

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

LABOR ACTION

DECEMBER 22, 1947

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

Garrett, Shachtman Tours Open January 8

Emanuel Garrett, Editor of LABOR ACTION, and Max Shachtman, National Chairman of the Workers Party, will conduct speaking tours on behalf of the National Committee of the Workers Party. The two tours, featuring public mass meetings on the economic and political situation in the United States, and the crisis in Europe, and membership meetings of the Workers Party to implement the Program of Action, will begin in January and run concurrently.



Max Shachtman

Comrade Garrett, covering the Eastern and Mid-Western points, will open his tour in Buffalo on January 8. On the same date Max Shachtman will open his tour in Seattle, Washington. The following is the itinerary of the tours: (all dates are inclusive)

EMANUEL GARRETT:

City	Dates
Buffalo, N. Y.	January 8, 9, 10
Detroit, Mich.	January 11, 12, 13
Chicago, Ill.	January 14, 16, 17, 18
Streator, Ill.	January 15
St. Louis, Mo.	January 20, 21
Cleveland, Ohio	January 23, 24
Akron, Ohio	January 25, 26
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	Dates
Seattle, Wash.	January 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
San Francisco, Calif.	January 15, 16, 17, 18, 19
Los Angeles, Calif.	January 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Chicago, Ill.	January 28
New York N. Y.	January 30

LABOR ACTION will carry announcements of all public meetings held, and will report the progress of the tours.

Widening of U. S.-Russian Conflict Breaks Up Big Powers' Conference

Amid an atmosphere of increased bitterness and hostility, the London session of the Big Four Council of Foreign Ministers has come to a conclusion on an adjournment motion of Secretary of State Marshall. Significant among other factors is the motion itself which does not provide, as previously, for any future session of the Council. British spokesman Bevin, in his final remarks, indicated his belief that this body would never draft peace treaties for Germany or Austria.

The split, then, between America and Russia has reached a new depth and width. The London sessions were completely useless so far as making any progress toward agreement was concerned. After the opening days, the sessions quickly degenerated

into a series of propagandistic sessions where each of the Big Four imperialisms did its best to propagandize its policies before world public opinion in general and the German population in particular.

The basic issue over which the conference broke up was the issue of German reparations as demanded by Russian imperialism, to the tune of \$10 billions, and to be paid out of current production. Since Molotov insisted upon this demand, and since American imperialism—now preparing the partial revival and rebuilding of Western German industry—is fundamentally opposed to such reparations, the conference was doomed from the start. Related to this demand of Russia is the demand for economic veto power over the Ruhr industrial basin.

In this futile gathering at no time were representatives of the German or Austrian peoples ever consulted. A delegation of Stalinist political "Quislings" from the Russian zone of Germany arrived at London, but the Western powers refused to hear their undoubted parroting of Molotov's propaganda speeches. They did not invite any delegates from THEIR zones of Germany.

The role and policy of the Big Four may be summarized as follows:

Russian imperialism—Insistence upon \$10 billions in reparations; anxious to see a "unified" Germany under Stalinist-control which can be manipulated by Russia in its rivalry with America; prepared to consolidate still further its police-state hold over Eastern Germany.

American imperialism—Determined to partially rebuild and economically unify as much of Germany as possible, but strictly under American capital control (the Marshall Plan); wishing to keep Germany politically disunited and weak so that the country remains as a "No man's" land between Western Europe and Russia.

British imperialism—Completely subordinated now to American foreign policy; anxious for an industrial revival of the Ruhr and Western Germany as a source of markets and commercial relations.

French imperialism—With its role of neutrality and compromise now definitely over, France is prepared to throw in its lot with America, at the price of certain concessions strictly for the narrow and immediate interests of its imperialism. This includes granting of the Saar, and some say over the Ruhr.

The dismal end of the conference not only indicates a new low in the relations between the Big Powers, but also the beginning of still a new phase in the "cold war" between America and Russia. Each imperialist center will now proceed with its plans for building up strength and support in the present "cold" stage of the war.

Despite the fact that warfare, open and hot, is not yet on the order of the day; and despite the fact that further negotiations and conferences will undoubtedly be held, the answer to all this remains the same. Only the most determined and militant action of the peoples of Europe and America will prevent the inevitable war being hatched by the Great Powers.

Anti-Stalinist NMU Caucus Is Organized

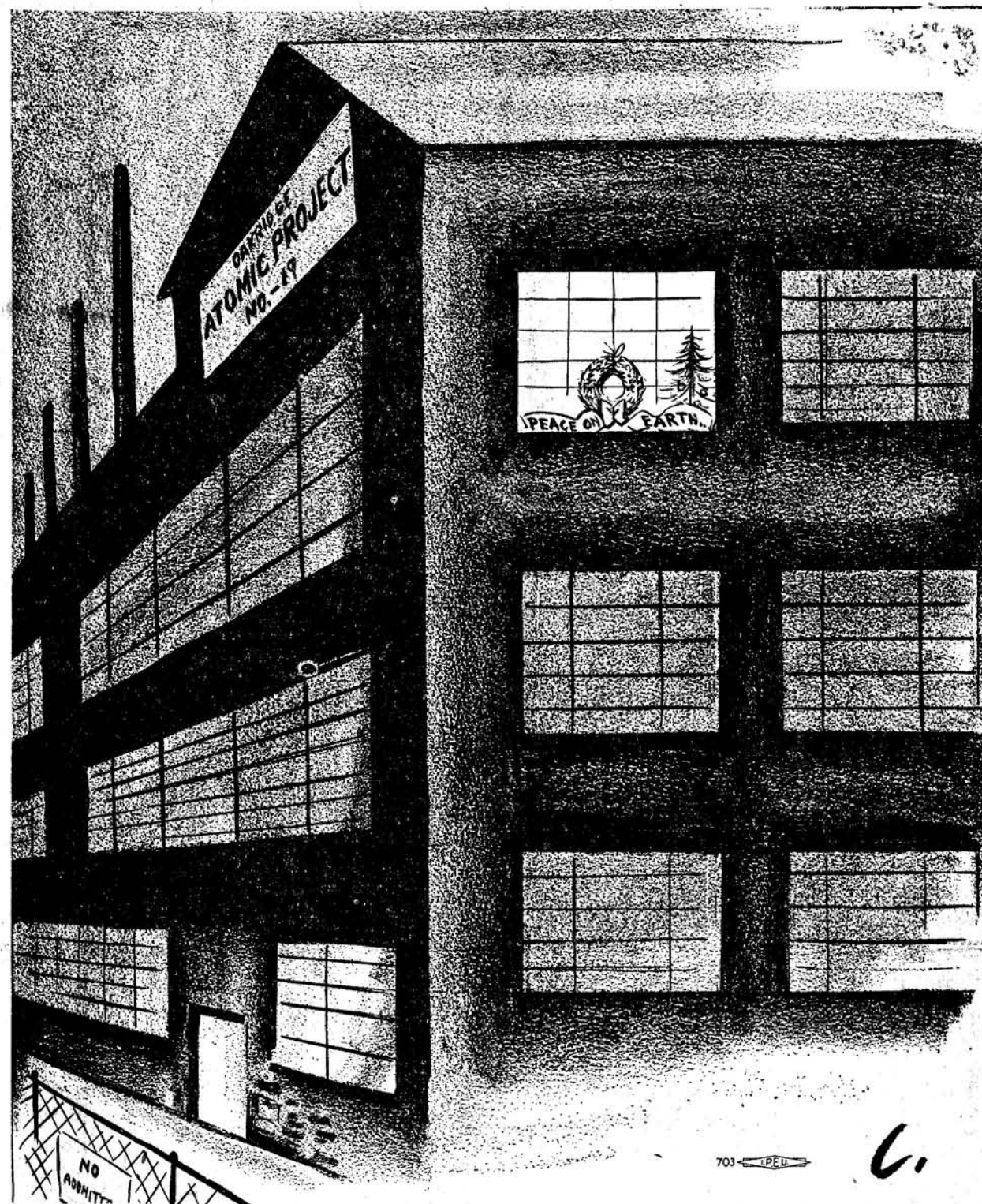
By N. GADEN

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—As the Spring, 1948, elections of the National Maritime Union approach, the intense factional struggle in the union grows more and more heated. In these elections the union membership will be faced with the choice of voting for avowed Communist Party members or supporters who now hold most of the offices, or voting for President Curran and his anti-Stalinist supporters in the union. It is a foregone conclusion that this will be a "slate" election.

The Curran group is now officially known in the union as the RANK & FILE COMMITTEE. It has begun to organize itself in all the ports and aboard all NMU contracted vessels. Curran was opposed to caucusing at the beginning of the fight that he and other progressive unionists undertook against CP control of this important CIO union. But since then he has learned what many other trade unionists have learned, namely, it is impossible to fight, and win, against a firmly entrenched bureaucratic union apparatus unless you rally the ranks around a program and a group.

The emergence of the Rank & File Committee and its participation in the coming elections is unique in the history of the NMU since it will mark

(Continued on page 2)



UAW Board Meeting Plans Cut in Staff

DETROIT, Dec. 7—The first post-convention meeting of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO was marked by a series of administrative changes calculated to streamline and coordinate the activities of the union. "Pork-chopping" took a real beating when President Walter Reuther and his associates worked out proposals to cut down the staff of international representatives and other functionaries by 75 and put in other reforms which should save the union around \$500,000 in administrative expenses.

In addition, the Reuther regime cleaned out the last of the Stalinist influence in the top circles of the union with the discharge of Maurice Sugar as legal counsel of the union, James Wishart as research director and Irving Richter as Washington legislative representative. These individuals were the "brain trust" of the Stalinist bloc.

Reuther's personal legal adviser, A. Zwerdling, a self-professed socialist, was expected to be one of the decisive men in that field for the union, although no official action was taken at the board meeting. Nathan Weinberg, a young economist at one time connected with the ILGWU, was made research director and Donald Montgomery, formerly consumers' counsel, took over the Washington job of Richter's. Ken Bannon, president of Ford Local 400, who was an

outstanding opponent of the Ford pension plan, was chosen director of the Ford department, the post that Richard T. Leonard, ex-vice-president, used to hold.

Walter Reuther took over PAC work and also retained the post of GM director, a decision that wasn't very popular among some of the new board members. Neither Dick Gosser, John Livingston nor Emil Mazey was given any decisive post. Reuther's reduction of the PAC staff to three members occasioned some surprise among his associates, but its significance remains to be seen.

