



Now More Than Ever!



# U. S. LABOR - - FORGE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM!

### Working Men and Working Women:

The Workers Party addresses itself to you on May Day, the traditional holiday of international working class solidarity, about our common problems and our common tasks.

The war has ended with a gloomy toll of death and destruction never before known in history. With our own eyes we can see the highest achievements of modern capitalism: millions of new graves, cities and whole countries turned into cemeteries or deserts, more millions wandering without homes or countries to call their own, still more millions transferred from the rule of one despotism to the rule of another, starvation, misery and insecurity throughout the world.

What has happened to all the noble promises of peace and freedom made by the Allied governments throughout the war? What has happened to all the assurances they gave of security and liberty once the Axis was defeated?

### THEY LIED TO US!

They callously deceived the people. They plunged the people into the mass slaughter only in order to determine which set of imperialist bandits would rule the world. And now that one set has won over the other, the victors are engaged in a bitter struggle among themselves, like jungle beasts, for the greater right to pillage, to oppress, to exploit, to disfranchise and subjugate whole peoples and whole nations.

**Their war was imperialist from beginning to end. Their war was a dreadful nightmare of suffering and devastation. Now their peace is proving to be merely a breathing spell during which the positions are being staked out and the preparations are being made by the victors themselves for the Third World War, the atomic war, the all-destructive war to determine which single power—American imperialism or Russian imperialism—shall rule the lives and destinies of the entire globe. They scarcely bother to conceal their preparations for the Third World War behind the hypocritical talk about "peace" and the "United Nations" which are united only in their hostility to the**

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### people's long yearning for peace, freedom and security.

Wherever the people have had the opportunity or the freedom to act, they have shown, throughout Europe and Asia, their desire for a new world. They want a world free of war, free of inequality, free of want. They want a world free of foreign rule, free of the rule of the few over the many.

Our own progress here in the United States, our own freedom, depend on the

## Workers Party May Day Manifesto, 1946

freedom of other peoples: We cannot allow them to be enslaved without becoming slaves ourselves. The aspirations for liberty are so strong and universal that they can be suppressed only by huge military forces, by a vast expenditure and waste of wealth. That burden falls upon our shoulders as well.

### WITHDRAW ALL FOREIGN TROOPS

Our first duty is to extend a brotherly hand to the oppressed peoples everywhere. We have the duty, to ourselves as well as to them, to help all those peoples who have been deprived of their elementary right to rule themselves as they see fit. The Workers Party, which supported the revolutionary resistance movement of the European peoples against the murder rule of the Nazis, calls upon the working class of this country today to demand the withdrawal of all foreign military forces—American, Russian, British and French—from all the occupied countries, to support every popular struggle against imperialist annexations, reparations, tribute and pillage, to combat all forms of the punishment of the people of any country for the crimes of their ruling classes.

The German people have no less a right to the unity and sovereign rule of their country than the French have of theirs

or we have of ours. The same holds for every other people whom the victorious imperialists have deprived of their unity or their national independence. To encourage these peoples in their aspirations and struggle, to support them by every means at our disposal, is at the same time to conduct the fight against the Third World War which the imperialists are so cold-bloodedly preparing.

The American working class has before it a task of the most imposing significance. It is the task of the leadership, not only in this country but throughout the world, in reorganizing society on a rational basis, so that there is abundance, peace, security and freedom for all. To this task, the American workers bring a strength and a vigor unsurpassed anywhere. To accomplish this task, it is only necessary to understand what our task is and to realize our invincible strength. Then no power on earth can withstand us.

**THE TASK OF U. S. LABOR** The war showed that the United States has a capacity to produce beyond the wildest dreams of most people. This capacity was used primarily to produce the means of death and destruction. The plants are still there and if need be more can be built. The raw materials are still available. The working force is still here. Now that the war has ended, what stands in the way of full production, full employment and the fullest enjoyment of the fruits of our labor? Only the insatiable lust for profit of the big monopolists. Only the anarchy and planlessness of capitalist production.

