

**Work for a Workers World;
Join the Workers Party!**

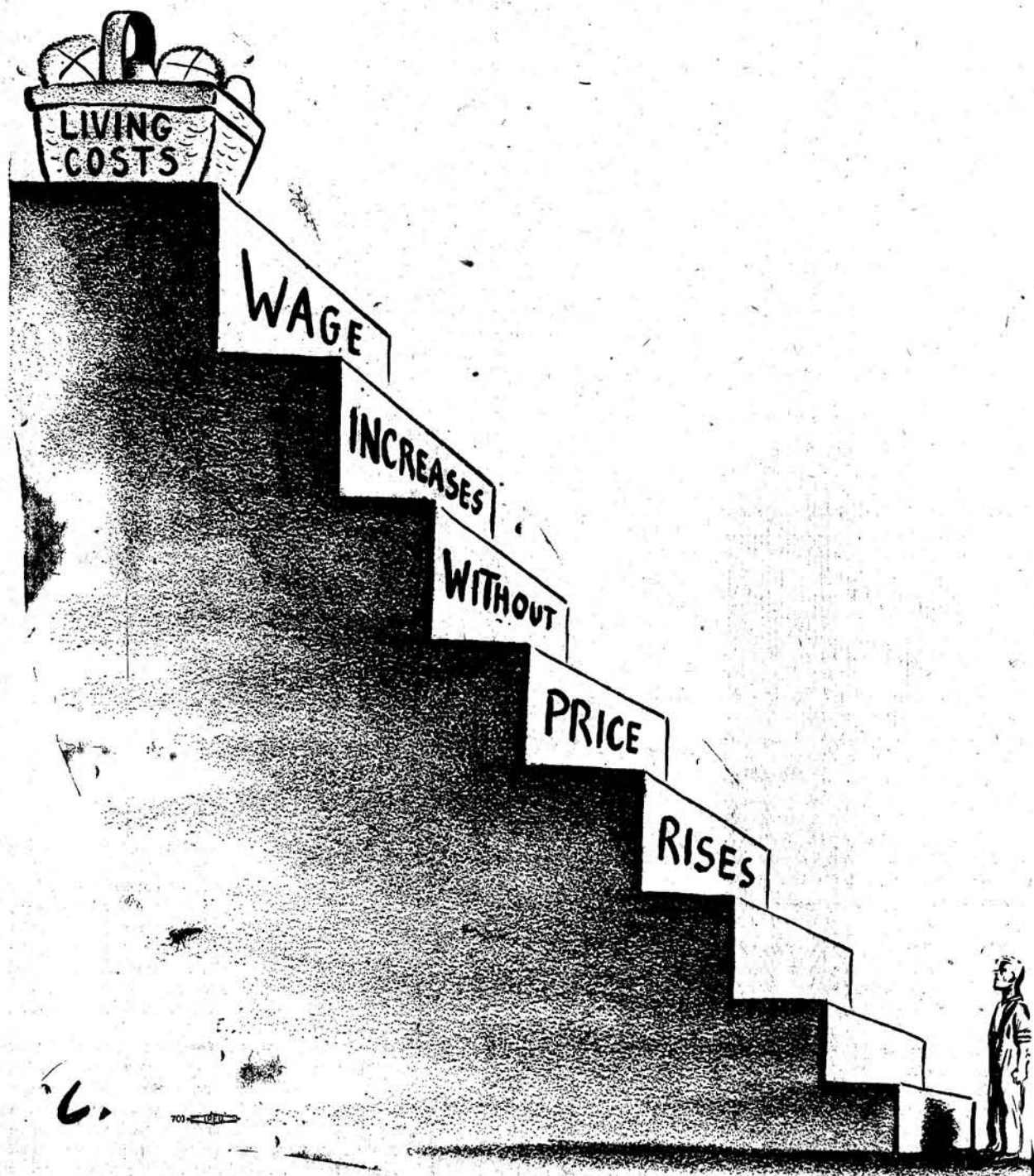
LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 15, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

The Necessary Steps!



CIO Plans Wage Demands To Offset High Living Costs

An Editorial on the "Subversive" List

Who Are the Subversives?

Attorney-General Clark—who hails from Texas, a region where liberties are highly cherished, especially for labor organizers and people born with dark-colored skins—has finally issued his list of "subversive" organizations. Membership in these organizations is deemed prejudicial to federal employment; other uses for the list will no doubt be found.

Among the organizations listed in Clark's report are the Workers Party, the Socialist Youth League and other socialist organizations. Through its national chairman, Max Shachtman, the Workers Party has issued a statement on this matter, which is printed in this column of LABOR ACTION. Here we wish to comment on a few aspects of the Clark statement.

1) On what basis did the Attorney-General's office compile its list?

Whom did it consult? What did it consider as "evidence"? And why did it not hold hearings openly, so that the public could observe the manner in which it reached its conclusions and judge for itself how valid those conclusions were?

In an uncomfortable editorial of December 6, the New York Times demurely questions the method by which Attorney General Clark reached his conclusions and warrants a guess that "undoubtedly" the organizations included in his list had an opportunity to testify before the Attorney General's office.

The Times is wrong—at least insofar as those genuinely socialist organizations on the list are concerned. No hearings, in public or in private, were held. As the Workers Party statement declares: "Mr. Clark's procedure differs from a star-chamber only in that it is more monstrous." Here is a case where prosecutor and judge were one and the same—and where the defendant never even could speak his piece or ask and answer questions.

On a mild scale, to be sure, but still all too evidently, this procedure resembles the methodology of a lynching: pull the rope first and then question witnesses. Mr. Clark should think about that comparison; if he needs any clarification about it, let him consult some of his Democratic Party colleagues from Mississippi and Georgia.

2) Why was this statement issued now?

Clark's statement is not an isolated act or quirk. It is of a piece with the insidious attack of attrition against civil liberties throughout the country. It is of a piece with Hollywood's under-the-bed hysterics about "reds." It is of a piece with the refusal of New York theaters to play Charlie Chaplin's latest film. It is of a piece with the activities of the Thomas committee. But it is distinguished from all of these in that it is an official governmental action, the result of which can only be a greatly increased attack against democratic rights.

Witch-hunters, red-baiters, reactionaries and labor-haters throughout the country will regard Clark's statement as a green light for their activities.

This general anti-democratic drive can only be regarded as part of the internal preparation of American imperialism for its world-wide struggle against Russian imperialism, in which genuinely socialist and radical organizations will be victimized by being grouped in an amalgam with totalitarian and fascist groups.

3) On what basis were the organizations on Clark's list included?

On Clark's list are Stalinist organizations, fascist organizations and a number of genuinely socialist groups.

Between the first two groups—the Stalinists and fascists—and the socialists there is absolutely nothing in common. Absolutely nothing!

To link them together in any way is simply to slander and besmirch those organizations that fight for socialism, democracy and freedom by suggesting that they have something in common with those

WORKERS PARTY CHAIRMAN INDICTS ACT AS SINISTER

DECEMBER 5—The Workers Party, through its national chairman, Max Shachtman, today condemned the publication of the list of "subversive organizations" by Attorney-General Clark:

"Mr. Clark permits himself to stimulate blind prejudice against organizations which do not share his political and social views and, in effect, to outlaw them. These organizations are not given a hearing in which they can give an account of their opinions and activities and they are not given the opportunity to defend themselves by refuting charges made against them behind closed doors. In a star-chamber proceeding the defendant is at least allowed to be present before being condemned. Mr. Clark's procedure differs from a star-chamber only in that it is more monstrous. It justifies the recent comment by Mr. Harold Ickes that Mr. Clark is always ready to speak on civil liberties before Rotarians and others, but is never available to preserve civil liberties.

"The sinister character of Mr. Clark's action is further confirmed by the fact that he places on one list known totalitarian organizations or groups that are agents of totalitarianism together with authentic socialist organizations like the Workers Party. Our program and activities are a matter of public record and so is our longstanding and consistent opposition to fascism in all its forms as well as to Stalinist totalitarianism."

groups that function as agents of Stalinist totalitarianism and that functioned as agents of Nazi or fascist totalitarianism.

The Workers Party and other socialist groups resolutely opposed Italian fascism when the U. S. government permitted shipments of oil to Mussolini which permitted him to subdue Ethiopia!

The Workers Party and other socialist groups resolutely opposed Hitlerism when the U. S. government maintained "friendly relations" with the Nazi regime and did not lift a finger to help the Jewish and working class victims of that regime!

The Workers Party and other socialist groups resolutely opposed fascism at a time when President Roosevelt's embargo on shipments of arms to Spain enabled Hitler's and Mussolini's ally, Franco, to win the Spanish civil war! The Workers Party continues to oppose Franco fascism at a time when the U. S. government maintains "friendly relations" with Franco's regime!

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But Central Wage-Price Tie Missing

Meeting in Washington on December 2 with President Philip Murray, the nine vice-presidents of the CIO announced that it would be the policy of the CIO to seek "substantial" wage increases in an overall union effort to offset rising prices. With the National Maritime Union scheduled to present its wage demands first in negotiations due to begin this month, the wage campaign is expected to get fully under way in the spring when the steel, auto and electrical unions open negotiations.

The move was uniformly hailed by the ranks of the organization who, it is generally admitted, have been pressing for precisely such a policy. There is evidently little confidence among the leadership, and certainly among the ranks, in Truman's anti-inflation program and in his ability to push any kind of price control program, whatever its merits, through Congress. Under the circumstances, there is clearly no alternative but to seek higher wages.

Unfortunately, the statement of the CIO leaders leaves much to be desired. There appears to be little, if any, of an organized plan which will involve the unions of the CIO in a coordinated effort. In announcing the decision of the December 2 meeting, President Murray indicated that each union would go after a wage increase in its own way. While there is certain to be considerable control from the top, if for no other reason than to keep the individual union negotiators under control, there is no sign of a joint strategy. As in previous years, it appears likely that the steel union will set a pattern for other unions to follow.