The other changes are too numerous to mention, but an important fact is that the international union is now in good working shape for the tasks ahead. In that connection, auto workers are waiting for the first indication of Reuther's plan to carry out the policy adopted by the national CIO for seeking a third round of wage increases to offset the inflationary cost of living.

A footnote to UAW-CIO history: R. J. Thomas, heralded as the "militant" hope of some people because he advocated not signing the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit, quietly took a job as a porkchopper on Philip Murray's staff. Thus ends for the time the career of this bureaucrat in the UAW. He won't even be an active member of his own union, let alone an important figure.—W. J.

Protest Greek Repression

Letter Addressed to Greek Ambassador to U. S. Hits Gag on Free Press

DECEMBER 8—A strong protest against the restrictions upon freedom of the press imposed by a gag law passed by the Greek government in October was addressed today to the Greek Ambassador to the United States by several prominent civil liberties leaders and editors of labor papers. They urged full restoration of the democratic right of free expression to all labor newspapers in Greece, regardless of their political views.

The letter was signed by Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Oswald Garrison Villard; Farrell Dobbs, editor of The Militant; E. R. Frank, editor of the Fourth International; Albert Gates, associate editor of LABOR ACTION; Max Shachtman, editor of The New Internationalist; Liston Oak, editor of the New Leader.

A similar letter of protest was sent to the Greek Ambassador by Harry Fleischman, national secretary of the Socialist Party and executive director of The Call.

The text of the letter follows: "It has been brought to our attention that under a new law passed on October 18 by the Sophoulis-Tsaladaris government, freedom of the press has been seriously restricted in Greece.

"This decree prohibits publication of newspapers and magazines and imposes harsh penalties upon any papers which are in the slightest degree critical of the policies of the government. Staffs of such newspapers are subject to arrest and court-martial with possible death sentences. All facilities used in connection with publication of a newspaper, including linotypes, printing presses, etc., can be confiscated. Only such publications as meet the strict censorship requirements of the Press Ministry are permitted to be printed and distributed.

"This law is primarily directed, and has already been used, against news-

Fratricidal War Serves Neither Jew Nor Arab

"Cease Fire!" Is Palestine Need

By AL FINDLEY

The first week following the vote of the United Nations to recommend the partition of Palestine saw sporadic, unorganized attacks by Arabs resulting in the death of 20 Arabs and 20 Jews. In addition there were two large scale pogroms—one in Aleppo, Syria, and the other in the British protectorate of Aden.

The second week of the struggle has seen a change in the nature of the fighting, and a greatly increased death toll—approximately 200 in Palestine and another hundred in the rest of the Near East. The fighting began to take a planned and organized form with the Sunday raid of the Haganah on three Arab villages. This was answered by the

"Nejada" (Arab Military Organization) with an "invasion" of Tel-Aviv. Almost 80 persons lost their lives. Haganah had announced that it would attack only in defense and would attack only to punish known guilty individuals or groups. While this policy is sometimes given a free interpretation, the policy of the Haganah is primarily defensive, and it does refrain from attacking ordinary Arabs and thus playing into the hands of the Mufti.

This, however, does not apply to the Irgun and Stern groups, who are now launching their struggle for power in the proposed Jewish State and who are willing to sacrifice the lives of both Jews and Arabs to their ambitions. These groups have announced that they will indiscriminately attack Arab groups to strike terror in their hearts, but would spare women and children. However, in their first action, an Arab woman was killed. Since then they have bombed cafes and other public places. Their policy plays right into the hands of the Mufti by giving substance and a semblance of truth to his lies that the Jews are the aggressors.

What is needed in Palestine today is a truce, and the raising of the demand "cease fire" and its political implementation to win over the majority of Palestinian Arabs who, though not supporting Jewish demands, are nevertheless opposed to a war between the two peoples. The actions of the Irgun can only drive them into Kawkazi's "Peoples' Army and make the task of the Mufti easier.

BRITISH ENCOURAGE TURMOIL

While the Irgun carries on with its suicidal policy the leaders of the Jewish Agency, speaking through Weitzman (the probable first president of the Jewish State) are calling for an imperialist army to maintain order. They would prefer a UN or a U.S. Army, but would not turn down a British army. A report that refuses to die is that the Jewish Agency has offered to make Palestine a British dominion and keep it part of the British Empire with limited military bases in Palestine, in

return for British support and implementation of partition by the British army.

The U.N. in the meantime is going ahead at accelerated speed. The commission that will administer partition has not officially been appointed. The British have announced that they don't want the commission to come to Palestine until

two weeks before they give up the mandate. The hope of the liberals that the UN committee will be able to take over a part area by February 1 and allow 5,000 Jews to enter seems unlikely of fulfillment.

In Palestine, the British are acting in the same way they acted in 1929 and 1936-39. Officially, they pretend

(Continued on page 4)

ITU Strike in Chicago Enters Second Month

By JACK RANGER
(Special to LABOR ACTION)

CHICAGO, ILL.—The showdown fight between powerful Local 18 of the AFL International Typographical Union and the six Chicago daily newspapers entered its second month this week with picket lines before the printing plants of the Tribune, Sun, Times, Herald-American, Daily News and Journal of Commerce.

The strike, involving several thousand typographers—the men who set type on the dailies—began November 24 after the Chicago papers, conspiring with the American Newspaper Publishers Association (representing the nation's leading newspapers) and the National Labor Relations Board, refused to grant a wage increase.

UNION STATEMENT

The striking union has told the background of the struggle, in a message which has been widely distributed to the public:

"Our strike is for an increase in our wages, which have not kept pace with the rising costs of meats, groceries, dairy products, housing, transportation, phone service, and everything else we have to buy," states the union, adding:

"Five months of negotiation preceded the calling of our strike. In the course of these long negotiations the publishers admitted that a wage

increase was due us, but they NEVER made a definite offer of ANY amount. They informed us that we could expect no increase at all unless we would sign a new contract, to be laid down by themselves, replacing the one signed in 1946. The form of contract which the publishers demanded was one which would so weaken our union that we would have been powerless to resist their aggressions after we had signed it.

"HOWEVER, THE PUBLISHERS DID NOT INSIST ON A CONTRACT IF WE WOULD WAIVE AN INCREASE IN PAY. They expressed perfect willingness to continue operating indefinitely under the old conditions—if we would not ask for additional wages.

"In short the publishers objected to nothing except the granting of a better wage which would permit our members and their families to meet the rising cost of living. Their professed concern over the Taft-Hartley Act was merely a smoke screen to cover their real purpose of freezing wages in one of the most profitable industries in America."

USE OLD WOBBLIE TACTIC

As is well-known, the ITU, at its last convention, decided to sign no contracts because of Taft-Hartley restrictions. Instead the union voted to follow the old IWW tactic of enforcing "conditions of employment."

(Continued on page 2)

TO OUR READERS:

Because of a mechanical breakdown in the printing plant where LABOR ACTION is published, we were compelled to readjust our plans for this issue and to omit late material: a lead article on the Democratic and Republican anti-inflation programs, articles on the Pauley case and other domestic developments. These will appear next week. We also found it necessary to omit a front-page editorial on Christmas, 1947. With that explained, we should like to extend the season's greetings to our readers and supporters. Merry Christmas!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Calif. IPP Avoids Labor Party Label

LOS ANGELES—A new third party has been organized in the state of California. Under the name of the Independent Progressive Party, it has announced its programs and plans, has held two conferences and its political face is pretty clear by now.

Last August 24 the drive for the new party was formally launched by a conference of delegates in Los Angeles who set up an "organizing committee." The overwhelming majority of the delegates represented Stalinist-controlled trade union locals throughout the state, plus a generous share of Stalinist front organizations of every stripe and variety, in which California abounds from Hollywood to the Bay Area. Leavening this mass were a handful of "innocents," plus a contingent of individual Communist Party followers who had managed to get delegate status from organizations which are themselves not CP-controlled.

This too is clear enough and is loudly proclaimed. While in practice the IPP seeks support from within the labor movement, it carefully avoids any possibility of being mistaken for a Labor Party.

In Bryson's programmatic speech at the August conference, as well as in the conference held on November 29, it is emphasized that in no way will the IPP break completely with the old parties, the Democrats and Republicans. They will support "good," "progressive" candidates of the old parties; use their strength to plug for Henry Wallace; and they justify the formation of a third party mainly as a means to put pressure on the Democrats to adopt "progressive" policies and candidates.

There is no doubt that in spite of its self-proclaimed character and shifty approach, the IPP will attempt to make hay from the desire of the workers to make a real break with the old capitalist parties and to build a real party of the labor movement; and also that it may even gain some rank-and-file support from the illusion that it represents a step forward in this direction.

As a matter of fact, however, this implementation of the third party line of the CP, in the shape of California's IPP, will do nothing to bring about a genuine Labor Party. On the contrary, it will stand in the way by confusing, misleading and repelling workers who are beginning to look forward to independent class political action.

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PRESSURE DEMOCRATS

While this is very much the usual set-up for any such CP project, in this case it is also an outgrowth of the outfit hitherto known as the "Emergency Legislative Conference" which the Stalinists have been using for some time as their mouthpiece. Chairman of the new formation is Hugh Bryson, head of the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards, and a well-known fellow traveler.

The Stalinist sponsorship of this new-party move serves to explain the character which it has assumed.

"We will dump the phony riders of the donkey's saddle too," vociferously sang the 135 delegates at the November conference, thereby giving the lie to the assertion made by all the official speakers that the IPP represents California labor's break with the two major parties. Most outspoken of the speakers was a New York Transport Workers Party functionary who advised the IPP to take for its model the American Labor Party (of New York State) because the ALP has "always delivered the goods to the people of New York." His proof? The ALP gave the people La Guardia! It was made clear that the IPP aims to run candidates of its own only when the capitalist parties' nominees smell too bad even for the insensitive noses of its Stalinist founders and leaders. In such cases it will conduct TOKEN campaigns only, "because we know we cannot win alone."

PETITION CAMPAIGN

Not a few of those present at the conference understood that something was wrong here, and two delegates actually got up to voice the demand that the IPP be converted into a real Labor Party. One was a seaman who said he had just arrived in port and who pointed out the contradiction between talking about "independence" and supporting capitalist candidates; the other, a woman millinery worker, who said she was a "democratic socialist," spoke forthrightly in favor of a real party of labor. (It should be mentioned parenthetically that, of a dozen or so members of the Socialist Workers Party present, not one said a word in favor of a Labor Party, although this is supposed to be an important aim of their organization.)

