

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

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 26, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

German Workers Fight Against Hunger Diet

By HENRY JUDD

Hundreds of thousands of industrial workers in Germany's Ruhr Valley cities participated last week in mass hunger demonstrations against their starvation rations. In the key industrial cities of Duisburg, Mulheim, Essen and Dinslaken, workers from the coal mines, iron and steel plants walked out in 24-hour demonstrations which threaten to be only the beginnings of mass action on the part of the six million people who live in the Ruhr region.

The basic cause of these actions is the outright shortage of all foods, which has driven the promised ration of 1,550 calories daily far below that mark. At the same time, in Frankfurt, officials warned that the worst is yet to come during the months of February, March and April, before spring sets in. It was predicted that the 40 million Germans living in the American and British zones would not receive a

single "gram of fat and little meat," beginning on February 1. "For the first time since the end of the war we really face famine," said Dr. Gebhard Seelos, president of the German Bizonal Executive Committee. All reserves and winter stocks have now been exhausted, and the great need is for fats, meat and flour.

The response of the occupation authorities to this menacing situation has been typical. British and American military government spokesmen have simply placed the entire blame upon the Germans, particularly the farming section of the population. The economic chaos and stagnation existing in Germany, which forces the farmer to resort to black market sales and operations in the hope of there receiving some of the things he desperately needs for his farm, is directly the responsibility of the occupying authorities. They have had full charge of German life since May, 1945. (Cont. on p. 3 in World Politics col.)

Auto Workers Spearhead Struggle For Third Round Wage Increases

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT, Jan. 18—Once again General Motors workers prepared to spearhead the UAW-CIO and the entire CIO in a major struggle against the Wall Street rulers of American industry for a living wage when 200 union delegates from nearly 100 GM plants, representing 225,000 production workers, adopted a set of demands that bring the UAW-CIO in a direct clash with profit-bloated General Motors.

These demands, worked out by Walter P. Reuther, international union president, and the Executive Board, include:

- (1) A wage package approximating a little over 30 cents an hour, to be divided in the following fashion: a 15-cent flat boost in hourly pay, ten cents an hour to be set aside for a pension plan, and five cents an hour to be used for a health and insurance program. In addition, vacation pay to be increased to seniority holders.
- (2) A guaranteed 40-hour work week for every week the men are called in.
- (3) A union shop and the check-off.

The GM strike program of 1945-46, including the ideas of higher wages without price increases, and opening the books of the corporation, were repeated by Reuther in his usual compromising fashion.

In case GM refuses to discuss the pension plan, the UAW-CIO wage demand automatically would remain at 25 cents an hour, a figure previously suggested by various GM local union presidents.

Of course, all the delegates knew, as Reuther's statistics proved, that GM could grant the whole demand and still make hundreds of millions of dollars of profit in 1948, and they also knew that GM wasn't likely to grant the demands. That is why there was not much debate on the demands themselves. One delegate tried to bring up the idea of an escalator clause in the contract, but a factional speech by John De Vito, the Cleve-

Truman Tax Plan Vote Bait for '48

By SUSAN GREEN

Would President Truman have come out with his \$40 cost-of-living tax adjustment recommendation if Henry Wallace had not organized his third party? Would the President have made this recommendation if his own party dominated Congress instead of the Republicans, whom he wants to put on the spot before November? Politics being what they are, everybody knows the answers.

At any rate, this tax adjustment was one of the few concrete recommendations in the President's State of the Union message which, because of its avowed intention to fix everything and its vagueness as to how, has been properly described as the 1948 election platform of the Democratic Party. The Truman tax plan is simple enough. Each taxpayer, no matter of what income level, is to take \$40 off his tax for himself and \$40 for each of his dependents. Thus a family of four would get a cut of \$160. This, the President avers, will be a cost-of-living bonus for the low income groups.

But Mr. Truman has a twofold problem. Not only does he want to make a bid for the votes of the working people. As chief executive of the capitalist-imperialist government, he is reluctant about cutting the federal revenue by the \$3.2 billion his \$40 bonus would entail. So, with another grandiose gesture toward the working people, he proposed to pass on the \$3.2 billion to the corporations whose yearly profits make new highs. Thus Mr. Truman seemingly sponsors the "revolutionary" idea of "soaking the rich" to "benefit the poor."

What excellent electioneering this is becomes clear when we contrast Mr. Truman's proposal with the tax ideas of the Republicans. Last spring the Republicans tried to pass the Knutson bill but could not muster the strength to override the presidential veto. That bill was obviously written to benefit income groups of

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WALTER REUTHER

land anti-Reutherite, antagonized the delegates and caused the idea to be lost in the shuffle. It was very evident that the delegates were in no mood for factional sniping, and the virtually unanimous support given Reuther's proposals showed the ranks wanted him to lead the struggle against the corporation.

In this connection, the meeting of the International Executive Board, held prior to the GM conference, was marked by only one major clash, when anti-Reuther forces sought in demagogic fashion to boost the wage proposal of Reuther. Their idea was that one proves oneself more militant than Reuther by simply beating by a dime any wage demand he makes. This approach doesn't impress many auto union militants.

What happens to the wage demands depends, as it did in the 1945-46 strike, not so much on the GM workers, but on what the CIO does to back them. If Philip Murray, CIO president, signs a contract with the steel corporations, setting a pattern it will be extremely difficult for the UAW to do other than follow suit. If the UE, which has a contract covering 30,000 GM workers, breaks the union front, as it did in the last GM strike, this will damage the UAW struggle.

The strategic position of the GM workers is improved within the auto industry, however, by the fact that 78,000 Chrysler workers, who are expected to make similar demands, will not sign a separate agreement as they did in the 1945-46 situation, which gave them 18½ cents while the GM workers were on the picket line ask-

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Palestine Clashes Threaten Open War

By AL FINDLEY

The fratricidal war in Palestine continues to increase in intensity and to reap a harvest of dead and wounded, plus the disruption of the economy of both peoples. The main responsibility for the bloodshed lies in the UN plan that acts as an incentive to bloodshed. The UN recommended the establishment of two independent states and provided for a dangerous transition period under the British, to be followed by an interim period under the UN. Such an arrangement is an open invitation to violence. The Mufti and the Arab League gladly welcomed this invitation and acted upon it. They have the not unreasonable hope that the plan can be upset and the precarious imperialist balance in favor of partition won over to their point of view by "action" and by oil.

The military policy of the Mufti bands has been a non-discriminatory one. All Jews have been declared legitimate targets, whether armed or not. No distinction is made between civilians or armed groups and little attempt is made to spare women and children. This criminal policy is deliberate on the part of the Mufti. He wants to start an all-out war of ALL Arabs against ALL Jews. How better do this than by provoking retaliatory attacks on innocent Arabs. He hopes thus to consolidate the anti-war Arabs behind his war program.

The British are continuing to aggra-

vate the situation in Palestine. At best their policy is one of "benevolent neutrality to the Mufti bands." They continue their policy of not defending any attacked group, whether Jews or Arabs; the disarming of the Haganah and the official sale of limited quantities of arms to the countries of the Arab League. Black market sale of arms by English police is reaching scandalous proportions without any interference by the authorities. The only condemnatory statement issued by the British was in relation to the blowing up of a hotel by the Haganah.

Many reports tend to indicate that the British Foreign Office is more than benevolently neutral to the Mufti. The suspicious activity of Brig. Gen. Clayton in the Arab capitals underlies the British guilt. Gen. Clayton aspires to the role of "Lawrence of the Desert" and is attempting to unite the Arab rulers in a struggle against partition.

Stalinist Russia too is doing its share in stirring up trouble. We reported that the nationalized armaments industry of their Czech puppets was selling unlimited arms to the Arab League. More than ten days passed before this report was denied, but the denial denied nothing. All it said was that Skoda was not selling to Syria. No mention was made of the other countries of the

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400 Attend Minneapolis Funeral of Irving Blumberg

MINNEAPOLIS—Four hundred people attended the funeral services held in Minneapolis for Irving D. Blumberg. The memorial was a fitting tribute to this fighter in the socialist movement who had passed away at the age of 39.

Representatives from the NAACP and the Workers Party were the chief speakers. The people who came were from various fields in which Comrade Blumberg had been active—Negro and white workers, members of the Minnesota Jewish Council, as well as members of the Workers Party and Socialist Workers Party.

Rev. Clarence Nelson, National Board member of the NAACP, spoke of the energy, the complete idealism of the man who realized that he was a sick man yet could not possibly remain idle when there was so much to do. He told of the joint work on amnesty for conscientious objectors, the fight to abolish Jim Crowism in the armed forces during the war and lately the special campaign that Irving had sparked in the compilation of a housing survey portraying the need for adequate housing and against restrictive covenants.

