Work for a Workers World; Join the Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION

JANUARY 19, 1948

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

FIVE CENTS

WORKERS PARTY NEEDS YOUR HELP! CONTRIBUTE \$15,000 FUND DRIVE

- Maria Maria Maria

Truman Demands 40 Billion To Speed "Cold War" Plans

Reports Rise of Stalinist Racism:

Anti-Semitism Rife in Russia

By DANIEL DAVIDSON

The legend that Stalinist Russia is a land free of national and racial discrimination is debunked by recent diplomatic reports.

Up to now, most of the evidence that totalitarian Stalinism has not been innocent of anti-Semitic practices, trickled in through the private reports of Jewish refugees published in the Yiddish press. But in the December 29 issue of Newsweek, the diplomatic correspondent of its. Washington Bureau, Edward Weintal, relates that recent reports reaching Washington from foreign embassies in Moscow tell of the reappearance of anti-Semitic discrimination in Stalinist governmental circles.

According to Weintal, this official anti-Jewish policy was first adopted at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939. Allowed to lapse during the war, it "has now been revived as a corollary to the Soviet anti-Western campaign. Under this policy, Jews are to be eliminated from the armed services, from positions of influence on the masses, and from any activities which would bring them in touch with foreigners."

Jews are no longer admitted into the diplomatic and language schools which train future ambassadors, consuls and other officials of the foreign service. Jewish chairmen of party or government committees have been removed. Even dramatic schools which train for the state theaters have barred Jews.

The Jewish masses of Soviet Russia are worried and depressed. The situation has become so bad that Solomon Michoels and Itzig Pfeffer, president and vice-president of the Jewish Anti - Fascist Committee (which has inherited, in emasculated form, the former functions of the liquidated Jewish section of the CP) called on Molotov and Lazar Kaganovich to bring to their attention the growth of anti-Semitism in Russia, They were promised that corrective action would be taken as soon as "conditions are more propitious."

It is reported that the silent but efficient anti-Jewish policy has tended to reawaken national consciousness among the Jews of Russia, Despite the terrible conditions prevailing in Biro-Bidjan (Jewish autonomous region in Eastern Siberia, north of Man-

churia), Jewish immigration to that region has recently spurted. During the past month 2,000 Russian Jews emigrated to Biro-Bidjan. Another group of 4,000, consisting in the main of intellectuals who never before evinced interest in the Biro-Bidjan project, is soon to depart.

In a typically totalitarian maneuver, Soviet Jews are being fed the consoling line that the two chief designers of the anti-Jewish policy are dead or removed from office. As if a Polit Bureau alternate like Alexander Scherbakoff (died in 1945) or the head of the party's propaganda section, like Georgi F. Alexandroff (demoted recently) could have initiated and executed an independent policy of such proportions if disapproved of by Stalin! These developments give the lie to

those apologists for Stalinism who point to Russia's supposed progressive national policy.

Once again ,it is demonstrated that reactionary society which is politically totalitarian and economically exploitive cannot provide the atmosphere for the growth and survival of healthy, discrimination-free relations between national and racial groups.

President Truman's first message to the new session of Congress on the "State of the Nation" has been followed this week by another message containing his proposed budget for the spending of almost \$40 billion over the next year. The second message has resulted in almost as much opposition and attack as did the first, with its income tax cut proposal.

The contrast between Truman's "State of the Nation" message and his budget message is striking. The first, described in all circles as the first Truman speech for re-election in '48, contained various proposals deliberately intended to sound in the FDR-New Deal tradition, in an effort to regain ground won from the Democratic Party by the newly launched Wallace party, and to put the Republicans on the spot.

Among some of the proposals, in addition to passage of the \$7 billion European Recovery Program, were those for extension of unemployment compensation, old age benefits, etc., together with increases in federal subsidies to schools, housing and conservation programs. Truman further advocated the lifting of the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour, and capped this off with his major demand for lower income taxes on small income groups, with raised taxes for corporations.

Side by side with the above were proposals for a universal military training program, and continued support and expenditure of huge sums to back up American imperialism in its actions in Greece, Turkey, the occupied areas of Germany, Japan, Korea and Austria, as well as aid to Chiang Kai-Shek's military dictatorship in China. All this was contained in a huge, sprawling document - a political catch-all-that immediately



Wage Fight Is Major Issue For Auto Workers in '48

By WALTER JASON

DETROIT-Auto industry production passed the 5,000,000 mark in cars and trucks for 1947 and brought the fabulous net profit of over \$700,000,000 to the Wall Street owners of this giant industry, after all taxes, reserves, etc., were deducted from gross profit. In sharp contrast, the 900,000 auto and allied industry workers finished 1947 in a desperate-and thus far losing-battle to eke out an existence from their wages, whose real buying power has dropped due to the inflationary trend of prices. This is the basic situation confronting . the re-

cently elected International Execu-

tive Board of the UAW as it begins

its sessions on wage policy on Janu-

The meeting, while informative to

1947 came to pass. Production did hit the 5.000.000 mark. Profits were fantastic. Wages went to pot because of high prices. A similar economic fore-

Everything that Walter Reuther's ers would be much brighter. The economists said would happen in failure of the Reuther forces to drive at all costs for this program, first enunciated in the GM strike in 1945-46 and called the GM Strike Program, has put the UAW into the blind alcast for 1948 is easy to make, unless ley now reached on wage policy. The the UAW and the rest of the labor failure of the rest of the CIO and movement drastically change their the anti-Reuther forces in the UAW

As reported in LABOR ACTION earlier this month, the Workers Party has launched a \$15,000 Fund Drive to promote its activities and to guarantee ipport to T. BOR ACTION

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 s of the

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 that are available to

Workers Party in making that cam paign 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.

line of thinking and fighting on this problem.

Certainly, fighting for higher wages, without price increases would have helped considerably in 1947. If the auto corporations had given 231/2 cents an hour wage increase without car price increases, as demanded by Reuther early in 1947, the over-all economic picture for the auto work-

wages with much more rapidly rising

prices and the "non-compliance"

maneuver not only leaves the UE

vulnerable to provisions of the Taft-

Hartley Act but gives them added

What is lacking is a political pro-

will halt rising prices and destroy

the Taft-Hartley Act. Even the most

difficulties of union recognition.

to advance even as far as Reuther's half-hearted attempts brands that leadership as bankrupt. How do things stack up for 1948?

In order to foresee 1948, one must remind oneself again that the auto industry could have paid a 50 cent wage increase for 1947 or given a \$1,000 cost-of-living Christmas bonus to every worker, and still the auto barons would have made over \$100,-000,000 profit. The failure of the auto workers to get back in wages the wealth they produced put billions of dollars into the hands of the Wall Street owners and speculators and accounted for the pressure toward inflation.

In 1948, a continuation of the economic policies and trends of 1947 simply means an intensification of the process that marked the past year. The Wall Street boys will keep gathering millions of dollars for speculation, profit, and drive prices even higher, while labor will have less and less real purchasing power because it gets back less of what it produces. Once again, and Reuther's econogram-the only type of program that " mists have already spoken out on this point, the idea that wage increases can be given without price

detailed information about a woeincreases, becomes pertinent. C. E. fully inadequate program is not Wilson, president of GM, has hinted that car prices will go up another five per cent. The new Hudson already sells for more than the 1947 model.

AUTO BARON PROPAGANDA

The thinking of the auto barons was expressed perfectly by Wilson, who keeps repeating: "We are selling a \$10 product for \$7.00." In other words, car prices are too low. When the auto barons read how new cars sell on used car lots for \$1,000 higher than the factory sale price, their profit-crazy minds go completely mad. The \$700,000,000 net profit could easily have been over one billion dollars, to their way of thinking, except that Reuther did so much to bring out the connection between wages, prices, profits and production, even if the corporation books were not opened to the public. Of course, Reuther and his associ-"

ates will be able to answer easily and effectively the propaganda of the auto barons for higher prices. Any argument that higher prices are required because of wage demands will fall flat simply by showing the profit figures of the big corporations. But

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came under attack from all sides. It is clear that a large percentage of what Truman demanded in his "State of the Nation" message will never see the light of day, nor, it may well be suspected, was it even intended to be taken seriously.

RECORD "PEACE BUDGET"

The President's proposed budget of \$39.7 billion is a record-smashing budget for an America not at war. Yet, as the President himself was forced to admit in his message, "79 per cent of our expenditures directly reflect the costs of war, the effects of war, and our efforts to prevent a future war." Almost four-fifths of the budget, in other words, goes to the Army and Navy (known in the budget as "national defense" costs); veterans' expenditures of all sorts; interest payments on past wars: and aid to foreign regimes in preparation for future wars.

The Army, Navy and Air Force alone will cost, if Truman has his way, \$11 billion-amounting to \$375 in taxes on each average American family! Everything else in the budget is dwarfed by the various military items we have mentioned. The percentage of the budget that goes for education is 1 per cent; for housing a tenth of 1 per cent-as compared with 28 per cent for DIRECT military purposes

If the President is voted all he has asked for social welfare, health, security, housing and education, it will add up to LESS THAN the \$500 million he demands for universal military training this year! Yet the Republicans, who have pounced upon the budget message and are seeking to chop \$5 billion from it, have begun their demands for paring the

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UE Leadership Snarled on Taft-Hartley Issue

Lack an Adequate Program to Back up Their Refusal to Sign the Taft-Hartley "Anti-Communist" Affidavits

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 8-"Big Business seeks to justify its huge profits by explaining that it is saving for a rainy day; we United Electrical Workers cannot look ahead to that rainy day. For us it is pouring right now," said James J. Matles, Director of Organization to the District No. 1. audience tonight. Eight hundred local union officers and stewards packed the Bakery Workers' Hall at 1319 W. Susquehanna Ave. to hear United Electrical national officers explain their program for the 1948 campaign to improve living standards for the 400,000 union members in the electrical manufacturing industries.

