oil Interests to Army Coup

By Joseph Hansen

American oil interests were directly involved in the Venezuelan army coup. This is by exiled President Romulo Gallegos upon his arrival in Havana. In a press conference Dec. 5, Gallegos accused United States oil companies and local Venezuelan capitalists of investigating the army clique to overthrow the government.

The oil corporations, who hold some two billion dollars worth of investments in Venezuela, were angered, according to Gallegos, by a 50 percent profits tax which was recently levied.

The exiled President also implied that the U. S. State Department was not without knowledge of the conspiracy. The military attaché of a "large power" was at army headquarters when the coup was staged, he said. Gallegos did not name the "large power" but it is inferred he meant the United States.

This fits in with the accusations made by the well-known columnist, Drew Pearson, who declared Dec. 3: "What's happened in Venezuela—and will soon take place in other Latin-American republics — is the direct product of . . . incredible State Department double-dealing."

NO WARNING

According to Pearson, the State Department promised to consult with Gallegos as well as the governments of Ecuador, Colombia and Chile before taking any action toward recognizing the conspirators who recently seized power in Peru. Three days later the State Department, "without warning," recognized the Peruvian army clique.

This was taken by the Venezuelan brass hats as a rebuff to Gallegos and "showed Washington's lack of confidence in Gallegos." The plotters drew the logical conclusion that the Truman Administration would recognize a totalitarian regime in Venezuela as it had in Peru.

The Gulf Oil Corporation hastily issued a denial that it "had anything whatsoever to do with the army coup." Gulf gratuitously included in its denial the other oil corporations who have so far remained discreetly silent: "Nor do we believe other oil companies were involved."

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Truman Admits Greek 'Stalemate' Despite Half Billion from U. S.

Despite the \$550,000,000 in arms, supplies and money poured into Greece to aid the monarch-fascist regime in its war of extermination against the Greek workers and peasants, the efforts of the Greek army have resulted in a "stalemate," Truman admitted in a report to Congress on Dec. 6.

He further acknowledged that the guerrilla forces are now more numerous than when the civil war began. Truman blamed the impasse on "the failure of the Greek army to make a determined effort to liquidate the guerrillas" in September.

The Greek conscripts aren't so eager to fight and die for their dictators and U. S. imperialism, especially since, as the U. S. News reported recently, the "rich men of Greece are getting richer" from the flow of U. S. dollars.

MALIGNANT SWAY

Working hand in glove with the most reactionary national capitalists and land-holders, these imperialist giants have exercised a malignant sway over national affairs for decades. No regime has been able to survive without their approval.

While Gallegos today accuses the American oil interests of being involved in his overthrow, it cannot be said that he fought against them while in office. In fact, Gallegos tried to win the favor of both the oil interests and the Truman Administration. He was wined and dined by the White House and publicized as one of the best Latin American friends of the Truman Administration.

Similarly, Gallegos made no serious effort as head of the government to cut down the power of the military clique. This he could have done without much difficulty on taking office last February, for the overwhelming majority of the people, including the trade unions, supported him. However, when the ultra-reactive officer caste indicated their dissatisfaction with the government, Gallegos attempted to appease them by giving them more posts in his cabinet. This taste of blood only increased their thirst for absolute power.

The military plotters, now pressing for early recognition of their regime, are demonstrating how well they intend to serve American imperialism. On Dec. 5, the same day they dissolved Congress and all the state legislatures, Pedro Aguerreverre, the

(Continued on page 2)

'Powder-Puff' Labor Leaders Betray Fight on T-H Repeal

The *United Mine Workers Journal* on Dec. 2 denounced the "equivocating pussy-footers" and "powderpuff leadership" in the unions who are talking compromise and preparing "early surrender" in the fight for unanimous repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

This editorial attack by the UMW, headed by John L. Lewis, is unquestionably aimed at the AFL leaders who passed a resolution at their recent convention virtually inviting Congress to pass a "substitute" anti-labor law for the Taft-Hartley Act, including government intervention against strikes affecting the health and welfare of the people.

"After all, who is going to decide what strike and at what time and what union, irrespective of the issues resulting in a work stoppage, are imperiling the health and welfare of the people?" asks the UMW Journal.

"We do not believe that the teamsters, the bus drivers, street car operators, the dairymen and various other union-manned services are willing to accept prohibitions that rob them of their only economic weapon — the right to strike."

"Labor leaders who imply that they are willing to accept injunctive processes to force men to work, irrespective of the

issues involved in a wage controversy, are betraying the membership they represent," the Journal concludes.

Just the day before this scathing statement was issued, Matthew Woll, AFL vice-president, made a lick-spittle speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in which he pointedly spoke of "revision" instead of "repeal" of the Taft-Hartley Act, and did not even mention the Wagner Act.

A secret meeting between AFL top leaders and Secretary of Labor Tobin was held in Washington last week to discuss labor legislation. It was learned that the AFL gave a qualified promise to go along with a law on the lines of Truman's proposals of January 1947. These included several anti-labor restrictions later incorporated into the Taft-Hartley Act.

It is no secret that the AFL craft moguls long sought to change the Wagner Act to favor craft unionism against industrial unionism. They welcomed the yellow-dog "non-communist" affidavits of the Taft-Hartley Act as an aid to their raids on non-complying CIO and other unions.

For the sake of gaining what they think will be an organizational advantage over the CIO, the AFL leaders are clearly preparing to sell out the fight for full and unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

They are ready to scuttle even the most treasured right of labor — the right to strike — for the narrow organizational advantage it will offer them over the industrial unions. The latter must contend with national monopolies and would be most immediately affected by any ban or limitations on industry-wide strikes. However, any infringement on the right to strike would pave the way for further restrictions that would eventually affect even the most localized AFL craft union.

Using the steamroller tactics he had learned both from the Stalinists, whom he loyally served for many years, and the Murray bureaucracy whom he now serves, TWU President Michael J. Quill and his machine ousted the Stalinist national officials on the first day of the convention. The election was held before any discussion of issues.

Among those voted out were Austin Hogan, executive vice-president; John Santo, organization director; and Douglas MacMahon, secretary-treasurer. Five of six vice presidents and eleven of seventeen executive board members — all associated with the Stalinist machine — were dropped.

Harry Sacher, TWU attorney and reputed key man in the machine, was fired the next day.

In the showdown, the Stalinists leaders could not command the support of the members whom they had abused and misled for so many years.

JOHN L. LEWIS

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The Vote for Trotskyism

By George Clarke

Dollinger, candidate for U. S. Senate: 886.

Wisconsin: James Boulton, candidate for Governor: 356.

No returns have yet been received for the SWP Gubernatorial candidates in Washington and Connecticut.