Albert Goldman, a leading member of the Workers Party, spoke of Comrade Blumberg as a man who lived and died a socialist. He tried to live his life as a human being would in a socialist society. He patterned his day-to-day activities according to his conception of a full socialist life. He was that unique and rare individual who was born a rebel and lived the life of a rebel, militantly fighting against every institution of a degrading capitalist society. He was driven by a conviction that only through the complete reconstruction

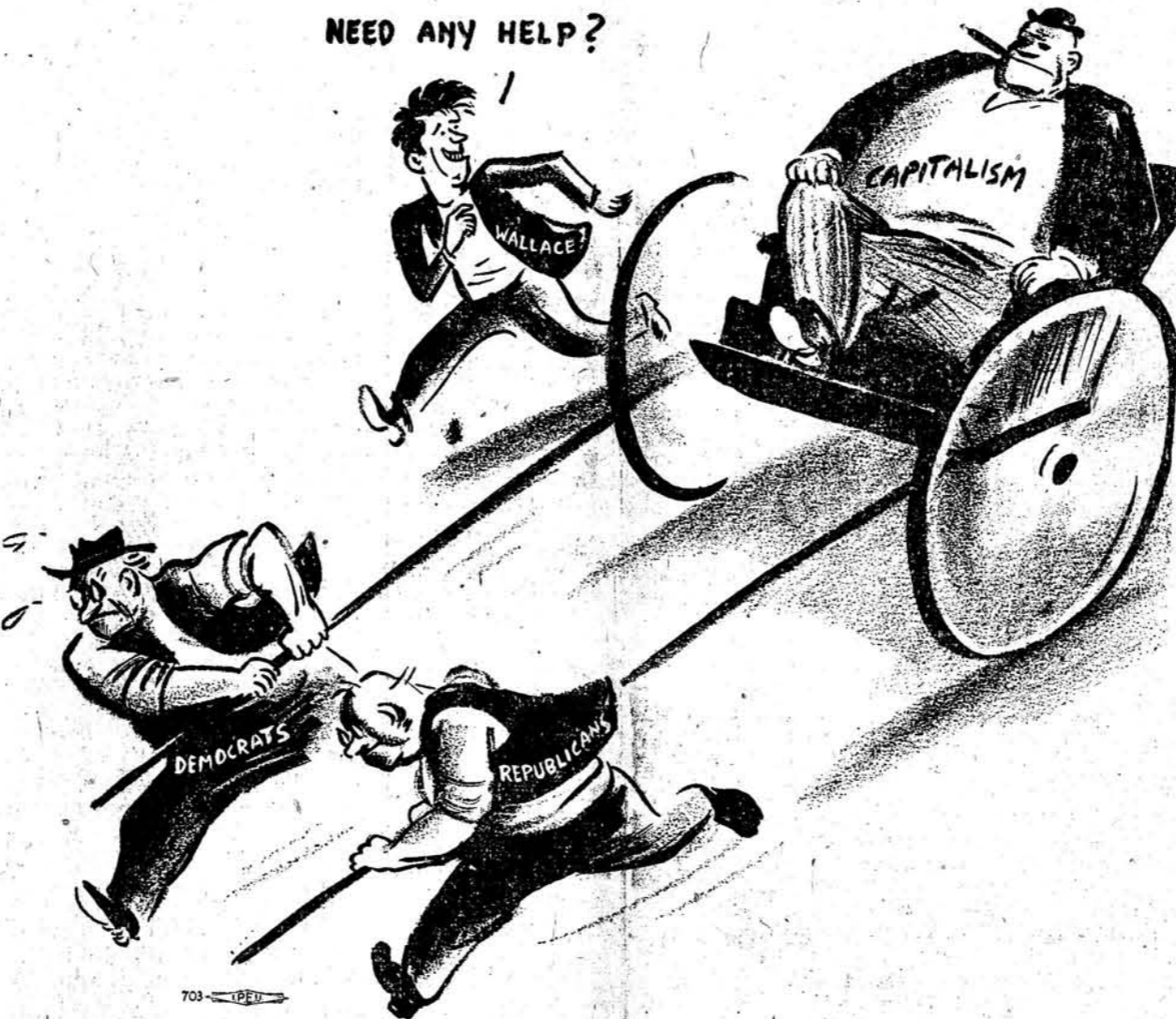
of society could man achieve that dignity and security which is his due.

He rejected all dogma and broke with all forms that blocked critical thinking. Even though he knew he had a serious cardiac deficiency, he could not lead an inactive life. He was driven by his conviction that only through his complete emersion in the activities of the socialist move-



ment could his life have any real meaning.

The Minneapolis Spokesman and the Minneapolis Observer, organs of the Twin Cities Negro community, paid tribute to Irving Blumberg in front-page articles and editorial comment.



Stalinists Back Wallace, Unions Repudiate Him

By MIRIAM LEWIS

The Progressive Citizens of America (PCA) has concluded its sessions in Chicago and done the expected in nominating and backing Henry Wallace as its presidential candidate. Although pretending not to be an official "third party" which will formally launch the candidacy of Wallace at a later date, the PCA gathering is clearly the major driving force behind the entire campaign. One of the factors undoubtedly operating to slow up the PCA is the obvious Stalinist-front nature of the organization.

The PCA is now set to embark on a campaign, centering in Ohio and Illinois, to place its candidate's name on the state ballots. Statewide PCA conferences are scheduled in Ohio and New York in the near future, and Wallace's future major speeches will take place under the PCA label and banner. At its Chicago convention, notably sprinkled by Stalinist "fellow travelers" from the Hollywood and professional world, a catch-all program embodying no less than 74 attempts was adopted. In a patent attempt to lessen the stigma of Russian control, the emphasis was placed on domestic issues, but a cursory examination of the few foreign points in the program reveals how completely the PCA fits into the design laid down for it for Russian imperialism.

NO LABOR-BACKING

The continued reaction of the organized labor movement and its officialdom has been a steady drawing away and repudiation of Wallace. The first official action on the Wallace-third party issue was taken by the Executive Board of the New York State CIO during its meeting to adopt a legislative program for 1948. Led by delegates from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, voters at this meeting who endorsed the point of view that "the third party movement at this time was contrary to the best interest of working men and women," included delegates from Philip Murray's United Steel Workers, Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers and also the United Rubber Workers, Shipbuilding Workers, Railway Workers and the United Textile Workers Unions. Among those backing the Wallace bid were delegates from the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, the Fur Workers, National Maritime and the Transport Workers Unions, Louis J. Hollander, president of the State CIO and vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, stated at this meeting that an independent ticket at this time would in

effect be anti-labor and "would encourage the Republican Party to put up a most reactionary candidate to run on a platform calculated to rob the workers of their gains."

While the AFL has not taken an official stand on the issue, William Green declared his opposition to Wallace. In stating his reason, he said Wallace's speeches gave him the impression that Russia was right and the United States wrong in all the conferences that have been held to promote peace, and that he "believes in America first." He also asserted that "Genuine liberals and progressives who think clearly and soundly will not be for him," and added that "if Mr. Wallace's candidacy helps any party, it will help a reactionary Republican candidate, which is exactly what the Communists had in mind."

Along the same lines, the State Committee of the Liberal Party also adopted a resolution which rejected the Wallace third party, with the declaration that a vote for Wallace would be a "vote for reaction." It also approved the invitation issued by ILGWU President David Dubinsky to members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and other unions that had withdrawn from the American Labor Party to join them. Mr. Dubinsky urged these trade unionists not to join the Democratic Party but

to come into the Liberal Party and make it a powerful mass party in New York and later in other states. The Illinois State Industrial Union Council, CIO, also voted "not to promote or approve a third party ticket." There are still labor leaders and unions to be heard from, but union activity generally seems to indicate that only those unions which are Stalinist-controlled will support the Wallace third party.

The events around the Wallace issue also indicate one other thing quite clearly. While trade union leaders are correct in stating that the Stalinist-Wallace party is not a true Labor Party, their support of the Truman program and their choice of Democratic Party candidates in preference to the more reactionary Republican Party candidates is proof positive that they too are far removed from building a Labor Party. They are opposed to Wallace, it is true, but for entirely wrong reasons. Their argument—the principal one they use—that Wallace splits the "progressive vote"—is a phony one which could be used equally against the formation of a Labor Party that would genuinely serve American labor. It indicates their continued subservience to the politics and ideas of American capitalism.

Truman's Doctor Intimates Grain Gambling His Best Cure

By JAMES M. FENWICK

The grain speculation investigation in Washington has answered at least one question—whatever became of vaudeville? It's obvious by now that all the former vaudeville artists joined the army and became brigadier generals.

The latest to go through his routine has been that slack wire artist, acrobatic tumbler and dead-pan comedian, Brig. Gen. Wallace H. Graham, whom the newspapers identify as Truman's personal physician. But he doesn't fool us—we'd know the Keith-Albee touch anywhere. In fact, we suggest that the FBI investigate this alleged Dr. Graham. He's probably actually "Dr. Rockwell," the vaudeville star of blessed memory. It wouldn't surprise us a bit if at one of the committee meetings he reached under the table, pulled out a banana stalk, and went into that howl of a routine analyzing the ills of the spinal column.

Brig. Gen. Rockwell—or rather, Brig. Gen. Graham is the latest of those scoundrels who have been characterized by Attorney-General Clark as "profiteers in human misery." The difference between Graham and the others lies in his being more cowardly, more ignorant and more funny—this latter unintentionally, it goes without saying.

A NORMAL LIAR

As we have lately come to expect of leading government figures, Graham lies as a matter of routine. After having stated with that cultured elegance of military personnel that he "had lost his socks" speculating in commodities, it later turned out under Senate questioning that this was really just another way of saying that he had cleaned up \$6,185 playing the market.

This neat little trick was apparently all done by trap doors and mirrors, since, according to Graham (1) he did not have the slightest inkling

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW Leaders Discuss Labor Politics

DETROIT, Jan. 18—The January issue of the United Automobile Worker, official UAW-CIO newspaper, features two articles which deserve to be discussed because they bring into focus the whole question of political action for labor in the 1948 elections and the role of the CIO bureaucracy.

These two articles have special significance both because they appear before the national CIO-PAC Policy Committee meets in Washington on January 21 to discuss the 1948 elections and because the two authors are Walter Reuther, UAW president, and Emil Mazey, international secretary-treasurer.

In his president's column, Reuther attacks the Democratic and Republican Parties as being responsible for inflation and with failure for any solution to that problem. "Both parties are playing fast and loose with the welfare of the American people in a political chess game whose object is to see which party can win more votes on the inflation issue without doing anything about it."

Reuther does not attack the Democratic and Republican Parties as capitalist parties, working exclusively for the benefit of Wall Street, but he does make exactly the kind of attack against them as Henry Wallace, whom he described not so long ago as a "lost soul."

In his attacks on the two major parties, Reuther expresses the feelings that have grown stronger and stronger among auto workers, and which he himself has felt sufficiently to go so far as to talk about a new political party, some kind of a third party.

Henry Wallace, of course, intends precisely to capitalize on that, and on the demand for independent political action which has gained ground in the UAW. This puts Reuther in a dilemma, as one Detroit columnist pointed out, for he appears to be in Wallace's corner, when, of course, he isn't.

