

## DOUGLAS SPEECH TO THE CIO

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# 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 the sensational charge made 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 instigating 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 attack 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."

According to the publicity hand-out, "Our companies were as surprised as anyone else over the turn of events."

Even if Gulf, Shell and Standard Oil did not directly organize the coup, it is not likely that the central conspirators in the army clique would have carried and their brazen plot without first getting the green light from the dominant power in Venezuela, the American oil companies.

### 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 wine 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-reactionary 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 Aguerrevere, the

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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 monarcho-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 guerilla 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.

## '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 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-named 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.

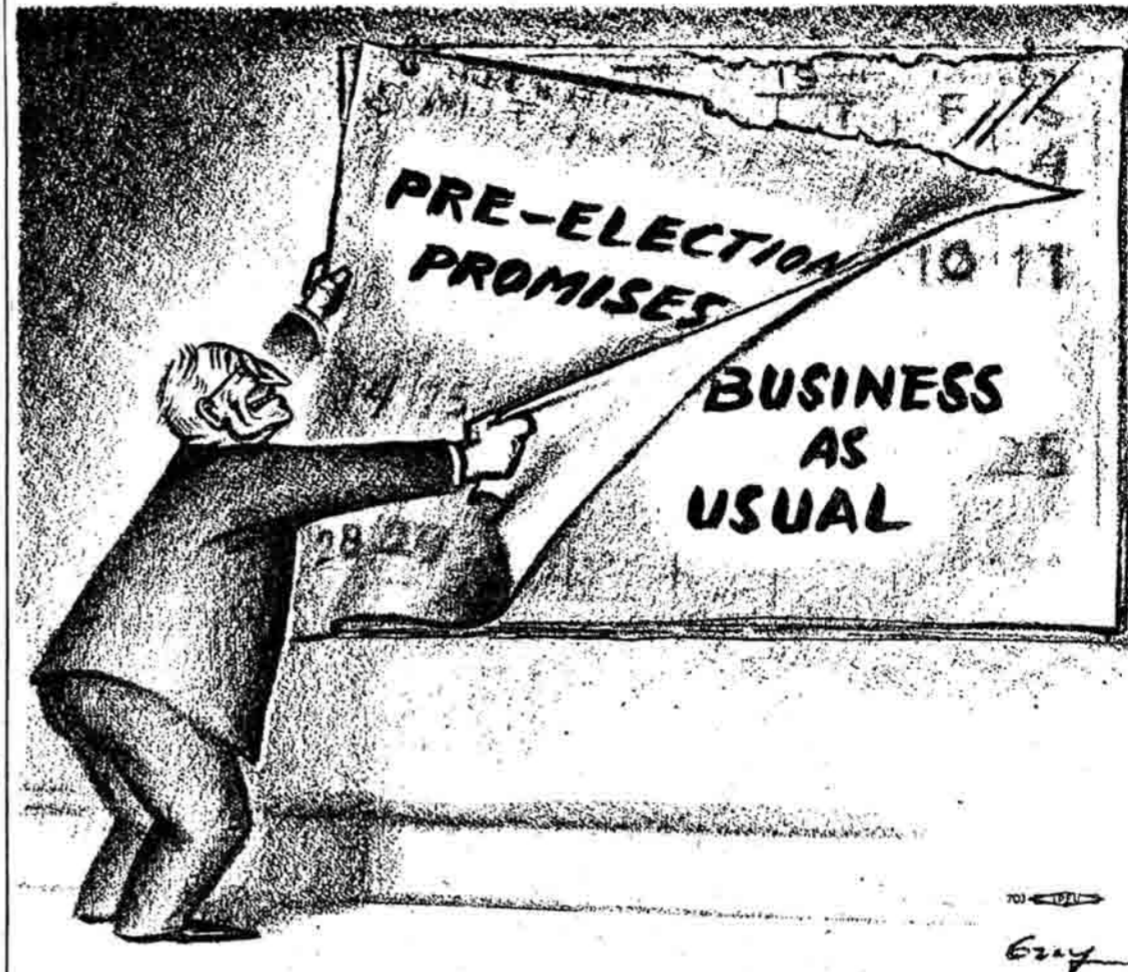
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The character of the Dobbs-Carlson vote is illustrated by another comparison. In every instance, the local SWP candidates received a larger vote than the national ticket as in New Jersey and Minnesota where the U. S. Senatorial candidates ran a few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

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JOHN L. LEWIS

### Post Election Calendar



## 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.

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 in-

tention 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.