The anti-independence approach of the IPP is underlined by the fact

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

OAKLAND, Calif., Dec. 13—The current national fight of the AFL Typographical Union has just reached the West Coast. The printers of 45 Seattle job printing shops, members of Local 202, struck last night. The union has asked for a fifteen dollar weekly wage increase, and the employers have consented to five. But all know that the beef is principally over the union's nation-wide stand against signing any contracts in order to avoid the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The representative of the employers' negotiating committee charged, in his statement to the press, that the union was violating the Act, and the union spokesmen insisted that the bosses were not negotiating "in good faith." This new, apparently "small" labor struggle deserves careful watching by the entire labor movement, as does the entire current activity of the printers.

The two-month-old strike of members of the AFL Farm Laborers Union at the 20,000 acre Di Giorgio Ranch in the San Joaquin Valley is approaching a pitched-battle tempo. The Corporation has imported many Mexican workers from El Paso, Tex., without giving them any indication of the strike situation and smuggling them through the 19-mile picket line around the ranch. The Mexicans, arriving in the area generally penniless, are faced with the choice of working on the bosses' terms, or starving on the roadside, or struggling back to Texas.

The wealthy owners of this "factory in the field" are not satisfied with these tactics. They are regularly evicting strikers from ranch-owned homes on flimsy pretexts. Sheriff's deputies are everywhere, ready to arrest any striker who raises his voice. The local Health Department has recently prevented the bringing of coffee and sandwiches to the pickets.

The entire AFL of California is rendering assistance. The union reports that the strikers, many of them part of the original batch that came from Oklahoma and Arkansas in the "Grapes of Wrath" caravans, remain high in morale.

The trial began this week of the men involved in breaking up a meeting of the Democratic Party in La Crescenta, a suburb of Los Angeles. Members of the local American Legion Post, in uniform, and the editors of a Republican newspaper stomped into the meeting, heckled the speakers, and attempted to end the meeting. They loudly declared that it was a meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America, despite all protests to the contrary.

Defense counsel at the trial has thus far merely attempted to prove the "Communist" affiliations of those who sponsored the meeting. Coupled with the riot at a PCA meeting in Philadelphia this is a thing to be taken to heart by all those interested in maintaining civil liberties, particularly those who are, properly, opposed to the Stalinist Party and its workings.

Both AFL and CIO union workers on the city-owned San Francisco Municipal Railway system have requested a doubling of the time allowance for checking in and out, from seven to ten minutes up to twenty. The management of the Railway immediately posted a notice telling the workers not to listen to individuals inspired by "political motives." Both unions have ordered their men not to report before the seven-minute deadline. The management has charged that the action of the workers would "sabotage" schedules, which have actually become seriously upset because of the continuing poor equipment.

Student Strikers Hit Jim-Crow Policies of Chicago University

By DON HARRIS

CHICAGO—Over one thousand students of the University of Chicago have staged a student strike and demonstration against the administration's practice of refusing to admit Negroes to hospital facilities and the medical school. In contrast to the conservatism suggested by the school's Gothic towers, the students marched around the campus carrying anti-discrimination banners and shouting "Jim Crow Must Go." This action was the end product of a long period of investigation and protest, during which conclusive evidence had been assembled proving the Jim Crow character of the policy of the university hospitals and medical school. No action had been forthcoming to remedy the situation. This lack of elementary democracy was felt particularly keenly, since the University of Chicago, especially its social science department, takes pains to teach the principles of racial equality.

ALL-CAMPUS COMMITTEE

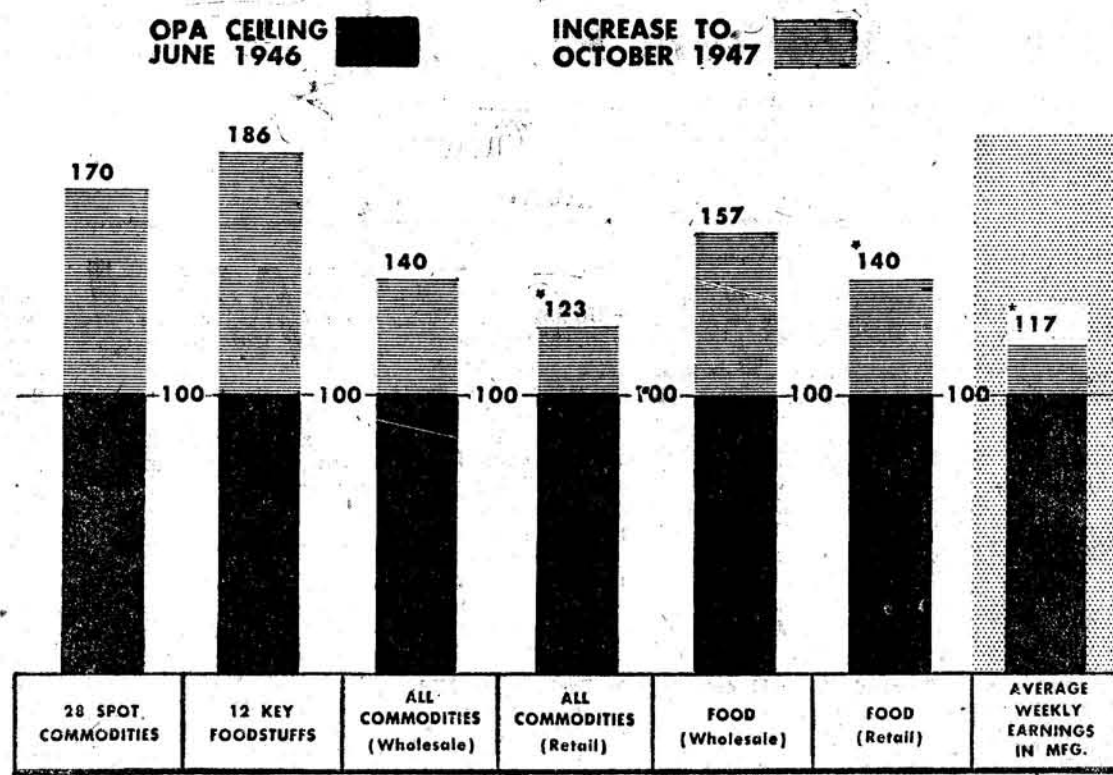
Following the failure of a committee which met with the Chancellor Hutchins to obtain a satisfactory answer to their demands, an all-campus conference was called for the purpose of setting up a strike committee and authorizing a protest meeting. The action was endorsed by more than twenty student organizations, representing all shades of liberal and radical student opinion, from the religious groups to the Politics Club, a revolutionary socialist organization. Only the Calvert Club, a Catholic organization, withdrew its support of the strike after a visit from a parish priest. All other organizations supported the strike wholeheartedly. Support was also received from the contingent of students from Roosevelt College, who had been appealed to for aid by Saul Mendelson,

Agricultural Department Urged to Stop Hiring Migrants for Struck Ranch

NEW YORK CITY (WDL)—Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson has been asked by the Workers Defense League to stop its farm labor office in Bakersfield, California, from sending migrants to the Di Giorgio ranch without informing them that a strike is in progress.

"For a government agency to recruit strikebreakers is reprehensible enough," the WDL wrote Anderson. "To recruit them without letting them know a strike is on, is even worse. This practice is recognized as so obnoxious that it has been declared illegal in some states. In New York City private agencies have had their licenses suspended for this."

PRICES UP, WAGES up



The graph printed above is reproduced from the December issue of the CIO's Economic Outlook. We think it will be a handy thing for our readers to have around when some nitwit begins braying that wages have gone up higher than prices or caused high prices.

Anti-Stalinist NMU Caucus - -

(Continued from page 1)

the first time the Stalinists are seriously challenged there. Of course, this is partly the fault of Curran and his co-workers on the National Council since they catered to the wishes of the CP for all these years and acted as its front. But this is one time it wasn't too late to learn. Under the well calculated blows delivered to it by the R&F group, the Stalinist machine in the union is losing its strength. As the days go by they are forced to resort to lies, scandal-mongering and the like. They pass vicious rumors around the hall—such as, "Curran is an agent of the U. S. Lines." They discover some disreputable character on some ship who claims to support the R&F Committee and, using him as an example, prove "conclusively" that the R&F Committee is reactionary.

FUNDS USED UP

The recently held convention of the NMU voted many changes in the present union structure. The rank and file delegates to this convention had the majority and so they voted many things not to the liking of the CP machine. The Stalinists, still in control of the union apparatus, have deliberately sabotaged the decisions of the convention. The most flagrant example of this was revealed last week by the treasurer, Hedley Stone. In an emergency report he pointed out that the union was going broke. It was spending more than it was taking in. It had already used up its general funds, and all it had left was the strike fund (\$640,000) and the buildings it owns (\$760,000). The treasurer pointed out that he had issued repeated warnings on this in the last few years which were ignored, and that now the Stalinist majority on the National Council was ignoring the convention which ordered a cut in the expenses to fit the income.

WHY HAVE THEY IGNORED THE HIGHEST BODY OF THE UNION? Curran answers this by saying: "They have loaded our staff payroll throughout the country with their people and now they are in a position where they know they have to cut, but they don't want to cut any of their people who are members of the Communist Party off the payroll, thereby weakening their machine." And this is absolutely correct. They put everyone they possibly could on the staff to better execute their fight against the Rank & File Opposition. How else can one explain the fact that the NMU payroll now has 421 people on it when during 1944, the year of the NMU's peak with twice as many ships under contract, there were fewer than that number on the payroll!

The union now takes in around \$125,000 a month and is spending at the rate of about \$250,000. The only way to reduce expenses is to cut some of the deadwood off the payroll. The Stalinist Finance Committee, after a four-day confab, issued a brief 700 word whitewash of the administration majority and an attack upon Curran-Stone. That is how the CP carries out the will of the membership!

STAGE PHONY ACT

The above example is but one of the many irresponsible actions the CP is guilty of in the NMU. In their reckless drive to maintain their stranglehold on the apparatus, they have turned on a super-militant act that would make any old time Wobblie dizzy. One of their "rank and file" hacks called for raiding all SIU-AFL ships NOW! "If they want a fight we'll give it to 'em!" And some of these "heroes," who are so anxious to have the workers shed a little blood, are campaigning for "plenty of job action and strikes."