Many auto workers aren't going to take Wallace seriously because they know the company he keeps. They just got rid of that gang at the last national convention. But speaking of "lost souls," the auto workers are likely to find another one, namely, Reuther, whose trapeze act of denouncing both parties on Monday and supporting one of them on Tuesday becomes more difficult to take seriously.

One of these days the Daily Worker is going to have fun quoting Reuther against Reuther again, including his January article.

Since Emil Mazey is more politically conscious, he has a better answer. In his column, "Looking Forward," Mazey says: "We cannot hope to solve our many problems by continuing to support the two political parties of big business, namely, the Democratic and Republican Parties. We must build an independent party of our own composed of workers and working farmers if we hope to get results in the political arena. A Labor Party is our chief need today."

Truer words were never spoken. Such a speech delivered at the national CIO-PAC meeting could serve to rally around Mazey the militants in all CIO unions and to expose the bankruptcy of Murray's policies of supporting a capitalist party. As for support of Wallace, Mazey makes some very pertinent observations. "Workers must not be misled by third party rantings of Wallace. His movement does not represent a genuine party of the workers, but is in fact a third capitalist party whose sole aim seems to be to sell the foreign policy of Soviet Russia."

As for Murray, he has already indicated he intends bureaucratically to impose his pro-Truman policy on the entire CIO. The question is, what will Mazey do then? And what will Reuther say at the CIO-PAC meeting? The fact is that political action has

UAW LOCAL OFFERS VICTORY PROGRAM FOR COMING WAGE NEGOTIATIONS

To All UAW Regional Conference Delegates:

Whereas wage increases that have been won by our union have been wiped out by the ever increasing cost of living, and

Whereas the argument advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers that the removal of price controls would result in a rapid supply and demand adjustment to keep prices down has been proved completely false, and

Whereas Congress has done nothing effective to hold back the price line, and

Whereas the corporations and monopolies have been raking in the biggest profits in the history of their existence, raising prices to cover threefold any wage increase they were forced to grant,

Therefore be it resolved that this Regional Conference request of our International Executive Board that they take into consideration the following points to be raised as demands:

- 1. Substantial wage increases without price increases.
2. Open the corporation books. If they insist that they must raise prices to cover the wage increase, let them open the books and prove it.
3. For public negotiation. Let the people see for themselves whether it is labor's demands that are inflationary or the company's insistence on raising prices instead of taking the wage increase out of their fabulous profits.
4. For a cost-of-living bonus; for a clause in our contracts stating that if the price index rises the same percentage should be applied to our wages.
5. For six paid holidays in 1948 without restrictions; elimination of clauses penalizing workers if they are unable to work the day before or after a holiday.

Respectfully submitted, Executive Board, UAW-CIO Local 6, Chicago.

now become such an acute problem in the CIO that differences have even reached the top and no action of the CIO-PAC is going to be able to stop thinking, discussion and progress toward independent political action, irrespective of what any top leaders do. The Wallace candidacy does not end the question of third party versus labor party. It just begins the debate.

Some People Are Privileged

Editor: During the special session recently concluded at Annapolis, Mr. Senator Joseph M. George from Queen Anne's County took his shotgun and blasted away from a State House window at a covey of doves on the roof of the Court of Appeals Building.

As we see it, this duly elected lawmaker broke the following laws:

- 1. Hunting without a license. (Even if, as champion skeet shooter he holds a hunting license, it doesn't authorize him to hunt from a State House window.)
2. Exploding firearms within the city limits.
3. Disturbing the peace.
4. Defacing public property. (It is impossible to shoot doves from a building's roof edge without some of the shots striking the roof and stonework.)

Senator George is a poor example to "law-abiding" citizens. Let Mr. Average Citizen take his shotgun and shoot birds in any city and he would be locked up before one could bat an eye. But the good senator, because he is a senator and thus occupies an important seat of political power, can take certain privileges, even in violation of the law, without fear of prosecution.

HAL EVERETT, Baltimore.

Labor Needs Its Own Party!

(Reprinted from the United Automobile Worker, January, 1948.)

By EMIL MAZEY UAW-CIO Secretary-Treasurer

The beginning of a new year is a good time to take inventory of our progress during the past year and a look at the job that still remains to be done.

1947 was a year in which organized labor suffered many severe setbacks. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act and numerous anti-labor acts in state legislatures will make it more difficult for labor to face and solve the many problems challenging it today. More repressive anti-labor legislation was enacted in 1947 than in any other year in our history.

Organized labor must not and will not take these political and legislative defeats standing still. Organized labor must develop new and more effective political weapons, not only to repeal vicious anti-labor legislation, but to remove from office those lackeys of big business responsible for its passage.

WORKERS SQUEEZED

The cost of living continued to rise in 1947 to heights never before reached. Profits of huge corporations were the highest in the history of American industry. Real wages of the men and women who toil in our factories were sharply reduced by the efforts of monopoly capitalism to squeeze out the last drop of profit from the sweat and blood of the workers of the nation.

The housing problem has become more unbearable and millions of families are forced to double up and live in inadequate housing facilities. Cost of new homes is out of the reach of the income of the average worker. Congress has failed to do anything constructive about this problem; in fact, it made it worse by passing a modified decontrol rent measure.



EMIL MAZEY

CIVIL RIGHTS TASK

The President's Committee on Civil Rights has submitted a report which challenges our claim to be a democratic nation. Unequal employment opportunity, poll taxes, white primaries, lynchings, discriminations in the field of education, recreation, etc., are a living part of our way of life to millions of Negroes and other minorities in the United States. No legislative measures were enacted in 1947 to correct these sore spots in our economy. This job still remains to be done.

In the international field, millions of men, women and children are suffering from the aftermath of our most recent bloodbath. Cold, hunger and despair is stalking millions of our fellow human beings in all sections of the world as well as at home.

I'm sure we all agree that 1947 has not been a pleasant year for the working class of America and the world. Today we stand on the

threshold of a new year with its many challenging problems—problems that must be solved.

POLITICAL ACTION NEEDED

Organized labor must begin to realize that purely economic action will not solve the problems that face us. The past few years, particularly, have shown us that gains that we have achieved on the picket line can be easily reversed and wiped out by political action such as the ending of price control, rent control and passage of unfair tax legislation.

We have built a powerful economic weapon by building our unions. We must build an equally effective political weapon if we hope to increase our living standards and gain a greater degree of security and democracy.

Our political ventures in the past have brought us unhappy results. We cannot hope to solve our many problems by continuing to support the two political parties of big business, namely, the Democratic and Republican Parties.

LABOR PARTY URGED

We must build an independent party of our own composed of workers and working farmers if we hope to get results in the political arena. A labor party is our chief need today. It can be the vehicle that will establish real economic and political justice in America. We must begin to take concrete steps to build our party now.

Workers must not be misled by the third party rantings of Wallace. His movement does not represent a genuine party of the workers but is in fact a third capitalist party whose sole aim seems to be to sell the foreign policy of Soviet Russia.

Our work is cut out for us in this new year. We must strengthen our union. We must begin to build our own party. The future of the world might well depend on how well we do our job.

Truman Doctor Cures All--

(Continued from page 1)

them. I am a surgeon, not a financier."

Our personal opinion is that if his understanding of surgery is equal to his understanding of commodity trading, he shouldn't even be trusted to carve a turkey. Neither this nor his tarnished professional ethics has so far fazed Truman, however. Graham is to remain the White House physician. Truman seems to be quite at home with persons whom he virtuously castigated only a few months ago as "gamblers in grain" who were raising the cost of food products in this country to their own profit.

ELMER THOMAS—SCOUNDREL

Another somewhat better known servant of the people has apparently been caught with his hand in the cash register. He is Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and the New York Stock Exchange. When this model of civic virtue was attacked two years ago by Drew Pearson for speculating in agricultural commodities, Thomas denounced him as a liar. Only now, after his wife's holdings were smoked out, has Thomas come forward to confess his market dealings.

He has long been in an advantageous position for speculation. Thomas has been a member of the Senate since 1923 and was for many years chairman of the Senate Agricultural Committee. How Thomas is suspected of having worked is revealed by

Oliver Pilat, writing in the New York Post:

"He did have inside information on his own speeches. Frequently those speeches had great market effect. For example, the Wall Street Journal commodities market report for March 29 last went as follows:

"Cotton futures rallied sharply to gains of \$1.35 to \$1.85 a bale, stimulated by the possibility that the Pace bill may be adopted by the Senate. The rally was touched off by the plea of Senator Thomas (D-Okla) for higher farm prices in support of tacking one of the Pace measures to the minimum wage bill."

ROGUES' GALLERY

Other members of the informal plunderbund which has been using public office to amass a little nest egg for a dishonest and happy old age include:

Will Clayton, former Under-Secretary of State, and now heading the U. S. delegation to the World Trade Conference in Havana.

Ralph K. Davies, former deputy petroleum coordinator.

Governor H. B. Maw of Utah. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury, who has achieved the neat distinction of having emerged as an Honest Man in the current investigation solely on the basis of having LOST money speculating on one occasion.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS

The basic weakness of the investigation is a fact which was fully appreciated only after the investigation got rolling. Under capitalism there is nothing illegal about commodity speculation. And to demonstrate the utilization of inside information by various individuals as a basis for speculating has proved difficult. The concept of just what is "inside information" will, we have no doubt, also prove to be somewhat less than clearcut.

Everybody recognizes that the investigation is pre-election fluff. Had the Republicans been in power, they would be able to present no clearer a record, as they have more than once demonstrated in the past. In fact, they are currently none too happy over a serious investigation. It is nowhere written that Republicans are mirrors of virtue.