Adding Washington and Connecticut returns to the total listed above, the vote for Dobbs and Carlson in the 1948 election will add up to over 13,000. This figure represents only a partial measure of the electoral strength of the SWP because discriminatory election law kept the party off the ballot in Ohio, Illinois, California and Massachusetts where the party is active and influential. Small in relation to the total vote and to the number received by the major parties, this figure represents a significant achievement in view of the complex circumstances surrounding the recent election.

As has been repeated many times, the outcome of the last Presidential contest was decided by a mobilization of workers a few weeks before election day to elect the "lesser evil." Truman's victory was achieved by cutting deeply into the Wallace total, who received a drastically smaller vote than was previously granted him. To the bulk of working class voters, the issue was posed on a razor's edge: Republican reaction or "lesser evil" Truman.

Minnesota: Vincent R. Dunne, candidate for U. S. Senate: 4,951. California: Myra Tanne Weiss, Congressional candidate, 19th District (Los Angeles): 1,016; Harry Press, State Senatorial candidate, 20th District (San Francisco): 3,495.

Michigan: Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor: 870; William H. Yandell, candidate for Secretary of State: 1,024; General

and the question was decided by the election of Truman without a popular majority in the country as a whole and by narrow margins in many states.

The number of protest votes available for minority parties using the Socialist label was therefore much smaller than in previous elections. To this fact should be added the low total vote although the total electorate has increased by many millions since 1944. The SWP was competing for votes in an election where the line-ups were sharply drawn with a minimum number of independent voters participating. As will be seen from the figures, the SWP did not receive any sizable number of protest votes except in New Jersey where it was favored in a few counties by its place on the ballot. Even the vote for Norman Thomas, which usually derives largely from this category, although larger than his total in 1944, was still far below the expectations of the SP leaders. The Socialist Labor Party vote was lower than in 1944.

The character of the Dobbs-Carlson vote is illustrated by another comparison. In every instance, the local SWP candidates received a larger vote than the national ticket as in New Jersey and Minnesota where the U. S. Senatorial candidates ran a few thousand ahead of Dobbs and Carlson.

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JOHN L. LEWIS

Workers of the World, Unite!

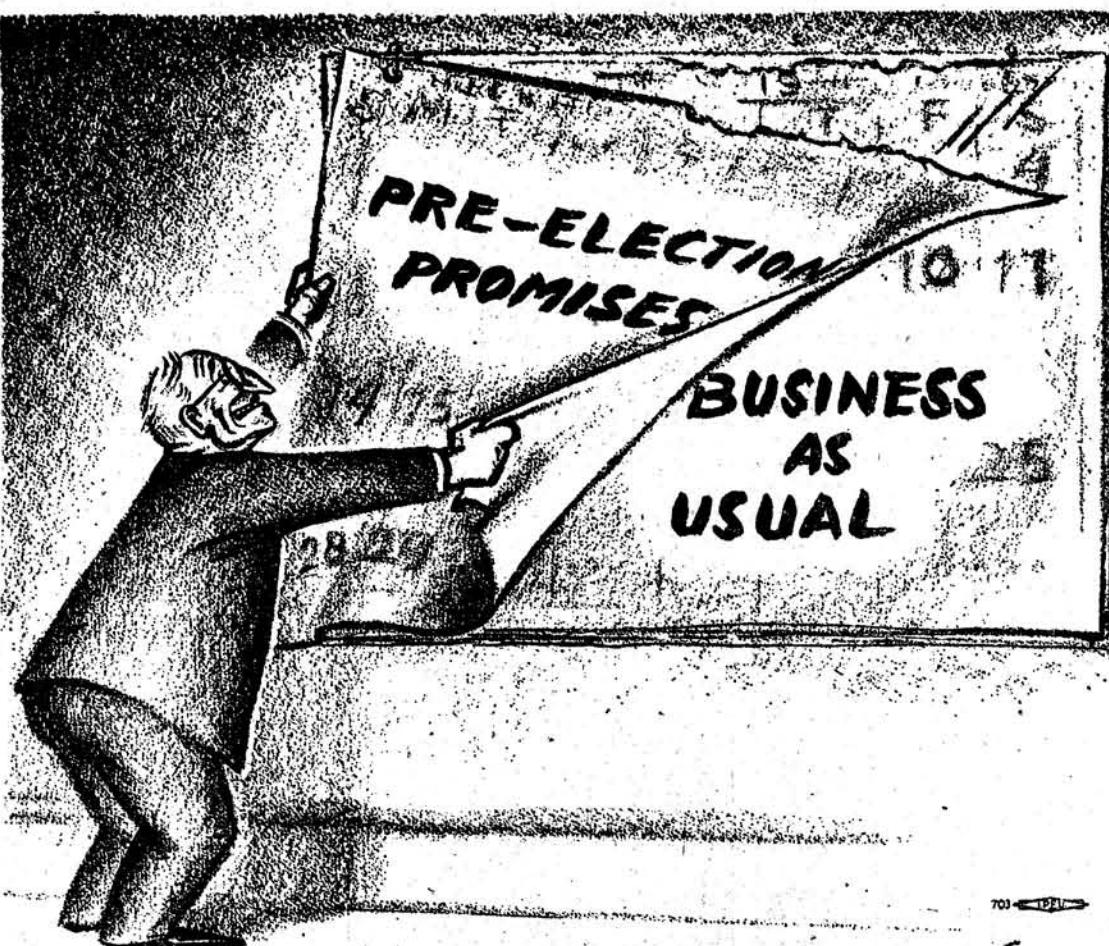
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Post Election Calendar



'Nothing to Fear,' He Tells Conclave Of Manufacturers

By Art Preis

Truman took the occasion of the National Association of Manufacturers convention last week to assure Big Business that his blasts at "gluttons of privilege" and "Wall Street reactionaries" before Nov. 2 were just election ballyhoo. As the spokesmen of the country's powerful monopolies met in New York City, the President told his largest press conference since the elections that the corporations have "nothing to fear" from his program. He pointedly offered as evidence his past three and a half years in office when corporate profits broke all records, in peace or war.

The very next day Secretary of Commerce Sawyer made an extremely conciliatory and reassuring address to the NAM convention. Sawyer's speech, it was emphasized, was approved in advance by Truman.

"NOTHING TO FEAR"

Repeating that "business has nothing to fear" from Truman's program, the Commerce Secretary lavishly praised "private enterprise" and the capitalists. "First of all," he said, "Government officials should remember that business men are working for profits. Profit is the main motivation of business; it is the ignition system of our economic engine. The importance of profit must be recognized and utilized."