**In the midst of unparalleled opportunities to achieve plenty for all, millions are unemployed, including hundreds of thousands of war veterans. Workers are compelled to fight every inch of the war—in fabulously rich United States—to maintain a decent standard of living. Every penny in wage increases which they force out of the swollen purses of the corporations is cancelled out in advance by an even greater increase in prices, so that every worker's family is squeezed as though in a vise. The price control system of the government has proved to be a criminal**

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## For Price Control by Workers' And Housewives' Committees!

By SUSAN GREEN

Since the beginning of the war LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have stood for price control, and still do. Always opposed to the capitalist class, the parasites on the productive life of the country, we are most decidedly against allowing that class to soak the consumers. With world-wide shortages of so many necessities, and the profit-grubbers having a free hand, prices could become prohibitive.

The question was and is HOW to control prices.

Being equally opposed to capitalist government which is only the instrument of those same parasites, we have expressed our conviction that neither OPA nor Congress nor both, nor any other agencies of the capitalist government, would or could control prices in the interest of the people. The aggregations of capitalists in the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Retail Dry Goods Association and all the associations of the dairy, meat packing, lumber, textile, real estate and other industries have made a mockery of OPA from the beginning. And finally their high-pressure lobbies, on April 18, succeeded in getting the House of Representatives to take whatever heart was left, out of the OPA.

### HOW CONTROL PRICES?

The action of the House in extending the Price Control Act for nine months from June 30, 1946, but with nine amendments which actually end all price control and reduce OPA from the limp wash rag which it has always been, to a mere disappearing drip, only proves how right LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have been.

The problem of price control must be divided into its two logical parts: price fixing and price enforcement. Only the working people themselves, constituting the great mass of consumers, can do both jobs. Prices could be fixed in the interest of the whole community by committees of workers to whom the books of the manufacturers are opened for that purpose. Such committees of workers, acting in coordination through-

out an industry, could separate the overwhelming capitalist itch for profits from the overwhelming need of the people for goods, and arrive at figures that are fair. As to enforcing those prices, who are in a better position than the housewives who do the buying? Their neighborhood committees, acting in cooperation with the workers' committees, could do the necessary policing and boycotting in their neighborhoods to make violations and black marketeering very bad business practices indeed.

To date the people have not taken these self-protective steps. Certainly they have given the capitalist government enough of a chance to protect the consumer. But, as Max Lerner put it, "In the contest between millions of dollars and millions of consumers, the dollars won out."

Now it is up to the workers and housewives to protect themselves. And do they need protection!

### NEW PRICE BOOSTS

Listening on the radio to the commentators "of good will" including Lerner, Winchell, La Guardia, Pearson and others, one gets a good idea of the inflation ahead. The prospects are for at least 25 per cent being taken right out of every pay envelope. That is a conservative estimate of how much the purchasing power of the dollar will be cut. Milk may go up 4 cents a quart; butter may double in price; bread may be 3 cents dearer per loaf; cheese and canned foods may rise 30 to 35 per cent. Clothing, household appliances and furnishings, and every item of consumption, will be marked up.

Those nine amendments that the House passed will do the trick. For instance, one amendment guarantees to manufacturers prices based on cost plus a "reasonable profit." This formulation has a familiar ring. This cost-plus business is something the capitalists always thrive on. Another amendment removes the food subsidies that the government has been paying the monopolists, amounting to two and a half billions a year. This was a pretty penny of taxpayers' money that the profit-grubbers were collecting yearly during the war and since, but they are willing to forego

this tidbit for the higher profits they will get from uncontrolled prices. The other amendments follow the same pattern, assuring price boosts in everything without exception.

President Truman's comment on the action of the House was described as "not for print" and the Administration forces planned "a fight in the Senate." However, the past few days seem to have brought more support to the House bill than otherwise. If the Congress as a whole passes the House bill and Truman has to decide whether or not to veto it, he will have to take into consideration that his veto of the House bill which does hold down rents to present ceilings, may well result in rent increases of from 25 per cent to 75 per cent without curbing prices anyhow.

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## 8-Pager Is a Political Necessity!