A serious investigation, even one operating under the premises of the current one, would take at least two measures: (1) instead of spot checking, a full investigation would be conducted, and (2) companies engaging in speculation would be investigated to determine their political ties. A point of departure could be provided by Daniel F. Rice, whose activities were recently described in PM:

"Anderson also pointed out that one of the private businessmen listed was Daniel F. Rice, a member of the Chicago Board of Trade—he held 1,995,000 bushels of wheat and 3,310,000 bushels of corn futures on October 31—recalling that Rice together with General Foods Corp. and several other traders had been charged with attempting to corner and manipulate the rye market in Chicago in May, 1944."

Another person who should be investigated from the point of view of his business connections is Henry Morgenthau, Jr. There is a very obvious disinclination to question this figure who moves in the highest financial circles. "As to Mr. Morgenthau," the New York Times recently stated, "Senator Ferguson said, 'in response to questions from reporters, that there is no disposition at present to summon the former Secretary as witness to testify publicly, but added that he would be interrogated less formally.'"

Farewell

The Editors The New Masses

Dear Sirs:

Please allow me to send you my congratulations. I have been waiting a long time for the day when your magazine would be no more. It has come. Your decision to fold up is the first contribution which you have made to a free American culture in more than ten years. Independent, free thinking American writers will hail the end of the New Masses. Best wishes for a long silence. James T. Farrell.

A Report From Vienna

On the 30th of October I was paid a visit by a friend who had returned the previous day, by air, from a visit to Vienna.

Having formerly been a bitter opponent of Trotskyism—which he had termed "a party of splitters," and a keen supporter of Stalinism—it was with a real interest that I asked him to sit down and give an account of the events as he experienced them in Austria.

It was pointed out to him that what he had to say would be of in-



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Palestine War Threat--

(Continued from page 1) Arab League. The reader can draw his own conclusions.

However, it would be an oversimplification to blame all of the trouble on outside forces. The British are doing their share, as are the Russians. But the main source is the nationalism of the Arabs and Jews, which is being diverted and exploited by the Mufti and the Zionists. The fate of the progressive and labor forces among the Arabs depends on minimizing the chauvinistic elements and achieving some unity with Jewish labor. Above all, both sides must realize that the best way to achieve a re-unification of the country is not by terror but by the voluntary union of the two sovereign peoples.

In the past LABOR ACTION reported that the danger of official war was remote because of the conflicting ambitions of different Arab rulers. This danger can no longer be completely ruled out. S. Itzhaki reports that an agreement whereby the Mufti is to become Premier and ruler of Palestine, while Abdullah is to be declared King. This report stated that the Mufti would moderate his position and under Abdullah's pro-British influence accept the Morrison-Grady Plan to continue

British rule in Palestine and give limited rights to the Jews.

The Jewish Agency is demanding arms for defensive purposes and at the same time is demanding a UN army. The Philippine delegate has drawn up a motion requesting the Security Council of the UN to provide an army. But how? A Big Five army is opposed by the United States, because it doesn't want the Russians to obtain even a small foothold on the Eastern Mediterranean. A small power army would not have the same prestige and would therefore have to be much larger. In addition, Britain, China, Argentina and Colombia, which abstained from supporting partition, and Syria, which voted against partition, form a sizable bloc on the Security Council, which may defeat any such move, even if Britain and China do not use their veto power, or if Russia does not insist on a Big Five force.

At the closed session of the UN partition Committee, the British gave their plan for evacuating Palestine, told the Committee to stay at Lake Success, refused to say whether or not they will abide by the February deadline of turning over a port for large-scale immigration. In addition, the British are reported to have requested "special economic status" in the two new states on the ground that they helped to lay the founda-

tion for the independence of the two states!

All the above schemes for international policing will not bring peace to Palestine in the near future. No plan can totally eliminate all bloodshed. The best that can be done is to reduce the toll. To do this the incentive to violence must be removed. The most effective way to minimize the casualties is for an immediate declaration of independence by Arabs and Jews. The longer the transitional period, the greater the number of casualties. The shorter the interim period, the less the casualties. Immediate independence will reduce violence to its minimum. Faced with established states, violence will taper off to zero as the states are consolidated.

In addition to demanding immediate independence, every effort must be made to arrange a "cease fire" order for both sides in Palestine. The Mufti bands must be isolated among the Arabs. The Arabs opposed to war with the Jews can and should be mobilized. All acts that play into the hands of the Mufti must be carefully avoided. This means a return by the Hagana to its original defensive policy. The policy of "terror" of the Ir-gun and Stern groups, who shoot at any Arab target, (just as the Mufti shoots at any Jewish target) is entirely wrong.

Third Round --

(Continued from page 1)

ing for 30 cents. This is the advantage a unified union leadership brings. The Wage Policy Committee of the UAW has full control over that situation now, and includes both Reuther and Norman Mathews, Chrysler department director of the UAW.

One vital aspect of the GM fight does not depend, however, on any action the national CIO takes, and that is the question of getting a union shop. Under the Taft-Hartley law, the union must and will file a petition by February 15 for National Labor Relations Board elections to get membership approval of the union shop. Once this is accomplished, the union has the right to negotiate for the union shop but does not automatically get it. Nothing in the Taft-Hartley law says the corporations have to give it, even if voted by the ranks. It becomes a question of negotiation and finally a test of strength. A program such as that adopted by UAW Local 6 in Chicago indicates the way to victory in such a test.

terests to others and might be printed in the "S. A." He earnestly asked that as many as possible be given the real picture of what has happened and is happening in the Russian zone of Europe.

This is what he had to say to my questions:

"Well, I asked, 'how were you treated by the Russians?'"

"My friend, I was in the Communist Youth of Vienna for nine years, and the CP (and the 'Schutz-bund') for twenty-one years. Let me tell you right now that I am finished with the Communist Party—here or on the continent."

"Have you fallen out with the Stalinists?'"

"Listen. I will tell you how I was treated. I see my first Red Army man at the Austrian frontier; I go up to him and offer a packet of cigarettes. Taking the lot he turns his back on me. I tap him on the shoulder and tell him in German that I was in the Communist Party for twenty-one years."

"Your sister, how did she fare?'"

"I hardly recognized her; she seemed afraid of her own shadow. She told me that when she and others went out on the streets to welcome the advancing Russians, they were robbed by the Red Army men of all ornaments, watches, and even shoes they were wearing."

"Many years-old Stalinists went onto the streets with flowers in hand to welcome their 'comrades'—to be felled to the ground and in many cases raped."

"Male Stalinists who protested at the way the women comrades were being treated were arrested on the spot and sent to the Soviet Union. The officers spat on the flowers and trampled them underfoot."

"Had your sister any reason to dislike the Stalinists apart from these events?'"

"Not a bit. She was a foundation member of the YCL and a life-long Communist. Now she is finished with politics for good. Do you know, she and most of the working people of Vienna do not dare to go out after dark. Men are taken off the streets and disappear without trace; no woman dares go on the streets after dark."

"I was told that only my British Legion badge saved me at the frontier when I spoke to the Russian soldier; no one dares to hold a Red Army man in conversation."

"Meet any old friends?'"

"I wanted particularly to see an old friend of my YCL days. He is too, a foundation member of the CP in Austria. I found that he holds a position in the Communist Party. 'He was glad to see me, and asked after my health, and kept on talking

about my health until we were alone in the office. Then he said to me: 'Comrade—you can forget the old days, they are gone forever. All... is in my Party section now—the workers because of the terror police, and the former Nazis because they have found there is nothing to stop them using the Party as an alibi. Even I, an official of the Party, dare not open my mouth for fear of transportation to the Soviet Union; I wish to high heaven I was coming back with you out of this nightmare.'"

J. E. B.

(Reprinted from the British Socialist Appeal.)

Profits, Taxes And Expenses

Dear Sirs:

On December 24 of last year the New York Times financial section listed statistics put out by the Securities & Exchange Commission and the Federal Trade Commission to the effect that net profits after taxes of all manufacturing corporations of America in the second quarter of 1947 amounted to \$2,500,000,000 as compared to \$2,700,000,000 in the first three months of '47. The drop of \$200,000,000 in profits was reputed to be due to "higher costs and expenses"

which more than offset higher sales. Furthermore, net profits before taxes amounted to \$4,100,000,000 in the second quarter of 1947 compared with profits of \$4,400,000,000 during the first quarter.

Can these figures be relied upon as correct in themselves, or do they simply represent a clever way in which corporations have concealed their large profits for the past year?

On the other hand, if actual costs of operating manufacturing concerns DID lower profits in the second quarter of '47, then either one or both of Marx's hypotheses (the inevitable decline in the rate of profit for new investments and the over-all decline in the mass of profit) are being proved correct. In that case, the logical question which now arises is: will this decline in profits become chronic in the year of '48 and thus prelude increased exploitation of American workers (longer hours, loss of overtime pay, etc.) and an inevitable nation-wide shut-down of business?

Yours truly, R. S., Baltimore, Md.

Read and Subscribe to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Editorials

Affidavits and the Taft-Hartley Act

Many of the unions, both AFL and CIO, now find themselves in an increasingly difficult, embarrassing and untenable position regarding the problem caused by the Taft-Hartley Act in general, and the question of signing the anti-Communist affidavits in particular.

The leadership of the organized labor movement is responsible for this dilemma in which they have placed themselves. Before the bill had become law, it failed in its duty of mobilizing the labor movement for blocking its passage. It did nothing during this period, beyond verbal protests, and the bill was passed. Since its passage, nothing has been done to mobilize the workers to make the carrying out of the act as ineffective as possible.

None of the labor leadership has correctly posed the need or method of fighting this monstrous act; nor is any union leadership preparing the needed mobilization of its ranks against the act. Those unions controlled by the Stalinists, such as the UE, are criminally endangering the very existence of their unions by a purely adventurist refusal to sign the affidavits; a refusal unaccompanied by any real explanation or mobilization of the union ranks for other actions.