He whitewashed the scandalous profiteering by the major corporations, claiming they "have shown admirable restraint in raising prices and have reluctantly done so in the face of steadily mounting costs." Emphasizing that "there is nothing sinful about profits," he suggested that the corporation pirates merely "give careful and thoughtful consideration" to the inflationary effect of large profits and "unreasonable" high prices.

The Big Business press has expressed both surprise and pleasure — but more pleasure than surprise — at Truman's demonstrative peace overtures to the economic royalists he so roundly denounced little more than a month ago. They are further reassured by the mounting evidence that Truman intends to hedge all along the line on his promises to labor. He is now preparing, it is well known, a "substitute" law for the Taft-Hartley Act which will contain some of the worst features of the latter. His civil rights program is almost certain to be buried or compromised as a conciliatory gesture to the still-powerful Southern wing of the Democratic Party.

SAME CABINET

On the same day as he reassured the NAM gang in New York, Truman punctured the fond hopes of the Trumanite liberals and labor leaders that he would rid his cabinet of the professional militarists and Wall Street bankers who are directing U. S. foreign policy. Marshall, former Army Chief of Staff, and Forrestal, former Dillon, Read investment bank official, have been asked to continue as Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense respectively, Truman told reporters, and they are "willing" to do so.

Marshall and Forrestal are the chief symbols of the Wall Street-City Brass domination of the Truman Administration's policies. Their retention in the cabinet affirms the continued drive of Truman toward militarism and war. This program rules out any substantial social improvements at home. Sawyer, in his speech to the NAM, admitted that the major drain on the economy and the biggest inflationary pressure is "the enlargement of our military program." Further military expansion must "further intensify that pressure."

Truman now talks about a \$15 billion "limit" on direct military expenditures for 1949. What most people don't realize is that this is nearly 40% more than the \$11 billion he proposed in January (Continued on page 2)

Kutcher's Civil Rights Plea to AVC Convention

The following is the text of the speech made by James Kutcher to the American Veterans Committee Convention in Cleveland, Nov. 26:

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the AVC Convention:

Four or five years ago we were all of us in uniform and we wondered among other things about the kind of world we would be coming back to and above all we were wondering what kind of treatment we would get back here at home.

Just the day before this scathing statement was issued, Matthew Woll, AFL vice-president, made a lick-spittle speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in which he pointedly spoke of "revision" instead of "repeal" of the Taft-Hartley Act, and did not even mention the Wagner Act.

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Well, here I am, three years after I took off my uniform, and I have a beef. I am not asking for anything special, but I think I have gotten a raw deal.

Perhaps some of you have read of my case in the AVC Bulletin. However, I would like to tell you about it myself briefly, and then to ask if you can support my case.

I know that this is not a political meeting and I have no intention of making a political speech. However, I must say a few words about my own politics so that you can understand what happened to me. At this point also I want to say that I am not asking anyone here to endorse my political views, but merely my right to hold them.

SOCIALIST BELIEVER

A long time before the war began, I became a believer in Socialism and I joined an organization called the Socialist Workers Party because I wanted to do something to bring about a socialist change and thus put an end to wars and depressions.

I was a member of this organization when I was drafted into the Army in January 1941. My draft board never asked me about my politics or the party to which I belonged. They drafted me.

Perhaps some of you have read of my case in the AVC Bulletin. However, I would like to tell you about it myself briefly, and then to ask if you can support my case.

The Army never asked me anything about my political beliefs. They assigned me for training with the 9th Infantry Division at Fort Bragg. In October 1942 I was sent overseas where I participated in the North African, the Sicilian and the Italian campaigns.

Now this is the situation. In November 1947, Attorney General Clark issued a list of so-called subversive organizations. At this time I should say that I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. My party's differences with the Communist Party are fundamental and irreconcilable. Nevertheless, we believe that they too have constitutional rights which must be guarded and defended.

My party, the Socialist Workers Party, was placed on this subversive blacklist although it is not subversive, it does not advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence and it has no connections with any foreign government.

SWP PROTESTS

When this happened, my party immediately protested the issuance of such a list and pointed out that no public hearing had been held where it could be discussed.

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Support for Kutcher Continues to Roll In

James Kut

Meaning of Justice Douglas's Speech to the CIO

By Art Preis

Justice William O. Douglas's speech to the recent CIO convention was far more than the hypocritical tributes and trite generalities usually bestowed by capitalist politicians on labor audiences. It was a serious attempt by a capable leader of American bourgeois liberalism to provide a rounded and reasoned thesis for the American union leaders. This thesis formulated and justified in theoretical terms their fundamental social philosophy and perspective. That is why CIO President Philip Murray hailed Douglas's words in such extravagant terms and why the CIO leaders plan to publish the speech and circulate it widely.

NATIONAL FIGURES

The official union leaders in America today rest on the potentially most powerful organized force in the world, the 15 million-member trade union movement. They are conscious of themselves as national figures wielding immense influence. They have been pushed by social developments and social forces into the sphere of "labor statesmanship," in which they are called upon to present solutions to the basic economic, social and political questions of this country and the world.

The need of the union bureaucracy to formulate a fundamental perspective, to justify and defend it, is made especially imperative by the direction in which the ranks of the unions have been traveling with ever more persistence. That is toward a break with capitalist politics. Although they had resisted and obstructed this movement with all their means, some of the union bureaucrats themselves were forced before the elections to concede the need for a "new party," even a "labor party."

A DEFENSE

The unexpected outcome of the elections — unexpected particularly to the union leaders — has momentarily relieved them of the pressure for a new and fundamental turn in their political policies. But it has not altered the deep underlying forces that produced this pressure. It will be felt with redoubled strength on the morrow. The union bureaucrats, capitalist-minded beneficiaries of the capitalist system,

are mindful that now, more than ever before, they must defend their policies before the workers. Douglas's speech is, in a large sense, that defense.

"Today labor stands astride a world fraught with fear," said Douglas. "It occupies a strategic position in the affairs of nations. By reason of its new strength, it is woos as it has never been before."

And by virtue of this new strategic position and strength, Douglas concludes, American labor—and by that he means the leaders — "can no longer take refuge in the slogans of by-gone days. It cannot indulge the luxury of complete preoccupation with traditional trade-union activities."

In short, Douglas presents us with the thesis that American capitalism has solved the problems of human welfare, that it has resolved the class struggle which has torn all other capitalist countries, that it has hit upon a "democratic middle course"—capitalist to be sure—which if spread by American diplomacy, dollars and arms will initiate the "human welfare state" over the entire globe.