Matles, International President, Fitzgerald, and Sec.-Treas. Julius Emspak repeatedly emphasized that the critical battle for the UE-CIO was the contract demands for wage increases

Petition Campaign Against Fare Raise

On page 4 of this issue of LABOR ACTION we call the attention of our readers to the campaign for saving the five-cent subway fare launched by Local New York of the Workers Party

Turn to page 4 for details of the petition campaign now going on to save the right of New Yorkers for a referendum on the fare issue.

Sylvania, etc., in the Spring of 1948 rather than the political struggle at election time in November. They argued that because of the Taft-Hartley bill the union is forced to rely almost entirely on its economic strength. On that economic strength it will succeed completely. The international officers could not speak of the very necessary battle to be waged on the political front because they have no political program.

UE CIRCUIT TOUR

The nature of the meeting-informative and not policy-making-was explained by President Fitzgerald. The three leaders are making a circuit tour of all districts to acquaint local union leaders of the international's program as adopted at the recent Boston convention in order to unite and strengthen the union organizationally and factually for the wage increase fights in the near future.

In addition to stating that wage demands to compensate for the increased cost of living must be made and fought for against great odds, Organizational Director Matles explained the UE's attitude on refusal to sign the "non-communist" affidavits required under the Taft-Hartley Act in order to use the National Labor Relations Board facilities. The union, he said, recognized the bill was bad in every respect and registered its protest in the only legal way provided by refusing to sign the affidavits. He pointed out correctly enough that the signing of 1,000 such affidavits would not put money into the union members' pockets or even increase the union's bargaining power at the conference table. However, Matles minimized the difficulties such

with Westinghouse, General Electric, action posed for the union in being compliance" policy. Sentiment was from the continuing cycle of rising recognized as bargaining agents at expressed by several for an "escalator clause." However, in the brief new plants or where companies questime available it was impossible for tioned the bargaining rights of many the proponents to explain the sociallocals recognized not by virtue of ist content of this wage slogan so their overwhelming economic strength but by grace of the NLRB's certifithat no support was gained from the floor. cation.

QUESTIONING UE LEADERS

a degree, did little to increase the The question period after the interest of the members in the UE speeches naturally enough program, but no one should be surthree prised at the negative results. The turned into a discussion with attacks sessions on wage policy January 15.

wage increase plan offers no break enough. **Anti-Stalinist Labor Federations Hold Hemisphere Conference**

By A. FERRARRA

The creation of an anti-Stalinist Latin American labor federation is the main purpose of the inter-American labor conference which was scheduled to begin on January 10 at Lima, Peru. In attendance as delegates and observers will be trade unionists from Canada, the United States and most of the Latin American countries. Among the notable exceptions will be the Argentinian CGT, the government-controlled labor federation. Sponsors of the conference are the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist-led wing of national federations throughout Latthe Chilean labor movement, the Democratic Action Party of Venezuela, and the APRA of Peru. In both the latter countries, the labor federations follow the leadership of the above mentioned political parties representative of the organized Latin which today hold government power. American labor movement. Toledano

this conference may mark an important turning point for Latin American labor if it frees it from Stalinist domination and creates an organization with a genuine class struggle program. Only a brief sketch of the historical background is necessary to confirm this statement.

In 1938 the Latin American Federation of Labor (CTAL) was formed, with the Mexican Stalinist, Lombardo Toledano, as its president and guiding spirit. Into its net were gathered all the existing and newly created in America. Through affiliation with the CIO and later with the ILO (International Labor Office), the CTAL gathered the prestige and authority necessary to speak as the rightful

It is no exaggeration to say that promptly began to exploit the CTAL as a sounding board for the current Kremlin line. For proof one need only turn to the succession of publications, pamphlets and articles issued by the CTAL and written by Toledano ringing the changes in Stalinist policy.

CONSISTENT IN ONE WAY

In one respect, however, Toledano and his Stalinist cohorts did not change their line. They followed a consistent policy of supporting the governments of the various Latin American countries, of acting as the agents of the ruling classes in the labor movement, and led the different national federations to a series of disastrous defeats along the road of # winning arguments doesn't solve a betrayal and sell-outs. This has led problem. It only shows the way. Even to a considerable number of splits if the UAW-does an excellent job

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Carefree Life of the Miner

By G. McDERMOTT

"Oh, for the happy, carefree life of a coal miner!"

Did you ever feel that way? Maybe not, but the nation's mine owners want you to. That is the only explanation for the advertisements that the Bituminous Coal Institute is running these days. These lovely pictures of the pleasant life of the miner are not being published because there is a shortage of coal miners. They are being published to poison the minds of the American people against the miners' union.

But let's look at these advertisements. One of them pictures four large, comfortable houses, with spacious lawns, on a paved street. The ad asks, "Which is the coal miner's house?" and because the average person will probably mutter "None of them," the ad tells us that one of them does belong to a miner.

Our guess is that if the house in the picture does belong to a miner, then he won it in a radio contest. However, let us read the rest of the ad.

The ad says that two-thirds of the miners live in their own homes or rent from private landlords. The other third who still rent from the company are mostly buying their own homes, with the kind help of the operators.

But that isn't all, you poor unlucky auto and rubber and steel workers. Working conditions in the mines are modern, too. Everything works by machinery. All miners do nowadays is press a button once in a while. This, too, is a result of the big hearts of the operators.

And, of course, the fortunate miners get such high wages.

Before you throw up your old assembly line job and head for Harlan County, let us look at the facts.

Many miners do own their own homes, all right. They own the same miserably shacks that they once rented from the company. After collecting the value of company houses three times over in rent, the companies are now forcing miners to buy the houses. Buy or get out. And where do you get out to these days? The operators are taking advantage of the housing shortage to unload the oldest and most dilapidated houses. It is

cheaper than repairing them. Of course, some miners rent from private landlords. But here again, the house is still the same. The coal industry is being more and more monopolized. Big companies do not want to bother with running company - owned stores, movies, laundries, funeral parlors, and houses. So they sell these things to some other capitalist. And the miner rents the same house from some banker. Recently, for instance, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company sold an entire town of ten thousand population in Kentucky.

By now, you can guess what is happening to the "remaining third" of the miners who are buying their own homes with the assistance of the operator. Mostly, they are buying their shacks. But sometimes the houses are new.

Take the Hanna Coal subsidiary of Pittsburgh Consolidation in St. Clairsville, Ohio. They are building new houses to sell to the miners. The cost will be only-only ten to fifteen thousand dollars apiece!

Now about those modern working conditions. Conditions are so

nice that - that more than one miner A DAY is killed every day in the state of West Virginia alone. Why worry about old age? Just get a job in the mines.

The mines are mechanized, all right. They are mechanized more and more every day. And behind the machinery, as in other industries, comes the man with the stop watch. Mining machinery is installed to make profits. If the work is any easier, it is because of the union.

Then there is that big, juicy check the miner gets. Of course, the rent, groceries, electricity, water, gas, insurance, sick fund, death fund, garbage collection fee, coal bill, income tax and social security are checked off first. Some miners, however, don't have to put up with this. They don't have running water, and maybe no gas, or electricity, or maybe no garbage collection. They can save this money to buy Cadillacs with. Of course when the mine isn't

working during a railroad car shortage, you don't get the high wages. Or when you're hurt, or sick all winter with tuberculosis or miners' asthma or silicosis or pneumonia. There are other things. In a

mine town, smoke eats at your wall paper and paint. Shoes and clothes wear out faster. Prices are higher. Insurance is higher for miners.

The advertisements are not a total loss, though. One miner we know clipped out the pretty picture of the miner's home from the magazine. "See that?" he said. "When we throw out this system and build socialism, I'll live like that."

changes represent in terms of fewer jobs: In the woolen section of the industry, wholesale elimination of mule spinning and the substitution of ring

L'ABOR ACTION

The 1,500,000 textile workers in

this country, for some decades now,

have held a number of records. An-

nually, their periods of unemploy-

ment are longer than most workers

in other industries. The company-

owned shacks, stores and public serv-

ices in the mill towns rival those in

the mining communities. The child-

dren of textile workers have gone

to work at an earlier age than chil-

dren of other workers because child

labor has been a pivot around wich

discarded to the scrap heap.

By MIKE STEVENS

Technical Changes Threaten

Thousands of Textile Warkers

Labor Conference - -

(Continued from page 1)

in the labor movements of the different countries.

In Mexico, for instance, the once all-powerful Stalinist CTM federation faces the challenge of the CUTM, which consists of more than 30 different labor federations, including the strong railroad workers' union. These unions split with the Stalinists on strictly trade union grounds. They could no longer stomach the corruption and betrayals of the Stalinists.