LABOR ACTION supported the decision of those unions, such as the Steel Workers, which refused to sign the affidavits. We opposed the breaking of the front against T-H by those unions

which, later on, in the face of difficult practical problems, decided to comply with the act's provisions. We still are opposed to the whole Taft-Hartley Act, including the reactionary affidavits. However, we recognize that the decision created within the labor movement by the fact that so many union leaderships have signed, or announced their intention to sign, has so weakened the front against compliance with this provision that it has become exceedingly difficult and in some cases impossible for those unions which have, until now, failed or refused to sign the affidavits to continue to hold out. This is an unfortunate fact, but we must reluctantly recognize it.

Moreover, the division of the labor movement as a whole into progressive and conservative camps by no means corresponds to the division between those unions which have or will sign and those which have refused and continue to do so. The Stalinist-controlled unions are the loudest opponents of signing (for well-known political reasons that primarily serve Russian foreign policy), yet they are most assuredly not progressive unions, such as the UAW. In our opinion, the question of whether to sign or not to sign is far from being the most important question in the struggle to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The real problem still is how to mobilize the full economic and political strength of the labor movement, to eliminate not merely the anti-Communist affidavit provision, but the act as a whole. This is the real issue on which progressive unions must take their stand. There are at least a dozen other provisions in the act, each of which is every bit as reactionary as the affidavits provision. It is an error to concentrate solely on this. But it is far from being too late for an effective massing of organized labor's power, even though the act is now "law," to render its use by reaction as ineffective as possible.

An Impressive List of Articles

The New International has changed its face, but not its ideas! The January issue has a new cover which strikingly improves its appearance and is intended to make it stand out on the newsstands. It has changed its face but its contents contain the same interesting and important material which has long made it recognized as the outstanding Marxist journal of opinion. No informed political person interested in labor and world politics can afford to miss a single issue. The January issue has the following varied articles:

Notes of the Month discusses "Why Is Wallace Running?" and also "The Politics of Anti-Inflation," "Compulsory Free Trade at Havana," and introduces a new feature, Editorial Shorts, on "Alged and Amnesty," "Three Partitions" and "Third Force."

The most recent events in strife-torn Palestine and India are discussed by Albert Findley in "What's Ahead for Partitioned Palestine?" and "Toward the Re-Unification of India," by Henry Judd.

The new type of Stalinist observed for years by many is analyzed in an article by Hal Draper and in two book reviews by J. M. Fenwick and Irving Howe. This is discussed under the heading "The Neo-Stalinist Type—Notes on a New Political Ideology."

Part II of a series by James T. Farrell on "James Connolly—Nationalist and Internationalist" is continued in this issue.

No other Marxist journal has been carrying so much material on South American politics, economics and the labor movement as The New Internationalist. This issue contains another fine article by Luis Velasco on "Peron: Nationalist Revolutionary or Imperialist Agent?"

"Not by Politics Alone..." a very interesting section of Trotsky's famous but almost impossible to obtain book, Problems of Life, is reprinted.

Readers of LABOR ACTION will find The New Internationalist stimulating and an important monthly supplement to the various articles they read in these pages.

WORLD POLITICS

Allies' Starvation Program

(Continued from page 1)

At a meeting of leading British and German officials held in Duesseldorf, the occupation spokesmen turned down each and every concrete proposal made by the Germans. No additional food is to come from outside beyond that already scheduled for import, woefully inadequate though it is; no additional food can be purchased with money from export of coal, the production of which is steadily on the rise; the request to rebuild the German whaling fleet is denied; and the extra "incentive pay" money earned by the Ruhr coal miners cannot be used for buying extra food supplies from abroad. The authorities used this meeting as another opportunity to attack the Germans for not collecting food from the farmers.

But, simultaneously, all permission is refused by the British and Americans to organize trade union committees for the purpose of getting food from the countryside, or even to give police-authority to German officials for forced requisitioning of grain and hoarded farm products. Instead, it was decided that all other states in the bi-zonal area would be forced to contribute half their fat ration for the next month to Ruhr workers, and also to make up for the meat shortage. Certain sections of the population will receive no butter ration for two weeks and each food producer must contribute one kilogram of bacon.

This criminal policy of taking from the semi-starving to supply the starving is the sum total of what the Allies have to offer Germany. It is doubtful whether workers and the general population in those sections of Germany that are supposed to contribute from their own meagre supplies will respond to these measures. It is clear that the Allies are hoping to scrape through the winter by playing off one section of the German people against another section, and by refusing to tackle the real problem—that is, the problem of reviving Germany as a productive, economic nation. The British and American authorities, in line with their Marshall Plan orientation of setting into operation the coal mines and basic industries of the Ruhr, are seeking to lessen the serious starvation conditions of that area at the expense of all other areas of Western Germany. From their imperialist standpoint, only the Ruhr has any importance because it is a key to the successful operation of the Marshall Plan, above all, in the building of strategic bases against Russia. So far as they are concerned, the rest of Germany, including the French zone where economic life and living conditions are notoriously low, can continue to rot away and lie stagnant.

In the light of these actions, demonstrations and mass actions by the population, while temporarily at a standstill, will tend to flare up again and increase in intensity. The Allies have once more revealed they have no solution for Germany's misery, beyond its deepening and perpetuation.

THE MYSTERY OF "PROTOCOL M"

The events in the Ruhr have uncovered a new, historic document—"Protocol M"—which is bound to take its place among the important documents of our time. Not only is it important in itself, but it is probably a key document in solving the problem of the aims, objects, program and strategy of the world-wide Stalinist movement. Is the document "authentic"? We are in no position, of course, to prove this beyond any doubt, nor are we inclined to accept in good faith the loud assurances of its British discoverers as to its authenticity. But nevertheless, "Protocol M" has the authentic style, ring and smell of Stalinism about it, even though close examination indicates the strong possibility of its having been touched up in several spots to make it more damaging to the German Stalinist movement, and more sensational to the outside world. Although admitting that they uncovered "Protocol M" many months ago, the British failed to release it until the Ruhr demonstrations of last week began, obviously wishing to imply that all this is only a "communist-led" plot, and not the genuine protests of hungry and needy masses of human beings. The Allies respond to Stalinism's "Operation Ruhr" with "Operation Silence," but the truth is a bit too evident. The fact that Stalinists, for their own political purposes, actively participate in these demonstrations does not detract one bit from their urgency, realism and correctness.

What is "Protocol M"? Its value lies in its revelations concerning the aims and objects of Stalinist participation in the activities of the German people and working class. This is their program for such events in Germany—to be sure, only in Western Germany, for is not Eastern Germany a people's paradise, administered by the hirelings of Russia? "Protocol M" consists of instructions to German Stalinists for the disruption of Ruhr industry in accordance with a specific timetable laid down in the document. Let us briefly examine some of its aspects.

This document is a synthesis of old-fashioned radicalism in the style of the pre-Hitler Communist Party (including a quotation from Lenin), and the new pseudo-radicalism created by the Cominform bureau operating out of Belgrade. The Belgrade Bureau, in fact, is named as the coordinator of "the common battle" of world Stalinism. "Protocol M" announces the launching of a winter battle which will be "decisive" in the history of the German working class. "The main objective of the winter battle is to break the attack of the monopoly capitalists (of America), which they are launching through their so-called Marshall Plan." Everything else in "Protocol M" is subordinate to this central proposition.

There is nothing said about a struggle for Germany's rewinning of national independence, or of driving out the occupiers and reasserting the right of a unified Germany to live free from the heavy hand of foreign troops and occupiers. Once more the central strategic aim of Stalinism—defeat and sabotage of the Marshall Plan—is confirmed, and we see how the foreign Stalinist sections are expected to act purely as expendable troops in the service of Stalin, the master, criminal and dictator of the Kremlin. As if to underscore this, the instructions explicitly state that in its propaganda, the Communists should make clear, "The steady and constantly progressing development of the Eastern European economy under the protection of the Soviet Union."

HINDER ARRIVAL OF FOOD

And how shall the struggle against the Marshall Plan be conducted? Here we see again the now familiar pattern followed in France and Italy—that is, the employment of all available weapons of economic sabotage and disruption, with an aim to worsening the already existing economic chaos. The interests of the German workers involved, even in the narrowest physical sense, are disregarded. The transport and metal workers are to be the principle capital expended by the Stalinists. What is their job, in Stalinist eyes? "... to try by all possible means to prevent the smooth running of their supply services." "It is not essential to destroy food supplies," continues "Protocol M," "but merely to hinder their timely arrival. The timely coordination of delays in the arrival of food transports and the organization of wild strikes leading to loss in production is an essential feature of the operation." And the document continues in this vein, concluding with a timetable which sets March as the period for the launching of mass strikes on as wide a scale as possible.

In the light of this document, then, the German Stalinist movement is branded as nothing less than a criminal organization of political hirelings and gangsters functioning directly as sabotage agents of Russia, with the eventual aim of facilitating the seizure and control of all of Germany, East and West, by Russian imperialism. Correctly employed, this document can be of great value in blasting loose sincere and trusting supporters of Stalinism who still believe this movement functions in the interests of the German and other workers.

At the same time, we must guard against any attempt on the part of the Allies, who have found this document most convenient for their purposes, to shift responsibility for the situation in Western Germany away from its real source and origin in the desperate conditions of the German people, their hunger and despair, and to point every mass protest and action purely as a Stalinist-inspired event. In the light of this, it is high time that the American labor movement spoke out against the American administration of Western Germany, and in favor of full material aid and help to the German people, today, when it is most needed.

IMPERIALISM!

Aid Terms Indicate Marshall Plan Pattern

By V. B. JENSEN

The New Year opened on a fitting note for American imperialism as the United States signed bi-lateral agreements for interim emergency aid to France, Italy and Austria. These agreements were only the shadow cast ahead of the Marshall Plan agreements yet to come and their harsh and sometimes humiliating terms set the pattern for 1948 as the great year of American plans for economic domination of Europe.