AVOID CENTRAL NEED

More than that, the publicized decisions of the meeting seem woefully weak at the very heart of the issue. The deliberations of the meeting revolved around the needs of labor as created by the intolerable price situation. Yet, apart from reiterating the CIO's stand for price control in his conference with the newspapermen, President Murray, speaking for the CIO leadership, failed to go as far as the 1946 convention of the CIO.

At that convention, basing its position on the Nathan Report, which established that industry was fully capable of paying a wage increase without raising prices, the CIO decided to seek WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES. Except for the General Motors union, which several months before the 1946 convention had put up a valiant struggle for exactly that demand, the CIO leaders did nothing to effect their own decision. If, however, that position was valid in 1946, and it was, then it is doubly valid today when facts have proved that the Nathan Report underestimated profits.

The timidity with which the CIO leaders have put forward their projected campaign for that which the press has dubbed "a third round of wage increases" (what "round" of profit increases are we in?) is proof that they too realize the inadequacy of their intentions. Wage increases that are eaten away by price in-

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Arab-Jewish Fratricidal War Grows in Palestine

By AL FINDLEY

The UN recommendation for the partition of Palestine has resulted in the deaths of approximately 20 Jews and 20 Arabs in Palestine during the past week. In addition to the bloodshed in Palestine, riots in other Arab countries bring the total dead to well over 100.

Up until Sunday, all acts of violence in Palestine were confined to a handful of the more extremist Arab nationalities. Even the Arab Higher committee, led by the mufti, protested the violence. The Sunday action of Haganah in firing and blasting three villages may see a new

turn in the fighting. Most of Palestine has remained quiet. Friction took place in "internationalized" Jerusalem and in the border area between Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, which is to be an enclave within the Jewish state.

Violence and strife will inevitably continue as long as the situation remains in its present hazy and amorphous stage. The continued existence of an "interim period" under British rule, to be followed by another interim period under UN control, must inevitably lead to violence.

The time to minimize the bloodshed in Palestine is NOW. In this regard,

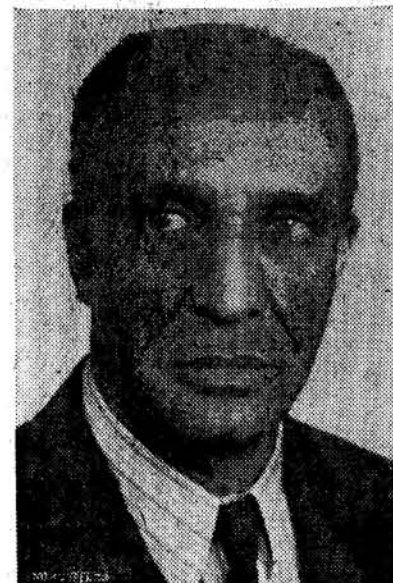
it is urgent to point out the dangers existing in Jerusalem. This city of 100,000 Jews and 100,000 Arabs represents the greatest starting point for conflicts which can later spread to the rest of Palestine. Jerusalem will probably become the center of "irreconcilable" sentiments in both groups. Why? Because Jerusalem is to be governed by a foreign power, the UN Trusteeship Commission, and thus the population of that city will be denied its national rights, giving rise to agitation to "revise" the entire arrangement. No section of Palestine requires, or can be served by, foreign rule.

ECONOMIC UNITY NEEDED

Economically, too, the need of Palestine is for complete immediate independence from UN control, to bring about real economic unity between the Jews and Arabs. Neither the Jewish nor Arab section of partitioned Palestine can exist without the other. The Arab section will have a huge deficit if it does not share in the tariff revenue of the industrial section of Palestine, which is in the Jewish area. The Jewish area needs markets to sell its products and is in turn the only market for Arab agrarian products. Both the Jews and the Arabs need large-scale irrigation products like the Jordan Valley Authority to raise their agricultural production.

Continued foreign economic rule via the UN will result not in Arab-

ON ORGANIZATION TOUR



ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

Tours Will Cover All WP Branches

By NATHAN GOULD

Organization Sec'y, Workers Party
The Program of Action adopted by the recent National Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party is already in operation. Implementing another phase of this program, the National Committee of the Workers Party announces the organization of three tours to be conducted by representatives of the National Committee in the months of December and January. These tours are to be conducted by E. R. McKinney, national secretary, by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, and by Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION.

E. R. McKinney will conduct a two-week special organizational tour covering Akron and Youngstown, Ohio, West Virginia and Pittsburgh, Pa. The tour in the Pittsburgh region comes immediately upon the heels of the organization of a new branch of the Workers Party. McKinney will devote himself to the task of strengthening our bases and preparing the expansion of our work in this area. The tour will be concluded with a tri-branch (Youngstown-West Virginia-Pittsburgh) conference, where plans will be mapped for coordination of our efforts in the coal and steel region of the Pittsburgh valley.

Emanuel Garrett will conduct a speaking tour covering all branches of the Workers Party east of the Mississippi. At about the same time, Max Shachtman will be touring our branches west of the Mississippi. Public and internal meetings in all cities covered by the itineraries of

these tours will highlight and implement the political and organizational planks of the Program of Action.

The public meetings will feature talks on the situation of American labor. Here the program of the Workers Party will be presented in answer to the price and rent gouge. The speakers will advocate a fighting program against inflation, against racial discrimination, against the government's encroachments upon the civil rights of the working class, and against America's preparation for a new world war. They will seek to rally support to our fight for higher wages, for adequate housing, for a Labor Party, for a socialist society. Talks on the crisis in Europe and the Stalin Plan of economic and political subjugation of Europe to their own imperialist designs.

The branches of the Workers Party will meet with the National Committee representatives to hear reports on further plans of party work and will discuss in detail the local implementation of our Program of Action.

The tours, organized in accord with this Program of Action, will serve to stimulate the conduct of the many activities in which the Workers Party is already engaged in behalf of labor's fight.

The full itineraries of the Garrett and Shachtman tours will appear in the next issue of LABOR ACTION. LABOR ACTION will also follow and report the progress of the tours each week.

French Unions End Strikes

Stalinist Leadership Brings Defeat to Hard-Pressed Working Class

The strike-breaking government of Robert Schumann has won a momentary victory over the French working class. With the acceptance by the Stalinist-led CGT National Committee (French Labor Federation) of the government ultimatum to two million French workers, there has been an immediate return to work. This ultimatum was delivered after passage by France's National Assembly of a series of vicious strike-breaking measures and the mobilization of more than 200,000 soldiers of the armed forces. It was capitulated to by the Stalinist leadership after they had denounced it and called upon France's workers to renew their strike activity, an appeal which met with little response.

The conditions offered by the government, which announced simultaneously that these were its "final" conditions, are the following:

1. Strikers must immediately return to work, regardless of what their unions says or decide.
2. If they do, they will receive the "generous" government cost-of-living monthly bonus amounting to \$12.50 per month! Those who did not strike will also receive it.
3. The government vaguely promises the "stabilization" of prices and wages.
4. There will be no prosecution of strikers, except those accused of acts of sabotage, violence, etc., or violations of the new anti-strike laws. Strikers will receive no pay for lost time.

These conditions represent a part of the government's effort, aided and abetted by the reactionary Socialist Party ministers who sit in the government and endorse its policies, to deal a smashing blow at the French labor movement. The government, recognizing that the strikes were rapidly losing headway because of their aimlessness and their Stalinist leadership, was in no mood to offer concessions at the moment. It was most anxious to prod the slow but steady return of strikers into a rout and a retreat that can only be to the benefit of the French industrialists and owners.

In this spirit, it rejected all the important and major demands put forward by the workers and their organizations. It rejected the labor federation's proposal to revise wages every three months, in accordance with price indices; it refused to specify a national minimum wage (the CGT is asking for approximately \$90 per month) and, most important of all, denied the demand for a sliding scale of wages, to be periodically adjusted in accordance with the cost of living. The Schumann-Socialist cabinet backed up its rejection of these proposals by the use of police,

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O'Dwyer Proposes NY Fare Rise

Real Estate Interests Score Victory Against People of City

By EUGENE KELLER

New York City—An important victory has been scored by the wealthy real estate interests of New York: Mayor O'Dwyer, elected with the support of the great majority of trade unions in this city, has proposed an increased fare on all transit lines and is seeking to void the law which requires a referendum before the fare can be raised.

This step is of no small significance in the political life of this city. It came two days after proportional representation had been abolished by

popular referendum which, temporarily at least, eliminates whatever "threat" the trade union-backed American Labor and Liberal parties constitute to the increasing conservatism of the city regime. The Mayor's stand on the fare issue had been known, however, for a long time prior to the November off-year elections.

The absence, thus far, of a determined opposition by labor and civic groups traditionally opposed to a fare rise, is due mainly to their compromised position resulting from their support of the Democratic machine

and its major candidates. In addition to this the disappearance of proportional representation has made whatever hold they have upon the political life of the city precarious, and this may explain their cowardly policy on this issue. A decisive change in their stand is, of course, still possible.

Another factor from which the significance of this issue derives is the history of the struggle around the fare and the meaning of the higher fare. The subway was first built in 1904, with the city financing the con-

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

CIO Plans to Seek Wage Increases --

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creases as fast as they are won are of little benefit to labor. This has been demonstrated over and over again in the past few years. It is a hopeless situation from which labor cannot emerge by the simple economic wage demands of the past.

AGGRESSIVENESS ESSENTIAL
It is futile to expect such strike struggles as the American working class is fully capable of waging for victories that last but a day. We suspect Murray is fully conscious of this. But he is unwilling to undertake that kind of important struggle which would represent a bold invasion into the "prerogatives" of "free enterprise." Thus, his wage plans today smack altogether too much of a concession offered to restive ranks.
However, if the pressure of the ranks was instrumental in one degree or another in shaping the policy of the CIO leaders, the same pressure can be applied for more permanent and more meaningful achievements. Namely: a campaign for **WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES**. It seems to us that this of necessity must be the central demand in any wage campaign which can, at one and the same time, inspire labor to heroic action and produce real results.

As it stands now it is possible for Earl Bunting, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, to scoff at the CIO drive, to call it a "trial balloon," and to add that "I don't believe Mr. Murray is out after

a third round of wage increases now."