In Chile and Cuba the same division of the labor movement prevails. The fact that in both these countries the Stalinists are currently putting on a show of militancy does not convince many Cuban and Chilean workers that the Kremlin agents have had a change of heart. Having been kicked out of their governmental posts and control of the labor movements in these countries by pro-Washington' regimes, the Stalinists are fighting to regain the official positions in the unions and the government which they need to serve the Kremlin

spinning; high speed dressing is replacing the hand processes, automatic winding is replacing non-automatic winding, automatic weaving is replacing the non-automatic looms, new picking and finishing operations are being installed to reduce costs, etc. In worsted, the cotton system of drafting and spinning is being substituted for the old Bradford method. This one new system is expected to throw thousands of workers out of jobs. High speed dressing along with modern automatic looms are becoming common.

the textile industry revolved its piti-There were many new developfully low wage structure. Textile ments in rayon throwing and weaving workers' wages are lower than those just before the war began that are of ALL other industrial workers. being put into operation now. In ad-Even during the height of the sodition, other new machinery, includcalled war prosperity during 1945, ing faster looms, is being prepared. less than 30 per cent of the workers In cotton and rayon finishing there in textile received 65 or more cents. are many new developments and the Now comes the news that tremenentire industry expects additional dous technological changes are being tested inventions on the market withmade in the textile industry and tens in the next few months, of thousands of workers are to be

Along with these technological This information is contained in a changes comes the news that the report issued by the Textile Workers bankers confidently predict that the few large textile companies will not of America (CIO). This report was only consolidate their far-flung holdprepared as the union's argument in ings but will also absorb many of the favor of high tariffs. This wrong polsmaller companies. What does all icy of supporting high tariffs is a this mean to the textile workers? trap that many unions fall into and Just one thing-tens of thousands of we will take it up in a coming issue them will be fired, never to see the of LABOR ACTION. Nevertheless, inside of a mill again! the report is important because it

shows what lies ahead for the textile The union's report says in very workers as well as for other workers. polite language, "The upheaval noted The technological changes are alin the cotton industry in the twenties ready taking place in many mills is likely to be repeated in the woolen throughout the country, according to and worsted industry in the fortles the report. Textile workers will well and fifties." The "upheaval" menunderstand what the following tioned in the report was the five. ten and fifteen YEARS of partial and full unemployment suffered by the textile workers of this country during the 1920s and 30s.

> see the CTAL displaced by a continent-wide federation which would submit to its dictates is guite cor-

rect. That the American Federation of Labor is acting as an agency for the American government is also correct.

But the material foundations of a new Latin-American labor federation were not created by the machinations of the American State Department or the maneuverings of the AFL's Latin-American representative. Serafino Romualdi. The Latin-American workers need a continent-wide organization to solidify their ranks in the common struggle. The need for a new federation arises out of the series of disastrous betrayals perpetrated by the Stalinists by virtue of their control of the CTAL and its affiliated national bodies. American imperialism simply seeks to profit from the demoralization sown by the Stalinists.

man of the Workers Party, will as-Whether the Lima conference cre-

Notes on West Coast Labor Movement...

By WILLIAM BARTON

The San Francisco Bay Area and, presumably, the entire state of California, have apparently taken Henry Wallace's announced candidacy seriously. The Independent Progressive Party, pledged to Wallace in advance, is stepping up its campaign to get on the ballot by petition. Representatives from schools all over the state met last week in Berkeley to plan a state-wide "Students for Wallace" campaign. The Stalinist leaders of several CIO unions are all agog with press releases and public speeches. It

appears to be the subject on streets. buses and dinner tables. And he seems to be getting support. Railroad workers, waitresses, students and housewives without any pronounced political affiliations are declaring, in large numbers, their readiness to vote for him. Some observors consider it the biggest thing in these parts since the "Ham and

Eggs" movement. To avoid having anyone overwhelmed by this apparent show of support, a little advice is in order. Ask the average Wallace supporter, 'Why"? The reasons thus far heard (except when coming from Stalinists and their close fellow-travelers) are much weaker than what was generally handed out by those who voted for Roosevelt four times. That Wallace is a labor candidate, almost no one claims. That he is the apostle of the "Century of the Common Man," very few take that seriously. That he has a worthwhile program for the American people, as yet, few have really claimed that. That he wants to conciliate with Russia, even this has

not impressed too many. Stated simply and briefly. Wallace is getting support because he seems to be a little better than the likely Republican and Democratic candidates who are not much different from each other. That's it. If that's the stuff of which militant crusades are made, I'll take the crowd at Ebbets Field in Brooklyn. How can one expect more? Here is

a man who has preached nothing but words for years. His supposed program includes just two dynamic features-a demand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and opposition to military conscription. But doesn't this sound a little quaint coming from an individual who was an important part

of the National Administration for some fourteen years and did nothing for labor except make speeches, who was one of the strongest supporters of labor conscription during the war, and one of the leading proponents of the draft in 1940? Has he any significant and meaningful answer to the pressing economic problems of the day? His only answer, while Secretary of Commerce, was his cry for 60 million jobs (already attained); his only answer as Secretary of Agriculture was the criminal plowing under of much needed food. No, his program is not stirring any enthusiasm.

January 19, 1948

A MASS CRUSADE?

But even if the individual and program were wanting, the campaign could still take on the character of a mass crusade by involving the most significant sections of the population in organized support, particularly the labor movement. This has not and will not happen. The non-Stalinist leaders of the labor movement have almost completely turned their backs on the campaign. And there is a certain "logic" to their position. They agree with the Wallace-advocates in opposing independent anti-capitalist labor politics. They both believe in supporting the lesser-evil among capitalist politicians. Therefore, say Murray, Reuther and Co., why not throw our strength to that "favorite" politician whose campaign makes sense and has a chance of winning. Much of the usual window-dressing of "progressive" fronts is, for similar reasons, divorcing itself from Wallace.

For entirely fallacious reasons, Roosevelt appeared as the candidate with a hard-hitting program and got the popular support of the man in the street, both organized and unaffiliated. Wallace appears as neither. The labor movement has responded by not following him in what should prove to be a disorienting adventure. But the labor leadership has answered him incorrectly. The need is not for supporting the likes of Truman, but for an independent Labor Party, organized, led and responsible to the rank and file of labor, involving the rest of the oppressed population in a fighting, clearly anti-capitalist program. Let us hope that the many who, however unenthusiastically, are now ready to vote for Wallace, learn this simple lesson soon.

Chicago Politics Club Plans Shachtman-Bell Debate

The winter program of the Politics tion, "Is Europe Going Socialist? The Club of the University of Chicago will be highlighted by a debate on the question, "Does Stalinism Flow From Bolshevism?"

Achievement of a Free Society." In early February, Jack Ranger, Max Shachtman, National Chair-

LABOR ACTION columnist and author of a forthcoming Workers Party pamphlet on the labor party, will de-

Relationship of Nationalization to the

Tri-City WP Conference

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 1-Reading, Baltimore and Philadelphia branches of the Workers Party held an educational conference on the weekend of December 26. This tri-branch conference held in Labor Action Hall at 1139 West Girard Avenue, covered the theoretical aspects of the most fundamental problems of the socialist movement today. Discussion and lecture topics included Marxism and Science, Historical Materialism, Party Organization, War and Post-War American Economy and Nature of Russian Imperialism.

On Friday evening a round table

member of the National Committee of the Workers Party. The concept of historical materialism developed from the need for application of the scientific method to the analysis of historical processes. The Marxist approach to history is based on a study of the following four important social and economic factors: tools of production, level of production, economic system, and the class struggle. A thorough examination was made

of the concept of "democratic centralism" and comparison was made between the democracy practiced in the Workers Party and that in the Socialist Party and in the Socialist Party rkere

the economic bases for the post-war

history of the United States and of

Russia. In the morning, Comrade

Abe Kimbay pointed out that the

quantity of American production is

today only 80 per cent of the wartime

peak in February, 1943. Inflated

prices are due in great part to a

of capitalism and applied his description to the current scene where in the radio industry and in textile there is already a glutted market. The conference was attended by members from the three participating

branches and from the Newark and Pittsburgh branches and also by friends of the Workers Party in the Philadelphia area. The results of the conference, in terms of information acquired and shared and in terms of intellectual stimulation, were quite gratifying to the participating branches.

discussion was held on the relationships between science, technology and socialism. The discussion was led by Walter Grey, member of the engineering profession. Grey opened the discussion with a short account of the relationships between the levels of technology and the social structures that have existed throughout history.

The discussion on historical matescarcity of consumers' goods. The rialism was led by Hal Draper, a speaker described in detail the crisis

UAW Issues - -

(Continued from page 1)

against the auto industry in fighting for higher wages without price increases, this can be lost unless the whole CIO adopts a similar viewpoint and struggles unitedly for it. After all, it was Philip Murray, CIO president, who signed a steel contract in 1946 for higher wages with higher prices, and thus broke the back of the GM strike demand for higher wages without price increases.

This blunder of Murray's must not be repeated in 1948 or the CIO again will suffer a setback similar to that of the past year, in the matter of the fight against the inflationary cost of living. Prices, profits, production as well as wages are as much of labor's business as management's, to say the least. Perhaps even Murray has learned something on this score.

The Workers Party Baltimore Branch will carry out a series of discussions at the Fellowship House, 21 West Preston Street, Baltimore, at 8 o'clock on Friday evenings. The program follows:

January 23: "Finance Capitalism: How Finance Bankers Run Both Finance and Industry in America." January 30: "Monopoly in the U. S.;

the Futility of Trust-Busting."

February 13: "Technology in Our Economy: Its Effect on Employment and the Role of Monopolists in Holding Back Full Use of Technology."

February 21: "Finance Capitalism: Investments Abroad and How They Dictate American Foreign Policy."