In the face even of the needs of the debilitated European economies involved for immediate relief to tide them over a catastrophic winter, the total of \$522 million allocated by Congress for the three countries is a mere nothing, a terrible insult to the suffering peoples of Europe. When to this insult are added the specific injuries involved in the terms of these agreements, it would seem that even the most "gaga" liberal should be disabused of his rosy picture of Uncle Sam bringing food, peace, democracy and economic reconstruction to Europe through these treaties and the Marshall Plan. And even the most reactionary congressman should be reassured that the U. S. means business—American business!

The terms of these interim aid agreements establish iron American control over the economies of what are still laughingly referred to as "independent" countries. For example, the countries receiving aid from the U. S., upon notification that a cargo worth a certain sum of money has been loaded for shipment to that country, must immediately set aside, in a separate account, the equivalent in local currency for that amount. This amount then comes under the virtual control of the United States because the agreements provide that this sum of money may be used only for very specific and limited purposes. If the governments involved wish to use these funds for any other purpose, they must get the approval of the United States Congress! It is obvious that as the Marshall Plan goes into effect, larger amounts which will represent not inconsiderable proportions of the various national incomes will come under this control by the United States government.

The agreements also give the U. S. important control over the European export trade, the healthy re-establishment of which is a key to European recovery. No commodities received under the agreements may be exported except as agreed upon by the U. S. Unless we believe in Santa Claus, there is no reason to believe that this country will permit its own or potential trade advantages in the European market to be in any way undermined merely in the interests of a more rational European trade organization.

OTHER U. S. CONTROLS

Many other forms of strict U. S. control are set up under the terms of the agreements: precise information on distribution and use of the commodities must be furnished; conditions on sale, price and use of such commodities are laid down, etc.

What these agreements—and the Marshall Plan—mean in terms of political control of Europe by American imperialism may be seen by an examination of some of the even more humiliating conditions which the French government (much concerned with losing face to the Stalinists over these reactionary agreements) was forced to protest—but in vain! The French thought it "infelicitous" that the bills actually insisted on the "obligation" of France to allow Congressmen and United States reporters to "observe, advise and report" on the distribution of aid. Their point was that these clauses were unnecessary since there were no restrictions on either Congressmen or reporters in France—but in this protest, as in protests against some of the rigid economic conditions exposed, the French found that when poor governments go a-begging to arrogant Yankee traders they get nothing.

Perhaps it is unfair to say nothing—we must admit that the French did get a concession. Originally the act passed by Congress stated that the "President shall promptly terminate the provision of aid under this act for any country whenever he determines that such country is not adhering to the terms of its agreement." The French, with their usual concern for l'honneur, stated categorically that they could not sign an agreement which discussed even the possibility that they would not keep their word. So Congress, with true diplomatic understanding of these matters of "face," generously changed the wording so that the act reads now that the President may end the aid at any time without the necessity of giving any reasons. Voila! The French, if not happy, of necessity had to be satisfied.

This then is the pattern that has been set for foreign "aid"—rigid control over the economic present and future of European countries by American imperialism; freedom of snooping and interference by its hirelings; blackmailing use of much-needed economic relief to assure the economic position of America and strengthen it for its coming struggle with Russian imperialism; and the constant threat of withdrawal of such relief if the "politics" of Europe shall not be satisfactory to American capitalism, or if the peoples of Europe shall in some way try to organize a more rational social and economic system.

The interim aid agreements are one more evidence that the people of Europe must take their destiny in their own hands to build a sane socialist society and, for the present, must beware of Greeks (or Americans or Russians) bearing gifts!

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and

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Mayor Reneges on Five Cent Fare

By EUGENE KELLER

The fact that a mayor of New York can even make a serious attempt to have a fare rise initiated is a significant commentary upon the policies of the labor unions and parties in this city. It provides a telling illustration of the stupidity of the doctrine that labor "rewards its friends and punishes its enemies." The fare rise, if it materializes, not only means added economic hardship for the working people of this city. It not only spells the failure of a 25-year fight against the vested interests of New York on a vital issue, but it constitutes a serious blow to their democratic rights, doubly serious because no attempt has been made to oppose it effectively, and serves to consolidate the grip of the big real estate owners upon city affairs.

Mayor O'Dwyer was elected with the support of most of New York's labor groups and had the nomination of the American Labor Party. O'Dwyer was presented to the voters as the champion of the small income earners. This is not the place to review ALL of O'Dwyer's acts as contrasted to his words—we will confine ourselves to what he has said and done on the fare issue.

The hearings on the fare held by the Board of Estimate last February found O'Dwyer a staunch opponent of any fare increase and fighting all suggestions to by-pass the referendum. The latter is mandatory, under present law, before a fare increase can be instituted. "We won't make a decision," he told representatives of the Board of Trade, "... until we have heard what the people want done. And that could be done only by referendum." He denounced the real estate interests and maintained that a ten-cent fare would contribute nothing toward solving the city's financial situation.

Four months later, however, a committee appointed by the Mayor, and consisting of close associates of his, suddenly found that an eight-cent fare could guarantee sustained, efficient operation of the transit system. At the same time there were reports in the newspaper PM and the New York Times that there was talk in City Hall about pushing through a fare increase without a referendum. All but officially (as yet) O'Dwyer appeared to favor an increase. The question was how to put it over on the electorate.

The ALP and Liberal Party, both claiming

they speak for the leading trade unions of this city, have refrained, to date, from opposing O'Dwyer's fare plans. The ALP has yet to make known its stand on the fare issue; the Liberal Party favors an increased fare but opposes the squashing of the referendum. Although the Mayor's stand has been known officially since early November, the Greater New York City CIO Council, dominated by the Stalinist unions, voiced its opposition to any fare rise, only a few days ago. This demonstrates the reticence of these labor leaders to fight on a political issue that reveals how hopelessly compromised their position is as a result of their support of O'Dwyer as a "friend of labor."

NO SUPPORT FOR O'DWYER

The reasons O'Dwyer has given for the fare increase have been amply refuted in these pages, as well as in a previous article in LABOR ACTION (Dec. 17). The facts as enumerated by us are available to anyone and are most certainly known to the labor leaders and politicians, who have consistently supported O'Dwyer and his machine. All of them share responsibility for O'Dwyer's betrayal of the people of New York, including those who have belatedly come out in opposition to a higher fare, for they refuse to expose O'Dwyer's role and continue to support him.

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International Socialist Notes

Indo-China: A Letter

"At present, the war is raging here. It is not a real war but a guerrilla war, a war of partisans. French imperialists occupy the cities but there is always fighting in the countryside. The revolutionary internationalists (Trotskyists) are at present trapped between imperialism and the Stalinists. It is the Stalinists who are leading the movement of revolt in Indo-China, as the holders of power. They took power through a maneuver in the grand style of adventurers (claiming to be 'allies'), taking advantage of the disfavor of the pro-Japanese nationalist parties. And since August, 1945, they have not stopped their policy of compromise with British, Chinese, American and French imperialism and of collaboration with the bourgeois parties. But at bottom, their policy is only one of vassalage to the Russian Stalinists. 'By contrast, they have not lessened their blows at revolutionary internationalists. A good number of our comrades have been massacred by the Stalinist bands. Even today those comrades of ours who participate in the Resistance (in the Maquis) and who carry on their work in the ranks of the guerrillas risk their lives at every moment not only in face of the colonial bullets but also the Stalinist bullets.'"—Saigon, 1948.

Betrayal in Ceylon Parliament

LONDON—News has been received here that the imperialist horse-deal miscalled Ceylon independence has been ratified by the House of Representatives. Not content with that, the Prime Minister, in a further resolution, expressed rejoicings that Ceylon has attained "independence." "I cannot conceive," he said, "a better

and safer friend than Great Britain."

The BLPI (Trotskyist) faction of six MPs fought tooth and nail, exposing the secret deal negotiated behind the backs of the masses. For the first time five Stalinist members accepted the lead given by the BLPI and voted against the government on both counts.

What is amazing is the conduct of the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist dissidents) in the matter, who along with other communal organizations declined to vote. To have abstained from voting on the crucial issue of independence is nothing short of a betrayal of Trotskyism. They are, without a doubt, making a bid for the acceptance of office in the formation of a "left-center government" as they call it. Trotskyists can have no truck with such parliamentary horse-deals, which must be condemned unequivocally.

Fascists Attack English Meeting

OXFORD, England—Mosley's thugs launched their most brazen move to date when on November 27 they mustered their forces to attack an open Trotskyist meeting. Fifty workers and students, assembled in an Oxford hall to commemorate the October Revolution, were being addressed by Comrade Jock Haston, general secretary of the RCP, when the hall lights were suddenly fused from without, fascist hooligans bursting into the premises, upsetting the literature stall and throwing bags of pepper into the audience. In the scuffle that followed one woman trade unionist sustained a slight eye injury.

The fascists were cleared out of the meeting by the audience, several of whom succeeded in locking the outer college gates, preventing an eruption

into the hall of several dozen fascists waiting for a signal in the street outside. Cries of "Mosley!" and "Down with the Labor government!" were heard. Unable to cause further disruption and frustrated in their attempt to break up the rally, these gentlemen then dispersed, singing "Land of Hope and Glory." The meeting continued enthusiastically in good order and proved a great success in every respect.

An appeal has been issued by the Oxford Trotskyists for the formation of a joint defense guard of all local labor organizations. This appeal has met with a sympathetic response among the best elements of the local labor and Stalinist parties. The trade union students of Ruskin College have taken the first step in the right direction in setting up an anti-fascist committee to organize the fight against the fascists in Oxford.

Notice to New York Readers:

The TIME and PLACE of the DEBATE between DWIGHT MACDONALD Editor of "Politics"

and HAL DRAPER

Editor of "The New Internationalist"

on "Is Working Class Action the Road to Socialism?"

has been changed to

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 29

at LABOR TEMPLE, 14th Street, near Second Avenue, N. Y. C., 7:30 P. M. Auspices: LABOR ACTION FORUM

New Division in French Labor Ranks Benefits Only the DeGaulist Party

By VINCENT CARE

Spurning the advice of their leader, Leon Jouhaux, the delegates to the December 18 national conference of the "Force Ouvriere" tendency of the CGT (General Confederation of Workers) overwhelmingly voted in favor of immediately splitting with the Stalinist controlled CGT and for the formation of the independent "CGT Force Ouvriere."