While it is not the business of the labor movement to go by what its enemies say, it is, however, definitely the concern of the labor movement when the spokesmen of industry take it lightly.

Victories are not won by a display of weakness. If Bunting can take the CIO's demands lightly, it is because the leaders of the CIO have not given promise of swinging the power of the CIO's organized millions into aggressive motion.

We think Murray does propose to ask for a wage increase in the coming steel negotiations. But if these demands are approached timidly and in such a way as to permit a rise in the price of steel, then we will gain nothing. No more than Mr. Bunting are the steel bosses likely to be impressed by hesitation and equivocation.

JOINT UNION FIGHT

We repeat: **WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES** are the foundation of a union program upon which rest other demands essential to our aims, demands for a guaranteed annual wage, for an escalator clause, for legislative price control and for union action in forming, with consumers, price control committees.

With that, we should like to put forward another idea that **LABOR ACTION** has been arguing for a long time: **A JOINT UNION STRATEGY BOARD** democratically repre-

senting the rank and file of the unions. The issues we confront today are not the kind that can be left exclusively in the hands of the leaderships. The ranks ought to have a say in the determination of broad policy, and they ought to be in a position, through their chosen representatives, to sit with the union leaders, in mapping common strategy. There are limitations on such

cooperation in the Taft-Hartley Act, but if the fight against the Taft-Hartley law is to be joined, there is hardly a better way, or a way more likely of success, than this one.

A fight for **WAGE INCREASES WITHOUT PRICE INCREASES** directed by democratically elected boards of common union strategy is, in our opinion, an unbeatable combination.

Fratricidal War in Palestine --

(Continued from page 1)
Jewish unity but only in the subordination of Palestine economy to imperialist interests, with the resultant stifling of the economic development of the country.

Not only does the Palestine situation require **IMMEDIATE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC** independence, but the suffering of 250,000 Jews in DP camps makes it imperative. Most of these are the survivors of the Nazi extermination of 6,000,000 Jews. For two years and two horrible winters they have suffered the deprivation and above all the physical and mental corrosion that is the result of life in the miserable overcrowded DP camps.

All that the UN partition plan does is **BEG** the British to evacuate a port area by February 1 and thereby allow approximately 6,000 Jews to enter each month. Zionist leaders have announced that they are discontinuing "unauthorized" immigration and will rely on the possibility that England will comply with this request in February—after half the winter has already inflicted its punishment on the DP's.

OPEN AMERICA'S DOORS

Our support of the right of all those who want to go to Palestine to do so, must not in the least detract from our determined efforts to open the doors of the U. S. to the remaining DP's. In fact it should serve as a spur to finally solve the problem. Now that the actual possibility of moving some thousands into Palestine exists, a determined effort by the countries of the world could empty the DP camps of the one and a quarter million people forced to live there.

Even before the UN vote, the struggle for power in the forthcoming Arab and Jewish states began. The Arabs have decided to proclaim a provisional government-in-exile for all Palestine. The only thing that is delaying its proclamation is the struggle between the mufti and his Hus-

seini Party and the rest of the Arab groups. The mufti refuses to accept opposition groups into his government.

Economically, Jewish Palestine is capitalist. In industry and trade the "socialist" sector of the economy (co-operatives, etc.) represents about three to five per cent, according to Revusky's book, "Jews in Palestine." In agriculture, where the Kibbutzim, Kvatat (collectives) and co-operatives are strongest, they represent approximately 10 per cent of the cultivated land and about the same proportion of the Jews engaged in agriculture. The percentage may have increased slightly since the book was written, but not substantially. Marxism has always maintained that socialism cannot be built in one country—let alone on one farm.

Politically, the Mapai, the reformist Labor Party, is in office in the "government within a government" that exists in Palestine. But Jewish Palestine faces a real struggle between the labor movement and the Jewish capitalist class which has tolerated it up to now. The bourgeois mayor of Tel-Aviv and those of all other major towns of Palestine have demanded reorganization giving them control. They have established a committee of the Right to rally all the forces of the bourgeoisie. Together with the Union of Industrialists they are giving aid to the strike-breaking, anti-Marxist, black union set up by the Revisionists—the Federation of National Labor. They have the support of the Revisionists, who polled 24,500 votes in the last election, approximately 10 per cent of the total. In the future, the Revisionists' party as such will take a back seat, but the Revisionists will work through the Irgun, which has announced that it will transform itself into a legal party. The Revisionists will attempt to enforce their hated domestic policies, under the cloak of the Irgun's prestige as an anti-British resistance force. Together

Philadelphia WP Asks United Defense Of Civil Rights

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 8.—The following telegram was sent to the Tindley Temple Mass Rally for Civil Rights:

"We support fight for equality and emphasize need for united defense against police brutality and attacks on civil rights. The labor movement is the key to such defense. Greetings your rally.

(Signed) **JACK RADER,**
Organizer, Philadelphia Workers Party."

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

OAKLAND, Calif., Dec. 4.—The newspapers of San Francisco have recently been featuring stories of investigations of slum conditions in the city. In appearance, San Francisco seems to be one of the best-housed cities in the world. Yet, a survey conducted by the American Veterans Committee for the District Attorney's office in a specially selected six-block area showed the following: one-third of the residents are without heat, one-third are without refrigeration, two-thirds share toilet facilities with other apartments, a little under two-thirds share bathing facilities. As would be expected, these conditions prevail in the largely Negro Fillmore District, but they are typical of the city's slum areas.

The Health Department investigating twenty-five specific residences found these and other defects producing only "moderate" slum conditions. But it did manage to reveal that this group also contained thirteen apartments with poor garbage disposal and ten with generally poor sanitation facilities. Building inspectors have recently added several definite law violations to the list, including exposed electric wiring, sewer pipe leakage, and weak foundations. A similar set of conditions can be found by any equally superficial survey almost anywhere in the country.

Popular pressure has brought these investigations, and popular pressure can build decent homes for all. In the writer of other national and world problems, little attention has been focused on the housing question. This

little investigation of a small area in one city is another in the ever-continuing indictment of American capitalism at one of its most vulnerable points—its ability to build a tremendous war machine overnight, and its complete inability to do anything about a glaring housing deficiency more than two years after the end of the war.

Standard Oil of California and Shell Oil, faced with a threatened statewide strike by 8,000 members of the CIO Oil Workers Union, granted a basic wage increase of twenty cents an hour. The workers of a third company, the Tidewater Associated Oil Co., are still, at this writing, awaiting a strike call in a few days. This marks the first time that the union has been able to force Standard to accept its wage terms.

Workers on the street car and bus lines of San Francisco's municipally-owned transportation system are talking strike because of the Public Utilities Commission's plan to investigate the physical condition of its workers. Representatives of both the AFL-Carmen's Union and the CIO's Transport Workers have declared that this scheme is an attempt to blame the men for recent accidents that were actually due to bad equipment, fast schedules and large traffic. Both unions, each claiming a majority of the workers, do not seem to be bothered by typical "you can't strike against the government" walls.

French Strikes --

(Continued from page 1)

soldiers and armed forces on an increasingly wider scale. Troops were brought back from the French occupation zone of Germany, and Polish and Indo-Chinese armed forces serving in France's army were utilized to oust sit-down strikers in shops and railways and mines. The effect of these actions, particularly the support given to them by the Socialist Party, was to enable the Stalinist leaders to appear as the champions of the workers' cause in France.

The latter, after reaching new heights in the political-adventurist features of their campaign with a sit-down strike in the National Assembly and various acts of sabotage and industrial disruptions, shifted to emphasizing the economic side of the workers' struggle. In this way, they hoped to retain a large measure of their influence in the trade unions, even though they have already lost

much ground. The strike wave was dying away, with the return of many workers to their jobs and the increased reluctance of other as yet unaffected workers to walk out. The failure of the Paris subway strike, together with the small response to the call issued to strike by the government employees' union, indicated that there is major distrust of the Stalinist motives and leadership in the matter.

The Stalinists are in the midst of preparing their retreat, together with efforts to save face among the French working people. It is yet to be seen how great will their loss of influence be, and more important, what will be the reactions among the workers who have been led into defeat by a gang of political misadventurers serving a foreign master, even though the workers' cause was more than justified and should, by every conceivable standard, have been crowned by victory.

Asks Fare Rise --

(Continued from page 1)

struction costs, and private companies the equipment and actual operation. The latter's profits were not required to be re-invested in the subway system and they were so tremendous that these same companies got the state legislature to pass a law, fixing the fare at five cents less an exorbitant public demand a lower fare. The deterioration of the system resulting from the failure to re-invest profits coupled with the rising costs of maintenance, etc., during and after the First World War, brought increasing losses to the companies, leading them to demand an increased fare. They were seconded by the real estate interests since the taxes paid by the latter partly went into the payment of the original subway debt; an increased fare would, of course, shift this burden to the subway rider. It was mainly the fight put up by militant labor and civic groups which prevented the realization of these demands.

REVERSES STAND

In 1940, at last, the city took over the subways, including the latter's debts. This "municipalization" of the subway lines, far from silencing the clamorous proponents of a higher fare, brought their increased pressure. The late Mayor LaGuardia, self-proclaimed "friend of labor," lost no time in appointing a committee (the "Committee of 15"), which "happened" to consist of the foremost representatives of New York real estate and which "investigated" the needs of the subway. Naturally, it came out for a higher fare. The subways remained what they had always been: an overcrowded, unhealthful transportation mill.

Until early 1946 the actual operation of the subways usually brought in a substantial profit which went toward payment of the outstanding debt and interest thereon. The difference between this profit and what is actually due each year for debt service is raised by a levy on real estate, and, as mentioned above, it is this levy which real estate would shift to the working people who use the subways. With wages and maintenance costs increasing, the operation of the subways today no longer realizes a profit but, rather, a deficit. It is this deficit over which Mayor O'Dwyer professes such great concern and which he claims is eating away a lot of funds which ought to go into hospitals, schools, etc.