Reuther was right as against Murray and other CIO leaders on this

question. Will Wall Street want to take on the CIO in a head-on battle this

spring on wages, in view of the international crisis, especally in France and Italy? There are many indications that Wall Street wants to repeat the 1947 wage negotiations: A quick settlement of wage negotiations, without much discussion on wages, prices, profits and production, for the smallest amount possible to sell to the men in the shops. Already some Wall Street spokesmen speak of a ten to fifteen cents an hour wage increase as the figure they think they can get away with.

Certainly a wave of major strikes would hurt the world imperialist plans of Wall Street, and concessions in the 1947 style might be more satisfactory. But labor moves not on the basis of Wall Street's aims or plans, but on its own needs. A repetition of 1947 wage contracts for labor would be fatal. It would mean more inflation, more profits, a lower standard of living for the auto workers and other working people.

Of course there is a temptation among the CIO bureaucrats to take the easy way out. Repeat in 1948 what was done in 1947 and hope the inevitable doesn't happen.

The challenge in this situation is directly to the UAW and, above all, to the Reuther leadership which was elected decisively by the ranks precisely because it represented something more and better than the old trade union policies and conservatism. The UAW-CIO is the vanguard

of the American labor movement, and its hour of leadership has again arisen.

Notice to New York Readers: The sessions on Sunday, covered

The TIME and PLACE of the **DEBATE** between

DWIGHT MACDONALD Editor of "Politics"

HAL DRAPER Editor of "The New International"

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

has been changed to SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 29

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

Auspices: L'ABOR ACTION FORUM

Read and Subscribe to LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

We said above that this conference can mark a turning point for the Latin - American labor movement. Naturally, the Stalinists will condemn this meeting and those attending it as the agents of American imperialism. That Washington would like to

ers can turn against both American and Russian imperialism as well as the native ruling classes, depends entirely on the role of the revolutionary socialists and trade union militants at this conference and within their local national federations.

ates an

"Cold War" Plans - -

(Continued from page 1)

budget by cutting down on these solabor leaders of the AFL, CIO and Railway Brotherhoods have to say called social welfare items. Says Representative Taber, chairman of about this budget? Will they demand that the huge sums spent on the the Budget Committee, "the Presi-Army, Navy and Air Forces be transdent's proposals for huge outlays for education, social welfare and housferred to the social welfare section of the budget? The contrast between ing, just to mention a few, seems way the first and second presidential mesout of line, even if Congress does authorize these programs." Taber prosages tells us the real program of the Democratic Party and American inposes to use the axe on that part of dustry. Let the labor movement speak the budget amounting to a mere 5 out against this budget! per cent of the whole! As the new session of Congress

COLD WAR BUDGET

gets under way, it is increasingly ap-The Truman budget might well be parent that sharp debates and clashes called the budget of the "cold war" will take place. Tax reduction, inflaagainst Russia and for world domination, ERP program, military training tion by American capitalism. There -these are only some of the hot iscan be no other description of it possues which LABOR ACTION will sible. It is a budget belonging to a follow in its columns, offering its period preliminary to war. It is a criticism and counter-proposals to budget against every real interest of both capitalist parties.

independent organization sert the negative position while Daniel Bell, a former editor of the armed with a class-struggle program. "New Leader" and now an instructor a legitimate weapon which the workin social science at the university, will support the affirmative. Proceeds from the debate which is

to be held in Mandel Hall at the university, Wednesday afternoon, January 28, will be divided between the International Solidarity Committee and the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

Also scheduled to speak under Politics Club auspices during the winter quarter are two other prominent members of the Workers Party familiar to readers of LABOR ACTION. On January 16, Emmanuel Garrett, editor of LABOR ACTION, will address an open meeting on the ques-

liver a talk on "Henry Wallace and his Third Party."

The Winter issue of the Politics Club's quarterly magazine, "Student Partisan," will appear in early February. An article on the AVC, a discussion of racial discrimination at the University of Chicago, and a commemoration of the Communist Manifesto are among the many contributions to the new number.

A limited number of copies of the Autumn edition of the Politics Club quarterly magazine, "Student Partisan," are still available and may be obtained by sending a request with fifteen cents for each copy desired to the editor, Student Partisan, Politics Club, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Cleveland Readers, Attention!

EMANUEL GARRETT Editor of Labor Action

Will speak at an Open Forum of the Cleveland Branch of the Workers Party

"American Labor Needs a Labor Party" FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 23, at Eight O'Clock At the SLOVENIAN HOME

6409 St. Clair Avenue

Room 4, Rear Building

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WP Fund Drive Now Past Half Way Mark!

By YETTA BARSH, Fund Drive Director

In record time, the Manhattan unit of the Socialist Youth League not only fulfilled its quota but with this week's contribution of \$21 hit the 150 per cent mark, placing it at the head of the list. It is the sixth unit in the Drive to enter the class of the hundred-per-centers! We appreciate the energy and self-sacrifice required for the fulfillment of the quota of this youth unit, as well as the fact that it all betokens the feeling of our young comrades toward the Workers Party and their desire to cooperate and to build with us a revolutionary socialist party in the United States.

The \$20 contribution from Reading, recorded this week, arrived just under last week's deadline, which would have placed it at about the 50 per cent line, in accordance with our schedule. Seattle's contribution of \$80 this week also places it in the 50 per cent category, one week behind our schedule.

The remainder of the \$896.30 received during the sixth week of our Fund Drive was from the following units: New York City-\$323 (which brings its total contributions up to 49 per cent of its quota); Chicago-\$133 (raising its contributions from 37 to 45 per cent of its quota); Detroit-\$97 (raising its total contributions from 32 per cent to 44 per cent of its quota); National Office-\$76; Newark-\$40; Los Angeles-\$38; Philadelphia-\$19.50 (another \$50 and Philadelphia will hit the 100 per cent mark); Cleveland-\$19; Boston and West Virginia-each \$10; and Baltimore-\$9.80 (leaving it with only another \$9.20 to go).

Remember our 85 per cen hit it!	t goal by	February 5.	Help us
Branch	Quota	Jan. 12	Pct.
Connecticut	50.00	60.00	120
Buffalo	600.00	690.00	115
Indiana	50.00	50.00	100
New York Misc.	20.00	20.00	100
Oregon	50.00	50.00	100
Baltimore	100.00	90.80	91
Streator	20.00	18.00	90
Philadelphia	400.00	350.00	88
Boston	60.00	50.00	83

D 1	
Reading	49.00
400.00	245.00
Hibbing 5.00	3.00
National Office	2,031.00
San Francisco	547.95
Seattle	200.00
New York City	1,959.48
Los Angeles	230.50
St. Louis	16.00
Chicago	682.13
Cleveland 500.00	227.00
Detroit 800.00	352.00
Newark 400.00	171.54
Youngstown 200.00	
West Virginia 150.00	75.00
	25.00
	00.00
San Baday 25.00	00.00
San Pedro 100.00	00.00
	<u> </u>
\$15,000	\$8,241.42

the American people. What will the

Nationalization of Industry:

Is It Same As Socialism?

By STANLEY GREY

If nationalization is equivalent to socialisma notion which remains imbedded in the brains of "socialists" who kneel to the "socialism" of Brittain-then the world has recently been treated to a social miracle second to none. A group of industrialists representing the capitalist interests of two semi-feudal, industrially backward countries have convened for the purpose of instituting "socialism."

Socialism, remember, is a system of society organized in the interests of the masses of the people and against the interests of the capitalist class. This will have been the first time in re corded history that any ruling class has sat down, in calm and calculated conference, and voted itself out of power.

According to a Dec. 15 dispatch to the N.Y. Times, there took place two conferences of the leading industrialists of India and Pakistan for the purpose of working out long-term economic policies for the respective countries. The conferences were sponsored by the governments of the two countries. The major decision arrived at in both conferences was that there would be extensive state ownership of some basic industries.

Pakistan: "I. I. Chundrigar, Pakistan Minister for Commerce, Industries and Works, told the Karachi (capital of Pakistan) delegates that the armament industry, railways, posts and telegraphs, broadcasting, hydro-electric power and mineral and oil rights would probably be state owned.

India: "Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, India's Minister of Industry and Supply, outlined plans for the early construction of the two new steel plants under state auspices." He told delegates that central planning for industrial development was essential.

On the day of the conference, Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru stated that India's future economic policy would entail a large measure of "socialism" in certain basic and key industries. This speech was given to the annual meeting of the ... Associated Chambers of Commerce

A STRANGE "CONVERSION"

It has been argued with great force by scholars that the ethics of Protestantism was a powerful social force which helped justify the ways of capitalists to God and thereby spurred on the early capitalist development. But no one, anywhere, has argued that either Hinduism or Mohammedanism converted their respective capitalists into socialists, that is, anti-capitalists. Perhaps there is some more mundane explanation for the transformation of these capitalists? There is none for, in fact, that has been no change. The industrialists remain industrialists, pro-capitalist and anti-socialist.

They continue to act in their own interests as do capitalists of all religions, for capitalism is the religion of them all. And when they advocate, support or institute state ownership, whether through the instrumentality of a "socialist" like Nehru or a thoroughgoing reactionary like Jinnah (head of Pakistan), they do this to strengthen their position as capitalists. And in doing so they underline the idea that nationalization, far from being sufficient for socialism, is not only compatible with capitalism but in some cases a necessary part of capitalist policy.

Let us consider the case of the backward countries emerging on the capitalist scene, such as India and Pakistan.