Now, every militant trade unionist knows that job action and strikes are the things that win better conditions and more money. He ALSO knows that there are serious actions that can't be played with. Job actions must

be applied, but judiciously and not at the drop of a hat, or they will lose their effectiveness. Strikes are the most powerful weapon labor has against the boss; but they must be well planned and not called recklessly or they result in defeat and demoralization for the workers involved.

But what do these Stalinist monsters care about the workers and their real problems and struggles. Their policy maker sits far off in the Kremlin. He makes policy that suits his ruling class, which lives off the backs of the Russian workers. When his gang has a deal on with the gang that rules the USA, the CP here tells,

ORDERS! the American seaman to "KEEP 'EM SAILING." The CP hacks are then great friends of the shipowners. They agitate the sailors at union meetings about a "post-war no-strike pledge." Their officials boast in boss magazines about the NMU school which teaches "readin', writin' and no strikin." AND THESE PHONIES NOW HAVE THE GALL TO CALL THEMSELVES THE "MILITANTS." They must think workers are pretty dumb to try to sell them gold bricks like that. No small wonder the NMU membership laughs them off the floor at headquarters meetings when they turn on their super-militant faucet.

New Data Supports Labor Verdict on Pinkerton Role In Framing Molly Maguires

By MARY HOWARD

The Reading Company, formerly the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, largest coal owner in the anthracite coal fields, this week released "for purposes of historical research" long secret data about the long coal strike of 1875 and the role played in that strike by the "Molly Maguires." The data, in the form of 300 to 400 documents that have been locked up in the vaults of the Reading Company "until it was certain that all the first generation kin of principals in the notorious organization were dead," also seems to contain valuable information about the role the Pinkerton Detective Agency spies played in that struggle—the first recorded use of spies against labor.

The story of the "Molly Maguires" has long been one of the most distorted chapters in the history of labor's struggle to win union recognition from both boss and government. It centers around the militant Irish coal miners in the anthracite fields in the early 1870's who, having largely resisted the Civil War draft, fought for higher wages under the war economy and against wage cuts in the following depression. The coal bosses carried on a kind of guerrilla warfare with the miners, carrying guns and shooting on the least provocation, the result being that many miners and several of the most hated bosses were shot in the course of the struggle.

coal operators in order collectively to push prices up, wages down and to combine their strength against the fledgling union.

But the Irish coal miners would not give in, and they and their families nearly starved for months, eating bread, water and roots dug from the woods, with no visible sign of surrender. During these months the Pinkerton men were doing their job of spying and provocation. McParlan introduced criminals into the union in order to "fasten their crimes upon the miners. When the long and bitter strike was finally broken, three bosses were shot and McParlan later admitted foreknowledge of these shootings. But McParlan and his cronies made a get-away, no doubt with Gowen's knowledge and aid, while twenty Irishmen, including many active strike leaders, were tried and convicted and sent to the gallows.

McParlan emerged the hero of the trials and Gowen himself helped the district attorney as chief prosecutor. To the country, the convictions and hangings came as natural after the propaganda that had painted the Molly Maguires as a notorious band of criminals and murderers, and had not bothered to mention the struggles of the miners' union for better working hours, wages and union recognition.

CONFIRMED BY NEW DATA

Now that the Reading Company has made sure that there are no living first generation descendants of the men sent to the gallows who can bring action against them, they have at last released the real evidence in the case "for historical research." According to the New York Times, the "old data now tends to clear 'terrorists' of much strife." The documents evidently include a long "history" by the Pinkerton man, McParlan, as well as other evidence proving that the acts for which twenty miners went to the gallows were neither "criminal" nor "terroristic" but merely incidents in the fierce struggle between miner and boss for "conditions."

How many miners were shot by bosses during those years was never brought out at the trial of the twenty. Nor was the role of the Pinkerton spies as instigators and provocateurs, working at the bidding of the coal operators, dwelt on very much. But the labor movement has reason to remember the struggle of the Molly Maguires as a glorious page of American history. In time, it will judge the hangmen!

50 Cents Buys Six Month Sub to LABOR ACTION

AIN'T IT TOUGH?

Joan Whitney Payson, heiress to Payne Whitney millions, decided to move from her Long Island estate into the Payson town house on East 72nd Street. After querying all of the garages in the neighborhood she discovered that none of them could accommodate her five custom-built cars.

Giving the garagemen a disdainful (but refined) sniff, Joek Whitney's chic sister sent her favorite real estate man on a search. They came up with a disreputable old abandoned stable on East 88th Street.

Money made the mare's former aromatic backdrop go. In its place today is a modern garage that houses the five Payson limousines and neat apartments upstairs where her two chauffeurs reside.—World-Telegram society news.

ITU Strike - -

(Continued from page 1)

ment" which would be posted by the union in the printing plants. International President Woodruff Randolph has announced that more than 120 locals have negotiated wage increases since the Taft-Hartley Act became effective last August without signing formal contracts.

However, the nation's big publishers determined to seek to stop this practice by taking on the typos in one of the major strongholds, Chicago. They lined up solidly to use the law against Local 16. Officials of the "liberal" Sun (owned by the double-faced Marshall Field) vied with officials of Colonel McCormick's arch-conservative Tribune in standing off the union.

The union motion to strike was voted at a special meeting. Casting secret ballots, the membership voted, 2,330 to 61, in favor of strike.

UNION SOLIDARITY LACKING

While Local 16 is standing strong, and is being vigorously supported by means of weekly strike benefits from the ITU, it is unfortunate that all its sister printing-trades unions, without exception, are continuing to work. The printing trades, divided for generations among craft unions, have never been noted for their solidarity. The present display in Chicago is a particularly shameful one. Not only are members of other printing trade unions working on the struck sheets, but so are members of other AFL unions, such as the teamsters, regularly going through the picket lines. Their officers apologetically point to the Taft-Hartley ban on secondary strikes as their excuse.

USE PHOTO-ENGRAVING

The labor-hating publishers have managed to get out regular editions

—admittedly inferior—by resorting to the photo-engraving process. With this process, the type is set on typewriters, pasted up on forms and photographed, and plates made from the photographed pages. The type is quite difficult to read, despite its larger size, and news content has been cut considerably.

Circulation has been affected "a little," the publishers admit, but advertising has held up well, as other businessmen demonstrate their class solidarity with the boss publishers.

Newspaper publishers throughout the nation are flocking to Chicago to study the new strike-breaking methods of issuing newspapers without type-setting, according to the Wall Street Journal. "At the Tribune, the publishers jot down notes all over the place. As one says frankly: 'We're getting ready for our own ordeal.'"

More than a month previous to the strike, the Wall Street Journal reveals, the "liberal" Marshall Field was already practicing to break the strike by printing "practice editions" by vari-type.

Many union sympathizers are supporting the strikers by refusing to buy Chicago dailies. Part of the drop in circulation stems from this and part from people who say the photo-engraved editions impose too great eye-strain on readers.

Local 16 has issued thousands of leaflets. Instead of appealing to class solidarity, the leaflets have played up the "eye-strain" feature of the scab newspapers and have asked the public to listen to the daily radio news broadcasts sponsored by the union.

The union has also established a speakers' bureau. If any organization wishes to hear a striker present the viewpoint of the Typographical Union, call STAtE 2482 and ask for the speakers' bureau.

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Editorials

Russian Ruble

This week the Russian government, in a momentous decree, announced the devaluation of the ruble, unit of Russian currency, simultaneously with abolition of the rationing system and a new scale of prices on various staples and commodities. The exchange of new rubles for old is now going on in accordance with the decree signed by Stalin and Zhdanov. According to *Izvestia*, government publication, "Money reform and the abolition of rationing are ardently approved by all our great people. The Soviet people see in the historical measures of the Communist Party and the government a way toward the further strengthening of the Soviet state and new growth of the people's welfare." *Izvestia* drew this conclusion 24 hours after the announcement of the surprise decree.

In addition to the re-pricing of various articles—some at lower rates, and others at higher—the most important part of the decree dealt with devaluation of the highly inflated ruble. This devaluation was aimed at, according to the decree, "speculators, false money issued during the war by the Germans, and profiteers." New, 1947 rubles are to be issued during the week of December 16 to December 22. Cash at present in circulation is to be exchanged at the rate of 10 rubles old money for one ruble new money—a 90 per cent devaluation! Deposits and bank accounts will be exchanged at a sliding scale varying from 1 to 1 for amounts up to 3,000 rubles to 1 for 2 for deposits over 10,000 rubles. Bonds of most loans and bank certificates will be exchangeable at the rate of 1 for 3, for new bonds bearing a 2 per cent interest rate.

"While currency reform is being effected wages of workers and employees as well as the income of peasants from state deliveries and other labor incomes of all sections of the population will not be affected by the reform but will be paid out in new money at previous rates." This declaration of the decree, it is clear, leaves the door open for a wide-scale cutting of wages and incomes after the currency reform has been completed.

Various interpretations have been placed on these drastic actions by the Russian government. At the moment, the effect and significance of each step of these interrelated actions is only partly clear. The new price schedules must be examined, and it must be ascertained whether or not industrial wages will be drastically lowered. The effect of the abolition of rationing, without any increased productivity necessarily resulting, is clear enough. Prices will inevitably tend to rise on the new "free" market due to the shortage of goods and, therefore, the better paid bureaucracy will be in a more favorable position than ever. These are some of the more obvious consequences of the Russian actions.

In the next issue of LABOR ACTION, the significance of these decrees will be the subject of Henry Judd's column on "World Politics."

Disaffiliates

Reporting John L. Lewis' curt note scribbled in pencil on a scrap of paper, withdrawing the United Mine Workers from the AFL—"Green: We disaffiliate. Lewis"—the press generally noted it as a dramatic gesture without special significance. Dramatic, it most certainly was; and contemptuous. Lewis' contempt of the AFL leaders, his opinion of them as pignies, is well known. However, to dismiss his action as nothing more than dramatic arrogance or pique, a lonely, if defiant, gesture by a man without support, a man at the end of his rope—as some "labor reporters" in the capital capitalist press have done in their periodically premature joy at Lewis' demise as a labor leader—is to come wide of the mark.

Lewis never does anything with the routine lack of inspiration typical of say, a William Green. His dramatic gestures have been many; and they have invariably been followed by actions or decisions of immense importance to American labor. Whether the withdrawal of the UMW from the AFL to which it re-adhered less than two years ago will result in injury to or in the advancement of the union movement remains to be seen.