This same deficit, however, also existed last February, when the Board of Estimate, highest executive organ of the city, held hearings on an increased fare, at which the Mayor roundly denounced the real estate interests for their greed and reassured the people of New York that before the fare is raised the referendum

would be held. This referendum proposal was itself suspect since O'Dwyer saw it as a device for "educating" or high-pressureing the people into accepting a higher fare. However, in the nature of things—few would vote for an increased burden despite O'Dwyer's "educational" efforts—the referendum represented an obstacle to increasing the fare. The Mayor, having reversed his stand on the issue, now seeks to eliminate the referendum so that the fare can be raised without a referendum as long as only operating expenses are to be covered.

That the subway deficit must be met from other city revenue is true and that this revenue could be used for hospitals, schools, etc., is true, too. But O'Dwyer forgets to tell us that real estate has been the biggest beneficiary of rapid transit, that the share of real estate's contribution to the city's finances has declined since 1940 from 80 per cent to less than 60 per cent and that of the so-called General Fund has increased to 40 per cent.

One-third of the money in the General Fund comes out of sales taxes and many fees, which can be passed on to the consumer. He also forgets what he himself stated at the abovementioned hearings last February: namely that "the proceedings... disclosed that a 10-cent fare would solve the financial problems of the city" and what was true then is as true today, except that O'Dwyer is beginning to show his real color.

NEW TAX RATE UNLIKELY

In order to make a show of impartiality, he is also asking the state legislature for authority to raise the real estate levy and to incur larger amounts of debt, and nobody can object to this—if it were not for the fact that before such power is granted it must be passed upon by two successive legislatures and must then be voted upon by the entire state. But the legislature of New York State has always been cleverly used by New York City's banking and real estate interests to check the tax-hungry inroads of a city government which has usually found itself subjected to many mass pressures.

Hence it is unlikely, and O'Dwyer, of course, knows this, that his proposals for a higher tax levy will be accepted. He is merely attempting to obscure the fact that, while the higher fare will go into effect almost immediately (February, 1948), there is no assurance whatever that any of the other financial powers he is asking will be granted.

Thus it becomes clear that the squashing of the referendum and the imposition of a higher fare is but a first step in the direction not only of still higher fares but also of a tightening grasp of the city real estate and banking corporations upon city affairs.

A First-Hand Account of the Strikes in France

By **MAX STERLING**

PARIS:

The shift from a Socialist premier and a heavily weighted Socialist cabinet to an MRP (Catholic Conservative Party) premier and a correspondingly weighted MRP cabinet signifies an ever increasing trend to the right and to de Gaullism. All the more so as Blum's failure can be attributed to his appeal for a government which would fight against the twin dangers of Stalinism and de Gaullism. One hundred deputies who voted against Blum and later for Schuman did so because the latter carefully avoided so gross an indiscretion as an attack on de Gaulle. One can therefore say that the new Schuman government owes its existence to the men and the sympathizers of de Gaulle in the Assembly.

Blum's "third force" no longer exists in the French parliament. Even Schuman's attempt to include Blum in his cabinet met with failure. Instead of Blum and Reynaud, the successful compromise candidate in the important post of Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs is Rene Mayer of the Radicals, who is a personal friend of de Gaulle and who

once served in his ministry. His selection was welcomed by the right and by the de Gaullists. Schuman, himself, was an under minister in the government of Petain and one of the men who refused to vote against the latter. Only his arrest by the Gestapo who considered him too untrustworthy, permits him today to hold important public post. Nonetheless, we see even at the present stage all the links which connect the representatives of the 200 families from Petain, de Gaulle, the MRP and the socialists who carry out their policy.

In the new government we see also the direct representatives of the capitalists taking into their hands the ministries directing the economy and controlling the armed forces. A convenient division of labor gives the Socialists the headache of dealing with the workers and bringing them to order. The Socialists, Daniel Mayer and Jules Moch, are now respectively Ministers of Labor and Social Security and Minister of the Interior. The former will try to bring the workers to their knees by peaceful means and the latter by the police.

Outside of the National Assembly which voted for the new government are over a million striking workers: railwaymen, dockers, seamen, miners, metal and automobile workers, postal workers and teachers. Every day thousands of workers are joining the strike. Everybody knows that the workers are striking because they can no longer stand the continuous decline of their real wages which, since last January, that is, less than a year, have been reduced by one quarter of its buying power!

One cannot simply identify their struggle with the insidious political

help of the police, they act as strike-breakers. However, one must also admit that unless another militant anti-Stalinist tendency develops to attract the workers away from the politics of the Stalinists they will in their demoralization drift to the conservative reformist tendency.

CP LEADS TO DEFEAT

If the Stalinist bureaucrats today are for strikes for a minimum wage of 10,800 francs a month, for an immediate increase of 25 per cent in wages, for a sliding scale of wages in the form of a readjustment of wages to prices every three months, they have only taken over what the workers have always wanted and for the espousal of which they previously branded everybody, including the Trotskyists, as "enemies of the working class." True that the Stalinists have political aims but they are aims that can only bring the workers to a catastrophe. The Stalinists utilize the struggles of the workers in the sense of a guerrilla war loaded with chauvinism, anti-American and anti-German, which aims at corraling the workers into the orbit of Russian imperialism. From the point of view of bourgeois rule the Stalinists have no revolutionary political aims. Their politics are the politics of a foreign agency on French soil. This kind of guerrilla warfare has already succeeded in throwing a large section of the middle classes in the de Gaullist camp.

Within the CGT (French Labor Federation) the Socialists play the same role as they do in the National Assembly. The reformist wing of the CGT, the "Workers Force" tendency of which Jouhaux is the leader, also cries "political strikes." They are fostering the secret strike ballot in the hope that the workers will, through it, vote against going on strike. They preach patience, faith in the capitalist government and the Marshall Plan aid, where they can with the

help of the police, they act as strike-breakers. However, one must also admit that unless another militant anti-Stalinist tendency develops to attract the workers away from the politics of the Stalinists they will in their demoralization drift to the conservative reformist tendency.

UNITY OF ANTI-STALINISTS

The militant left anti-Stalinist groups are small and scattered. There doesn't seem to be any good reason why the "Front Ouvrier" tendency of the Trotskyists in the CGT, the Monatte tendency, the ultra-leftists, the anarchists, the Socialist Youth, the Committees for Revolutionary Regroupment, etc., do not unite on a common trade union program to serve as a pole of attraction for the workers in and out of the CGT in opposition to both the reformist "Force Ouvriere" and the Stalinists. That should have been done a long time ago when the Stalinists and reformists were working together to keep the workers in check. Now it is more difficult to expose the Stalinists but it is all the more necessary. The Stalinist adventurers are capable of anything, even a "right" turn and a serious and united revolutionary force can profit from the inevitable disillusionment with Stalinism.

The mood of the workers and the legitimacy of their demands are such that the Schuman government will be obliged to make some concessions. However, the cost of living continues to rise. There has been a 73 per cent increase in the price of coal. A kilo of sugar went from 37 francs to 58 francs and this is the ration for two months! Ready-made suits have gone from 7,000 to 9,800 francs. The cost of a suit is about a month's wages so that the French workers have gone without new clothes since pre-war times. Subway, bus and railway fares have been increased as has also gas and electricity. Eggs have gone up in the past three months from 12 francs to 24 francs a piece. Milk and butter is unobtainable, etc.

Some of the price increases resulted from the government's elimination of its subsidies to coal, etc. Industrial products are being permitted increases in their prices to make up for the rise in the prices of raw materials and labor. The price spiral must lead to a devaluation of the franc, as French products are already too dear for

competition on the world market. In the meantime, all wait expectantly for aid from the Marshall Plan to counter the inflationary trend and the fiscal bankruptcy. However that works out the next period must continue to be one of continued hardship which the working class will try to alleviate by militant battle. The new government is aware of it and pronounces it will concede only so much as the economy can stand. That means that it will continue to solve the crisis of French economy on the backs of the workers.

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Editorials

Palestine Tragedy

The situation in Palestine is a tragedy. Nothing else could have followed the decision of the UN to divide that country into three parts. A land like Palestine cannot be cut up without drawing fratricidal blood.

Only two roads were open for dealing with the Palestine problem. One was, and remains, the democratic solution urged by socialists. It required simply the liberation of Palestine and its people from all imperialist domination and control, an end to the subversion of Palestine to the position of a pawn in imperialist power politics, a crossroads of permanent conflict. To liberate Palestine, to make it an independent democratic republic, nothing more was needed than the exercise by the Jewish and Arab peoples who inhabit it of the elementary right of self-determination. It was and still is primarily the task of the most cultured of these two peoples to take the leadership in the fight to proclaim the independence of Palestine and to defend this independence against all imperialist encroachment. And it is only by acting in this manner, by demonstrating in deeds as well as words that all the inhabitants of Palestine will enjoy fully and equally all the basic democratic rights, that an unshatterable unity of the two peoples could be established with the utmost consideration and protection of the rights and special interests of the minority.

The other was the road of imperialist solution imposed upon the peoples from without. This was the road adopted by the United Nations—the only road anyone had a right to expect this association of imperialist corporations to take. This solution we condemn as reactionary in its implications, disastrous in its consequences, enforceable only by violence against the peoples themselves. The tragedy is that the Zionist leaders promptly accepted it. They have no reason to be astonished at its inevitable consequences.

The Zionist political leaders simply cannot get it through their impervious chauvinistic skulls that the Arab people—not the mufti and the effendim, but the Arab people—are not one whit less passionately attached to their land and the land of their progenitors than are the Jews who want to make it their homeland. They seem to be unceasingly astonished and outraged at the thought that the Arabs of Palestine and even of other Arab countries are ready to fight and fall in the defense of their aspirations against all

end the fratricidal bloodshed from which neither people can profit and which serves only the interests of the imperialists who can make excellent use of it to justify their continued "protectorates" over the land. The continuation of the tragic battles runs counter to the most urgent and basic requirement in Palestine, the fraternal union of the two peoples. The continuation of the battles can only poison the land, intensify chauvinistic passions and postpone indefinitely the progressive, fruitful, harmonious solution of the Palestine problem.

In the present situation, fraught with the most grisly consequences, we militant socialists do not hesitate to call for "Cease fire!" for immediate reconciliation and appeasement between the two camps.