1. The basic aim of the capitalist class of backward countries is for a rapid emergence out of its state of backwardness. The classic capitalisms of England and France had centuries in which to evolve into large-scale production and they took unrushed centuries in which to do it. But today, in its very infancy, the new-born capitalist states must immediately introduce modern, efficient, largescale production to compete with the products of the advanced techniques of the advanced countries.

Merely to preserve their independence as a state requiring at least a modern army, they need to build large-scale munitions works. (Japan, for example, was manufacturing cannon even before the spinning jenny was introduced in her factories.) The backward countries must hastily breed a hothouse capitalism, for modern world competition has eliminated the possibility of a natural youth.

SOURCE OF CAPITAL

2. Where will the capital come from?

There are three possible sources:

a-The native capitalist class. This group is weak and small and incapable of building the country up to a competitive position in which it could compete with the powerful capitalist countries with decades of accumulation behind them. In addition, it is not willing to do this because of the enormous risks involved. Private enterprise means private losses and the native capitalists are not anxious to jump on the world scene with their own capital at stake.

b-Foreign loans. This involves the great danger of economic and political subordination to the lending powers. Where this step is taken, it will be with reluctance and great wariness. In his speech, Nehru said that while he will welcome foreign capital (as loans and investments), it will not be at the cost of bartering away India's economic independence. Japan, faced with a similar situation at the time of its emergence as a capitalist power, literally forbade any foreign loans and over a period of three decades, from 1870 to the 1900s, accepted only two small loans.

c—The state. In many ways the state is the ideal solution. The state supplies the capital (which it gets from the people) and the state risks the losses (which it passes onto the people). And the capitalist class manages and controls the state industries and sucks its profits indirectly from it. (How this is done depends on the specific national arrangement. In Japan, the state handed over the already safely developed industries to the capitalist class at an absurdly low price. In England, the capitalist class received state bonds with guaranteed interest in exchange for their profitlosing enterprises. How it will work in India is a matter of national ingenuity.)

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

3. State ownership and efficiency. Another need for state ownership is that it makes possible (not necessary!) a more efficient utilization of the nation's recourses and organization of production. These countries have no time for the leisurely wastefulness of competition and planlessness which is the history of private enterprise. And planning is to the lack of planning what the machine is to handicraft tools. As Dr. Mookerji, the Indian Minister of Industry and

Truman and His ERP

As had been expected, the international aspects of the Truman address on "The State of the Nation" have touched off sharp criticisms and conflicts within the ranks of the new session of Congress. This part of his proposals dealt almost exclusively, of course, with the Marshall Plan, or the European Recovery Program, and contained the proposal that Congress should authorize the outlay of almost \$7 billion, beginning with April 1 of this year and lasting for 15 months, to start the ERP on its historic way. This "contribution to world peace," as Truman calls it, is but the "initial amount" essential. The fact that Truman has asked only for a fifteen-month appropriation, while it is a tactical capitulation to the Republicans, is not too important, since the over-all sum remains fixed at between \$15 and \$18 billions of dollars, for a period lasting until July, 1952.

Thus the Marshall Plan, the backbone and highest expression to date of American foreign policy, is now formally cast into the fire and the debate will commence, growing warmer and more revealing as time passes. It has already met a hostile and unfriendly reception not only from the Republican ranks, but also to a surprising degree from Democratic Party ranks. This debate is bound to color and affect in many ways all aspects of American domestic and international development. Marshall, in his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, attempted to reassert the Administration's offensive in the issue, by insisting that the plan-embodying administration in its entirety by the State Department-must be either accepted or rejected in toto. But it is clear that the struggle will be long and heated. Taft has predicted that a greatly modified Marshall Plan will not be put into practice until some time after July, not April, of this year. The very fundamentals of the plan will be challenged by lingering isolationist Republican elements, in the first place, and by Wallace supporters, representing Stalinist Russia's opposition to European aid. Democrats, big business interests and liberal ideologists who take a long-range view of the perspectives of American imperialism will be the most articulate supporters of the Truman proposals.

Sharpest debate will be over attempts to cut down the amount of money involved, with Senator Taft demanding a scaling down to \$5 billion maximum. Neither side in this debate will make any effort to link directly the problem of the money involved with issues of prices, inflationary trends, taxation, etc. This statement may appear to be not the case, in view of the fight over taxation, etc., but what we mean is that no one will propose clearly and directly that the money be raised in a specific manner-such as, for example, by a capital levy on industry (which contributed so much to the destruction of Europe), or higher profits taxes. Finally there will be a dispute over the question of what conditions, and precisely how they shall be made, will be attached to the loans; as well as the matter of who

shall run and operate the ERP. The Administration, of course, knows it cannot formulate conditions that openly and crudely play havoc with the national independence of the countries involved. This would defeat any possible success that ERP may expect even before it gets going, because it would defeat its *political* purposes which are, in their own way, of equal importance to the economic aims. The ERP opponents, on the other hand, will attempt to attach such strings as will grant advantages to privately owned industries and corporations where extensive nationalization has taken place (such as England), and, at the same time, will attempt to strike blows at any possible recovery of those industries and businesses which may offer future competition to American export trade. THE FINAL PLAN

Despite the violence and vehemence of the opposition, it is apparent that an ERP will emerge from this session of Congress. It must emerge, because the interests of American imperialism demand this. Modified, cut-down, changed, amended and revised, it will still be a specific plan, formulating America's position at this phase in its history. Both sides, fundamentally representing only differing wings of American capitalism, have presented their maximum program. Now will begin the bargaining and working out of terms. But Truman and his Administration will win out. Not even the most ignorant and isolationist-minded Republican has dared propose no ERP for Europe!

For American imperialism, now reaching out for economic mastery over the markets of our entire globe, simultaneously with its probing for strategic bases for ultimate war with Russia, must come to the aid of Europe, from its own point of view. It must underwrite and stimulate a limited and closely-guarded economic uplift in Western Europe as the only possible means of halting Stalinist expansion and seizure of power over the entire Continent. The many-billioned payment for this underwriting is necessary because this is the sole weapon American imperialism possesses. A limited period of capitalist stabilization of Western Europe thus becomes a vital part of the imperialist future. ERP, in some form, must be adopted as the means of achieving this.

What brands ERP-no matter what its final formas imperialist is not so much the inevitable strings and conditions that will be attached to it, but rather this way in which it fits into the historic program of American imperialism, together with the fact that the entire discussion and debate over it (with the exception of the revolutionary press) will be a dispute over what is the best way to advance these interests. Truman-Marshall have their way; Taft-Vandenberg another way and Wallace a third way. A socialist ERP, which could be adopted quickly and without dispute, would simply concern itself with helping the recovery of the masses of Europe in the quickest and easiest possible manner. Problems of profit, conditions, eventual war, limitation of competitive productivity, etc., wouldn't enter into the picture.

Henry'JUDD.



Page 3

HERE COME THE MARINES!

Equipped with tanks, guns, flame-throwers, bulldozers, trucks, jeeps and other matériel for whiling away the tedium of shipboard life, 1,000 marines left the United States early this year for Mediterranean waters.

Afraid that some idiot somewhere, somehow, sometime might consider the movement a purely routine affair, the State Department declared that it "was a routine administrative action by the Department of the Navy, undertaken without. consultation because of its relatively minor importance."

Almost everybody got the point, including even. battled-scarred Admiral "Bull" Halsey, frash from his recent encounter with the WCTU, who declared that the Marine Corps might well be making history once again in 1948,

The move was the most recent in the series of steps taken by U.S. imperialism to contain the Stalinist penetration in the Mediterranean area. This latest measure in the cold war conveniently coincided with the establishment of the Stalinist puppet government in Greece.

Other measures taken recently in Greece through U. S. initiative include: a 12,000-man increase in the Greek regular army and an increase in the national guard, bringing it to fifty battalions; the assignment of U.S. advisers for combat operations; and an increase in the table of organization for heavy machine gun and mountain artillery units. In addition, the British have turned 40,000 rifles over to the Greek army.

The contemplated retirement of British forces. from Palestine is another factor leading to U.S. involvement in that critical area. According to reports from both Washington and Jerusalem, Zionist leaders are beginning a drive to secure arms from the United States for the prosecution of the struggle against the Arabs which flared up as a result of the UN partition decision.

U. S. imperialism's plans for Panama have struck a snag. A treaty for the establishment of thirteen air bases outside the Canal Zone area has been voted down by the National Assembly of Panama, 54 to 0. Frank T. Hines, whose chief qualification for ambassador to Panama was a first-rate failure as Veterans Administrator, has been withdrawn and less crass proposals and methods are being devised. The State Department brass is finding out that South America, as yet at least, is not merely a bureau of the War Department.

NOTES ON WORLD WAR III

There's one in every crowd. In the army it was the character who genuinely liked C-ration hash. Among the capitalist politicians it's the person who doubts the inevitability of World War III. "Unless we behave like raving lunatics," recently said Sir Hartley Shawcross, the British attorney general, addressing 2,000 school children, "there will not be another war. But there is always the possibility that men may be lunatics.'

We have characters like Shawcross on this side of the Atlantic, too. Listen to the New York Times: "No World War III is expected, according to information available at the Chemical Industries Show." And why? "No orders have been placed, spokesmen said, either for munitions and explosives or the machinery to make them." Further-and this is the clincher: "No Russian orders have been received for war materials."