Let us look more closely at our model "human welfare state" here at home where we have no class struggle and where everything is distributed in an equitable manner. If there is no class struggle, what have been these truly titanic strike struggles that have swept this country since the end of the war? Why have even the traditionally most conservative workers — railroadmen, printers, AFL longshoremen — been involved in bitter conflicts with the employers and the government? What is this "human welfare state" that still has a Taft-Hartley Law on the books, that permits the lynching of Negroes, that can't find adequate housing for tens of millions, that swings ominously between inflation and depression that conducts Hitler-like "loyalty" purges and witch-hunts against political dissenters?

This is a country where, in fact, the division between rich and poor has reached extremes never before known — a tiny and ever-narrowing class of multimillionaires and billionaires on top and a vast mass of wage-earners, proletarians — the propertyless — on the bottom. Every day sees a greater and greater concentration of wealth and

woven the European fabric with a strange twist that has been omitted from our own." Its development from feudal times has been based on the concept of "class society." . . . This was the historical condition which Marx—and those socialist writers and thinkers who both preceded and followed him — observed. This then formed the base for their economic thought."

But "the idea of class is foreign to us in this country. We are unable to function on a class basis for the simple reason that it is not part of our tradition. . . . Man is born here not to class, but to opportunity."

DOUGLAS THESIS

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The share of all employees in the national income fell from 67.6% in 1945 to 61.2% in 1948 — and this in spite of the greatest strike struggles in American labor history. Imagine how low it would have fallen had this class struggle never taken place!

Corporate profits, however, rose in the same four years from 4.8% to 9.1% of the national income. Non-incorporated business profits rose from 9.2% to 11.5%. Farming incomes rose from 6.8% to 8.5%.

WAR BUDGETS

But the depression, relieved only by the forced march of war economy, was a hurdle which Douglas could not evade. He leaped, but stumbled flat on his face. "Violent swings in the business cycle" under capitalism, he maintained, "are not as certain as death or taxes." And he added, "It is indeed ironical and shocking to conclude that it is only through war that we can get maximum production and full employment."

But that is precisely the case. The "human welfare state" has thus far escaped a terrible post-war depression solely on the basis of swollen government expenditures for armaments. Without the tens of billions being spent annually for both American militarism and "aid" to military dictatorships abroad, American capitalism would right now be in the

Seeks Aid for Chinese Dictator

economic power in the hands of an owning few, who control the basic industries, banks, railroads, utilities, oil and mineral resources, etc.

THE DEPRESSION

Even Douglas admits that before the war "the effects of the depression in the '30s was so severe that the real earnings at that time dropped practically to the level of forty years earlier. One-fifth of our national labor force was idle. The debt in our national income was so great that it completely wiped out the gain in wage rates that had been painfully obtained since the early 1930s."

Douglas does not say what has happened since the end of the war, but Murray—who is so eager to spread Douglas's thesis — stated it in cold figures in his official report to the CIO convention. You will find it on page 5 of his printed report to the CIO under the heading: "Percentage Distribution of Our National Income—1945-1948."

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No, the Murrays and Reuthers

will never sell Wall Street's "human welfare state" to the European workers. And they will not convince the American workers either that we are already enjoying the blessings of such a state here under the domination of monopoly capitalism.

What in reality is the "human welfare state" we are actually bringing to Europe. Paul Hoffman, Marshall Plan administrator, told the NAM convention last week that the average per capita income in 1947 in Europe "was only \$347," but "if after four years the European average can be raised to \$500, that will be the kind of recovery we are thinking about." The "human welfare state" — maybe in four years — on an average income of less than \$10 a week!

THE MIRROR

And Europe is the mirror of America's future. In it we can see the whole life-span of the capitalist system, which was born and flourished there. There too, bourgeois liberals like Douglas once abounded and spread the thesis of the "classless human welfare state" that would arise on the foundations of the profit system. There too, the reformist labor leaders and the Social-Democrats envisaged the amelioration of the class struggle, its modification and disappearance as capitalism provided an ever-growing abundance for all. But they proved wrong. And American capitalism will follow the European road, if the system is permitted to survive.

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Rather, the division between wealth and poverty will grow here. The Truman Administration and bi-partisan Congress will heap new burdens on the masses through an unbridled program of militarism and war preparations. "Classless" America will experience new and greater class struggles between the workers and the capitalists over the distribution of the national income. And there will be a vast extension of this class struggle into the political arena. In this sense above all we will embrace the "traditions" of Europe — the traditions of Marx and Marxian socialism — of class parties.

SOCIAL FORCES

Against the great stream of social forces unleashed by the contradictions and crisis of American capitalism, the thesis of Douglas and the union leaders who seek to float themselves upon it will be swept under. The "human welfare state" will be — can be no other — than a Workers State under the genuinely classless system of socialism.

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Rather, the division between wealth and poverty will grow here. The Truman Administration and bi-partisan Congress will heap new burdens on the masses through an unbridled program of militarism and war preparations. "Classless" America will experience new and greater class struggles between the workers and the capitalists over the distribution of the national income. And there will be a vast extension of this class struggle into the political arena. In this sense above all we will embrace the "traditions" of Europe — the traditions of Marx and Marxian socialism — of class parties.

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Monday, December 13, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

Capitalist monopolies, having corrupted the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, Interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Mar. 1940

A Blow Against the Witch Hunt

One of the strongest resolutions in defense of civil rights ever enacted by a union body was unanimously adopted by the recent CIO national convention. This resolution, a progressive highpoint in the convention, calls in forthright terms for legislation abolishing racial discrimination and segregation in industry and the armed forces, and special laws to safeguard civil rights of minorities. It demands laws to protect long-resident aliens from persecution and deportation. And it takes an unambiguous stand against the current government witch-hunt and purge of political minorities.

Assailing "the growing hysteria which has blinded many to our American traditions of democracy," the convention resolution concludes by demanding "the enactment of guarantees to protect the freedom of thought and the freedom of political views of government workers and the revocation of Executive Order 9835."

Thus, the CIO is on record for the abolishment of the most dangerous expression of the witch-hunt, the Nazi-like victimization of government employees, and workers on government contracts in private industry, for holding views which Attorney General Clark has arbitrarily labeled "subversive" and "disloyal."

In its first session following the convention, the newly-elected CIO National Executive Board adopted two implementing resolutions. One calls for the immediate abolition of the Thomas-Rankin committee and adoption of "specific rules" for the procedure

of Congressional committees to prevent misuse of Congressional powers and the "maligning and abusing" of individuals for "selfish and political ends." The other calls for "speedy revision" of Truman's "loyalty" program as a "stand-by" measure to protect millions of workers until the entire program is discarded.