Precisely because it is the Jews who are, or seem to be, the immediate beneficiaries of the UN partition decision, it is upon them that the initiative devolves. It is incumbent upon them primarily to proclaim the most elaborate and scrupulous assurances to the Arab people and to make the greatest number of reasonable concessions. Short of joining immediately in the struggle against partition—a step which the Jews cannot, unfortunately, be expected to take right now—the status quo of partition can be conceived of as a possible transition to a solution only if the Jewish people and their responsible organizations do everything possible to convince the Arab masses—not by words alone—that no iniquity or injustice is contemplated against them, but only a desire to live in democratic and respectful comradeship with the other Palestine people.

It is a difficult problem, the problem of Palestine. It has been brutally complicated by the sinister designs of the imperialists. It has been criminally muddled by the Zionist political bosses and of course exploited cunningly by the Arab feudalists. The immediate and absolutely unpostponable task is, however, clear. A continuation of the tragic and fruitless battle of the brother-peoples must be brought to an instantaneous end. The main responsibility for discharging the task has been indicated. An honest observance of the elementary principles of democracy would suffice in this case to resolve the problem with distinction, honor and the assurance that sooner rather than later a durable solution would be found.

The Subversives - -

(Continued from page 1)

The Workers Party and other socialist groups resolutely opposed Stalinist totalitarianism at a time when the very forces that now attempt to engineer a monstrous amalgam between socialism and Stalinism were allied with and apologizing for Stalinist totalitarianism!

We say that the very indiscriminate lumping together of such incompatible organizations on one list shows how sinister are the purposes behind its compilation.

4) Finally, what is subversive and who are the real subversives?

No one knows what "subversive" is supposed to mean. It is one of those words the stir emotional reactions precisely because it has no exact or discoverable meaning. It is intended to inflame prejudices rather than actually to describe anything or anyone.

The Workers Party believes in socialism; in a strengthening of the power and betterment of the conditions of the working class; in opposition to imperialist war and in putting an end to the recurrent world wars that threaten the destruction of humanity; and in the human brotherhood of all men in an attempt to build a new, free, peaceful society.

What is "subversive" about that? Perhaps the shoe fits on another foot. Perhaps the real "subversives"—those who are subversive to the best interests of the people—are those who perpetuate a society which leads only to war and misery.

Perhaps the real "subversives" are those, like Attorney-General Clark's political companions, who perpetuate Jim Crow and anti-Negro prejudice; who humiliate and impoverish millions of Americans because their skin is dark; who nourish the vulgar and putrescent notions of racial superiority which they maintained even before the name of Hitler was known.

Perhaps the real "subversives" are those among Attorney-General Clark's political companions who juggle the atomic bomb that may destroy all humanity.

Perhaps the real "subversives" are those of Attorney-General Clark's political companions who attempt to hinder and shackle labor by such legislation as the Taft-Hartley bill.

For it is they and the capitalist class in whose behalf they labor so energetically that threaten the very existence of humanity! It is they who "subvert" the needs of America's people.

On the other hand, the Workers Party and LABOR ACTION preach, work for, fight for and live for a society in which the crimes which capitalism perpetrates against humanity will no longer be possible. And because the Workers Party despises all oppression and all tyranny it has only the most unyielding enmity to all totalitarian and tyrannical regimes of no matter what variety.

What is "subversive" about that? Is it in any way criminal or immoral or indecent to believe in and try to convince others to believe in socialism?

The Workers Party has never hidden any of its beliefs or activities. It proudly offers them for public inspection, secure in the belief that its ideas will one day be the property of millions of Americans. It has nothing to hide, nothing to dissimulate. The Workers Party has never engaged in "secret diplomacy," never entered into pacts with totalitarian regimes—pacts which deprived millions of innocent people of their liberties.

Can its accusers say as much for themselves?

Now, at the beginning of what may turn into still another witch-hunt against radicals, those who hold to the views of the Workers Party declare anew their adherence to socialism and human freedom and peace. They declare anew their unyielding enmity to capitalism and all its works.

That is where we stand. Our deep and passionate commitment to the glorious ideal of socialism will not be weakened or deflected by Mr. Clark's or anyone else's witch-hunts. We believe that the truth is ours and we shall stand by it.

IMPORTANT NOTICE:

Mail is frequently delayed during the Christmas season. We will find it necessary to go to press early during Christmas week. Please mail copy and other material early!

WORLD POLITICS

PARIS AND LONDON

As the London Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers draws to its futile conclusion in that city, across the Channel the wave of strikes launched by the Stalinists of Italy and France to coincide with the conference likewise begins to show definite signs of coming to its conclusion. It is clear that the Stalinist leadership, unsuccessful in the major strategic aims of its campaign, is now preparing the way for a retreat that will safeguard those partial successes already gained.

The rightist regimes in both Italy and France indicate no signs of toppling but, on the contrary, are more aggressive and, particularly in France, more confident than before. This is due to their basic understanding of the fact that, given the circumstances, the Stalinists dare not precipitate an open struggle for power but must inevitably retreat after reaching a certain point. The reactionary governments of De Gasperi and Schuman, supported by the rightist Socialist Parties of both countries, are therefore intent upon riding out the wave of Stalinist actions, holding as firm as possible, while preparing (even if only in a legal fashion, as with the new strike-breaking legislation adopted last week by the French National Assembly and signed by "socialist" President Auriol) to deliver sharp blows against both the Stalinists and the organized labor movement.

STALINISTS CREATE CHAOS

Because of their failure to topple the present governments and thus find a way back into state apparatus, the Stalinists have now shifted their emphasis away from political objectives, unobtainable today, and are concentrating on economic objectives—that is, causing as much possible economic disorder, loss of production and industrial chaos as they possibly can. Thus we have the display of bombings, open sabotage actions by Stalinist wrecking squads trained during the resistance movement days, strategic strikes aimed at crippling important industries, the calling off and on of various strikes, etc. etc. Regardless of what effect it may have upon the workers, regardless of its undoubted exhaustion of their strength and the dissipation of their energies, the Stalinists will stop at no tactic or trick to carry through this part of their program. Obviously, due to their continued, though lessening influence over labor, they are more successful at this. Many weeks' supplies of coal, steel and other vital production has been lost without the workers gaining a thing, and with a clearly growing demoralization setting in. All reports indicate a steady trend back to work among the 2,000,000 French CGT members still out. But they return to work in a disorderly, individualistic manner, not as trade unionists who have lost a struggle but are still confident and ready to prepare for the next. This is the consequence of the uncoordinated, unclear and narrowly political manner in which the Stalinist leaders conduct the strikes. It would appear that, at the moment, the Stalinists are primarily bent upon preserving their own political ranks and cadres. Their demonstrations, climaxed by their sit-down strike in the National Assemblies and various "seizures" of government buildings in scattered, small-sized French towns, have become increasingly political-Stalinist in tone.

In this complex situation it is difficult to foresee exactly how the struggle will be brought to a close. In all likelihood, there will not be any decisive act or event that will terminate the strike movement. Each side will slowly withdraw, until the full ebb of the movement has set in. There will be no decision, because no class or party in France has the strength to force a decision on its opponent today. In general, the Right will have gained a political victory; the Stalinists a partial economic victory in the sense that they have damaged the prospects of the Marshall Plan. The masses of workers, trapped between Stalinist adventurism and capitalist reactionary violence, will have gained little or nothing except the dismal prospect of a more severe winter. Yet the possibility for the revolutionary socialist Left to hit smashing blows into the body of Stalinism will exist. Will it take advantage of this opportunity?

It would be idle to expect the end of Stalinism's influence in France as a result of these events. A decline in its prestige and strength, yes. There is little doubt that a general political election would result in

a mass decline in popular Stalinist votes from its previous high of 5,500,000. Yet we see once more in this experience that Stalinism cannot be fought and vanquished either by the methods of the various capitalist parties or by the Social Democrats. The capitalist state can only resort to the gendarmerie and the army, with a clamping down upon popular rights, in the fight against Stalinism. As for the Social Democrats, their "third force" in the French situation proved to be only a vile championing of reaction, a pushing forward of every possible measure most detestable to the workers. The role of the French Socialist Party was epitomized by one Jules Moch, "socialist" Minister of the Interior, who proudly announced that he was "master in the house," after 200,000 soldiers had been mobilized and his police ordered to fire upon mobs of strikers when they deemed it necessary. Whatever the workers may think of the Stalinists for leading them into this blind and hopeless struggle, their contempt and hatred for the strike-breaking Socialist Party (whatever happened to the Socialist "lefts" who were so opposed to Blum and Ramadier?) must be immeasurable. At a later stage, a careful and detailed study of these highly significant events is a vital necessity for the Marxist movement. It will shed much light on the methods and inner character of Stalinism, as well as reinforce the revolutionary conception of the only possible way in which this world-wide movement can be successfully defeated—that is, by the victory of the revolutionists.

LONDON MEETING A FLOP

As for the London Conference—it has occupied increasingly less attention as it moves along its dreary road toward an inconclusive end. The possibility of drafting an Austrian treaty has been ruled out since Molotov has expressed Russia's intention of remaining in possession of part of that pitiful nation, as well as keeping troops in Hungary and Rumania. The discussions over Germany have been increasingly propagandistic in character, with Molotov emphasizing the Russian demand for a "unified" Germany, but largely counteracting the possible effect of this demagogy by reiterating Russia's demand for \$10 billion in reparations from current German production. The only significant development has been the partial emergence of French imperialism as a more positive and demanding force in the situation. Since France understands its strategic role in combatting Stalinist influence and thus helping the Marshall Plan along, it can now demand certain concessions from England and America. These revolve around the problem of the Ruhr and the products of its to-be-revived industries, and the issue is still unsettled.

London and Paris—two facets in the rivalry between the colossi. Both tussles have proved indecisive and both fields will shortly and temporarily be abandoned, to make way for the next phase of a struggle that will be with us yet a long time.

Henry Judd.

WORKERS PARTY WELCOMES NEW PITTSBURGH BRANCH

The National Committee of the Workers Party sends greetings to the newly constituted Pittsburgh Branch. Stan Lauren, its organizer, has reported that the branch was formally constituted on Sunday, November 30.