This latest rupture in the unity of the French labor movement comes at a fateful moment in the situation of French labor. The scission has taken place most inopportunistly and is due to Stalinist betrayal and demoralization among the workers.

The neo-fascist de Gaulle can look on with unexpressed satisfaction for only by the existence of a division in the ranks of the labor movement can he really hope to attain his dictatorial ambitions.

This regrettable division is the responsibility of the Communist and Socialist parties. The greatest part of the onus undeniably rests on the shoulders of the totalitarian Stalinist leaders who have again and again cynically disregarded the interests of French labor in conformity to the desires of their Kremlin masters. As a result they have not only created demoralization and temporarily broken the militancy of the French working class but in so doing they are facilitating de Gaulle's aim for power.

The lamentable Socialist Party whose left wing has recently seceded, frustrated because its class collaboration with the capitalist parties prevents it from obtaining any influence over the French workers, sought to combat the Stalinists by appearing, during the municipal elections, as more "anti-Communist" than the Gaullist and even accepted Gaullist support to frustrate the Stalinists. Its brand of anti-Stalinism is nothing but a cover for its anti-working class policy. During the recent strike wave it attempted to hit back at the CP by closely collaborating with the Right in organizing back-to-work movements.

In order to better understand the relation of forces in the French labor movement today we must examine its development since 1944:

At the time of liberation in 1944 Stalinism represented a tremendous force in the working class movement. In the CGT they had control of all nerve centers, federations such as the metal workers, miners, sailors, building trades, dockers, railroad workers, were completely under their sway. At the 1945 national congress of the CGT the relation of forces was the following: Stalinists 80 per cent, Socialists 20 per cent. The socialist tendency represented mainly white collar unions such as the government employees, teachers and department store employees. The reformists were hopelessly in the minority. There was nothing they could do to extricate themselves inasmuch as their socialist colleagues were collaborating in the government, as were the Stalinists. They were in basic agreement with the Stalinist union bosses in their policy of "More production—freezing of salaries."

Toward the beginning of 1946, Stalinist trade union influence began to ebb. Their callous smashing of the strikes of the Paris printing workers and the miners of Lens were the first manifestations of the true face of Stalinism. The Stalinist policy of "production first" and "no wage increases," "the strike is the arm of the trusts and the Hitler-Trotskyists" began to have wearing effects on the French worker. The promised control of prices was only a chimera and galloping inflation was reducing the working class to the level of misery.

Despite the crushing weight of the Stalinist machine, workers here and there, began to fight back. Finally in August 1946 the dikes were breached

when 80 per cent of the postal and telephone workers of France defied their Stalinist union leaders, organized democratic strike committees and won their demands for higher wages.

With the constitution of the Cominform in October, any semblance of fidelity to the interests of the French working class was rendered impossible by the Kremlin orders for the sabotage of French economy and the Marshall Plan. Therefore, in November, using the legitimate demands of the workers as a cover, the CGT suddenly carried out an adventurist strike movement which inevitably ended in a bitter defeat for two million workers who had courageously fought for what they had imagined to be a genuine struggle for their sorely needed wage demands.

The cynical and completely bureaucratic manner, the suddenness in which the workers were told that they were on strike, resulted in extensive confusion among many workers. Taking advantage of the existing confusion, without offering any real support to the legitimate demands of

breaking role and to give the Stalinist leaders an alibi for the defeat of the strike. Between the two the working class has been hung on the rack and bled white.

The failure of the strike has brought a new element into the "Force Ouvriere" camp—thousands of rank and file militants who are fed up with Stalinist betrayals and who now look to FO for militant leadership. For example, over 40,000 miners of the Pas De Calais region have left the CGT; in numerous areas a jump in sentiment for FO has been witnessed during the past ten days. Still some of these elements have broken with Stalinism on a militant basis and still others have joined FO on a nationalistic basis, having become convinced that the Stalinists are agents of a foreign power. Another element which is joining CGT-Force Ouvriere are the independent unions which had been formed following Stalinist betrayals in the postal, railroad and Renault strikes of 1946-1947. They have a strength of about 50,000-60,000.

What proportion of the organized workers can CGT-Force Ouvriere count on? No exact estimates are possible—not even the leaders have a definite idea. It is expected that they will be able to recruit about 500,000 in the weeks to come. They will be able to count on a majority of the postal workers, department store employees, pharmaceutical workers, ministry employees and traveling salesmen. Sizeable minorities will adhere from among the railroad, mining, textile and metal workers. In addition in a number of regions a majority of the locals have gone "Force Ouvriere."

Another element is present—those who are anti-Stalinist but who feel that the best way to rid the CGT of its totalitarian poison is from within. This opinion is notably expressed by the majority in the teachers and printing workers federations. This position is held by hundreds of good CGT militants who are choosing to stay in the CGT. This is also the position taken by the "Force Ouvriere" tendency which represents the revolutionary trade union point of view.

FRENCH WORKERS SPLIT

The French workers now find themselves divided into four separate trade union centers, the Stalinist controlled CGT which, due to losses in-

curring by the split and from workers who tore up their union cards, is now reduced to not more than 2½ million; the CGT-Force Ouvriere which commences with about 500,000 adherents; the CFTC (Catholic unions) 250,000 and the Anarchist CNT 45,000. A mass of between one and two million disoriented workers, will, for the time being, abstain from joining any trade union until they have seen it in action.

The acid test for CGT-Force Ouvriere is quickly approaching. The financial policy adopted by the Schumann government, in collaboration with the SP, will cause an immediate rise in industrial and food prices of about 35 per cent. In order to assuage the workers' misery, an increase of 2,000 francs a month is shortly to be allotted by the government. But this will hardly counterbalance the proportional increase to come in the cost of living, in addition to price rises of 50 per cent since last July. Despite the state of confusion reigning in the workers' ranks it is expected that a wave of strikes is due in two or three months. The government is so sure of it that only a fraction of the 120,000 reservists mobilized during the recent strikes will be demobilized in the near future.

"Front Ouvrier," which represents the revolutionary tendency in the trade unions, has explained to the militants that splitting the trade union movement can only lead to sterility and a further weakening of the striking power of the working class, that the split only weakens the fight against Stalinism. Only by fighting the Stalinists from within the CGT is it possible to break their death grip on the labor movement. They further state that the CGT-Force Ouvriere offers nothing to the working class but the bitter fruits of class collaboration such as the workers have tasted since the liberation.

Nonetheless where the majority of workers in an industry are in favor of joining "Force Ouvriere" the militants of "Front Ouvrier" will act accordingly. In a situation where an imposing minority decides in favor of scission and which represents the better elements among the workers, the adherents of "Front Ouvrier" will join both CGT and CGT-FO in order to stress the necessity of unity of action between the two groups.



De GAULLE

the workers, the "Force Ouvriere" tendency called upon the workers not to strike and organized back to work movements, with police aid.

RECORD OF FORCE OUVRIERE

"Force Ouvriere" (Workers' Strength) began its existence in 1945, with the issuance of the trade union weekly of the same name, as the organ of the reformist tendency in the CGT led by Jouhaux, Delamarre, Bothereau, Neumeyer and Gazier.

Until recently "Force Ouvriere" had a feeble following among trade union rank and file militants. Its allure consisted in a campaign against the control of the CGT by a political party. It never was able to offer an alternative program of demands to those of the Stalinists for they were, basically, in agreement. At no time did their weekly newspaper attain a circulation of more than 30,000 in a union of about 5,000,000 members. Each week the newspaper "Force Ouvriere" blared forth its central clarion call to the faithful few "Against any political control of the CGT."

"Force Ouvriere" could only grow in proportion to the demoralization of the working class and among those elements who were repelled by Stalinism and who found nowhere else to turn to. Their "big chance" came during the recent Cominform strike. It efficaciously managed to further demoralize the workers by its strike-

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

Workers who are employed at the Chevrolet and Fischer Body plants in Oakland, members of UAW-CIO Local 76, were this week threatened with a 30 per cent decrease in production. Because of material shortages, inefficiencies of plant management, etc., full work weeks had already become a rare thing for these workers during the past two years.

One reported suggestion of some employers was the dismissal of 250 non-seniority workers. But the union members at both plants, like their longshoremen brothers, have completely rejected any such attempts to divide them. At meetings this week, they have, instead, called for a reduction to a regular four-day week or a schedule with four weeks of work and one week off to allow for collection of unemployment insurance.

The ink had barely dried on the much-publicized report of the President's Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, with its call for full equality for all, when this area witnessed a

violation of its much-extended principles. A prominent national organization, the Professional Golfers Association, refused to allow two Negro golfers entrance to its richly-prized Richmond Open Tournament. The two very capable golfers, William Spiller and Ted Rhodes, were told that a PGA clause, denying all but "members of the Caucasian race" permission to play in its tournaments, prevented their appearance. The two men are suing the Association for \$250,000 in damages and the first and second place prize money of \$3,400. The unfortunate feature is that their attorney is planning to use the Taft-Hartley Act's provision against closed shops as the basis for the suit. Attempting to utilize oppressive legislation is not the way to fight for civil rights and is hardly conducive to winning the necessary help from the labor movement. Nevertheless, the fight of the two golfers is deserving of the widest individual and organizational support.

What's happened on a pair of Men's Shoes which sold for \$5 in 1939 and \$10.58 in 1947

Total	1939	1947	% Increase 1947 over 1939
ALL COSTS	\$4.57	\$9.04	98%
PROFITS	.43	1.54	258%
Retailer			
ALL COSTS	4.70	9.72	107%
PROFITS	.30	.83	177%
Manufacturing			
ALL COSTS	3.32	6.64	100%
PROFITS	.06	.42	600%
Tanner			
ALL COSTS	2.05	4.01	96%
PROFITS	.05	.19	280%
Packinghouse			
ALL COSTS	1.05	2.30	119%
PROFITS	.02	.10	400%

Guernsey-Montgomery for the Economic Outlook, CIO.