By KATE LEONARD

"The Walls Came Tumbling Down" (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York) is the autobiography of Mary White Ovington, one of the founders of the National Association for the Advance-

daughter on New York's west side, the old lady said, "She hunt fer me fur an' wide. fur an' wide, year an' year. She .done foun' me, and she brung me up here." The daughter walked out with her vistor and said,

vertised-The story of the NAACP. Wherein this expectation is met, and where it is in vain must be pointed out. The book is an adequate history of the activities of the organization. It lists and discusses its record before

Irving Blumberg

Word of the sudden death of Comrade Irving Blumberg has just reached us by wire from Minneapolis. This tragic news comes as a shock and a terrible blow. Many of us in New York knew Comrade Blumberg only through his letters and through the frequent reports which came to us from many sources, of his selfless service in behalf of oppressed peoples in the United States and abroad.

As a member of the Minneapolis Chapter of the NAACP, his fight in behalf of the Negro people, against race discrimination and "Jim was followed by us in gratitude and admi-Crow' ration. And for this service and devotion he was stamped in our hearts as a cherished comrade. We knew him through his work as a comrade in arms, as a selfless fighter for the loftiest ideal of mankind - the emancipation of humanity from class exploitation, oppression, bigotry, inequality, slavery. There is no higher tribute for the revolutionist and for the man.

Comrade Blumberg was a friend and sympathizer of the Workers Party. Although he was not formally a member, he was regarded in every respect as one. He was afforded all the confidence becoming a party member because in his thinking and in his deeds he was one of us. He was a revolutionist to the marrow and could not live outside the struggle to which his life was devoted.

We are grief stricken at our terrible loss. We are notifying all our party members and all our friends who will mourn with his many friends in Minneapolis and throughout the country, of the loss of this devoted comrade, this soldier in the cause of socialist emancipation. To his widow, Comrade Ruth Blumberg, and to his children we extend our profound sympathy. To Irving Blumberg, our fraternal embrace and last salute.

Political Committee,

Workers Party.



conserve limited natural resources and foreign exchange, to avoid wasteful competition and to secure regional advancement in the country as a whole and to insure a proper dispersal of industries throughout India." The Pakistan Minister emphasized the importance of state ownership of mineral and oil rights, which "must vest in the state to insure proper development and maximum utilization."

In summary, state ownership of various industries, when instituted by the capitalist class, is designed to effectively and safely accelerate the country's progress to a modern capitalist state. In advanced countries such as England, it is a policy followed to retard the decline of capitalism by shifting the losses of industry onto the shoulders of the people.

One of the aspects of the decline of capitalism is that it leads to an increase of state ownership required by the increasing feebleness of the capitalist class and the inability of planless capitalism to continue without some sort of planning. And backward countries which come on the scene in this period of decline are forced to adopt, along with many others, this feature of advanced capitalism.

Books and Pamphlets by LEON TROTSKY

The New Course (with an introduction, "The Struggle for the New Course," by Max Shachtman) 265 pp. Cloth \$2.00 Paper 1.50 Stalin 516 pp. Cloth 5.00 Living Thoughts of Karl Marx 184 pp. Cloth 1.50 The First Years of the Communist Interna-The Revolution 308 pp. Cloth 2.00 Betrayed Paper 1.00 Marxism in the United States 44 pp. .35 Their Morals and Ours..... 48 pp. .20 Stalinism and Bolshevism 32 pp. .10 Leon Sedoff 32 pp. .10 The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International 64 pp. .25 The Suppressed Testament of Lenin 48 pp. .25 Fascism-What It Is-How to Fight It 48 pp. .15 Order from: LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N.Y. All orders must be prepaid. Orders of \$25 or more receive 10 per cent discount. Make checks payable to LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE.

ment of Colored People, Supply, said, central planning was essential "to Miss Ovington's creed, that the Ne-

> gro problem in the U.S. can be solved within the framework of capitalism is, of course, the basic creed of the NAACP. It is no small compliment to her that, disagreeing with this philosophy, one accepts without question her simple statement that in 1903, during her last year as a settlement worker in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, "the Negro and his problems came into my life, where they will remain until I die."

Mary Ovington was born in 1865 into a family of culture and means and with an abolitionist tradition. Speaking of the influence of this tradition on herself. Miss Ovington comments that, like every imaginative child, she had her hero; the fugitive slave who followed the North Star to freedom. She is not above smiling at herself. Her hero went through the gravest dangers, but in her play acting he always reached Canada. There she left him "without, a thought as to how he might be able to live in the new and chilly land." For this small abolitionist, he had

She is just as attractive a few years later, going with "her young man of the moment," to hear Frederick Douglas and arguing with him about Douglas' second marriage to a white woman.

LIFE'S PREPARATION

Out of this abolitionist tradition came the motivation for her career, rather than from her work in early adult life as a social worker, or from her membership in the Socialist Party. The meaning of her sojourn in the Socialist Party is not made sufficiently clear. That it is not made clear is perhaps a commentary on the relation of the socialist movement of that day to the movement for Negro rights.

Between 1903 and 1908 she prepared for her future work. Her beginning was a survey called "Half a Man-The Status of the Negro in New York." What she has to say of New York, when San Juan Hill was Harlem, is of interest. She travelled, North and South, and served as a correspondent for the New York Post, Oswald Garrison Villard's paper.

Miss Ovington is a sensitive observer, and both on this period and later her book contains much good material around her main interest. Visiting an old lady and her middle aged

"I was sold away from my mother when I was two years old. I went down las' year to hunt for her. Things had changed. She's sure she knows her baby, but me, I ain't so sure."

AMONG HER MEMORIES

Among her memories: The New York and Boston Negro communities with their fear of the influx from the South. Booker T. Washington at a Tuskegee farmers' conference-"Those Negroes up North are hammering at me. You'll stand by me?" Darktown, the worst section of Atlanta which armed itself during the Atlanta riots, and sent this notice, "Don't send us the militia. We want the mob." The record of the Negro. soldier in both world wars, and the record of discrimination against him in both wars. The Negro sharecroppers of Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, singing "Organize, Oh, Organize." And in 1934, a survivor of the Elaine massacre, pleading for a union of white and black, playing his role in the formation of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. A child in an antilynching parade carrying the placard, "Mother, do lynchers go to heaven?"

UNCRITICAL TEMPERAMENT

She is disappointing in her handling of people, including her colleagues. There are glimpses, but only James Weldon Johnson comes through. She is not critical, perhaps by temperament. It was surprising to find her as gentle with Booker T. Washington as she is, in the light of the opposition of her associates, to his policies. It may be that she feels that this is an old guarrel. At one point her praise of Walter White becomes a eulogy that could well be embarrassing.

HISTORY OF NAACP

In 1908, responding to the call written by William English Walling following the race riots at Springfield, Illinois, Miss Ovington became a founder of the NAACP. She shares this distinction with Walling and Henry Moscovitz. They were soon joined by Villard and most of the leaders of the Niagara Movement, including W. E. B. DuBois who became the editor of The' Crisis. The organization was launched in 1909. and since then Mary White Oving-

ton's life has coincided intimately with that of the NAACP. Knowing this, one turns to her book expecting to find much material on the organization. So the book is ad-

the courts. Some of the recent achievements are the Supreme Court decisions declaring the white primary illegal, the overruling of Virginia's law requiring the segregation of Negroes on interstate buses.

The policy of the Association is stated as follows: it places two conditions for entering a case-does the case involve color discrimination, and is some fundamental right of citizenship involved? Right here must be mentioned that the Scottsboro case is not touched upon, except to report one court session. This is not "an old quarrel," and something might have been said about the role of the NAACP in this case.

Except to explain the dividing of the field between the NAACP and the Urban League, with the decision that the Association would not go into the field of individual employment or social welfare, the book does not discuss the evolution of policy. It is perfectly true that the young organization was faced immediately with the urgent need for legal defense for Negroes, and that this was a task a group of this social composition was well equipped to handle. But why was the activity limited so largely to this field? How would Miss Ovington evaluate the NAACP's propaganda, its political activity, and its press service? Weaknesses of the NAACP such as the lack of democratic administration, and the lack of a vital branch program are well known, but not evaluated here. Within the program of the organization there is room to weigh its policies, its failures as well as its gains, and this is not done here.

The impressione is given that Miss Ovington is so closely identified with the organization and its leadership that she is protective. This does not make for critical appraisal, or a definitive study of this phase of the struggle for democratic rights for Negroes.

Attention, New York Readers! Dancing, Refreshments, Entertainment

At MANHATTAN BRANCH SATURDAY NIGHT SOCIAL

JANUARY 31, 8:30 P. M.

CITY Center, 114 W. 14th, N. Y. C.

50 Cents Admission

That there is an exceptionally large group of men in this country happy in their lunacy, at least as described by the profound Shawcross, is revealed daily in the paper:

"WASHINGTON (AP) - The National Security Resources Board has asked 14 industrial leaders to meet with it next Wednesday to, advise the board on forming a general program for industrial, civilian and military mobilization."

"WASHINGTON (AP)—A group of atomic scientists and a military team of admirals and generals have been assigned to organize and staff the new proving ground for atomic weapons at Eniwetok, in the Far Pacific."

"WASHINGTON (AP)-The highly secret operations at Sandia Base, New Mexico, were referred to for the first time yesterday by the Army as a 'guided missiles project.'

"WASHINGTON (AP)—Admiral of Fleet Chester W. Nimitz says the United States Navy holds 'undisputed control of the sea' and could establish floating air fields off any shore to attack inland areas.

"The former chief of naval operations predicts ... the Navy will arm its carrier-based planes with atom bombs."