The Workers Party has for many years regarded the organization of a branch in the important steel center of Pittsburgh as a vital link in the party's structure of branches in the important industrial areas of the country. It was only after the recent Active Workers Conference that the first practical steps toward realizing this goal could be taken. Comrades Lauren and Tova departed for Pittsburgh in mid-November and immediately set to work at the task of organizing the branch.

The branch itself is already undertaking the work of expansion. All branches of the Workers Party welcome the Pittsburgh Branch into the party.

International Socialist Notes

BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST SENATOR

COLOMBO, Ceylon (IPS)—Comrade D. W. T. Perera, member of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, Indian section of the Fourth International, was elected to the Senate by the House of Representatives in Ceylon. At the very first session, Comrade Perera sponsored the demand for the abolition of the Second Chamber. Comrade Perera is the only Trotskyist in the Upper House.

The opening of the Ceylon Parliament was marked by a colorful ceremony. Nothing was lacking in its preparations for aping the Parliament at Westminster. The Governor read a speech from the throne. The Commander in Chief of the army and navy were present to add to the pageant. The judges in scarlet and the senators marched in procession to the House. Yet something went awry which the London Times did not fail to observe. "The ceremony," it said, "was boycotted by the six members of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, who held their own meeting in another part of the building." The entire BLP fraction, which includes the new senator, refused to be a party to the reactionary pageant.

DETENTION OF MANDEKAR

BOMBAY—Comrade Mandekar, a leading member of the BLP, is still rotting behind prison bars, thanks to the Congress government of Bombay. He is detained without trial by the very "lawless law" which the Congress, when in opposition, so violently condemned. This is the sample of freedom which the people can expect from the national government of Nehru. Comrade Mandekar was arrested for leading a strike of the textile mill workers in Bombay. Under the new set-up in India, even trade union work is becoming increasingly difficult outside Congress-

sponsored company unions. The release of Comrade Mandekar is being demanded by the workers and an intensive campaign is going on at this moment in his behalf.

BOLIVIAN REPRESSION

LA PAZ—The struggle of the Bolivian workers and peasants has extended and sharpened in recent months, but the government of "National Unity" under Premier Hertzog has unleashed a new wave of repression with the aid of the PIR (Stalinists). It is out to destroy revolutionary trade unions like the miners' federation—whose funds have been seized—and more especially the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers Party (POR). The latter is virtually outlawed, its members persecuted and its press practically banned, the printing plants having been ordered not to print any Trotskyist publication. Hertzog has authorized the mine bosses to dismiss all workers considered as "agitators" without any restriction. Several weeks ago 400 miners at Lalaguera were thus fired and ordered to leave the region for two years. Trade union leaders were likewise exiled. The mines have been placed under army control.

Solidarity with the victims of the Hertzog repression resulted in a general strike of miners, textile workers, bakers, bank employees and other workers. The government is planning to extend its repression to the Parliament, from which it is planning to expel the deputies of the Parliamentary Miners' Bloc (BMP). The textile union federation has sent a protest to Parliament on this subject. "We support the BMP deputies," the protest says, "because they are not only the authentic representatives of the mine workers, but of all the wage workers in the entire country." Repressive measures are sharpen-

ing. Concentration camps have been established in the Beni jungle, to which all "agitators" are sent. Hertzog calls them "Colonization Plan for agitators."

Despite Hertzog's persecution of the Trotskyists, the POR remains in the forefront of the workers' struggle. On the occasion of the anniversary of the people's uprising on July 21, it issued a manifesto to the Bolivian working class denouncing the reactionary policy of the Hertzog government and of the Stalinist PIR. The manifesto called for a struggle to defend the trade union and democratic rights, for the sliding scale of wages and hours, for the independence of the trade unions from the bourgeoisie and for collective agreements to cut through the maneuvers of the bosses.

PCI MILITANTS ARRESTED

PARIS—The blows of the government fall with particular severity on the Trotskyist militants. Three of them, Jacqueline Hoden, Claude Kahn and Jacques Danos, and a sympathizer, Francis Pillier, have been arrested for posting a party proclamation calling for the general strike.

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By JACK RANGER

THE PENDING FREIGHT RATE INCREASE

Inflationary tendencies in the nation's economy will receive a powerful upward thrust around January 1, when the Interstate Commerce Commission rules on the petition of the nation's railroads for a huge increase in the nation's freight rates. The railroads, which on January 1, 1947, received an over-all 17 per cent rate increase, are now seeking increases that will total 38 per cent in the East and interterritorially, and 28 per cent in the rest of the country, the average increase for the country as a whole being about 27 per cent. Such an increase will yield approximately \$1,873,000,000 annually on the basis of estimated 1947 traffic, and this increase will be passed on, several times multiplied, to the consumers.

The ICC is now conducting hearings throughout the country on the rail petition, and no one doubts that the ICC will see things pretty much the railroads' way.

With commodity prices already weakly moored, a combination of heavy freight rate increases and huge exports for European relief is certain to send prices of almost all goods far higher than they are today.

The railroads, which shoveled gold into the coffers of their banker-owners ever since the Second World War began, are earning enormous profits today, but Morgan, Kuhn Loeb, Mellon and the other banking firms which control the bulk of the country's railroads, are avid for yet greater profits. The Association of American Railroads has estimated that, without the increases now sought, railway net income in the first nine months of 1947, after interest and rentals, is up 200 per cent over the similar period of 1946.

No labor or consumer organizations have appeared before the ICC to testify on the railroad petition. But the bankers and property owners have turned out to whoop it up for the increases.

One of the few sober notes heard during the hearings came from the people who will have to talk the fastest to the masses to explain away higher prices—the retailers. They are getting more and more jittery about consumer resistance to high prices.

A representative of Bullock's department store in Los Angeles warned the ICC that "a further increase in the level of the present freight rates will result in a further decrease in consumer demand. It has already been demonstrated that the increases granted January 1, 1947, resulted in a decrease in consumer demand, particularly where the freight charges represent a substantial proportion of the invoice cost. ALTHOUGH GENERALLY OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME AN INCREASE IN FREIGHT RATES IS SHIPPED TO THE CONSUMER, IT DOES NOT FOLLOW THAT AN INCREASE CAN ALWAYS BE PASSED ON TO THE CONSUMER. The extent to which any increase can be passed on to the consumer is dependent upon the elasticity of the demand for the article. . . . Articles which are sensitive to any increase in the cost thereof will be immediately reflected in decreased sales and volume of movement, thereby nullifying in part the increase in revenue obtained on other commodities.

"BUYER RESISTANCE HAS ALREADY REACHED A POINT WHERE ANY FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE COST MAY RESULT IN A LESSENER DEMAND FOR THE ARTICLE, WITH AN ATTENDANT REDUCTION IN THE VOLUME OF TRAFFIC MOVING VIA THE RAIL LINES."

BUYERS' RESISTANCE GROWS

The treasurer of Eastern-Columbia, another Los Angeles retail store, said that, with the superimposing of the 10 per cent interim or temporary rail freight increase granted by the ICC in October of this year, his store finds that, "regardless of seasonal sales increases, a mounting resistance on the part of the buying public is encountered. It has become more and more obvious that only necessities (always short profit items) and nationally advertised 'fair trade' items are being purchased. . . . IF THIS TREND CONTINUES OR SHOULD BE ACCELERATED BY FURTHER HIGH TRANSPORTATION COSTS, IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF A FEW MONTHS UNTIL A DISASTROUS SITUATION MAY RESULT."

He predicted that with further increases in transportation costs, more and more merchandise items are apt to be classed as "fair trade" and placed on a maintained sales price or "mark up" level at the insistence of the government as a further hedge against inflation.

An officer of the May store (where Mary Livingston once worked, remember?) testified that "a further increase in the level of the present freight rate must inevitably result in higher retail prices on those items not price-fixed under California 'fair trade' laws. Any such price increase will result in a further increase in consumer sales resistance and a decrease in consumer purchases."

Already this year they have received permission from the ICC to increase Railway Express Agency charges by \$51,000,000 annually. (The REA is owned jointly by the nation's railroads.) They have demanded of the government that it pay them \$67,500,000 more yearly for hauling mail. They have sought to increase the rates on small shipments in the East by \$26,000,000. They have raised Pullman fares throughout the country and are seeking a further substantial raise. They have increased fares on commuter trains.

WHERE IS THE UNION MOVEMENT?

With the railroads picking the pockets of the masses in this way, you would think that the union leadership of the nation would be in there fighting against any further money being diverted into the pockets of the railroads and the investment bankers. But you haven't heard a peep out of Bill Green, or Phil Murray, or John L. Lewis, or Walter Reuther, or any other leading union official. These people are, for the most part, so steeped in conservative politics that they don't even think about social problems like this, or if they do think about such problems, they don't dare open their traps.

But a socialist trade union leadership, committed to independent labor political action and to a Labor Party and a workers' government, would know how to speak out against the calculated robbery of the people being organized by the railroads and the ICC. A socialist leadership would know how to defend the interests of the masses, and of the railroad workers, too.

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Continuing a Discussion of the Differences in the WP. and SWP Positions

Two Policies in the Auto Workers Union - II

By MAX SHACHTMAN

In his attack upon our policy in The Militant of December 1, Breitman discharges an unenviable assignment. It is obvious from his article that he swallowed the policy of his own party leadership with a minimum of enthusiasm. In compensation, he attacks our policy with a maximum of distortion, irrelevance and cold violence to good sense.

Our policy in the UAW, he writes, merits attention "as a case-history of what Stalinophobia leads to. The Shachtmanites were blinded by fear and hatred of Stalinism to the point where they could no longer distinguish the main dangers and the real trends in the union. They ended up not only by giving service, support and comfort to the Reuther-ACTU bloc, which aims to Hillmanize and housebreak the UAW, but also by giving objective aid to the Stalinists."