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, Sicilian and the Italian campaigns.

When I was at San Pietro, Italy, in November 1943, the German mortar crew on the other side of the lines never asked me about my politics or the party to which I belonged—they fired at me and filled my legs full of steel shrapnel.

The Army surgeons never asked me about my political beliefs when they amputated my legs and the Army did not ask me about those things when it awarded me the Purple Heart.

But now I have been fired from my job as a clerk in the Newark Regional Office of the Veterans Administration solely because of my politics and the party to which I belong.

### POLITICAL PERSECUTION

I call this political persecution and I am asking the American people to help me to defend my right to hold a job in the government and also to belong to and vote for any party I choose. I hope you will agree with me.

When I first discovered I was to be fired, I did not know what to do. I knew that if I resigned, I would never be able to work for the government again. And after giving up five years of my life and my legs in the Army, I felt I was as much entitled to a government job as anyone else.

On the other hand, I did not relish the idea of making a

fight; I personally hated getting my name and picture in the papers and having people denounce me, and so on.

However, I decided a fight was necessary. I saw that the government purge of federal employees was extending to a large number of individuals whose ideas on social and political questions happen to differ from those in power in Washington. I felt that the fight I could put up might be of some assistance to them. If a man can be fired solely because of his ideas, then we are living under a totalitarian form of government and not a democratic one.

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 defend

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### Support for Kutcher Continues to Roll In

James Kutcher's fight for civil rights continues to attract support from all parts of the country and from most branches of the labor and liberal movements. The newest additions include:

Electromotive Diesel Workers Local 719, United Auto Workers Brookfield, Ill.

The Commission on Social Justice, New Jersey Conference, Methodist Church.

Machinists Union Local 1364, United Steel Workers, CIO, Oakland, Calif.

The Cleveland and Hollywood chapters of the AVC.

Local 1111, UE-CIO, Milwaukee.

The Cleveland Americans for Democratic Action.

Local 87, ILGWU, AFL, Los Angeles.

## '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 hallyhoo. 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 "unreasonably" high prices.

The Big Business press has expressed both surprise and pleasure—but more pleasure than surprise—at Truman's demonstration 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-Big 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

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## The Vote for Trotskyism

By George Clarke

Official returns from nine states give a total of 12,771 votes for Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and Grace Carlson, Vice-Presidential candidate in the 1948 election. Returns from two states, Connecticut and Washington, are still missing. The SWP was on the ballot in 11 states. No votes from other states have yet been received.

The vote according to states was distributed as follows:

New Jersey: 5825; New York: 2675; Pennsylvania: 2133; Michigan: 672; Minnesota: 606; Wisconsin: 303; Iowa: 256; Colorado: 228; Utah: 73.

Votes for other candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the various states were as follows:

New Jersey: George Breitman, candidate for U. S. Senate: 8,076; William E. Bohannon, Congressional candidate, 11 District (Newark): 2,387.

Minnesota: Vincent R. Dunne, candidate for U. S. Senate: 4,951.

California: Myra Tanner 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. Vandeg, candidate for Secretary of State: 1,024; Genora

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.

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

# 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 resented 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 wooed 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."

No, it is the duty of America to show "how a human welfare state creates health . . . show Europe that it need not be the victim of the concept of a class society. . . show how a human welfare state has managed to distribute in an increasingly equitable manner the dividends of modern technology. . . In short, American labor must be 'a missionary of the American way of life' to the whole world."

What is this "human welfare state"? It is already here, according to Douglas, in the United States of America in 1948. It is nothing less than the "classless" state achieved when the "tide of liberalism" from Bryan to Roosevelt finally succeeded in sweeping away "the remaining threats of an industrial serfdom" and "human rights — not property rights alone—became standards of industrial justice."

Unfortunately, stated Douglas, "the European workers don't seem to understand the virtues of this 'human welfare state' which Washington seeks to export through the Marshall Plan. They are downright suspicious and even hostile to it. And therefore it becomes necessary for American labor 'to bridge the gap' that has been growing between the United States and Europe." If American imperialism cannot speak in its own name, "American labor carries good credentials to western Europe. Doors tightly closed to all others may open at its knock."