ECHOES FROM WORLD WAR II

"Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Army chief of staff," the New York Times states, "is reported by close associates to be on the verge of closing a deal for his wartime memoirs for an amount 'in excess of \$500,000." ... INS reports: "House investigators today probed the 'Mexican promotions' of several hundred army reserve officers who retired with life-time tax-exempt pensions after receiving last-minute boosts in rank." "House members," reports the AP, "applauded but rejected today a proposal that they 'make a little sacrifice' by giving up their customary mile-age allowances."... Truman prefaced his State of the Union message to Congress by saying to its members: "I sincely hope you won't have too much hard work in the coming year." ... One out of ten World War II veterans is still unemployed. ... 90,000 disabled veterans do not have work.... New York State veterans jammed offices distributing bonus application blanks when they were opened.... Newsweek, discussing the problem of "illegitimate" children of Negro GIs and English girls, says: "The United States Army refused to entertain paternity claims when Negro soldiers were involved. In some cases, their parents wanted to marry and their fathers' commanding officers refused to permit it for racial reasons." ... The Christmas amnesty of conscientious objectors heavily discriminated against those whose opposition to military service was not based upon religious but upon ethical, political, philosophical or general humanitarian grounds.

arrived.

L'ABOR ACTION

P I HE FIVE-CENT FA

January 19, 1948

RH

to a

New York Petition Campaign To

What Is Mayor O'Dwyer Up to?

Page 4

He is asking for a state law which would require the city's Board of Transportation to raise fares. This would apply to subways, elevated lines and city-owned bus lines. (Privately-owned bus lines would raise their fares as a matter of course.)

He talks about an eight-cent fare. That would be bad enough for working people, already squeezed by the rising prices of everything else. Actually his proposed law calls for a fare as high as necessary to cover all operating costs, whatever they may be. Already the newspapers are reporting that such things as new cars and longer platforms can be included in "operating costs."

He is Brazenly Betraying His Pledge

Only last February, when real estate interest spokesmen claimed that the people were too ignorant to decide the fare problem, O'Dwyer said: "The people are always the source of our authority, and no attempt should ever be made ... to hinder the people from passing on an important thing like this."

Today, listening to the big banks and other rich real estate interests, who are his real source of authority, the Mayor demands that the State Legislature change the present law in order to wipe out the right of the people to vote on this important matter. Dewey and the Republican legislators, whose "source of authority" is the same as O'Dwyer's, will be only too glad to oblige.

Does the City Need Money?

Of course! Schools, hospitals and other public services-not to speak of subways-are in disgraceful condition. And the city's workers are badly underpaid. The Mayor knew all about this last February, when he stated that even a ten-cent fare could not begin to solve the city's financial problems. The new construction needed means borrowing by the hundreds of millions of dollars. Pay raises and added city employees-doctors, nurses, teachers, librarians and others-not even these could result, to any important degree, from a higher fare.

Local New York of the Workers Party is inaugurating a campaign this week to save the five-cent fare for the New York transportation system. On this page, LABOR ACTION presents material gathered by its research writers on the story behind the attempt to raise the subway fare, together with a Call to Action addressed to New York workers and labor organizations for the organization of a mass campaign to save the fare rate.

LABOR ACTION will follow up the development and successes scored by the campaign, and congratulates the New York Workers Party Local for initiating this activity.

The Mayor knows this. And he knows that others know it. So he is also asking the Legislature (1) to increase the city's borrowing and taxing power and (2) to grant the city \$84 million in state aid.

The wise newspaper reporters and the politicians are saying that he will surely get the higher fare and that he will just as surely not get the state aid. As for the borrowing power, even if some or all of it were granted, two Legislatures and a state-wide referendum would first be required to approve it. No money would be available before 1950. But the higher fare-that's a sure thing and would go into effect at once, in 1948.

Look at the Record!

The big newspapers praise the Mayor for his courage in "daring" to soak the poor with a higher fare and point out how his big heart bleeds for the sick jammed into hospitals and often left without nurses.

Their editorials don't point out what their news columns sometimes tell us. Hospitals are not being built but in spite of its financial difficulties the city is pushing right ahead with a grand program of express highways under the supervision of Robert Moses, a dyedin-the-wool Republican and one of Democrat O'Dwyer's leading advisers. The city is ready to move homes and, if necessary, to wreck them, if they stand in the way of these highways. It can't wait to use up its limited borrowing power on that kind of program.

How about money spent for running expenses? Couldn't the city at least afford more nurses in those old hospitals? "No money," we are told. But in spite of the city's financial difficulties, O'Dwyer says that as

(\$9 million) and wants another 2,000 next year. The sick may call in vain-but when anti-labor firms like Hanscom or the Brooklyn Trust ask for round-the-clock police "protection" to intimidate striking employees, the city supplies them immediately, even though it costs for the city's social needs. They can afford it. tens of thousands of dollars.

The City Needs More Money, Doesn't It?

Yes, it does. The city has constantly needed more funds in recent years. The budget, so far as it was met by various taxes, was \$549 million in 1935 and \$834 million in 1946-47-an increase of \$285 million. However, real estate taxes are only \$39 million higher! The other \$246 million have come mainly from those least able to pay. The sales tax alone has been bringing in over \$100 million a year.

Every time the city has needed more money, the working people have had to pay. Now the Democrats and Republicans want to carry this game still further. Last February O'Dwyer stated: "For our people of low income ... a ten-cent fare would be a harsh and unbearable tax at this time." An eight-cent fare would be just as harsh and unbearable. And it may easily turn out to be more than eight cents.

Tax Those Who Can Afford to Pay!

That's the answer to the problem. We are supposed

CIO Council's Position on the Fare

The CIO Council, at its last meeting, came out against the O'Dwyer proposal for an increased fare. It adopted the following program:

1. For a constitutional amendment to raise the real estate tax limit to 3 per cent.

2. For reassessment of local property.

3. For doubling state aid to education to \$103 million.

4. For rescinding state income tax cuts.

5. For increasing state aid, as per O'Dwyer's request, to \$30 million.

Mayor he has already provided for 3,000 more cops to be enjoying a period of prosperity. If prosperity means better and easier living, the working people certainly enjoy little of it today. The prosperity of today is being enjoyed by the bankers, manufacturers and landlords. Let those who are making the big money pay

> Above all, instead of sales taxes and higher fares, we need income taxes on the wealthy. Dewey accumulated a large surplus in the state treasury during the war. Instead of using the surplus income for social services he has cut the state income tax in half in the last few years, from 7 per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But the poor are expected to pay sales taxes, cigarette taxes, a hundred other taxes-and a higher fare besides!

Which Course Shall Be Followed?

There are other ways to raise money:

 Higher taxes on the big real estate owners, not on the small home owner. Why are assessments \$23/4 billion lower than in the depression year of 1932?

Taxes on the Stock Exchange gamblers.

• Taxes on the real estate speculators who strike it rich whenever the city builds new subways or new roads near their property. The proposed Second Avenue Subway should be paid for in this way.

There is nothing new about the above proposals. All of them have been suggested before. But then there is also nothing new about the idea of a higher fare; it has been talked about for a generation.

Shall the city's increasing needs be met out of the pockets of the working people, as has been the case to a greater and greater extent in recent years? Or shall those pay who can really afford to pay?

It's Up to You!

Why Did Mike Quill Change

His Mind on the Fare Issue?

Spread these demands through your unions and other organizations:

(1) No increase in fare.

(2) Taxes on those who can afford them.

(3) At the very least, fulfillment by the Mayor of his promise not to raise the fare without allowing the people to vote on the question in a referendum.

Let's Look at the Record:

Who Would Benefit from an 8c Fare?

The building of the subway was begun in 1904 year has real estate been taxed almost to the where the covering of operating costs is conwith the city financing construction costs, leasing limit. All income derived by the city from this cerned, O'Dwyer is merely trying to buy off his

the operation of the system and the financing of tax must go into operating expenses; none of it opponents who otherwise, of course, could charge

Michael Quill, New York City Councilman and president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, recently announced that he personally favored an eightcent fare and in fact supported Mayor O'Dwyer's en-

a purely opportunistic attempt to appease the develop-ing revolt against Stalinist domination in the TWU. He thinks that by obtaining the wage increase for the TWU in an "easy" way, he can pose as the best de-

equipment to private companies. The profits made by the latter were not required to be reinvested in the system and this is said to have been one of the main causes of its deterioration after the First World War.

In 1940 the system was "unified," that is, the city bought out the private companies, the price paid for sale transaction, 313 millions, is called the unification debt. It and the original construction debt constitute the transit debt.

Financing the Subway. The financing of the subway involves two main items: Operation, which includes maintenance of way and equip ment, wages and administrative expenses; and the debt service, that is, the amortization of the construction and unification debts and interest thereon.

Until late 1946 the operating costs were fully covered by the income derived from fares. In addition to covering these costs, this income usually yielded a surplus-the so-called operating surplus-and this surplus was applied toward paying debt service. Never has this operating surplus been sufficient, however, to pay debt service in full. The difference between what it yielded and the amount of debt service in a particular year has had to be made up by real estate levies.

With the wage increases granted the subway workers late in 1946, the subway ceased to operate at a profit and it has been running since at an increasing operating deficit; that is, income from fares was not even sufficient to make up for costs of operation. The deficit is at present met from moneys out of the General Fund (see below). It is this operating deficit with which O'Dwyer is ostensibly concerned.