The CIO Board stated that the "loyalty" purge and charges are based on "rumor, gossip, malice and ignorance"; that they uphold "theories of guilt by association wholly alien to our American principles"; and that accused persons are denied "the elementary requirements of due process and the most rudimentary protections afforded by our Constitution, even to persons accused of the most trivial crimes." It therefore demands that accused persons be given "precise particulars" of charges and as CIO President Murray stated, a "fair trial, open hearing and the right to hire counsel."

In commanding this stand by the CIO, we call the attention of all CIO affiliates to the two outstanding cases of victimization in the "loyalty" purge. We refer to James Kutter, legless Newark veteran fired from the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, and to Herb Lewin and Frank Carner, CIO members fired from government work in the Westinghouse plant near Philadelphia. There is no better way to carry out the spirit of the CIO resolution than to pass resolutions and give material aid for the defense of Kutter, Lewin and Carner.

Referendum on War Question

Costa Rica having signed the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, this military pact drawn up 15 months ago at the Brazil Conference under General Marshall's guidance became binding upon all Latin America and the United States Dec. 3.

If the United States now engages in war against the Soviet Union, or any other country, every Latin American country is obligated to take the following measures outlined in the Chapultepec Act: "Recall of chiefs of diplomatic missions; breaking of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; breaking of postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic relations; interruption of economic, commercial and financial relations."

Ratification of the pact thus places the official stamp upon Washington's efforts to commit all Latin America in advance to give up neutrality in the projected World War III.

In addition to armed attack, the pact becomes operative if "any American state should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an intra-continental or extra-continental conflict, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America." Any squabble anywhere in the world could be interpreted as "aggression" under this sweeping clause.

In interpreting the pact at Rio de Janeiro, Marshall declared that "no state shall be required to furnish armed forces without its consent." This is obviously nothing but a

French and German

When the French coal miners went on strike for higher pay and a sliding scale of wages, the entire capitalist press set up a clamor that it was all "Communist-inspired," the work of "agitators," and a "plot" to disrupt the Marshall Plan.

With this hue and cry they tried to divert attention from the genuine, real grievances which had forced the French miners out on the picket line and drown out the crackling fire ordered by the Queuille regime against the hungry strikers.

The Stalinists, who dominate the French unions, for their part did the striking miners no good. They sought to utilize the workers' grievances for their own sordid ends.

Now the shoe is on the other foot. In the Soviet-occupied sector of Berlin the workers in the biggest electric power company staged a strike to secure removal of policemen from the installation and the freedom of six workers arrested last week by the Stalinist authorities. Some hundreds of these workers, not securing their demands, have left the plant and gone over to the British zone to seek new jobs.

The Stalinist press at once set up a hue and cry about an imperialist "plot." The Dec. 8 *Daily Worker*, for instance, calls the

Book Review

The Young Marxist is a new magazine published by the International Socialist Youth, Youth Section of the Socialist Workers Party in New York. Its purpose is to bring the message of revolutionary socialism to students and young workers. It is the only magazine of, by and for youth which does this in the United States today.

The Fall issue, now on sale, should be of interest to students and young workers who read *The Militant* because it is devoted to giving the Marxist answer to capitalist militarism, a problem of special burning interest to youth. It contains an editorial on the peace-time draft, a feature article which traces the economic and political causes of militarism and shows how to fight it, a

short story by a member of the I. S. Y., Leon Trotsky's "An Address to Young Communists and Socialists Who Think," and a number of other important articles.

Copies of the first issue, which appeared in July, are still available. This number features an article by N. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, entitled "How Lenin Studied Marx," which is "must" reading for students of Marxism.

Copies of the magazine can be ordered from The Young Marxist, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York. The price for the Fall issue is 15¢ for a single copy or 10¢ per copy in bundles of five or more. The July-August issue sells for 25¢, a copy or 15¢ per copy in bundles of five or more.

CIO RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The following is the final section of the resolution on "Civil Rights and Protection of Democracy" adopted by the CIO convention at Portland, Oregon.

WE DEMAND:

1. The passage of federal and local fair employment practice acts.
2. The abolition of segregation in the armed forces.
3. The enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill.
4. The passage of federal and state legislation outlawing poll taxes and other restrictions on the right to vote.
5. The passage of measures to ban segregation in inter-state travel.
6. The enactment of safeguards against racial discrimination in federal appropriations for state aid.
7. The enactment of civil rights laws in all states which now do not have such laws eliminating segregation.
8. The abolition of the Thomas-Rankin Committee.
9. The enactment of laws protecting aliens long resident in the United States and regularizing their status.
10. The establishment of guarantees to protect the freedom of thought and the freedom of political views of government workers and the revocation of Executive Order 9835.

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THE SWP Building Fund
Campaign Manager announces that additional funds have been received since last week's announcement closing up the campaign. Local New York sent in \$200, bringing it up to 100% on its quota of \$7,500. St. Louis sent in an additional \$2 bringing its total to \$71 or 142% of its quota.

NAM's Political Theories Peddled By Labor and Liberal Spokesmen

By George Breitman

Philip Murray, Henry Wallace, Walter White, John L. Lewis, William Green, A. Philip Randolph, Norman Thomas and Leon Henderson have a lot of differences not only among themselves but with such spokesmen of Big Business as Ira Mosher, chairman of the influential finance committee of the NAM. Nevertheless, on certain questions affecting the whole future of the American workers, they all accept ideas advanced by Mosher and help to spread them far and wide. One of the most basic of these questions concerns the nature of the government and its function in society.

NAM CONVENTION

At the recent NAM convention in New York, Mosher put forward the conception of this question that Big Business wants the people to hold. The function of the Department of Commerce, he said, is to protect the interests of businessmen just as it is the function of the Departments of Agriculture and Labor to protect the interests of farmers and workers. (To strengthen the impression that capitalists hold this view themselves, Mosher even indulged in a little criticism of the Department of Commerce for not doing its duty as well as the other departments mentioned.)

The theory of government which Mosher was here trying to advance is all too familiar to most Americans. It is the theory of the government as an impartial body, devoted to the "gen-

eral" welfare, mediating between contending economic and social forces and moderating their clashes in the interests of the "public." The advocates of this theory do not pretend that the government always acts in accord with this ideal, but they insist that it can, and should.

We don't know if Mosher personally, or any other individual capitalist, really believes in this theory. What we can say with assurance is that the ruling circles of the capitalist class certainly don't believe it. They know better. Whatever they peddle for public consumption, they proceed on the basis of the knowledge that the government is the executive committee of the ruling class.

CAPITALIST GOVT.

They know that the government always and everywhere seeks to promote the interests of the ruling class as a whole, even when for tactical political reasons it becomes expedient to don the guise of liberalism and even "anti-capitalist" reformism, a la Roosevelt. They know that the Department of Agriculture helps the farm corporations, and not the working farmers. They know that the Department of Labor gives nothing to the workers that they are not able to take by their own organized strength. They know that they have nothing whatever to worry about from the administration as a whole, no matter how much anti-capitalist demagogic the executive head is compelled to spout in order to get elected.