The reason for this sad state of affairs in Europe, says Douglas, is that "history has

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 no part of our tradition. . . Man is born here not to class, but to opportunity."

## DOUGLAS THESIS

In short, what Douglas presents us with is 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"—capitalism 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

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 30's 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 dent 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 1890's."

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."

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%. Farm-owning 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

throes of severe economic convulsions. 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 abandoned 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.

No, the Murphys 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.

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.

## Seeks Aid for Chinese Dictator



Mme. Chiang Kai-shek (l.) sent by her warlord husband to tap the U. S. Public Treasury for as many billions of dollars as possible to bolster up his crumbling, corrupt dictatorship, is met at the airport by Mrs. George C. Marshall, wife of the Secretary of State. Federated Pictures.

## U. S. OIL FIRMS LINKED TO VENEZUELAN COUP

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conspirator in the office of Minister of Development, told a conference of oil and mining company representatives that their investments are "safe and sound."

Aguerrevere assured the oil barons that the new dictatorship would work out a policy toward the petroleum industry that "everyone will accept and support in the future."

Another plotter, Jose Rafael Pocarrera, has arrived in Washington to discuss recognition of the new regime with the State Department.

## OIL DIPLOMACY

Washington's main concern in Venezuela is over the interests of the oil corporations. The first announcement of the State Department upon the overthrow of the Callegos government was not that democracy had been crushed and a totalitarian regime installed, but that the property of U. S. investors was "safe."

Since the end of the war, the Truman Administration has followed a calculated policy of bolstering the reactionary military cliques throughout Latin America. Washington brass hats have toured the countries south of the border to tighten relations with the militarists and bind them closer to the American military machine. Part of the plan to convert the entire Western Hemisphere into a gigantic armed camp in preparation for the next world war calls for standardization of arms in Latin America and the entrenchment of Washington's military influence in the officer caste of those countries.

## U. S. ARMS

How the Truman Administration has deliberately strengthened the military cliques is graphically revealed in a survey prepared by the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain. Since April 1947, Venezuela "has bought \$677,758 worth of bullets, bombs, tanks, airplanes, gas masks and bayonets for \$46,746."

In Peru, where the military

# World Events

By Joseph Hansen

## Eight-Week Strike of French Miners Called Off by Stalinist CGT Leaders

The strike of the French coal miners which started Oct. 3 was called off Nov. 27 by the Stalinist heads of the General Confederation of Labor after the rank and file had spent eight bitter weeks battling government police and troops.

Despite the savage government assault, the miners had a good chance to win their strike for a \$13-a-month wage boost and a sliding scale to protect their standard of living; but the Stalinist union heads led them to defeat.

The Stalinists refused to mobilize the workers of other industries to come to the aid of the miners through a general strike. They insisted on limiting help to the collection of funds and token "whirling" strikes; that is, short stoppages here and there.

When the Queuille regime ordered troops to fire on the strikers, indignation mounted high among the French workers. Even the ranks of the Stalinist Party indicated sentiment in favor of a general strike. But the Stalinist chiefs, fearful of losing control over such a movement and its revolutionary repercussions, did everything possible to stifle this sentiment.

Since the French Trotskyists were among the strongest advocates of a general strike to back the coal miners, the Stalinist chiefs labeled the demand "Trotskyist" and "ultra-left" and at the same time tried to smear it as inspired by the fascist-like De Gaulle movement.

The Stalinist CGT heads organized an energetic campaign to "educate" their own ranks against the demand for a general strike. Benoit Frachon, General Secretary of the CGT, issued a leaflet, distributed by the tens of thousands, ostensibly answering a delegation from the Chenard and Walker metallurgical factory who had demanded that the CGT call a general strike to help the coal miners. This delegation was composed entirely of members of the Stalinist Party.

Frachon said the demand had been raised by "Gaullist agents and Trotskyist elements." And he added: "We note with amazement that certain militants are so thoughtless as to be influenced by the propaganda of the enemy agents. But when one is in a leading position, having the honor of being elected by his comrades to the post of leadership, one must never be so thoughtless."

At the 27th Congress of the CGT the question of the general strike was an important issue since delegations from the mines and other industries favored it. The Stalinists tried to gag those in favor of it and buried the proposal.

The Stalinists argued that a general strike could not be organized because some sections of the working class are more backward than others and would not respond to the call. This argument did not prevent them from advancing the contention in the next breath that a general strike would cause the Queuille regime to fall, there would then be no responsible authorities with whom to carry on negotiations and thus the strike would drag on endlessly!