By MARY BELL, Assistant Editor, Labor Action

May Day dawns in 1946 in the first year of peace since the Second World War for democracy began. But no one seriously contemplates a world without war, for the threat of new wars hangs over the meeting of the peace-planners of the New League of Nations, the UNO. The United States proceeds apace with its production of atomic weapons. The pall of a neo-barbarism hangs over hungry Europe and the starving colonial populations. Their wartime sacrifices having netted them nothing, workers in the United States have gone to the mat again with the monopoly corporations and the CIO is starting an "invasion" of the South.

Working men and women, all the little people in whose interests wars are supposedly fought, and who work, sweat, sacrifice and send their husbands, sons and brothers to the slaughter, need a new perspective today as never before. They need the knowledge of their own strength to enable them to construct a better world—a world free from hunger, unemployment, war and destruction.

It is solely by the independent action of working people, those who produce the wealth of society, that monopoly power

and privilege can be eliminated and a world of peace and plenty for all be built.

### LABOR'S VOICE AND CONSCIENCE

LABOR ACTION is the voice and the conscience of the working class. It has a new perspective—that of revolutionary socialism. Since its inception six years ago this May Day, it has never veered or tacked from this goal. It has relentlessly championed the cause of labor even throughout all the war years of reaction.

Because the whole world now faces either socialism or atomization, it becomes a political necessity to have an expanded LABOR ACTION. We must have at least eight pages weekly to give us space to analyze all of the complex national and international events which have a direct bearing on labor's future.

This May Day issue is our second sample eight-pager, containing LABOR ACTION MAGAZINE. The Magazine Section contains on its first page the story of the second "Operation Dixie," by David Coolidge, labor secretary of the Workers Party. The thrilling, almost unbelievable account of the heroic conduct of the Greek Trotskyists also appears there. Two analytical

articles on the revolutionary UAW slogan thrown up in the General Motors strike appear in the magazine. We have space for such articles in eight pages. They would ordinarily be eliminated in the old four-pager.

We are going to have an eight-pager, but we want your assistance, so that its steady publication can be assured. For that purpose we have set \$15,000 as the necessary amount to assure continued publication of the eight-pager.

Fifteen thousand dollars isn't a lot of money by some standards. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation, makes that amount every month. It's only 1-133,333rd part of the production costs of the first atomic bomb, or 1-63,000,000th part of the cost of the late war for democracy. An income of that much per year doesn't qualify a person to be an economic royalist. A Vanderbilt or du Pont debutante could scarcely have a decent "coming out" party on that sum, what with post-war inflation prices.

You, our readers and sympathizers, together with members of the Workers Party, have already subscribed over half the needed amount up to date.

Let's oversubscribe the quota!

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Sees Vital Lesson for Rubber Workers in UAW

By GEORGE WHITNEY

A few short years ago two men, one in the United Auto Workers, the other in the United Rubber Workers, were each elected president of their respective locals.

Today one of these men, Reuther, is the newly-elected president of what is recognized as the most advanced section of the CIO, the UAW. The other, Bass, remains president of militant Local 5 of the URW, in an international whose top leadership is, and has been for years, timid and conservative.

First it is necessary to say in loud clear words that Reuther's conduct during the GM strike leaves more than ample room for criticism. Reuther denies that he was present at the meeting of the UAW International Executive Board which approved the infamous company security clause given to the Ford Motor Co. All reliable indications are that he was present and that if he didn't speak for the clause he didn't speak or vote against it. At best he gave passive support and tacit agreement. Then he turned around and refused to give the GM such a clause. Why? Because he wanted his agreement at GM to be superior to that at Ford. In short, he was evidently not averse to saddling the Ford UAW workers with a company security clause, which he knew only too well was the greatest union-busting clause ever written into a union agreement, in order to make political hay for

himself in the fight for international president.

Then during the latter part of the GM strike he began to back down on the program he had formulated for the strike. In a statement in the New York Times he indicated that he was willing to subjugate the interests of the GM workers to the interests of the GM stockholders so that the latter might make a "just" profit. The culmination of this timid submission to the pressure of the big corporations and the capitalist press came at the Atlantic City convention of the UAW where he stated that the great demand for "open the books" was just a gag employed to put the company over a barrel.

But setting aside these considerations for the moment, and returning to our original comparison between Reuther and Bass, it is obvious that Bass has displayed even less courage than did Reuther with all his weaknesses.