While the capitalist rulers don't believe in this fiction about the

"impartiality" of the government any more than the Marxists do, they do want the workers to believe it. They want it because the belief produces false political ideas among the workers and strengthens not only the two-party system but the structure of class collaboration without which the capitalists could not keep their power for long. Alone and by themselves, the capitalists could not maintain this deception of the workers. Unfortunately, they get powerful assistance in its dissemination from those very people to whom the workers look for leadership.

THE LIE

Take the whole lot of them—the leaders of the CIO, AFL, UMW, Progressive Party, Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party, Liberal Party, ADA, NAACP, AVC, etc. Don't they all echo the lie that the government is the representative of all classes? Aren't they all responsible, therefore, for the pernicious effects of this lie, including the practice of class collaboration which always weakens the position of the masses and strengthens the position of the oppressors?

To be sure, they all at one time or another engage in criticism of the administration or Congress or even the Supreme Court. But that, they invariably point out, is because the administration or Congress or the Court don't measure up to the ideal of their theory about the "true" role of the government. Theirs is at most a criticism of personnel or detail, but never about the fundamental class character of the government as an agent of the ruling class, which they strive to conceal just as zealously as the capitalists.

If Ira Mosher came out for higher prices and lower wages and the leaders of the labor and liberal coalition endorsed this view, it would serve as a shocking revelation to the workers and would start them on the search for new leaders. But as the workers have had the occasion to learn during recent years, political

problems are as important as economic problems and as a matter of fact cannot really be separated from them. Why should workers who wouldn't tolerate leaders openly subservient to the economic policies of Big Business continue to tolerate leaders who are openly subservient to the political illusions and policies fostered by Big Business?

Against Jim Crow



Students and faculty of Lafayette College (Easton, Pa.) are against Jim Crow. An invitation to their football team to play Texas College of Mines in the Sun Bowl at El Paso on New Year's Day was turned down because Lafayette's Negro halfback, Dave Showell (above, right), was barred from playing. Following rejection of the bid by athletic director William H. Anderson (above, left), students staged a campus demonstration against discrimination (below) and wired Truman: "Denied Sun Bowl bid because Negro on team. Is that democracy?" Federated Pictures.

WORKERS FORUM

Recommends Debs' Book

Editor:

I was very happy to see in your last issue Pioneer Publishers' advertisement of Eugene V. Debs' collected speeches and writings at a reduced price of \$2.25.

After reading this remarkable book at the time of its publication I regretted that its circulation would be limited by a four dollar price tag. Now that it has been made available at a more reasonable price, I sincerely hope that it will reach the hands of every fighter for socialism.

I found many things in this book. It gave me a vivid picture and a better understanding of a truly great American revolutionist and the times in which he lived.

But I think above all, I found in it an unexampled demonstration of how the ideas of socialism can be expressed in simple, understandable, yet wonderfully inspiring language.

Few of us can become great orators. All of us can learn to convey the message of socialism more effectively. This book is a tremendous aid in doing so.

H. R.
New York City

went in great numbers to drink the votes to Truman and the Democratic Party.

One of the most significant aspects of the election was that when the Negro workers moved they not only moved together but with the rest of the working class. In the coming period when Truman and his party expose themselves as being unable to satisfy the people's needs for peace, equality and abundance the Negro people together with their white brothers will come to the program of socialism.

O. J.
Philadelphia

San Francisco Relief Bazaar

Toys, beautiful electric clocks, and other unusual gift ideas will be on sale at less than wholesale prices at the Friends Center, San Francisco, on Dec. 19 from 10 A. M. to 10 P. M.

This bazaar is sponsored by the American Committee for European Workers Relief in order to raise money to ship food and clothing to European families in desperate need.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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CLEVELAND — Militant Forum, Sun. 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1440 E. 82nd St. (off Park Ave.).

DETROIT — 616 Woodward Ave. Phone 7-4202. Mon. through Sat. 12-5 p. m.

MINNEAPOLIS — 1121 E. 22nd St. Phone 7-39-9-30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE — SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St. Sun. through Thurs. 8 a. m.-5 p. m. Phone BROADway 2-9-945.

MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun. 10 a. m.-6 p. m. Library, bookstore.

The Medical Monopoly

By Joseph Keller

Capitalism "has left no other bond between man and man than naked self interest, than callous 'cash payment,'" wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in their Communist Manifesto of 1848. "It has resolved personal worth into exchange value... stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe... the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science..."

The American Medical Association today gives striking confirmation of this profound observation about the universally-corrupting influence of capitalism. It is the powerful medical monopoly, controlled by a bureaucracy of high-paid officials and supported in part by the drug corporations, which is devoted to maintaining the high cost of medical aid.

Last week the AMA Board of Trustees, after a secret meeting of its House of Delegates in St. Louis, announced it is raising a \$3,500,000 fund to campaign against the proposed federal health insurance bill. This fund is to be raised by exacting a \$25 assessment from each of the 140,000 physician-members of the AMA.

The high moguls of the AMA, who represent the well-to-do physicians and "society doctors" mainly, claim that any government measure to provide low-cost medical care to millions of American workers is nothing less than "a variety of socialized medicine." These staunch medical royalists want to solve the "economic problem of the distribution of medical care within the existing framework of private enterprise."

Unfortunately, as every public health survey and the tragic figures of the medical rejections by Selective Service reveal, "private enterprise" has failed miserably in providing even minimum medical care for tens of millions. Even the higher-paid workers cannot carry the burden of the exorbitant fees demanded by doctors, specialists

and hospitals. The wreckage of "private enterprise" in medicine is crowding to bursting the inadequate public hospitals now available.

Of course, the AMA officials' talk about the "American way" and the "catastrophe" of "any scheme of political medicine" is pure cant to hide naked self interest. They fear that if the government provides a system for better medical care at less cost to the workers, it will cut into the big fees of the medical monopoly. And it will help to break the grip of the AMA over the medical profession.

Fronting for the AMA in Washington is the high-sounding National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service (NPC). This is a lobby composed of former officials of the AMA which has spent millions to fight public health insurance over the last nine years. The AMA, as tax-exempt organization, cannot engage in direct lobbying. A large part of NPC funds comes from the big drug firms, who fear the unfavorable effect of national health insurance on their \$750 million annual sale of patent medicines.

Not every physician is concerned solely with "callous 'cash payment'." Many doctors are, or would like to be, selfless and hard-working, devoted to alleviating suffering and raising the health standards of the people. But they too suffer from the general insecurity of the capitalist system and their ideals are swamped under the cynical philosophy of "hard-cash" that pervades capitalist society.