That Lewis would pull the mine workers out of the AFL was indicated at the San Francisco convention. It is virtually an impossible condition for a union of the size and importance of the UMW not to be represented in the top leadership of the AFL. That is clearly one reason for the disaffiliation. It obviously is connected with the Taft-Hartley issue, as Lewis fought it at the AFL convention. (Lewis refused to sign the "anti-Communist" affidavits as required by the Taft-Hartley law for certification before the NLRB.) But we are disinclined to attach any particular significance to the disaffiliation so far as it involves developing an offensive against the affidavit provision of the law. With the AFL unions generally signing the affidavits, and with more and more CIO unions signing the affidavits with the sanction of Philip Murray—despite the fact that Murray's steel workers union has not signed—Lewis is blocked in several important directions in mobilizing multi-union offensive on this issue. Further, aggressive political labor action is the key to fighting the Taft-Hartley law, and Lewis will certainly not undertake that.

While the San Francisco convention laid the ground for Lewis' course, it need not necessarily have resulted in disaffiliation. Thus, it seems to us that involved in a very important way is Lewis' determination to hold himself free for political alignments in the 1948 elections. Except that he will not support Truman, whom the AFL leaders will by and large endorse, or Taft, anything might happen.

Rumors of all kinds are circulating. While

most of them cannot possibly be credited, and a good many of them cancel each other out, there is one that holds on fast; namely, his possible endorsement of Dewey as Republican candidate. There are those who connect Dewey's hedging on the Taft-Hartley law with a possible endorsement to organize some kind of third party (not a Labor Party!). Maneuvers on this level certainly bode ill for labor. If Lewis' opposition to Truman is commendable, his collaboration with Dewey, whom he backed in 1944, is reprehensible.

We have not discussed the effects of further splitting the labor movement, of the rumored reports that Lewis will try to build another labor federation through District 50, because we feel that these are matters well understood by union militants. There are times when, however deplorable a split may be, the labor movement as a whole profits, as when Lewis led the organization of the CIO. There is nothing in Lewis' act to indicate that this is such a time.

There is no doubt at all that the miners are solidly behind Lewis, and that this powerful force, employed on behalf of encouraging labor militancy, could serve to move labor forward in offensive action. Unfortunately, there is no sign that this is the case. If Lewis uses the strength and prestige of the miners to further the reactionary social and political outlook which sits astride his economic militancy, if Lewis uses this strength, now disaffiliated from the AFL, to war on other unions, labor will be damaged. These are things to watch, the signs to look for. They will not be long in coming into view. John L. rarely stands pat.

Do Your Share!

As reported in last week's LABOR ACTION, and elsewhere in this week's issue, the Workers Party has launched a \$15,000 Fund Drive to promote its activities and to guarantee its financial support to LABOR ACTION.

Viewed in the light of the tremendous tasks that are the obligation of the Workers Party, the work it faces in rebuilding the revolutionary socialist movement, the \$15,000 is indeed a small sum. That the Workers Party finds it possible to call for a mere \$15,000 is a tribute to the economy with which it operates. To our knowledge, no organization does, or has done, so much with equally meager financial resources.

The Workers Party does not have at its disposal the facilities of press and radio as are available to the big Red Cross and similar drives. It relies almost exclusively on LABOR ACTION for publicizing its campaign, and on the readers of LABOR ACTION and members of the Workers Party in making that campaign successful.

Small as is the \$15,000, it is a big sum for those who must meet it. For there are no millionaires who will contribute to the support of the Workers Party, only workers, friends of the party. The \$15,000 has to be made up out of small sums, sums that represent a real sacrifice on the part of the giver. But the Workers Party deserves that sacrifice, and we therefore ask that our readers make their own contributions as large as possible.

Not long ago we heard from a comrade with many years' experience in the European labor movement. He wrote that his discovery of the Workers Party was like finding a light in the darkness. And such we think it is.

Never in the history of the working class have the defeats been so many—or so deep. Nazism, Stalinism, the war of the imperialists exacted a terrible toll from the revolutionary movement. Never were the problems so profound, or their answer so urgent as today—and no organization outside the Workers Party, none whatsoever, has faced the task of rebuilding the revolutionary movement, of cutting through the swamp of confusion and despair. No other organization has tackled the problems of dissecting the ugliness of Stalinism, of probing the needs of the international working class, of putting before American labor a consistently revolutionary program.

The Workers Party has assembled magnificent cadres. But these are admittedly few in number. It has a long way to go in entering every struggle of the American working class, of winning decisive sections of the working class to its ideas. This is what the Workers Party is doing and this is what we propose that you help the party do.

Equally, the stability of LABOR ACTION depends heavily upon the success of this Fund Drive. Workers Party branches and members are the basis of LABOR ACTION's support. To contribute to the Fund Drive is, therefore, to contribute to the support of LABOR ACTION.

The party has set as its goal \$15,000. We would like to see that goal far exceeded. Early returns in the first week of the drive indicate the possibility of bettering the \$15,000. More money means more activity, more pamphlets, etc. Let us do what we can toward that end by making a BIG and an EARLY contribution to the Fund Drive.

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WORLD POLITICS

STALINISM AT EASE

The Cominform has momentarily brought to a conclusion its campaign in Western Europe. With the capitulation of the French Stalinist leadership to a combined rightist front and a general reluctance of the working class, and with the end of the short-lived and not very successful general strike of the Italian Stalinists in Rome, this phase of the many-pronged campaign of Russian imperialism comes to a halt. The defeat of the Italian Stalinists, faced by a far weaker government than in France, was nowhere on the same scale as that of the French Stalinists. In fact, the hastily mobilized Rome general strike was undoubtedly used as it might be to the Kremlin. Probably more than any of the brother French Stalinists. Nevertheless, faced in Italy by the same political impossibility of taking power, the party of Togliatti retired from the scene and will marshal its main efforts for the coming national general election of March 7 to elect the first Parliament of the newly formed Italian Republic.

GERMANY AND THE WOLVES

If Stalinism in Western Europe has withdrawn its partly expended forces, this does not signify necessarily a lengthy period of truce lasting, for example, over the winter months until spring. This may be the case in Western Europe, but Stalinism's world campaign will not take a breather. The advance of American imperialism, its consolidation and more open support of rightist forces everywhere, together with the imminence of the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) would prevent such a possibility, desirable as it might be to the Kremlin. Probably more than anything else that may go to slow up Stalin's attack is the severe economic difficulty at home, now revealed in the devaluation of the ruble. But this alone will not halt Stalinism, a dynamic social order. The next battle-ground of the "cold war" should be, according to all discernible signs and logic, Germany—Western Germany in particular.

The entire object of the London Conference, from the point of view of Molotov and Russian imperialism, has been to lay the propagandistic and ideological groundwork for the approaching struggle over and for the German people. This has also, necessarily, become the object of ALL the powers participating in that dismal gathering. There is no longer any pretense made of seriously arriving at an agreement or even making progress toward formulating peace treaties for Austria and Germany. Instead, charge is answered by counter-charge; insult by insult (everyone concedes Molotov's automatic victory in this) and propaganda speech by propaganda speech. The day that each participant has unrolled himself of his full burden of propaganda and abuse, the London Conference will halt, by mutual understanding, and each big "leader" will scurry rapidly home to tell his people how he, the embodiment of all that was honest, self-effacing and generous, was only met with injury and insult for his pains. Then each great power will go its way in its particular section of Germany:

The French will complete their unilateral and reactionary economic absorption (Anschluss) of the Saar coal mining region of Germany.

The British and Americans will continue to cement their bizonal unification, get down to business on rebuilding the Ruhr and put further pressure on the French to form a trizonal unification of all Western Germany.

The Russians will continue unabated their looting and robbing of Eastern Germany, the strengthening of their totalitarian police state under SED hegemony, while further organizing Russian-dominated trusts out of the remaining industries.

To put it in its true perspective, the conferees of London will, each according to its own lights, continue the unprecedented and unexampled robbery, exploitation and strangulation of the 62,000,000 remaining Germans, while conducting propaganda to the effect that only those Germans "in the other zone" are really being badly treated. It is impossible to imagine a more cynical spectacle. It is also impossible to imagine any substantial section of the German people who will be persuaded to act for or support such policies.

We, for one, are willing to accept as Gospel truth the innumerable charges and counter-charges flung at each other by the London spokesmen. It is certainly true that Molotov wants \$10 billion in goods produced currently by Germany as reparations. That was, still is and will be his main price for offering any concessions, together with an economic veto over prospective Ruhr valley industrial production. To this has been added the charge by Bevin estimating the value of reparations, in the form of plants, machinery, etc., already out of Eastern Germany by the Russians as being \$7 billions. There is little reason to doubt this.

CHARGE AND COUNTER-CHARGE

To all this, Molotov retorts with his accusations and certainly they cannot be simply dismissed as "Russian propaganda." Says Molotov—(knowing his remarks will be widely broadcast immediately in Germany)—many Americans got enormously rich out of this war (a well known fact); production in "Bizonia" (the British and American areas) is stagnant and very low, not to mention the miserable living conditions (again well known facts); big Nazi industrialists are the key men in "Bizonia," fully backed by America (well known likewise, particularly in the Ruhr area); coal and other materials are produced in Germany and sold abroad at big profits to American and British capitalists; the Germans of Western Germany are being burdened with a huge debt which they must, in the future, pay back; and, finally, "American and British capital is penetrating Germany on a wide scale and without control; it is already having its own way in coal, iron and steel, chemical and other industries." This, to be sure, is a process that has only begun and still has a long way to be completed.

As we have already said, we accept the truthfulness of all these charges and condemnations. These men, after all, know all about these matters and maintain elaborate spy systems to inform them what is going on in each other's zone of occupation. Who are we to doubt their word?

Could there be a more telling and complete condemnation of the ENTIRE system of German occupation? Could there be more damning evidence of the criminal exploitation and plundering of the German people as a whole? Here we have the truth from those who know; those who know because they are doing these things. The only answer the German people can give to them is to renew their demand that ALL OF THEM, Russian, American, French and British, get out of Germany immediately and let the German people themselves take control over the destiny and reconstruction of their despairing land.

Henry JUDD.

Masses Oppose Roxas Regime

By J. B. MILES

On November 22 one of the largest demonstrations in Manila history shook the foundations of the Roxas regime. More than 75,000 workers and peasants jammed Plaza Miranda, under Nationalista Party banners, to condemn the monstrous government of fraud built up under American military power.