In explaining why they called off the mine strike, the Stalinist CGT leaders declared, "We must regroup our forces in order to continue the struggle in different ways, to press our claims in a permanent manner so as to succeed."

The coal strike was broken by armed force employed by the Queuille government; but the government terror and violence could not have smashed the mine strike

Since socialism cannot be built in a single country, especially a small, backward, agricultural country like Yugoslavia, revision of the 5-year plan does not mean an end to Tito's difficulties. The building of socialism requires the cooperative efforts of a number of countries, including industrially advanced lands. To try to build a miniature of socialism in isolated Yugoslavia is not only utopian; it is suicidal.

Already Tito finds himself forced to seek economic ties with the western powers. To replace coke supplies cut off from Poland, he had to apply to the Economic Commission of Europe for coke from the Ruhr, Belgium and Italy. This, of course, is only the beginning.

In addition, driven by Yugoslavia's economic needs, Tito will find it increasingly difficult to resist the political pressure of Anglo-American imperialism on the one hand and the Moscow bureaucracy on the other.

Only by breaking clean from Stalin's reactionary theory of building socialism in one country and returning to the Marxist program of building socialism on a world scale can the Yugoslav dissidents save themselves from disaster.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Barely two weeks remain for new or renewal subscriptions to The Militant under 1948 half-rate prices. The old \$2-a-year goes into effect again Jan. 1, but until then \$1 is still good for a full year.

At this particular season, what better gift to your militant friends than 52 issues of The Militant for the price of \$1. A combination subscription including 12 issues of Fourth International is still only \$2.50, but after Jan. 1 will be \$4.

That readers recognize this bargain is indicated by the fact that renewals are coming in more than twice as fast as new subs, and one out of five includes Fourth International. Even two-year combination renewals have been received — a long-time bargain that won't be available after this month.

Socialist Workers Party branches, recovering from a strenuous election campaign, are mapping renewal sub drives and in some cases are already at work on them. Philadelphia led with 49 subs in November. New York

Branches are slow reporting on their Militant's 20th Anniversary celebrations.

# The Stalinist Debacle in the CIO

The Portland convention of the CIO was characterized by the definitive victory and entrenchment of the Murray bureaucracy, the invasion of the autonomous rights of international unions and unabashed violations of democracy coupled with the debacle of the Stalinist forces.

The smash-up of the Stalinist machine in the CIO is not explained merely by the red-baiting hysteria in the country at large and its factional utilization against the Stalinists by the Murphys and Reuthers. This smash-up was made possible by the activities of the Stalinists themselves in the CIO over the past 10 years.

From the start, they labored with might and main to help first Lewis and later Murray to construct a bureaucratic machine, to steer the CIO unions into collaboration with the employers and cement the bloc with the Roosevelt Administration. They were in the front ranks in corrupting the most advanced workers and instilling into them bureaucratic cynicism and Peoples Front ideology.

## 1936 EXPERIENCE

In 1936 when the young CIO movement was imbued with crusading zeal, when rank and file militancy was at a high point, the mood for setting up an independent Labor Party was widespread. The Stalinists with their considerable strength and

strong fractions could have organized this Labor Party sentiment into a powerful force and thereby forged a national left wing on a solid programmatic foundation.

Instead, the Stalinists, in response to the orders of the Kremlin rulers, joined hands with Lewis in steering the most advanced workers back into the Roosevelt fold and in killing the promising Labor Party movement.

Thereafter for eight years — with the exception of the short period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact — the Stalinists kept drumming into the workers' ears the wonders of Roosevelt and the virtues of supporting liberal capitalist politicians of his stripe.

Another example: After the initial strike struggles were over Lewis, Murray and their henchmen began the process of strengthening their bureaucratic machines and isolating all dissident and oppositional elements.

Did the Stalinists attempt to line up the militant ranks for a struggle for democracy? How could they, when they were the worst offenders on this issue? In all the unions under their control, the UE, the NLU, Office Workers, etc., bureaucratic machines were installed and the most ruthless hounding of all oppositionists and critics took place.

This Stalinist record of pro-capitalist politics, bureaucratism and class collaboration was climaxed by their conduct during

the war. It is common knowledge that they became the loudest shouters for "national unity," the most bellicose defenders of the no-strike pledge. They even went beyond Murray and Reuther in their condemnation and attacks on strikes and their advocacy of speed-up in the plants.