It is precisely under socialism, where the profit motive and "dog-eat-dog" philosophy will be eliminated, that the physicians and men of science will be able to serve society selflessly, with genuine dignity and honor, free of economic pressure and insecurity.

Southern Drive

By Albert Parker

The CIO convention in Portland took so many reactionary steps that some people have begun to ask themselves if there is any longer any important distinction to be drawn between it and the AFL. Such a question would never have occurred to anyone in the early days of the CIO, when it contrasted favorably and progressively with the mass-back AFL in every field — in organizing drives among the mass production workers, in economic struggles and in social outlook. But with the sharpened trend toward conservatism, bureaucratization and red-baiting which were manifested at the Portland convention, doubts about the over-all progressive character of the CIO as against the AFL are bound to appear and spread.

In our opinion, there still remain many important differences demonstrating the superiority of the CIO. We can illustrate one of these differences by an incident at the Labor Department's 15th annual conference on labor legislation, which is attended by CIO, AFL and independent union representatives as well as federal and state labor department officials.

A proposal was made at this conference to endorse Truman's civil rights program. Most of the 143 delegates declined to vote on the question, and it was defeated by a vote of 23 to 21. More significant than the vote, however, was the way the CIO and AFL people divided over the question, with most of the CIO representatives voting for the resolution and most of the AFL representatives joining the Jim Crow Southern state officials in defeating it.

Why did this happen? Not because the CIO leaders are personally wiser or more moral people than their AFL counterparts. It happened because the AFL's main base is still the conservative craft unions, in which the Negro plays little part, while the CIO's main base is mass production industry, which could not remain unionized without the support of Negroes. Despite what goes on in Philip Murray's mind and despite the resolutions he can push through at CIO conventions, the very composition of the CIO still compels it to play a different and more progressive role in American society.

Both the AFL and CIO launched big organizing drives in the South after the war. In most cases the AFL has adapted itself completely to the Southern Jim Crow system and has not hesitated to use anti-Negro prejudices in order to win contracts. The CIO's record in the South is much better, but still not 100% clean. It too on occasion has soft-pedaled on the Negro issue or tried to evade it, which is one reason for the lack of progress made in Operation Dixie.

Because the roots of the national Jim Crow system are in the South, the unionization of the South, and particularly of the Negro masses in the South, is of paramount concern to militant Negroes everywhere in the country. Despite the growing conservatism of its leadership, the CIO remains the best instrument for achieving this task. The job of the Negro people then is to make their weight felt in the CIO, both from inside and outside, so that it will really come to grips with this problem. When it does, radical changes will take place both in the status of the Negro and in the position of the labor movement.

Not Worth A Red Cent

There is much speculation about precisely what Truman will recommend to Congress on most important issues of the day. But on one matter he has spoken plainly. He proposes to boost the salaries of cabinet members from \$15,000 to \$25,000 a year.

It is argued that such an increase is necessary to get "qualified" men, because private corporations offer so much higher salaries. Quite a propaganda campaign is under way to show how small even a \$25,000 salary is compared with what executives in private industry get.

One commentator, Andrew Tully of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, says that the cabinet members are the "biggest businessmen" in the country. Secretary of Defense Forrestal, for instance, runs an organization worth over \$100 billion, spends nearly \$12 billion annually and has a million and a half employees under him. "Compare," says Tully, "the \$15,000 salaries of those cabinet heads — and the size of their businesses — with those paid to the heads of private industry."

American Telephone & Telegraph Co., with 27,000 employees and \$150 million annual expenditures, pays its president \$209,000. The Chase National Bank, Douglas Aircraft, Montgomery Ward, Eversharp Inc., Radio Corp. of America, Bethlehem Steel, and American Tobacco — to name just

the few cited by Tully — all pay their presidents in the six figures. The conclusion you are supposed to draw is that certainly \$25,000 is a mighty small sum to pay cabinet members.

The conclusion we draw from this comparison is not that cabinet members are under-paid, but that the executives of private corporations are being paid a damn sight more than they're worth. In fact, we don't think they're worth a cent and to the benefit of the American people if it were taken over by the workers and operated under their control by committees elected from the assembly lines, and technicians and qualified experts hired by the workers.

Now are we particularly worried that cabinet members will starve on a mere \$15,000 a year. Most of them, like Forrestal, a former Wall Street banker, have a little nest egg to fall back on. Besides we don't think they're worth a red cent either, because they too serve just the capitalist class.

Under a Workers and Farmers Government we'll have plenty of competent men and women who'll gladly and efficiently function in public office for no more than what a highly-skilled worker generally receives. There won't be any \$200,000 business executives to incite the envy of cabinet members. But there won't be any wage slaves either.

Notes from the News

WORLD REVOLUTION — Lichty in "Grin and Bear It" shows a teacher called before the school principal for teaching "Un-American thoughts." The teacher asks: "Who says I'm teaching world revolution? I merely pointed out that the world keeps revolving."

IN A BAD WAY — The latest issue of The Socialist Call, newspaper of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party, may be its last. The editors explain their situation is "desperate" and unless \$10,000 is raised by Christmas, the paper may have to discontinue publication.

DIVORCE MILL — New York City newspapers are full of the investigation which District Attorney Hogan has launched concerning charges of perjury and collusion used in obtaining divorces in New York. The situation arises out of the New York State law which permits divorce only on grounds of adultery. Thus many couples who wish to separate face an adultery charge to comply with the law. All attempts to liberalize the exist-

ing divorce law have been resisted by the strong Catholic Church influence in the state.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9835 — Between 70 and 90 Negro, Catholic and Jewish government workers face discharge for "disloyalty" because they fought against discrimination. In 11 cities the FBI and Government loyalty boards, operating under Truman's Executive Order 9835, are pressing charges against Federal employees, mostly postal workers.

STALINIST CHIVALRY — Alex P. Pavlov, U.N. Soviet delegate, told the U.N. Legal Committee that Russia would not permit Russian women to leave the country with foreigners that they had married because they would become kitchen slaves abroad and might even, like one unfortunate victim, have to pawn their jewelry.

CARELESS — While attending the opening night at the Metropolitan Opera House, Mrs. Estelle August dropped her \$23,000 ring in the ice bucket where the champagne was cooling. Bartenders found it while cleaning up and returned the ring with its 102 diamonds intact.

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Judge in Tojo Trial Accuses Allies of Equal Guilt in War

Housing Shortage



When Mrs. Mary Canning (standing, right), a member of the AFL Hotel & Club Employees Union, and her seven children were evicted from their New York apartment, they were taken in by a hospitable neighbor. But the neighbor had seven children too and the landlord objected to 14 children in one apartment, threatening to evict both families. Mrs. Canning took her children to the dismal Municipal Lodging House while the union presses their case with the City Housing Authority.