Manuel Acuna Roxas and his gang of political brigands, the Liberal Party, stand condemned for two years of misdeeds, including mass murder and open-handed corruption. This was the man the press of America hailed as the "choice of the Philippines and true friend of America" but a short year ago.

The crimes of Roxas are varied, but the criminal sits in the ornate Malacanan Palace only by the grace of U. S. bayonets and equipment.

STORY OF THE HUKS

The history of the Roxas regime patently shows:

Physical suppression of the Huk-balahaps—an armed-peasant partisan force—at the behest of the feudalistic owners and Manila commercial interests. There was a sporadic, short-lived movement to seize and divide the landed estates after liberation. This bitter agrarian war has been in progress for three years. The Huks fight with captured Japanese equipment. The Roxas constabulary fight with U. S. guns.

Usurpation of the prerogatives under the nationalist constitution to solidify one-party rule, and therefore one-man rule, in the Philippines. Duly elected Senators and Congressmen of opposition tendencies were barred from their seats in 1946 by a parliamentary steam roller. On November 11 last, virtually the entire vote given to the oppositionist Nationalists and Democratic Alliance forces were ignored in the "count."

Submission to a Truman-inspired trade agreement which shackles the agrarian economy to the American over seas empire; commodity trade at fixed quotas and fixed prices; a fettered money system—the peso is rigged to the dollar; American investor rights to invade the Philippine economy on an "equal" footing with insular nationals. Roxas has bound, gagged and delivered the Philippines to the American eagle.

AMERICAN NAVAL BASES

The grant of naval and army bases to the U. S. military on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Fifty miles north of Manila at Clark Field an aircraft base takes shape which shall be capable of handling monster bombers that can range over all Asia without effort.

Agrarian terror; murder and abduction of members of the Stalinist-dominated National Peasant Party; arbitrary police rule in the urban centers; intimidation of the Philippine CIO.

This is the "democrat" of the first Philippine "democratic" republic. Roxas—the ex-Japanese Quisling whom General MacArthur lifted from obscurity of a U. S. military police prison and set on the road to power by a "certificate of clearance."

Meanwhile the workers and tenant farmers suffer under a rampant black market. There is terrible and fearful poverty in these war-ravaged islands. A pall of hunger, neglect and disease shrouds the "barrios" and the cities, mingling with the dust and heat of a lush tropical land. It is poverty difficult to visualize: where all foot sores fester because there are no shoes or socks or antiseptics; poverty that dooms millions to latent anemia, tuberculosis, malformation and stunted growth; poverty amidst bulging rice bins, hemp stores, sugar cane piles that are seized and con-

fiscated by the Manila aristocracy. The Philippines are an absolute disgrace to the 50-year "benign" rule of America. For this reason there is generally an ashamed silence on the subject of American rule in the colonies.

The late Manuel Quezon, himself the product of the aristocratic landed gentry, founded in a morass of "political expediencies" when he rose to power under the Commonwealth. His verbal nationalism was sincere enough, but his political actions quixotic and unstable. He feared, above all, the ragged masses that his progressive program of land reform and social justice had set into motion. But he was, at least, anti-imperialist.

They say that his successor, Sergio Osmena, was truly thunderstruck when in 1945 he was presented with the bill of particulars of the Trade Act as written by Truman satellites. But he too once faced the shouting masses from a Malacanan balcony after his return from Washington, and he ordered the constabulary to train their rifles on the threatening crowd.

The body of the Philippine political life festers with century-old sores. The agrarian society labors under feudal property laws, an unequal distribution of the harvest, usury, police brutality, suppression of civil liberties. In this highly charged atmosphere, social unrest is an almost daily manifestation. Add to this smoldering fire a suppressive and arrogant constabulary under Roxas, face to face with the semi-armed peasant mass under the Huks. The shooting continues under cover, at night, on the dusty highways, in the hidden recesses of the hot fields and green mountains.

The anti-imperialist revolution of the Philippines brews, ready to erupt at any moment into action for freedom.



GYPPED, BY GUM, GYPPED!

In the past three years 831,000 ex-GI's have obtained home loans guaranteed by the Veterans Administration. The results of their investment are now coming to light.

A New Orleans vet wrote the VA recently: "I bought a home through the GI bill and I got jip real good. . . . Some of my roof fell off. . . . There are big patchers all over the walls. . . . I am tired of fooling with this and it is about time the government do something for the boys. . . . and against these real estate rats." Similar letters from vets elsewhere throughout the country protesting against their victimization by unscrupulous contractors were simultaneously made public by the VA.

What the government is going to do for the boys is pretty plain—exactly nothing. To date the government's measures have consisted of a directive from the Veterans Administration. "It is the intention of the VA," the directive yipped, "to look to the appraisers, the lending institutions and the builders to correct these conditions wherever they arise and, in cases where the fault is definitely determinable, to apply disciplinary measures against the offenders." Nobody's worried: the dog's tied up.

The sharp rise in the cost of living, particularly evident in recent months, has seriously cut into the ability of vets to finance even the current type of doll's house which is passed off as veterans' housing.

The New York Times early this month commented upon this: "War veterans financing for their newly acquired homes are faced with a 'tightening' of the mortgage market in which the lenders are beginning to prove reluctant to invest in GI loans. . . . Lending agencies that were making 100 per cent loans a year ago now are asking for at least 10 per cent down on the purchase price. . . . In almost one-fourth of the cities in the country mortgage money is not available for GIs on a long-term amortized first mortgage basis."

In the meanwhile the Taft-Ellender-Wagner veterans' housing bill languishes in Congress. Unfortunately, it seems, it has almost no military value.

Some further data issued by the VA reveal that the GI Bill of Rights is something less than it has been cracked up to be in other respects also. No less than 2,013,000 World War II veterans, we are informed, have quit government-aided school or job-training courses although only 29,000 have exhausted their benefits.

These figures pretty well evaluate the record of General Omar N. Bradley (the veteran's veteran!) who has just given up his job as veterans' administrator to become chief of staff of the army.

He has been replaced by Carl R. Gray, a vice-president of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad. Prior to that he was a major-general in the army. He is, also, we are informed, "a member of the Society of Military Engineers, the Society of Mayflower Descendants, the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, the American Legion, the Reserve Officers Association and Sigma Alpha Epsilon. His clubs include the Bankers of New York City. . . . He is a Republican and a Baptist."

Well, at any rate, he should be well qualified to handle all the problems of banker-veterans.

One reason that whitewash remains outside the realm of experience of the average American boy today must be that the entire output is being absorbed by the armed forces. The latest whitewash job was that of the investigation into the notorious "Green Bowl" secret society by the Navy Department.

The "Green Bowl" was composed of 387 navy officers out of a total of 13,267 men who graduated from Annapolis between 1907 and 1944. Members were accused of discriminating against non-members and of obtaining promotions and preferential assignments for its members.

It would be informative to know the personnel of this inner staff and to put its members on public trial. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a genuine investigation would reveal the real identity of the shadowy figures who now exercise such strong influence on the external and internal naval policy of a country which tirelessly boasts of its democratic character.

Another evidence of the real forces shaping U. S. military policy is contained in the following Associated Press report:

"G. R. Johnston, ex-chief of public relations at Maxwell Field's Air University, charged in an open letter to Gen. Carl Spaatz today that the school is a 'phony educational institution' teaching 'dangerous militaristic doctrines.'"

"Johnston. . . said two high-ranking Air University officers called him into a conference last October and asked for advice on whether the public would accept a proposal for an immediate attack upon Russia before the Soviet Union became stronger.

"(When I told them that Americans would never support such a proposal they said they would carry on an undercover campaign to swing AAF officers to their way of thinking."

What ever happened to the religious career which Lieut. Gen. J. C. H. ("Jesus Christ Himself") Lee, emperor of MTOUSA, announced he was going to begin following his retirement?

If he is having trouble finding a poor sinner with whom to begin his program of kind words and good deeds, we would like to advance the name of a colleague who in his time has likewise strayed a little beyond the fold: Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers.

What a lovely pair to hit that Sawdust Trail together!

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

Two Policies in the Auto Union - III

By MAX SHACHTMAN

There remain, as was said at the end of the second article, two points of interest about the question of socialist policy at the UAW convention which placed our party and the SWP on opposite sides in the union conflict. One point deals with the Taft-Hartley Act and the other with "Red-baiting."

In his attack upon our policy of supporting Reuther against the Ades-Stalinist faction, Breitman, in his article in the SWP's Militant, condemns Reuther as a Red-baiter. He condemns him for his alliance with the ACTU, and condemns us for supporting Red-baiters and "blocking up with the arch-reactionary priest-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists." This hobby-horse, borrowed from the stable of the Daily Worker where it is available fully-saddled for anyone to mount, he rides with all the weight he can put into the appropriate place.

What is Red-baiting? It is the attempt to outlaw from society and (in the concrete case) from the labor movement the progressives, the radicals, the socialists, the Marxists—all those who are in one serious degree or another the opponents of capitalism—by demagogical incitement of the basest, most chauvinistic and reactionary prejudices which capitalism seeks to instill into the masses and by means of undemocratic, arbitrary, bureaucratic and eventually violent police measures.

Disagreement with socialism, no matter how thoroughgoing, is not Red-baiting; opposition to socialism is not Red-baiting; political argumentation against socialism is not Red-baiting. Red-baiting is the hallmark of bigotry and reaction because it is the weapon of the reactionary who cannot best the socialists, the "Reds," in democratic political dispute and under conditions of democratic decision. The Red-baiter therefore resorts to falsification and calumny about the Reds and their views. The Red-baiter therefore denounces the socialists, who are a force that grows naturally and normally out of the class struggle produced by the very conditions of capitalism, as the bearers of a sinister alien doctrine, something imported from abroad, something foreign to our Great National Institutions and Traditions, something inimical to Labor and to Our Country and, of course, to Our Family, Our God and Our Church. Our definition may not be exhaustive but it is adequate.

WAS REUTHER GUILTY OF RED-BAITING?
Now, what about Reuther or the Reutherites and Red-baiting? Between ourselves and labor leaders like Reuther there is a fundamental difference. We believe that the problems of the working class and of society as a whole can be solved only by a complete socialist reorganization; he believes that they can be solved by reforming capitalism, by "making it work" in the interests of the people. We believe that the interests of the working class can be defended and advanced only by organizing the working class as a class, with an independent leadership and program and social aim of its own and in struggle against the capitalist class and its government; he believes it can be done by class collaboration, by mutual agreement between two classes whose interests are utterly irreconcilable.