Let us start then with Stalinophobia. It is an excellent political term, too good, in fact, to be used as a gob of mud hurled at an embarrassing—not embarrassed, but embarrassing—opponent. You suffer from Stalinophobia if you are "blinded by fear and hatred of Stalinism" to the point where, in order to combat the Stalinists, you align yourself with political forces that are equally or more reactionary and above all where you exchange your own program (which, we assume, is revolutionary, or socialist, or working class in general) for the program of your reactionary allies. You suffer from Stalinophobia if, in fighting the Stalinists, you accept a leadership and program which mean the abandonment of the class independence of the workers. At least four times out of five this results in making things easier for the Stalinists. "Look at the reactionary camp with which our opponents are aligned!"

Where was this true in the "case-history" to which Breitman refers? Did we perhaps abandon our own program? Did we become the champions of Reuther's program, or drop our criticism of what deserves to be criticized, or cover up what ought to be revealed? Did we fail to make clear—day in and day out and for that matter year in and year out—the objective political reasons for our differences with Reuther, for our refusal to become "Reutherites," and at the same time the political reasons why we call for support of Reuther at the head of the union as against the Addes-Stalinist combination? Can Breitman perhaps find in his own press a superior, more effective socialist political criticism of Reuther than is to be found in ours?

Or can it be that our Stalinophobia was shown in the fact that in order to fight the Stalinists we aligned ourselves with the more reactionary or less progressive forces in the union? Read Breitman's article and all the other articles in The Militant for the past couple of months which, directly or indirectly, seek to justify the new line of the SWP. Not one of them dares to say in so many words: the Addes-Stalinist group contains or is supported by the progressive workers in the UAW (or the bulk of them) whereas the contrary is true of the Reuther group. To say it and to bol-

ster the statement with facts would suffice to confirm the position of the SWP, on the whole. But the SWP cannot make such a statement and it cannot adduce any facts to bolster it up.

HOW HOW DID THE SWP CHANGE ITS LINE?

Let us look at it from another angle. In the 1946 convention fight, the SWP supported Reuther, after its own fashion, as against the Addes-Stalinist combination. At its own national convention a year ago, it even embodied this support in its main resolution, again after its own fashion, analyzing, explaining and justifying it in the most important and formal political document a party like the SWP can adopt. So far as anyone can tell, it maintained this position until a couple of months ago. The only ground upon which it could do this is that, on the whole, Reuther represented a more progressive force than Addes, and the bulk of the progressives in the union were with the former and not the latter.

On the eve of the UAW convention, however, the SWP leadership made a complete turn-about-face and called upon the UAW members to support Addes. A sharp change in a situation justifies even the most drastic change of front. But just what is it that changed in the UAW? To justify changing from support of Reuther to support of Addes, it would only be necessary to do the following:

1. To prove, not by assertion but by clearly demonstrable facts, that there had recently been a significant shift of progressives from the Reuther camp to the Addes camp, with an equally significant shift of conservatives in the opposite direction. To prove this would be decisively important for the socialist policy in the UAW. But The Militant, including Breitman, has never even attempted to make such an assertion! It is too well aware of the fact that if it did, we would promptly ask three simple questions: Who? When? Where? It could only answer these questions like the dog in the fable. (See last week's LABOR ACTION.)

2. At the very least, to prove that the Addes group is not BASED upon a close alliance with the Stalinists, that it is not the stalking-horse of the Stalinists, that it is not shot through politically with Stalinism. The SWP is so thickly covered with the mud from the Stalinist pool into which it plunged, that Breitman feels some need to shake it off. Credit it where credit is due. His heart is in the right place. A pity that the same cannot be said about another organ which is more important in this case. Here is how he tries to show that it isn't mud, in the first place, and not Stalinist mud, in the second.

"An editorial statement in the October 13 Militant noted that since the 1946 convention decisive changes had taken place in the two contending caucuses."

Nowhere does Breitman explain what decisive change took place, and when, in the Reuther caucus. Not by one word. Nor has The Militant ever explained it since its October 13 issue—unless the explanation consists

in the discovery, made long ago by the Daily Worker, that Reuther is a social-democrat (as against Addes, Thomas and Leonard, who are—who are what? What indeed are they, politically? We await instruction from The Militant on this score, and with irrepressible curiosity!); and that Reuther wants to become the dictator of the union (as against Addes and his Stalinist chums who are determined to democratize the UAW if they die in the attempt).

However, Breitman does explain the "decisive changes" that have taken place in the Addes caucus.

"One of the most important [of the changes] was the declining influence of the Stalinists in the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus, in which they had formerly played a leading role."

For them [the Workers Party] the mere presence of the Stalinists was enough to condemn it as a Stalinized caucus which could not be supported under any circumstances. For, as the same Militant pointed out: "The auto workers by a democratic judgment have inflicted just punishment on the Stalinist scoundrels for their innumerable crimes against the working class." Approximately 30 Stalinists were elected this year, the smallest number in UAW history. And the Stalinists were steadily losing support not only in the UAW as a whole—but in the Thomas-Addes-Leonard caucus as well, where it hurt them the most."

In substance, there is Breitman's proof and justification of his party's policy, with a succinct presentation of our party's view struck right out of his imaginative thumb and thrown in to make the article longer. Before going further with quotations from Breitman, let us see what he has already said.

STALINIST INFLUENCE IN ADDES CAUCUS

The SWP, it would now appear, changed from opposition to Addes to support of his group because of the DECISIVE fact that up to yesterday the Stalinists were influential in the group, whereas today their influence is in decline due to the just punishment democratically inflicted upon them by the UAW members. If it follows, as it must, that the SWP decides its support or opposition to a trade-union faction by the degree of influence and power that the Stalinists have in it, what happens to the charge of Stalinophobia leveled at us in the preceding paragraph? It is kicked straight in the belly, not liberally but unwittingly, for, let us remember, it is only Breitman's heart that is in the right place. If it follows, as it must, that the SWP refused to support Addes yesterday on the ground that Stalinist influence in his group was considerable, then the nature of our particular crime is obviously not Stalinophobia but merely an overestimation of Stalinist influence in the Addes group today. For if the SWP shared our estimate, it would share, substantially, our policy, as it did up to recently. That in the first place.

In the second place, our critic says that just punishment was democratically inflicted upon the Stalinist scoundrels, punishment so heavy that their strength at the convention and

even in the Addes caucus was reduced to its lowest point. The colorful vigor of The Militant's language indicates that it approves the punishment heartily. We are encouraged to ask: WHO among the auto workers inflicted this punishment, and so democratically at that? Who took the lead in the inflicting? Who was most active in it? Addes, Thomas and Leonard? Or their group? If this is what Breitman is trying to say, we clearly have before us an inter-planetary debate, in which we inhabit the earth on which the UAW fight took place while he watched the fight from one of the more remote stars, using only the naked eye for observation.

It is a fact, however, that in some elections the Stalinists were defeated by Addes supporters. In the Daily Worker (November 27), the Stalinist minister for trade-union affairs, John Williamson, complains about Addesites as follows: "The desperate and unprincipled factional deals that were made in specific locals or shops catering to white chauvinist, anti-Negro groups, and in others a policy of anti-communism and exclusion of Communists from the caucus. This reached a high point when the [Addes] executive board unanimously agreed with Reuther that Section 8 applied to members of the Communist Party. The only difference of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard forces was their insistence that a trial should be given the accused." This piteous complaint happens to correspond to a considerable number of facts that have come to our attention as well. In other words, from the information we have, where non-Stalinist Addesites defeated or ousted Stalinists (cases were not too numerous) it was done in most instances on a reactionary basis, most often on the basis of what The Militant describes as "red-baiting." That is the main reason why—as Breitman writes, without knowing what he is writing about—"in numerous local elections the Stalinists ran their own states against the official Thomas-Addes-Leonard states."

It is also a fact that Stalinist influence in the Addes caucus has been in decline. When Breitman writes a fact, he does not know what he is writing about, and that seems to us to be a pretty charitable way of putting it. WHY did the Stalinists "defy" the caucus decision? Williamson writes in the Daily Worker about the Addes group: "More and more, dependence was placed on factional maneuvering and deals. In fact, right down to the convention itself, the idea of 'soft-pedaling' on policy and even refusing to oppose Reuther's candidacy, in order to make 'deals,' still permeated the thinking of some leaders of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard forces." Delicately but clearly put. Moreover, it is truth itself, and stated by an expert.

If there is one man who knows an unprincipled clique when he sees one, it is Williamson, any Williamson you want. But if his analysis is correct—and it is—what happens to Breitman's point? Is he trying to say that the Addes caucus decision not to run a slate against Reuther—the doubly-accused Social-Democrat, the triply-accused dictator, the quadruply-accused Red-baiter—was correct? That the Stalinist decision to violate caucus discipline and "run a partial slate of their own" against Reuther was wrong? Didn't the SWP advocate that a slate be run against Reuther? Maybe consistency is not a

principled cliquesters to put distance between themselves and the voters who have failed them. But it is not these cliquesters who did the fighting and the reducing. That was done and is still being done, primarily and mainly, by the militants in the other group. That's the point!

WHY STALINISTS DEFIED DECISION OF CAUCUS

There is still another reason why people like Addes are seeking to loosen their ties with the Stalinists or to break from them. It is the tremendous pressure against Russia and her agents, the Stalinists here, which has been initiated, mobilized and steadily exerted by the capitalist class and its government, very clearly expressed in what amounts to an ultimatum to all union leaders: "Get behind the Marshall Plan, stand by your country in the coming war with Russia—or else!" You have to be made of wood and inlaid with ivory not to understand that this is the pressure to which leaders of the Addes type are succumbing, slowly but surely. It is a doubly and quadruply tragic misfortune that as yet, for most people in the labor movement, the choice can be only between supporting Russian imperialism or American imperialism. We for our part stand by an alternative to both, the independent working-class socialist alternative. But that is another matter. For the moment, we need only ask: Not necessarily from our standpoint, but precisely from the political standpoint of the SWP, how does a break from the Stalinists in the direction of support of American imperialism constitute a progressive step?