The International Military Tribunal set up by the victorious Allied powers has condemned Premier Hideki Tojo and 24 of his associates as war criminals. Some of them are now appealing their cases to the United States Supreme Court, which appears to be a higher judicial body than the Allied Military Tribunal, and consequently their sentences have been stayed.

There can be no doubt of the guilt of these representatives of Japanese imperialism. They resorted to imperialist war as an instrument of national policy. They are fully responsible for the horrors of the conflict in the Far East and in particular for the suffering of the Japanese people.

But what about the representatives of the Allied powers? Are they innocent?

In the opinion of one of the judges on the Tribunal that condemned Tojo, the Allied powers are equally guilty. Justice Radha Binod Pal of India filed a dissenting opinion in which he challenged virtually all the conclusions of the other ten judges.

VICTOR'S JUDGMENT

In the opinion of Pal, as reported by the N. Y. Herald Tribune, "any trial such as that just conducted by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East is merely the judgment of victor upon vanquished and therefore must lie outside the realm of justice."

Japan's war leaders "were merely working the normal machinery of Japanese government to obtain the objectives of empire, and the nations represented in the tribunal, including their own leaders, are equally guilty of any offenses alleged against the Japanese."

TROTSKY'S VERDICT

In 1940, Leon Trotsky in assessing the guilt of the imperialist rulers for plunging humanity into World War II declared: "Before the judgment bar of the proletariat all the present rulers will answer. Hitler will do no more than occupy first place among the criminals in the dock."

The Allied rulers seek to escape condemnation by loading all the guilt on their vanquished opponents. But it is not likely they will escape so easily. The voice of the Indian jurist, striking an unexpected jarring note in the hand-picked International Military Tribunal itself, is but a faint indication of what the great majority of mankind feel toward the imperialist war-makers. The complete fulfillment of Trotsky's prediction may be much closer than the war criminals in the Allied camp expect.

POISON GAS CONTINUES TO THREATEN DONORA

DONORA, Pa., Dec. 1 — A report on the cause of the fatal suffocating smog that killed 20 workers here on the weekend of Oct. 30 was issued today by Phillip Sadler, an independent Philadelphia consulting chemist. The impartial report was quickly denounced by Charles Stacey, stooge for U.S. Steel Corp., which owns the Donora Zinc Works. Stacey holds the post of President of the Donora Board of Health.

Mr. Sadler's report states that "Chronic fluorine poisoning has been killing people in Donora for a long time... It has left its characteristic trademark on the valley's animals, crops and vegetation. They have been noticeably weakened for some time."

Mr. Sadler further claimed that hundreds who have died of "asthma" and "heart trouble" were actually incorrectly diagnosed cases of fluorine poisoning.

Every effort is being made here to cover up for the killers of these Donora workers. The company, naturally, disclaims all responsibility.

DECLINES CHALLENGE

Dr. Joseph Shilen, State Director of the Industrial Hygiene Bureau, was quick to denounce the impartial findings of Mr. Sadler. Shilen's claim is, that because the investigation of Sadler was not "authorized" it must be discarded. Sadler in turn has challenged the State Health Secretary, Dr. Norris Vaux, to reveal the methods and techniques used by the state in its report which absolved the zinc company from responsibility. Dr. Vaux declined the challenge.

The Vote for Trotskyism

(Continued from Page 1) Carlson and in Michigan where they exceeded the presidential ticket by a few hundred votes. In view of the closeness of the election, even those who were prepared to vote their beliefs for a lesser office, were reluctant to vote for a minority candidate in the decisive contest.

In view of all these factors, it is correct to interpret the bulk of the Dobbs-Carlson vote as a vote for revolutionary socialism, for Trotskyism. This was the basis on which the campaign was conducted from beginning to end, the main theme of all the campaign literature published by the party, all the radio and tour speeches of the candidates, and the nature of most of the writings in the capitalist press.

We pulled no punches in our propaganda and eschewed the comforts and rewards of respectability so eagerly coveted by Norman Thomas. We made no attempt to conceal the conviction and imprisonment of our banner-bearers for opposition to the war but on the contrary proudly acknowledged and advertised this fact. We openly fought the listing of our party as "subversive," our Presidential candidate leading the fight, denying the charge of violence and conspiracy but frankly affirming the revolutionary socialist character of the party. Under these conditions, it would be difficult for the majority of Dobbs-Carlson voters to misunderstand the meaning of their votes.

Those who answered our first nation-wide call at the polls are no Wallacite "Gideon's band" to be disintegrated in the first

skirmish with the enemy. They are the first division of the socialist army whose numbers will grow and whose victory is assured because they march in step with history with the banner of truth at the head of the column.

We salute you — voters for Dobbs and Carlson! You are the soldiers of socialism and freedom. The future belongs to you!

Swedish Stalinist Opposition Ousted From Key Posts

Unrest in the Swedish Stalinist party has led to a reshuffle of the leadership, according to a Nov. 28 dispatch from Stockholm to the N. Y. Times.

The oppositional group, which blamed the party's recent setbacks in the elections on the Kremlin's foreign policy, has been ousted from the most important posts.

The exact differences between the factions was not reported.

Children's Xmas Party

SUNDAY, DEC. 19 — 4 P.M.
A Gift for Every Child
Please write or phone to say
you are coming
Auspices: Socialist Workers
Party, N. Y. local
GR 5-8149—116 University Pl.
Admission 50c

The U.S. Health Service has moved into Donora, one month after the deaths, to conduct an investigation "which will take many months." The Federal government too is ready to whitewash the case.

The condition could be easily eliminated if the company were not so greedy for profits and so indifferent to the welfare of its workers. Dr. Sadler points out that the poisonous fumes could be removed by the following steps:

"1 Complete the study to show what industrial plant materials and processes have contaminated the air with hydrofluoric acid.

"2 Change the chemical and engineering processes in the valley to prevent the emission of fluorine-containing materials.

"3 Make improvements in combustion to eliminate smoke.

"4 Use Cottrell electric precipitators to remove dust from the exhaust of stacks.

"5 Use scrubbers to absorb acid gases and prevent their release into the air.

The company, however, has made no move to eliminate the hazard. It is clear that until the workers of the Donora Zinc Co. act in a decisive manner to compel the company to install these improvements, the plant will continue to operate in the same fashion and continue to kill workers and their families. Meanwhile the forces of the town, state and national governments are united behind the company and helping, to whitewash the company officials of their criminal responsibility for the Donora deaths.