We do not condemn Reuther for not acting like a revolutionary socialist. He does not pretend to be one. He does pretend to be a labor leader, concerned with defending the working class and with solving the social problems that affect it, on the basis of the views with which his name is associated. If we attack him, it is not only because we consider that his views and activities are not, or are not always, in the best interests of the working class, but because he

does not even act—if we are not to be too badly misunderstood—as a "Reutherite."

By which we mean only this: When he proclaims his position as he did during the General Motors strike, that the auto monopolists CAN give higher wages and CAN cut car prices but refuse to do so because it would cut their swollen profits a little bit, thus stamping themselves as the enemies of society—we say: True and good, the monopolists are indeed social bankrupts. But Reuther is bankrupt for not ADDING that the industry should be taken out of the hands of the monopolists and run under the control of those who claim that it can be organized to produce cheaper cars and grant higher wages and still yield a "fair profit." We are not demanding socialism by demanding this, because its achievement would not equal socialism. We are demanding that Reuther carry out what is clearly implicit in his own criticism of the monopolists and in his own program. A dozen other examples could be cited.

But because our political differences are fundamental and unbridgeable, it does not follow that we must condemn Reuther no matter what he says or does and it certainly does not follow that we must misrepresent Reuther (or anyone else, for that matter). To denounce Reuther as a Red-baiter, as the Stalinists have always done and as the SWP is now doing, is downright demagoguery, especially when it is made the basis for the position taken by the SWP in the UAW fight.

The fact is that Reuther has been remarkably free from the taint of Red-baiting in his attacks upon the Stalinists, certainly as compared to such past and present idols of the SWP leadership as Harry Lundeberg, John L. Lewis, Joe Curran and more than a few others to whom the SWP has given critical and not so critical support. Let Breitman and his friends prove the contrary, with facts and quotations, preferably in context. That will be quite a job. It would help, too, if they added some proof—proof that actually exists and does not have to be invented—that their UAW allies, the Stalinists and Ades-Thomas-Leonard, have a superior record on this score. That will be an even harder job.

NOTHING IN STALINISM REGARDED AS "RED"

That the Stalinists should label every critic and opponent as a Red-baiter is understandable. That is how they blackmail feebleminded and spineless radicals and liberals into refraining from attacks upon them ("It will play into the hands of the reactionaries"—as if Stalinism were not reactionary enough!) or into joining in the defense of the Stalinists when others attack them. Yet, nowhere in history can you find a force—not even in Nazi Germany or Czarist Russia—that has engaged more systematically and relentlessly in mass Red-baiting and in the imprisonment and murder of revolutionists, than the force represented by Stalinism! In our own labor movement, none has been more tireless and venomous in the work of Red-baiting than the Stalinists. There is good reason for that. They are the most consistently and most thoroughly anti-working-class force in the labor movement. There is nothing, absolutely nothing, about Stalinism that can be regarded as "Red," that is, as socialist or revolutionary. All mumblebees about Red-baiting should know that first of all.

For all that divides us irreconcilably from the Reutherites and Murrays and Lewises, we have at least one common interest with even these capitalist and reformist labor leaders—the maintenance of the labor movement. We have no common interest with the anti-working class, anti-democratic, anti-socialist totalitarian reaction represented by Stalin. And if, because of this, the little cousins of the Stalinists, repeating faithfully

what their big cousins have always said about the Trotskyists, call us "little cousins of the Social Democrats," we shrug our shoulders indifferently and take a walk in the fresh air.

If Reuther attacked the Stalinists on the ground that they were revolutionists fighting for the overturn of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic and socialism, if he attacked them for fighting class collaboration and advocating class struggle, if he attacked them for anything of that kind—he would stamp himself as a reactionary Red-baiter. We have not seen such attacks from Reuther and we hope we never do. Reuther attacked the Stalinists for being agents of a totalitarian and reactionary power, which is true. He attacked them for being indifferent to the interests of the labor movement, except in so far as it can be made to serve the Kremlin, which is true. He attacked them for trying to impose upon the UAW such reactionary schemes as "Incentive Pay," which is true.

If, in addition to all this, he also said and did things which, as socialists, we can never support, and which our readers know we do not support, that is another matter. But this "other matter" did not and could not drive us to support the Ades-Stalinist bloc if only the reason that in respect to "other matters" this bloc had not a better but a much worse position. It would be interesting to hear this denied, and to hear the political reasons for the denial.

ACTU NOT DECISIVE IN REUTHER GROUP

Yet, is it not a fact that Reuther's ACTU supporters are genuine Red-baiters and reactionaries? It is a fact. It is true, if not of all the members of ACTU then at least of most of them, so far as we can judge, and it is certainly true of the official and known ACTU position. ACTU is a menace from any and every standpoint, above all from that of the perniciousness of organizing trade-unionists into religious or denominational lines. It is also true that Reuther and his colleagues failed, indifferently, to dissociate themselves from ACTU and its purposes. They may have more than one occasion in the future to rue this failure which was dictated by a low opportunism. But for the SWP to use this fact as an argument for having supported Ades in the fight, can be characterized, again, only as demagoguery.

Firstly: The size, importance and influence of ACTU in the UAW has been deliberately magnified out of true proportion by the Stalinists for their own purposes. The SWP is too well acquainted with the real situation in the UAW not to realize this. Why does it put its lips to the second nozzle of this balloon to inflate it further?

Secondly: The SWP knows that, given the American labor movement as it is today, it is virtually impossible for progressives and militants to conduct an organized struggle against the Stalinist reactionaries without attracting the support, temporary and based on misunderstanding, to be sure, of other reactionaries who oppose the Stalinists for their own reasons. This fact—this problem—cannot be ignored by pretending it does not exist. It need not deter any progressive from launching and carrying on the fight against the Stalinists. It only emphasizes the necessity of always making clear the difference between the progressive and socialist anti-Stalinists, and of not allowing the latter to lead or set the pace for the former. Only in this way will all things fall into their proper places in the long run. To refrain from the fight against the Stalinists because some reactionaries may, for a time, throw a vote your way, is to guarantee the perpetuation of Stalinist power. "ACTU-ophobia" is not superior to "Stalinophobia."

Thirdly: The SWP knows that for every ACTU reactionary who supported the Reuther group, there were a good half dozen reactionaries supporting the Ades group. First and foremost among them were the Stalinist reactionaries, a real force which the SWP now pretends was only a dying swan. In addition to them, there were authentic Red-baiters who dumped the Stalinists off the Ades slate in numerous localities for anything but progressive or working-class reasons. In addition, there were other Ades supporters who engaged openly in the most blatant Jim-Crow and anti-Semitic propaganda without rebuke from the faction leaders. The SWP leaders know these facts and we know they know them! But they think their readers are better off not knowing them.

Fourthly: It may be argued that one faction had the ACTU reactionaries and the other the Stalinist reactionaries, which is the difference between six and a half a dozen. A superficial argument, we think.

The ACTU supporters did not **DETERMINE** the political course or character of the Reuther group and they were not the decisive force in it. The Stalinists, however, did determine the political course and character of the Ades group, virtually from its inception, and they have always been the decisive political and even organizational force in it. One who thinks politically need only look through the record and ask himself: On what significant political question in the past years, up to and including the recent convention, did the Ades group have any political line but the one initiated, supported and driven through by the Stalinists? On what significant union question did Ades and Co. differ from the Stalinists? In other words, who always provided the political line of the Ades group and who always accepted this political line? Finally, if Ades, Thomas and Leonard are now in the process of separating from the Stalinists, in what political direction are the former moving and what political forces are impelling them to move that way?

The SWP knows or ought to know that these political questions are decisive for a socialist judgment. If it doesn't know this, it ought to quit discussing the problem until it does.

HOW SWP POLICY OPERATES IN NMU

Fifthly: Just when did the SWP "discover" the fact that the ACTU supports Reuther? We knew it long ago, when the rest of the world knew it, and we commented on it in time and appropriately. Did the SWP learn the well-known fact only a few weeks ago, when it made the turn-about-face in its UAW policy and came out in support of Ades? Of course not. It knew about this a year ago and more than a year ago. It knew about it at the 1946 convention of the UAW. But at that convention the SWP supported Reuther. Why was it, in Breitman's words, "blocking up with the arch-reactionary priest-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists" in 1946, but not in 1947? Can it be because ACTU changed its spots recently? Or is the explanation to be sought elsewhere—let us say, on the top floor or the even less visible basement of the Ades caucus where an SWP representative could find a quiet post from which to help issue the anti-Reuther gutter sheets during the election campaign. Or, to put it in the superbly delicate language of Breitman's article, "the Thomas-Ades-Leonard caucus where, despite Stalinist objections, militant workers were welcome and collaborated with." No doubt, no doubt! I collaborate with you by giving you a shovel so that you can spread my muck.

Sixthly: The demagoguery of the SWP becomes transparently clear when its policy in the UAW is contrasted with

its policy at the last convention of the National Maritime Union and since. In the NMU, the SWP supported the group organized and led by Curran after he broke with the Stalinists. That was the correct thing to do and we followed the same course. We took our position on the ground of our basic analysis of the problem of the trade unions and the basic conclusions derived from it. We supported Curran the way we supported Reuther. We did not idealize either one of them; we did not suppress any criticism of them; we maintained our own program, our own position. In contrast, the SWP can fill half a page of the Militant with an article by Breitman on the UAW fight without a single word of criticism of Ades-Thomas-Leonard or any indication of wherein they differ, and a whole page of the Militant with a speech by Cannon on the UAW fight which also fails to utter a word of criticism of Ades-Thomas-Leonard. Similarly in the case of Curran, whose uncritical and perferentially enthusiastic supporter the SWP has become.

Yet, is it not a fact that in the fight against the Stalinist reactionaries, Curran attracted the support of many other reactionaries—including backward workers, workers with bigoted prejudices, Red-baiters and other riff-raff, men of about the same type as ACTU in the UAW? Not a peep out of the SWP about it, and no refusal of support to Curran because of it. And is it not a fact that Curran himself has just issued a complete list of all members of the CP in the NMU—according to Curran, anyway—which contains the names not only of CP (or alleged CP) officials in the NMU but also of rank and file workers who are charged with being members of the CP? We consider such a "listing" of CP members to be inexcusable and indefensible, regardless of how provocative the Stalinist attacks against the union and its leadership. We hope the SWP will find it possible to say the same.