The General Fund. The General Fund comprises all city revenues not derived from levies on real estate. It includes, among others, receipts from the city's two per cent sales tax, from licenses and fines and from transit fares. At present it makes up somewhat more than 40 per cent of the city's income.

Until 1940 the share of real estate in the financing of the city averaged 80 per cent annually. After 1940 this share has continually dropped every year and that of the General Fund increased correspondingly. As stated above, the latter's share today is 40 per cent. While about one-third of the General Fund consists of the sales tax, much of the other two-thirds can also be passed on to the consumer.

Taxes on Real Estate. Real estate can at present be levied at no more, but certainly at less, than two per cent of the average total of assessed valuation over the past five years. Real estate's value is re-assessed each year. The valuation for 1947-48 is somewhat more than \$17 billion, which is probably far less than its real total value.

State law authorizes a levy of \$2.00 on every

may go for capital projects.

Real Estate Levies Beyond the Two Per Cent Tax (Debt Service). For capital projects real estate may be levied any and unlimited amounts beyond the two per cent tax. That is, when the city plans a capital project such as a hospital or school, it issues bonds to finance their construction. The debt service on these bonds comes out of levies on real estate beyond the two per cent tax. So does the debt service on the transit debt come out of such levies. Were the debt service to be paid out of the income from fares, real estate would clearly be relieved of a considerable tax load (estimated at 35 cents on every \$100, or about \$57 million annually).

The Debt Limit. State law provides that the city may not incur a total debt of more than 10 per cent of total assessed real estate valuation. Such projects as can be shown to be self-liquidating, however, are exempted from the debt limit. (If the subway fare were raised sufficiently to meet both operating costs and the debt service, it would be considered self-sustaining.)

At present, the city debt is made up to a substantial degree of the transit debt (the total transit debt amounts to \$1.2 billion; of this, \$315 million is the unification debt which is outside the debt limit).

Mayor O'Dwyer is proposing to the State Legislature that it increase the debt limit from the present 10 per cent to 121/2 per cent. This proposal, together with his request for authority to increase the real estate tax from the present 2 per cent to 21/2 per cent and for more state aid. is not likely to be accepted. It must be passed upon by two successive legislatures and a statewide referendum. The fare increase would be immediate; the other proposals are used by O'Dwyer to buy off his opponents by making a show of "impartial" taxation.

The Referendum." Under considerable popular pressure, the State Legislature in 1942 passed the Muzzicato law, which provides that any fare rise ordered by the Board of Estimate (highest executive body of New York City, consisting of the borough presidents, the controller and budget director, with the Mayor presiding) must be subject to a popular referendum, the latter to be instituted by the City Council within 30 days of the Board's action.

O'Dwyer now proposes that this law be amended so that no referendum be necessary where the fare rise would be used to cover operating expenses only. He would also vest power to raise the fare in the Board of Transportation, which consists of appointed officials quite beyond the reach of the electorate. Thus the fare is removed from "politics."

Significance of the Fare Issue. By confining \$100 of assessed valuation, but only in the past his request that the referendum be abolished only

that he is in league with the real estate interests.

While, in a strictly technical-fiscal sense, real estate would not be directly benefitted by a fare rise which pays for operating costs only, the fare rise means in reality that additional tax burdens are shifted to the working classes in the face of the continuous decrease of real estate's share in city finances. Morever, real estate has been one of the prime beneficiaries of the subways; values have gone up very considerably wherever the subways were built.

Class Politics

"American labor is in politics-but not because it wanted to be, Labor scrupulously abstained from class politics. / Class politics came from labor's critical opponents when Congress passed anti-labor legislation. Now labor is in politics to stay-to fight economic reaction at home and Communist reaction abroad-to fight, not as a class, but as patriotic Americans."

These are the words of Alex Rose, a top AFL labor leader, writing as a guest columnist for the New York Evening Post (January 12). It is impossible to imagine more concentrated blundering than that contained in these few lines. Rose goes on to describe how the AFL will marshal its membership in its Labor League for Political Education; how the CIO is planning to reorganize its Political Action Committee (PAC), and how the machinists and railway workers' brotherhoods are also organizing on the political front. Millions of dollars will be raised for the '48 campaign by the labor movement.

Fine, but for what? What does Rose mean by labor fighting, not as a class, but as "patriotic Americans"? He means fighting for the Democratic Party! Rose's main worry, shared by his fellow labor leaders, is over how many votes Wallace and this third party adventure will drag away from "his" party, the Democrats. He figures that any such loss will be "overcome by the extra effort which will come from labor's ranks."

So there we have it! By "politics" Rose means mobilizing labor for putting Truman and his party back into the White House and Congress. Labor's critical opponents, says Rose, play class politics. Evidently, he is referring to the capitalists and industrialists. And how do they play politics? With their TWO parties, Democratic and Republican. But labor should be above such class politics, according to the labor officialdom. Let it be Taft-Hartleyed out of existence, attacked on the inflation and rising prices front, denied a third round of wage increases, etc. All this is of no matter to Rose.

Despite the efforts of the Roses, not only is labor involved in politics up to its ears, but it will inevitably be forced to take part in CLASS politics-working class politics, which spells the organization of a Labor Party.

tire program on the transit question. He also stated that there is a referendum going on in the TWU to determine the sentiments of the membership on this question.

All reports indicate that the union will vote overwhelmingly in favor of the increased fare. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the TWU has asked for a wage increase which has been denied, on the grounds that the subways operate with a deficit as it is, and any increase would make it impossible for the city to continue running the subways with a five-cent fare. The TWU after months of futile negotiations finally reached the conclusion that the only possibility of obtaining the increase was an increased fare.

We wish to state first, that the Workers Party supparts the TWU in its wage demands and insists that, if anything, the demand is too modest. Considering the tremendous rise in the cost of living, even if the union were to get twice the increase it is asking for it would be impossible for the transport workers' income to keep pace with the rising price spiral.

The union members, however, in concluding that the solution is an increased subway fare, are making a serious error. We would like to pose for members of the TWU an analogy between their situation and that of another and larger CIO union facing a similar problem. The United Automobile Workers, right after the war, demanded a wage increase and finally had to strike the entire General Motors Corporation, from East to West Coast. GM insisted that no wage increase could be granted without a substantial increase in auto prices. The UAW developed the best program ever put forward in the American labor movement. Reuther, director of the GM strike, demanded wage increases with no price increase and stated clearly that if the GM workers were to get their wage increase and permit the corporation to increase prices, this would start a new upward spiral of prices in all industries which would in a very short time wipe out all the gains of the auto workers. In addition, he argued that there could be no justification for placing the burden of the auto workers' wage increase upon the shoulders of the rest of the population. He stated correctly that GM could grant the increase simply by cutting their fantastically high and unjustifiable profits.

We insist that the TWU can and should take the same position in relation to the increased fare. Although the city is not making a profit on subway operation, there is a group of people, relatively small, which does profit by subway operation and construction of new subways -real estate speculators, whose land values increase every time a new subway is built near their property, and banks to which the city pays exorbitant interest on loans made to purchase subways.

The TWU, when it favors the increase, is saying in effect that the working people in New York must shoulder the burden of their wage increase. One glance at the insert on this page will indicate how unfair a subway increase would be to the low and middle income groups in the city. It is an intolerable burden, which the members of the TWU, because they are working people, because they have been hit so hard by the tremendous increase in prices, should not allow.

Quill's support of the fare increase is not based upon the interests of either the transport workers or the working people in New York City. His position is

fender of the union's interests and thus squash opposition to his bureaucratic handling of the union. THE POSITION OF QUILL

Quill's position cannot be compared to that of the rank-and-file union members. He knows better. He knows that with a forthright position against the increased fare, exposing it for what it is (another rooking for the people who are getting it from all sides) and a militant program to answer the problems of the subway deficit, the need for schools and hospitals, the wage increased could be obtained. But this requires a struggle. This would not insure his present status in the union. This might mean that an oppositionist could take the union away from him with the use of a little demagogy. And so, he ignores what he knows so well, he forgets any principles of working class solidarity just to keep his job and to insure continued Stalinist misrule in the union.

If he were a militant union leader he would try to educate the membership the way the UAW educated its membership. He would understand that the members of all other unions and lower middle class people would support his union and its program because it does not do what unions are so often accused of doing, namely, seek its increase at the expense of the rest of the population. He would say: "Let the rich pay for this increase; let the rich pay for new hospitals and schools; let the rich pay for the new subway on Second Avenue. In short, it is time to stop robbing the workers. The city's needs must be paid for by those who can afford it. Increase the valuation of property in the city, increase the real estate tax to three per cent, increase state aid, rescind the state income tax cuts.'

WHAT THE EIGHT-CENT FARE **MEANS TO WORKER'S FAMILY**

One Person	\$15.60	
Three People	46.80	
Five People	78.00	5

The above insert represents the yearly increase in the cost of living for families which must use transportation in New York at least five days a week. These are minimum figures. based on an eight-cent fare and based on the minimal use of transportation. Since street car and bus fares will also be increased, school children must also be taken into consideration. In addition, most families use transportation seven days a week rather than five. For those, just add \$6.24 to each figure on the graph. Also, take into consideration the possibility that the increase may be to ten cents and that many people may pay double fares to and from work.

Add to this swindle the increase in cigarette prices in the last year, from 17 cents a pack to 20 cents, representing for each average smoker in a family an increase of \$10.92 a year.

And for hundreds of thousands of families which were forced to pay the "voluntary" 15 per cent increase in rent if they wanted a place to live.