## 10-YEAR RECORD

Despite this record of hypocrisy and sell-out, despite their fundamental collaboration with Murray for ten years, they continued to call themselves the "left wing" and were able to largely monopolize the oppositionist faction to the Murray bureaucracy.

But they could not, pursuing these rotten policies, build a genuine fighting force of the most militant and advanced elements in the unions. Instead, they demoralized time and again the militant ranks, including numerous members of the Communist Party itself. They placed in positions of leadership numerous opportunists like Quill and Curran who are today in the forefront of the red-baiting in the CIO; and finally, by their zigzags, they proved to the CIO membership that the American Stalinists are merely puppets executing all their twists and turns at the behest and in the interests of the Kremlin tyranny in Russia.

## TRUMAN TELLS BIG BUSINESS IT HAS "NOTHING TO FEAR"

(Continued from page 1)

1948 and which the bi-partisan Congress boosted by \$3 billion.

## MILITARY COSTS

The Administration also plans vast new expenditures to arm the so-called "Western Union" countries and all the capitalist dictatorships being lined up for the contemplated war against the Soviet Union. "Foreign military aid may wreck Truman's budget. . . No one knows what it will cost. Estimates run from \$2 billion to \$5 billion a year," writes the Scripps-Howard Washington staff on Dec. 4. A half billion has already been sunk in tiny Greece alone.

With these big increases for the military and "foreign aid" already scheduled, while Truman promises a "balanced budget," how much will be allocated for social improvements? In his January 1948 budget, when he pro-

posed far smaller sums for military purposes, the total of all new sums his budget allowed for education, health, housing, social security, etc., was only a half billion dollars.

Against a total of \$42 billion or more that the government will spend this fiscal year, the whole cost of the social improvements Truman promised in his election campaign — health, education, housing, reclamation, higher social security payments, etc., adds up to \$573 million.

Militarism and war preparations — these will have first call. Who will foot the bill? Not the monopolists, as Truman has plainly indicated by his latest appeasement gestures toward Big Business. As always, it will be the working people who will be forced to carry the load. The "new New Deal" will be a scrawny, short-lived infant indeed — if it isn't dead before it's born.

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TROTSKY

Capitalist monopolies, having corroded 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



LENIN

## 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 "malicious 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 commending 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 Kutcher, 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 Kutcher, 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

legalistic formula to avoid the accusation that the treaty would commit the armed forces of the United States to a possible major foreign war without the consent of Congress.

Upon ratification of the Rio Pact, spokesmen of the Truman Administration utilized the occasion to press for an Atlantic Pact based on the same pattern. The Atlantic Pact would include not only France, Britain, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg but traditionally neutral Scandinavia, Iceland and Portugal as well as other powers.

The Atlantic Pact would interlock with the Rio Pact so that a single incident in Berlin, Greece, Korea or Chile, for instance, could be utilized to plunge every country in Wall Street's sphere of influence into war. Every signatory is committed in advance.

In these circumstances it can easily be seen how rapidly America can be sucked into a major conflict. The decision really rests in the hands of a small circle of Big Business men and brass hats. Declaration of war by Congress would be no more than a formality.

If the people themselves are to decide such a weighty issue as war or peace of their own free will it is obvious that the war-making powers must be taken away from Congress. That power must be placed where it belongs—in the hands of the people.

Let America decide the fateful question of war or peace not by a poll of a time-serving Congress but through a nation-wide referendum vote.

## French and German Strikes

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 down out the crackling rifle 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

strike "an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist provocation which is being promoted, incited and organized by agents of the Western powers as part of a schedule of aggression." With this clamor they hope to divert attention from the real grievances of the Berlin workers.

The spokesmen of the Allied powers of course are commending the strikers and seeking to draw all possible advantage for their own predatory aims.

Thus we see both Moscow and Washington trying to utilize the workers in Europe as pawns in their monstrous game of power politics. Neither Moscow nor Washington cares about the independent interests of the working people who constitute the vast majority of the population.

To defend their own interests against both the Moscow bureaucracy and Western imperialism, the workers must revive the great tradition of independent political action exemplified in the international working class parties that once towered over the continent. Only by building mass parties on the program of revolutionary socialism can the European workers hope to control their own destiny and end the vicious game that uses them as pawns.