Behind Truman Tax Plan --

(Continued from page 1)

\$10,000 to \$100,000, not only by reducing income taxes by 10 to 30 per cent but also by allowing separate returns by husband and wife. The Republicans still support the Knutson bill, with some amendments. That bill makes a bow to the low income groups by raising personal exemptions from \$500 to \$600, simply reducing taxable income by that \$100—a mere nothing. As to federal revenue, the Knutson bill would slash it by \$5.6 billion, which the Republicans would seek to balance off with cuts in the budget—not in corporation profits.

Aside from Republican Representative Halleck's wisecrack: "What, no mule?"—referring to the bid of the carpet-baggers of "forty acres and a mule" to get slaves back to the South after the Civil War—the Republicans have countered the President's "revolutionary" proposal with two stock-in-trade reactionary arguments. First, prices would go up and inflation would increase if \$3.2 billion more purchasing power were put into the hands of the people. As always, money in the hands of the people is dangerous, but in the hands of the corporations and the rich it is benign. The New York Times expressed this point of view best: "...the President's plan would call for the transfer of \$3.2 billion from retaining corporate earnings, the area in which it is furthest removed from the consumer goods spending stream, to an area where it would make its optimum contribution to mounting prices and living costs." Which does not solve the working people's problem of how to get along without more money.

The other argument was voiced by Senator Taft and Knutson. Said the Republican Taft, referring to the President's remark that industry should invest about \$50 billion in the next few years: "How does the President expect business to make this great investment if taxes take away the profits and make it unprofitable for new money to go into business?" Mr. Taft knows, of course, that 1948 profits after taxes at present rates will skyrocket to above \$18 billion; that even if \$3.2 billion more should be deducted in taxes that still leaves a profit package of \$15 billion that would be well above the \$12.5 billion of 1946 and mountains above pre-war profits. However, that is not sufficient incentive for private enterprise, or in the words of Representative Knutson, the Truman plan would fail to "INCREASE the incentive to save, invest and assume managerial responsibilities." In a word, the Republicans have made an open predication to a higher standard of profits and a lower standard of living.

The absolutely detestable position of the Republicans from the working people's point of view, does not in the least make the position of the President and the Democratic Party more acceptable. In passing, it is well to make clear that the Truman tax plan is not necessarily that of his party. When he delivered his message before Congress there was no applause for his plan from Democratic benches. Of course, we all know where the Southern Democrats stand. However, even Democrats close to the President don't go along. A case in point is John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, whose job it will be to put up the Congressional fight for the Truman proposal even though Mr. Snyder is definitely opposed to the \$40 bonus. The Truman tax plan is a false front for the Democrats.

The plan in itself, moreover, is full of holes and is nothing but campaign material. In essence, Mr. Truman has come up with a "solution" for the high cost of living. Yet how much actual help would the \$40 bonus give the working class family? The rise in the cost of living has been put to us in many different ways. Perhaps the concrete figure of the economists of the Electrical Workers Union is the best. They simply state that the inflation has meant a loss of \$13.03 a week in purchasing power since 1945. Even should Mr. Truman's plan go into effect, which it won't, a family of four would benefit by about \$3.00 a week. Stated differently, the President's \$160 reduction in taxes must be posited against a \$677.56 loss

in purchasing power. This is tossing a meatless bone to a hungry dog.

Neither is the "soak the rich" angle of the President's recommendation sincere. Should an additional \$3.2 billion tax levy be passed on to the corporations, conditions being what they are, the corporations would lose no time in making the consumer pay that bill. This is traditional capitalist conduct, certified to by the New York Times as follows: "First, Mr. Truman's reasoning rests upon the naive assumption that corporations as a whole are incapable of shifting the incidence of taxes from their own shoulders to those of the consumer.

What is necessary for relief for the working people is actually anathema to Truman. If Truman were concerned about declining real wages compared with unprecedented profits, he would have to call for the end of the withholding tax on wages, and for the shifting of taxes to the rich by way of stiffer corporation taxes, increased income taxes and also capital levies. And to prevent the transference of the tax burden back to the working people by the corporations' boosting prices, there would have to be complete price control, not the timid, tenderfoot and inadequate points made by the President in his message. A comprehensive price control program must include price roll-backs to a reasonable level, price fixing, rationing of scarce commodities—and above all the administering of such a program by people's committees to prevent black market racketeering and other evasions.

Shachtman, Garrett Continue On Coast-to-Coast Tours

Emanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, and Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, are now in the concluding part of their coast-to-coast tours. Next week's issue of LABOR ACTION will carry the first reports on their successful meetings held in various cities throughout the country.

City	Dates
Youngstown, Ohio	January 27, 28
Pittsburgh, Pa.	January 29, 30
West Virginia	January 31, February 1, 2
Baltimore, Md.	February 4, 5
Reading, Pa.	February 6
Philadelphia, Pa.	February 7
Newark, N. J.	February 8
New York	February 9
Boston, Mass.	(To be announced later)

MAX SHACHTMAN: City Chicago, Ill. Dates January 28
LABOR ACTION will carry announcements of all public meetings held, and will report the progress of the tours.

Fund Drive Campaign Enters New Stage!

By YETTA BARSH, Fund Drive Director

We have just completed seven weeks of our Fund Drive. A little over half of the Drive is now over and our receipts total 59 per cent. Nineteen of the participating units have achieved 50 per cent or more of their respective quotas; four others are in the 40 per cent and over class; only five of the participating units are not really in the race. On the whole, we have maintained a fair pace since the very beginning of the Drive. We attribute the slight slowing down in the past two weeks of the Drive to the let-down after the hard push to reach the 50 per cent mark by the beginning of the month.

Boston, Hibbing and Streater have each made or gone over the 100 per cent mark this week. And while we talk about the

100-percenters, we would like to take this opportunity to apologize to the Manhattan Unit of the Socialist Youth League. Through a typographical error, its name did not appear at the head of the list last week, the place it earned with its last contribution.

Buffalo keeps pushing ahead. Despite the fact that it achieved its full quota weeks ago, it continues to send in contributions. This week it sent in an additional \$22. Philadelphia (one of the units with a large quota) sent in another \$25, raising its percentage to 94 per cent, with the promise that it will hit the 100 per cent mark by February 5th. Baltimore is close behind Philadelphia. After Baltimore, there is a big gap in the Fund Drive list. Only if that gap is closed quickly will we hit the 85 per cent mark by February 5th.

This week's contributions include the following: Baltimore, \$2.00; Boston, \$10; Buffalo, \$22; Chicago, \$160; Cleveland, \$52; Hibbing, \$3.00; New York City, \$199.50; Philadelphia, \$25.00; San Francisco, \$52.50; Streater, \$3.00; West Virginia, \$20; National Office, \$30; Miscellaneous, \$11.

We have heard from our new branch in Pittsburgh. It explains that it has been slow in getting started in the Fund Drive because of the numerous other tasks and problems which it faces but assures us that it is on the way and that we will soon witness its active participation in the Fund Drive. We are not one bit concerned about the situation; we know that we can rely on the word of our Pittsburgh comrades who have accomplished so much in so short a time.

Our last words this week are for our friends and readers of LABOR ACTION. We want to thank them for the valuable contributions which they have been sending us together with coupons clipped from LABOR ACTION. This week we extend special thanks to K. K. of Seattle and J. M. of Buffalo

for their contributions to our Fund Drive and for their interest in our work.

Branch	Quota	Jan. 19	Pct.
Manhattan SYL	\$30.00	\$45.00	150
Connecticut	\$50.00	60.00	120
Hibbing	5.00	6.00	120
Buffalo	600.00	712.00	119
Streater	20.00	21.00	105
Boston	60.00	60.00	100
Indiana	50.00	50.00	100
New York Misc.	20.00	20.00	100
Oregon	50.00	50.00	100
Philadelphia	400.00	375.00	94
Baltimore	100.00	92.80	93
Reading	75.00	49.00	65
Akron	400.00	245.00	61
San Francisco	1,000.00	600.45	60
National Office	3,500.00	2,061.00	59
Chicago	1,500.00	842.13	56
Cleveland	500.00	279.00	56
New York City	4,000.00	2,158.98	54
Seattle	400.00	200.00	50
Los Angeles	500.00	230.50	46
St. Louis	35.00	16.00	46
Detroit	800.00	352.00	44
Newark	400.00	171.54	43
Youngstown	200.00	75.00	38
West Virginia	150.00	45.00	30
Misc.	40.00	11.00	27
Pittsburgh	25.00	00.00	0
San Pedro	100.00	00.00	0
	\$15,000.00	\$8,828.40	59

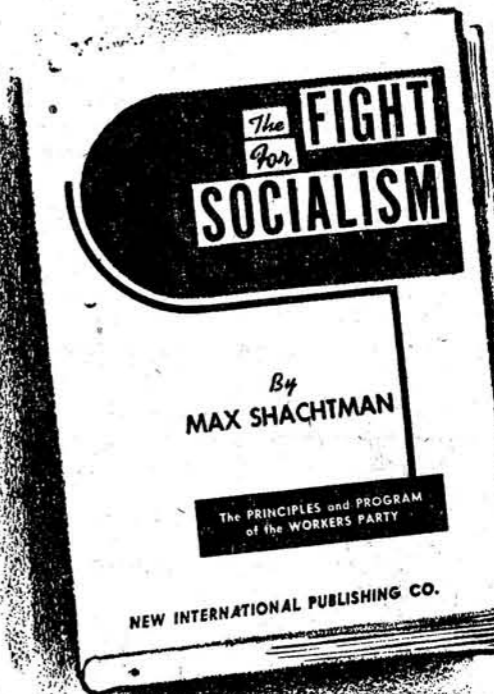
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