But we cannot help asking ourselves: Suppose Reuther had issued such a list of CP members in the UAW, can we imagine the torrential rain of denunciation of Reuther-the-Red-baiter that would pour down column after column of the SWP press, plus even more violent denunciation of our party for ever having so much as entertained the idea of supporting this Reuther? We can, and no great power of imagination is required. All that is required is a knowledge of the ways of the demagogue in the labor movement. What should be watched is not the lips of the demagogue but his fingers. And when he speaks so loftily about the great principles of the class struggle, and so contemptuously about Red-baiters, and so freely about "little cousins of the Social Democrats," it is especially necessary to watch his fingers, and to ask—as we ask:

Was there any connection between the SWP's discovery of the virtues of the Ades-Stalinist group and their simultaneous discovery that one of their trade union experts found it possible to make a bureaucratic deal with this group, by which he would be allowed to help issue its principal slander sheet in the UAW faction fight? In our opinion, there was. We await a correction of this opinion with hope, but not with much.

The SWP, in the words of one of its leaders who has the merit and honor of having fought the proposal to support the Ades-Stalinist combination, plunged into an "adventure" which could only bring discredit to its door. That is all it did bring. It cannot be covered up by an attack upon us, devoid of socialist sense and honesty, for having followed the correct course.

(The concluding section on the Taft-Hartley Law—will follow in next week's issue.)

What Is Red-Baiting?

SWP has talked a good deal lately about Red-baiting at the UAW convention and about our alleged support of it because we joined in the progressive fight against the Stalinists. It also talks a good deal about the victory of reaction in the UAW. We print below an excellent, that is, a disgusting example of authentic Red-baiting, by an expert. At the same time it indicates what the expert thinks about how much of a victory was won by reactionaries. The example is written by the pitchfork of Mr. George Morris, a literary zoon of the Daily Worker, where it appears in the November 13, 1947 issue. It is a comment on a press release issued at the convention giving some facts about Emil Mazey, elected secretary-treasurer of the UAW on the Reuther slate to replace George F. Ades:

"Conspicuously omitted from the biographical sketch of Mazey mimeographed for newsmen here, are the following facts:

1. That he was for years an active member of the Proletarian Party, an outfit that regarded itself as so 'left' that it called the Communists 'Reformists.'
2. That today he is a leading member of the Socialist Party.
3. That he led the fight during the war against the no-strike pledge and that his 'militancy' was at its highest point during the war when he pulled almost daily wildcat strikes at the Briggs plant.
4. That his stalwarts, the delegation of Briggs Local 212, came to the 1944 convention of the UAW carrying tiny American flags which they derisively waved every time someone rose to speak for support of the war effort.
5. That he was prominently involved in the 'We Want To Go Home' movement among Pacific veterans, a movement that was charged to only Communists.

"Reactionaries will have a tough time describing the change as an advance for 'Americanism' in the UAW."

"Cease Fire!"

(Continued from page 1)

to be the guardians of the peace and piously warn both sides to stop fighting. Actually, they themselves have done nothing but encourage disorder. They never intervene while any conflict is taking place. After the fight is over the British arrest the defenders. Half of the Jews wounded between November 30 and December 9 were victims of the British. Of the 40 Jews killed in that period, five were shot by the British. The British have been arresting and disarming Haganah defense units. The administration at first refused to convey buses and trucks or allow the Haganah to convey them. Naharia, an isolated Jewish colony, has been completely disarmed, even of its so-called "legal" self-defense arms.

Among the Arab politicians in and out of Palestine, there is great activity. Conference after conference is being held to decide on what to do. Due to conflicting interests, the Arab rulers find themselves unable to agree. There is little likelihood that there will be a joint war against Jewish Palestine. However, the great popular furor unleashed in the Arab countries, unleashed by the rulers, may force them to take part in an adventure at least to the extent of sending volunteers, money and supplies.

OPPOSITION TO MUFTI

At present it is estimated that the Palestine Arab guerilla fighters number 3,000. This is however being augmented by desertions of British armed auxiliary Arab police and of the Transjordan Legion. There is no question that they can do a great deal of harassing, killing etc., and unless stopped (by the Arabs) can keep the country in constant turmoil.

Among the Palestinian Arabs some of the oppositionists to the Mufti are opposed to the slaughter. The opposition to the Mufti is composed of the following: (1) Feudal families opposed to the ambitions of the Huseinis (Mufti family); (2) The commercial elements, who lose money during unrest; (3) Some peasants; (4) Supporters of King Abdullah of Transjordan; (5) The Stalinists; (6) Some Arab unions; (7) The left-wing Arab intelligentsia.

Some of these groups have already declared their position. The intelligentsia, the unions and (probably the Stalinists) have just concluded a conference of the "Arab League Against Anti-Semitism" and have called for Arab-Jewish friendship and have urged the Arabs not to allow themselves to be provoked. While the Jewish Stalinists sing Hatikvah and wave the Jewish flag, the Arab Stalinists continue their opposition to partition. They continue their support of the Mufti, but demand greater recognition and representation on the Arab Higher Committee. As yet, they have not repeated their position of 1929-1936 in support of the Mufti-organized pogroms, and Russia's support of partition rules out such an eventuality.

The commercial groups sent a letter through Mayor Haskal of Jaffa stating that the riots hurt business and requesting a truce. However negotiations were halted

DISCUSS "SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM" AT PHILLY FORUM

PHILADELPHIA — "Socialism or Barbarism"—until the working class succeeds in supplanting the present decaying capitalist society with a rational socialist order, based upon freedom, equality and plenty, civilization can only sink closer and closer to a new barbarism. This was the central theme of a talk by Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Workers Party, on "The Fight Against World War II" at the second in the series of Labor Action Forums in this city on Friday, December 5. The Forum was attended by about forty-five people.

The speaker pointed out that, at present, the deterioration of capitalist society has proceeded so far that the United States is the only important country left which has a functioning capitalist economy and the only one which can even hope to solve its own internal problems. But France, England and Germany were once powerful imperialist nations, too; their present condition is simply a preview of our own. If the direction of our development is not changed, thus the Workers Party says the alternatives are "Socialism or Barbarism," not merely "Socialism or Capitalism," because the failure to reorganize society along socialist lines will not mean that capitalism as we know it will continue. Rather, the degeneration of capitalism will produce a modern barbarism, given the non-intervention of the working class. What will be the form of this barbarism?

Two Forums are planned for the month of January. "The Role of the Intellectual in the Socialist Movement" will be discussed by Irving Howe, and Harold Draper will give a talk on "One Hundred Years of the Communist Manifesto." These Forums are held at Labor Action Hall, 1139 West Girard Avenue, third floor.

Buffalo Tops Quota in Second Fund Drive Week

By YETTA BARSH, Campaign Director

DECEMBER 15—The second week of the \$15,000 Fund Drive ends with 25 per cent of the goal already fulfilled! Of the 27 participating units, 22 of them have accepted their quotas and 16, or more than half of them, are already participating in the drive! If this trend continues, and we hope it will, there should be no difficulty in achieving 50 per cent fulfillment by January 1.

Indiana and Oregon filled their quotas by the end of the first week. This week BUFFALO not only filled its quota but WENT OVER THE TOP BY 7 PER CENT! Last week, with its first \$240 contribution, Buffalo promised to send in an additional \$200; instead, the December 9 mail contained a special delivery

letter from Buffalo with twice the promised amount—\$400! Thus, in the first nine days of the drive, Buffalo went over the top! It heads the list this week—an example of serious cooperation, real personal sacrifice, and a real appreciation of our tasks and urgent needs.

BALTIMORE, our relatively new branch, jumped into fourth place this week with 81 per cent of its quota filled. The December 9 mail included the \$81 contribution from Baltimore and its hope "that Baltimore will be the first to fulfill its quota." It is a little late for Baltimore to accomplish that hope, but it can head the list next week if it succeeds in collecting and sending in most of the \$159 pledged by its branch members. Our special thanks to the Baltimore comrades for their splendid cooperation.

Our STREATOR comrades write that they are unable to accept more than a \$20 quota and as a token of their earnest and serious efforts to raise at least \$20, they enter the drive this week with an \$11 contribution.

Our CLEVELAND Fund Drive Director writes: "The \$83 which I am sending, our first payment on the Fund Drive, was collected in the following manner: our first social—\$24, from sympathizers—\$24, and from members \$35." READING sends in its first \$19: "We think we can still send in half of our quota before Christmas."

If 50 per cent fulfillment is to be reached by January 1, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, Akron, Newark, Seattle, Los Angeles, Detroit, West Virginia and Youngstown will all have to throw greater weight behind the drive than they have done up to now. Some of them have not yet entered the drive; we know that others have funds on hand which they have not yet sent in to us. We should hear from all of them this coming week.

Branch	Quota	Dec. 15	Pct.
Buffalo	\$600.00	\$640.00	107
Indiana	50.00	50.00	100
Oregon	50.00	50.00	100
Baltimore	100.00	81.00	81
Philadelphia	400.00	246.50	62
Streator	20.00	11.00	55
Boston	60.00	20.00	33-1/3
National Office	3,500.00	1,100.00	31
Reading	75.00	19.00	25
San Francisco	1,000.00	215.43	22
Chicago	1,500.00	298.00	20
New York City	4,000.00	772.00	19
Cleveland	500.00	83.00	17
Newark	400.00	57.79	14
Seattle	400.00	50.00	12
Los Angeles	500.00	25.00	5
Akron	400.00	00.00	0
Connecticut*	400.00	00.00	0
Detroit	800.00	00.00	0
Hibbing	5.00	00.00	0
New York Misc.	20.00	00.00	0
No. Carolina*	200.00	00.00	0
Pittsburgh*	25.00	00.00	0
St. Louis*	60.00	00.00	0
San Pedro	100.00	00.00	0
West Virginia*	150.00	00.00	0
Youngstown	200.00	00.00	0
	\$15,155.00	\$3,717.77	25

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

SING AND MAKE MERRY ON DECEMBER 25

XMAS DAY COCKTAIL PARTY
CHORUS—ROUND SINGING
ENTERTAINMENT
COMMUNITY SINGING
DANCING
COCKTAILS

FROM 5:00 P. M. TO MIDNIGHT Admission: 50 Cents
Workers Party, Local N. Y. Place: 114 W. 14