# 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 Department 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 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 demagoguery 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, AVG, 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. There 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 Big Business?

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.

## Book Review

The Young Marxist is a new magazine published by the Internationalist 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 peacetime 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 L. 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 15c. for a single copy or 10c. per copy in bundles of five or more. The July-August issue sells for 25c. a copy or 15c. 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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## Recommendations 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

## How Philadelphia Negroes Voted

Editor:

Many people are puzzled by the large Negro vote for Truman and the Democratic Party in a city which has traditionally been controlled by the Republican Party machine.

The majority of Negroes did not vote for the Republican machine though the party spent large sums of money in Negro neighborhoods and ran Negro candidates on the ballot. The mass of Negro workers did not identify these Negro candidates with the Negro masses and when they went to the polls voted against such candidates. Negroes

## SWP Party Building Fund

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% of its quota of \$7,500. St. Louis sent in an additional \$2 bringing up its total to \$71 or 142% of its quota.

went in great numbers to drink Republican beer, but because a man drinks your beer does not mean he has to vote for you. The Republicans know this now.

There were two very important factors which persuaded Negro voters not to cast their ballot for Dewey and his party. Dewey in his campaign said very little about Negroes and the problem of racial minorities. Negro workers, like other workers, associated the Republican party with reaction and depression.

The Negro press here came out wholeheartedly for Dewey and his party, especially the larger newspapers. This too did not influence the Negro vote, which is a healthy sign that the Negro masses have begun to move to the left and to free themselves from the propaganda shackles of the capitalist white and Negro press.

As for Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party, many Negroes were very sympathetic toward the party and responded to the party's appeal on its Civil Rights program. But the fact that Truman did speak like Wallace for Civil Rights and had a better chance of being elected guided

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, 1830 Sutter Street, 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

AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m.  
BALTIMORE — 1121 E. Baltimore St., 3rd floor, front. Phone WO 6-6211. Open daily 5-9 p. m. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.  
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m., Wed. 7-10 p. m.  
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 829 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone AD 1000. Every afternoon except Sun.  
CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DE 4-6900. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.  
CLEVELAND — Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1440 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).  
DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6207. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.  
FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.  
LOS ANGELES — Militant Pub. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.  
SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.  
WATTS — Militant, 1730 E. 97th St.  
LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Pub'l Ass'n, 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BR 4-4400.  
MILWAUKEE — SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BR 4-4400.  
MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-8 p. m. Library, bookstore.  
NEW BRITAIN, Conn. — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Mil-  
tant Labor Club, 185 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).  
NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl. Tues. 8:10-10 p. m.  
NEWARK — 425 Springfield Ave. Phone BiGelow 2-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.  
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University Pl. Phone GR 6-1449.  
CHICAGO — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-8434.  
OAKLAND (Cal.) — Write P. O. Box 132, Oakland 4.  
PHILADELPHIA — 1203-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.  
PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. forums. Sun., 4 p. m.  
SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone 4-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.  
SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9-278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.  
ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St. Phone GR 4-1137. Open daily. Bookstore.  
TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m. Kappa Hall, 413 Summit, Rm. 5.  
YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:00-4 p. m.

# 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 a 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 moss-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 that industry could be run far more efficiently 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.

Nor 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 file 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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# THE MILITANT

## 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.

## Kutcher's Civil Rights Plea to AVC Convention

(Continued from page 1)

itself against the charges. The whole thing had simply been handed from above in a most unconstitutional manner and the request of my party for a public hearing was formally denied.

That is why I am in my present predicament. They won't give us the democratic right to answer the charges about subversiveness but treat us as though we are guilty even though we have not had our day in court.

I ask you to judge for yourselves if that is democratic procedure—or if it is an imitation of the dictatorial and totalitarian methods so much in use in other countries.

Now here is what I want to do: First, I want to clear my good name of the stigma that they have placed upon it. And second, I want to win my job back. How can I do it?

Apparently the only way is to get the government to grant my party, the Socialist Workers Party, the public hearing that it demands so that it will be able to show that it is not subversive. The reason is that they do not accuse me of having committed any subversive activity — they accuse me only of belonging to a so-called subversive organization.

So it seems that before I will be able to clear myself, it will be necessary for the name of my party to be cleared.