It is a fact that, as Breitman writes, "at the climax of the convention they [the Stalinists] defied caucus decisions [of the Addesites] and ran a partial slate of their own." Once more, he does not know what he is writing about, and that seems to us to be a pretty charitable way of putting it. WHY did the Stalinists "defy" the caucus decision? Williamson writes in the Daily Worker about the Addes group: "More and more, dependence was placed on factional maneuvering and deals. In fact, right down to the convention itself, the idea of 'soft-pedaling' on policy and even refusing to oppose Reuther's candidacy, in order to make 'deals,' still permeated the thinking of some leaders of the Addes-Thomas-Leonard forces." Delicately but clearly put. Moreover, it is truth itself, and stated by an expert.

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jewel, but Breitman does not even discount it at ten cents on the dollar.

SEEK NEW VEHICLE FOR THEIR PURPOSES

Back again to the insufferable but invaluable Williamson. What is he saying in the passage quoted above? Translated into crude and honest English, it is this: "So long as the Addes group fights for its political line—and the only political line it ever had was the one we supplied it with—it has the right to exist separately from the Reuther group and to fight it, and to be considered a principled group. But to the extent that it abandons this political line and presents no other as a substitute for it, it ceases to have a right to independent existence and becomes an unprincipled clique of organizational horse-traders, deal-makers and job-hunters."

Williamson, who proceeds from some principle (and there is such a thing as Stalinist principle, reactionary and loathsome though it is), understands the situation ten times better than our critic. He is ten times more concrete and politically sensitive than our critic. He has ten times more foresight than our critic, even though we have nothing in common with the former and a good deal in common with the latter. It is sad and it is true.

And it is also a fact, as Breitman writes, that the Stalinists are talking about breaking up the Addes group and undoubtedly working toward that—in favor of what Williamson calls "the process of realignment that the UAW needs." Williamson at least knows what he is talking about. The Stalinists have a clear strategic objective in the labor movement and their tactics serve it with hardly a slip. The strategic objective of the SWP is, at best, abstract, in the actual conflict in the labor movement, it has no understood objective; consequently it lives from hand to mouth merely on disembodied tactics.

The Stalinists understand that if the Addes group continues in the direction it has just begun to take—and in all likelihood it will continue that way—it will soon cease to be a useful vehicle for the Stalinists from two standpoints. Politically, in that it will abandon its Stalinist political line for one hostile to Russia and her agents; AND ORGANIZATIONALLY, in that without the Stalinist political line it will have no independent or distinctive political line of its own and is therefore doomed to absorption by Reuther and/or rapid shrinkage into ineffectuality. So the Stalinists are seeking to fabricate a new and more reliable vehicle for themselves before the one they are now riding collapses completely.

The SWP, lacking the political perspicacity of the Stalinists and impelled by purely opportunist considerations, allied itself with the Addes group at almost the mathematically exact wrong time—or the most wrong time, as it were, for there never was a right time. What it calls the "fluid situation" of the Addes-Stalinist caucus was nothing but the caucus going to pieces in all directions. The Stalinists have not yet, not quite, abandoned it. With the Stalinists in it, it is what it has been for years, a Stalinist caucus POLITICALLY. With the Stalinists out of it, it is a zero, or next to zero. Nothing can revive it, not even the SWP and all the powerful mass support which, in contrast to us, it boasts of. Its traditional supporters have abandoned it by the thousands. If most of the militants and progressives have not abandoned it, it is only because they were never in it. If it comes to life again as a serious force, then only if the Reutherite leadership commits a whole series of exceptionally gross and stupid blunders or worse, for

which the Addesites can claim no responsibility and against which they are able to offer a superior program.

SHAMEFUL RELATION, SHAMELESS DENIAL

Instead of allowing the Addes-Stalinist faction to die its inevitable death quickly, so as to clear up the situation in the UAW and thereby clear the road for the next stage in the development of the socialist and militant fight, the SWP has done the opposite. With whatever support and prestige it commands, it tried to breathe life into the corpse-to-be. Breitman continues to paint up the faction as bright, glamorous, healthy and progressive to this hour, when it is all but utterly discredited and its last legs are walking off from under it. To the extent that it was possible to do so, the SWP lent the color of "honest radicals" to the Addes group. Worse yet, it gave and still gives protection and legalization to the Stalinists. On the run, the Stalinists quite consciously and cynically accepted and endorsed the alliance with the SWP, in a lingering hope that this might give the faction a new lease on life or at least take the curse off it. Breitman talks about the desperate hand-to-hand warfare his friends waged against the Stalinists in the caucus. Perhaps, perhaps. But the Stalinists do not seem to be bleeding from many wounds suffered in that war.

There is evidence to the contrary—more than needs to be printed here.

We have before us the bulletin of the NCP (November 17), a super-Stalinist group that has broken with the Communist Party on the grounds that it is not genuinely or sufficiently Stalinist, but which is not badly informed about what is going on in the CP. This botanical curiosity writes about the UAW fight: "This is at least the second UAW convention in which CPUSA and the 'Canonite' faction of the Trotskyists have openly joined hands, and this hand-holding reflects a great many CPUSA-Trotskyite deals at lower levels." In his Daily Worker article, Williamson complains against Reuther: "He repeats the threadbare lies about Communist interference to cover up his own relations with the Socialists, with Dubinsky, with the ACTU and the Trotskyite Shachtman." Very specific. If Williamson does not complain about Addes, or his own relations with the Trotskyite Cannon, it is doubtful if the omission is due to lack of space at his disposal. It is simply a matter of two schools of thought. One believes that if a relation is not mentioned, nobody will know about it. The other believes the same end is achieved if the relation is denied. In either case, the relation nevertheless exists. The relation of the SWP to the Stalinists was shameful. The attempt to deny it is shameless.

There remain two other points of interest. With reference to our position on why the Reuther group was to be supported as against the Stalinists, Breitman says: "Does the convention record back up this claim about greater progressiveness and militancy?" In the next and concluding article, we will endeavor to answer this question as it deserves to be answered. The article will deal specifically with the question of signing or non-signing of the "non-Communist" affidavits of the Taft-Hartley Act and the question of "red-baiting." In what we consider an appropriate conclusion, Stalinophobia will be touched on again with a few additional words, along with a little footnote on political polemics. More than likely, Breitman will not agree with what is written in our farewell. But neither he nor his friends will be able to say that it is without interest or concern to them. And not to them alone.

First Returns Promise Successful WP Fund Drive

By YETTA BARSCH, Campaign Director

DECEMBER 8—The receipts for the first week of the Workers Party \$15,000 Fund Drive indicate that the goal will be reached. Both Indiana and Oregon have already fulfilled their quotas, the former indicating that in all likelihood its quota will be oversubscribed before the end of the drive.

In response to an appeal that comrades and friends turn in their pledges without delay so that the campaigns outlined can begin at once, the Philadelphia Branch has already collected and turned in the sum of \$246.50—representing 62 per cent of its quota—and the Buffalo Branch has sent in, via special delivery mail, the sum of \$240—representing 40 per cent of its quota—together with the following note from the branch organizer:

"Your letter hit us like a sledge hammer. We had planned, as you can see in the minutes, to be 'good hearted' and send you \$200 within the first week of the drive. Your letter changed

our minds. I personally interviewed all those members I could reach, showed them the letter and—as you have already noted—there is \$240 enclosed. Monday morning there will be close to \$200 more. The rest will be more difficult to get. Shachtman's visit (Comrade Shachtman is scheduled to speak in Buffalo on December 12—Ed.) will probably net us an additional sum, which we will send in over our quota....

"Please keep us posted as to the progress of the drive. The comrades are making real sacrifices to meet their quotas by Monday. They are hoping everything turns out beyond your expectations...."

Many of the other branches have written in outlining their plans and assuring us that they will be sending in their money in the next few days. Almost all members of the Workers Party have made pledges and are arranging to pay them as quickly as possible.

EXPECT TO GO OVER THE TOP

The Baltimore Branch Fund Drive director writes as follows: "The Baltimore Branch wishes to report that six members of the branch have subscribed for a total of \$159. The comrades who have not yet subscribed are expected to do so shortly. Baltimore's quota is \$100 and it appears that we will oversubscribe by a big margin."

The New York Local Fund Drive director informs us that efforts are being made to go over the top by hundreds of dollars. We are promised substantial results by next week.

If all promises are kept and if the first week's results can be maintained, we will raise most of the \$15,000 during the first month of the drive. All Fund Drive directors are urged to speed up collections. Fill most of the quotas before the end of December! Spend January and February going over the top!

Friends and readers of LABOR ACTION: Send in your contribution without delay! Include us in your Christmas gift list. We are counting on your support and your assistance to go over the top! Make out your checks or money orders to:

INDIANA, OREGON MEET THEIR QUOTAS

Branch	Quota	Dec. 8	Pct.
1. Indiana	\$50.00	\$50.00	100
2. Oregon	50.00	50.00	100
3. Philadelphia	400.00	246.50	62
4. Buffalo	600.00	240.00	40
5. National Office	3,500.00	1,100.00	31
6. San Francisco	1,000.00	215.48	22
7. Newark	400.00	54.54	14
8. Seattle	400.00	50.00	12
9. Chicago	1,500.00	133.00	9
10. Los Angeles	500.00	25.00	5
11. New York City	4,000.00	154.00	4
12. Akron	400.00	00.00	0
13. Baltimore	100.00	00.00	0
14. Boston*	60.00	00.00	0
15. Cleveland	500.00	00.00	0
16. Connecticut*	50.00	00.00	0
17. Detroit	800.00	00.00	0
18. Hibbing*	5.00	00.00	0
19. New York Misc.	20.00	00.00	0
20. No. Carolina*	200.00	00.00	0
21. Pittsburgh*	25.00	00.00	0
22. Reading	75.00	00.00	0
23. St. Louis*	60.00	00.00	0
24. San Pedro	100.00	00.00	0
25. Streator*	30.00	00.00	0
26. West Virginia*	150.00	00.00	0
27. Youngstown	200.00	00.00	0
	\$15,175.00	\$2,318.52	15

*These quotas have not yet been accepted and are therefore subject to change.

WORKERS PARTY
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Enclosed find a \$..... contribution to the \$15,000 fund drive.

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MAX SHACHTMAN SPEAKS ON:
"What Is the Aim of Stalinism In France and Italy?"