### APPEALS CASE

I have appealed my dismissal. I expect to go through all the channels provided by the government and the Civil Service. But I know that I can't win that way so long as the name of my party is not cleared. If I can't get justice this way, I intend to go into the courts and all the way up to the Supreme Court if necessary.

I must say that thus far I am gratified by the help I am getting. A number of newspapers and prominent individuals have come to my defense. Your National Planning Committee has passed a most encouraging resolution. Included among the names on the national Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are Merle Miller and Bill Mauldin, the famous cartoonist. Among the organizations supporting me are the New Jersey and the Ohio State CIO Councils and also the New Jersey and Cleveland organizations of the Americans for Democratic Action and many other well-known individuals and organizations.

None of these people are in agreement with my political views but they are willing to help me anyhow, because they believe in civil rights and because they believe that I have the right to hold my particular views.

I want to state further, in passing, that local organizations of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are being set up in various localities throughout the country.

The committee that is helping me needs backing. It needs to get public support. It needs to have organizations pass resolutions in support of this fight. It needs financial assistance for postage, legal aid, publicity, etc.

I am not asking for any special pity or sympathy because my legs were amputated. I am asking only for the assistance you would extend to any other human being who is being persecuted solely because of his ideas and who is denied a chance to defend them in the democratic way.

In conclusion, I want to thank the chairman and you delegates of this Third National AVC Convention for the time you have allotted me to present this case before you. I thank you.

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 sufferings 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."

The Indian jurist observed that at the present stage of international society the word "aggressors" may mean only "the leaders of the defeated party." He pointed out that during the 1930s the conflict between Japan and China was not called a war although it was one; and that the United States in violation of its so-called neutrality policy actually took part in that war against Japan long before Pearl Harbor.

Justice Pal rebuked the Western powers for their hypocrisy in defending their interests in Asia: "These interests are usually founded on the past success of Western powers in transmitting military violence into commercial profit." In his opinion, "Men of violence cannot genuinely repent of their violence and per-

manently profit by it."

The most stinging criticism leveled by the Indian judge was over the use of the atomic bomb. He ruled in effect, "that the victor powers cannot condemn the Japanese leaders for war-time atrocities with justice, as long as their hands are stained by massacres of civil populations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

To underline his point he recalled that in World War I the Allied powers called the German Kaiser a criminal for making war on civilians to shorten the military conflict by terror. "It would be sufficient for my purpose to say that if any indiscriminate destruction of civilian life and property is still legitimate in warfare, then in the Pacific war the use of the atom bomb is the only near approach to the directives of the German Empire in World War I or Nazi leaders in World War II."

"Future generations," said the jurist, "will judge the powers that used the atom bomb."

As for the charge that the Japanese were cruel to fallen American aviators, Justice Pal replied: "We should not fail to remember that the real horror of air warfare is not the possibility of a few airmen being pitilessly killed, but the havoc wrought by indiscriminate launching of bombs and projectiles. The conscience of the world revolts not so much against punishment meted out to the ruthless bomber, as against his ruthless form of bombing."

### 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 Sadtler, 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. Sadtler'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. Sadtler 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. Sadtler. Shilen's claim is, that because the investigation of Sadtler was not "authorized" it must be discarded. Sadtler 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 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. Sadtler 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 hydro-fluoric acid.

"2 Change the chemical and chemical 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.

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 opposition 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. 13 — 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 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.

In the atmosphere of reactionary hysteria which prevailed in the months before the election, the votes for Dobbs and Carlson constituted an action far more significant than a marking of paper ballots. These votes were a demonstration of the pioneer band which will not be cowed or intimidated by all the power of American imperialism. They registered a notice of allegiance with the extreme left wing of American politics and a demonstration of faith and conviction in the socialist future of the United States and the world.

Our chief aim of our first Presidential campaign was to smash our way out of obscurity and to bring the Socialist Workers Party and its program before the eyes and ears of the workers of the entire nation. In the size and magnitude of this nationwide audience we measured the achievement of this aim, successful beyond our fondest hopes, and clearly indicated before the balloting began. We started a process of thinking and questioning among large numbers groping for answers to the grave problems posed by the world crisis of capitalism. That thinking will become crystallized into positive convictions and thence into action as the crisis deepens and the truth of the Trotskyist doctrine is confirmed by life and experience.

Those who answered our first nationwide call at the polls are no Wallace "Gideon's band" to be disintegrated in the first