WHAT BASS COULD DO

Bass has at least a better understanding of the great social significance of the GM program than the average union member, and he understands to a modest degree the political tasks that are necessary for the labor movement today. But he has never had the courage to initiate or lead any great struggle for the URW. He has deliberately and consciously limited himself to the old "pure and simple" grievance type of trade unionism.

He has for a number of years utilized certain left wing elements in his local to do the work that he himself will not do. He uses them for information and uses them to do the political work which he fears would compromise his own reputation. True, he does not ask these people in so many words to do this political work (that is, opposition to the no-strike pledge, fights against racial discrimination, against fascists like Gerald L. K. Smith and Winrod, etc.) as a matter of fact he does not always even support them openly—but he tolerates it and more often than not, indicates his agreement privately. The result is the same in either case.

But the whole point of this comparison is to show that while Bass

SCABBY PRINCIPAL EXPELS THREE DETROIT STUDENTS

DETROIT, April 18.—Three students have been expelled from Durfee Junior High School, at Lassalle and Colingwood, because they called reporters from the daily newspapers to witness a student strike.

The student strike began at Durfee on Wednesday, April 10, when one class went home in protest against high lunchroom prices and unsanitary conditions in the school cafeteria. Other grievances that have been irritating the student body are: (1) The principal tolerates the slapping and beating of students by several instructors; (2) Money taken in by the school in the form of student fees are not used to improve school facilities; (3) There is no elected student council.

On Thursday, the entire student body was on strike. Six hundred pickets ringed the school and heard speeches by the strike leaders. Policemen who arrested four students were chased into the school building by the crowd. A committee of 14 was chosen to speak to the principal of the school, Irvin Van Tassel.

The principal was put on his guard by the presence of newspaper reporters. In their presence, he spoke to the students as a genial father. If you will only go back to your classes, he said, I will do what I can to redress your grievances. We can talk this over anytime. Just go back to school and we will not take any disciplinary action against anyone but we'll forget the whole thing.

The students went back to their classrooms. But the next day told a new story. At a student meeting in the lunchroom Van Tassel denounced the strikers as "rats" and "hoodlums." Similar lectures were given in all classrooms. Difficult tests for which the students were unprepared, were given so that they would appear to be bad students.

Van Tassel called dozens of students to his office for a grilling. By threats, promises, and pleading he tried to get them to "confess" and to "sneak" on the hardened criminal or criminals who had thrown the whole school system into disorder by calling up the newspapers. Finally three students were discovered to be behind this terrible plot and were expelled.

The moral of this story is: Young boys and girls may read the newspaper comics. But don't call the reporters. Don't use newspapers or newspaper reporters for more serious purposes.

may have had the ability, he lacked the courage to launch such demands as Reuther's "Open the books," and "A raise in wages without any increase in prices." At every international convention since the days when Sherman Dalrymple, the fair-haired boy of the Akron rubber industry, was international president, Bass has had sufficient support to carry the elections on the basis of a progressive program.

What he actually did at each of these conventions was to infatuate the nominations for international president by personally nominating the incumbent president. He did this each time for Dalrymple until the latter finally resigned. Now he nominates "Buckmaster."

Bass has the ability and the support to do for the URW a great service. What he is actually doing, and Bass would never understand this, is rendering it a great disservice because he will not lead the great section that supports him along a path of conscious trade union struggle based on a program like the original GM strike program. There are thousands of militant negotiators and grievance men in the labor movement. The Mine Workers alone have enough to supply the entire CIO with leaders, if militant negotiators were all that was needed in the leadership of the labor movement. But that isn't what the labor movement needs now.

POLITICAL ACTION

What is the picture for the immediate future? Tens of thousands of workers in the CIO are expressing themselves in favor of labor forming its own party, a Labor Party that will democratically nominate labor's own candidates to run on a real labor program and a party that will hold these candidates, once they are

elected, loyal and responsible to the program upon which they were elected. This is political action that has only one thing in common with the activity of the Political Action Committee of the CIO: organized labor's vote. There the similarity ends. The PAC organizes labor to vote for Democrats and Republicans who without exception have functioned and will function throughout their term of office as the representatives of big business. That is because they are the candidates of big business. That is because they long ago swore their allegiance to big business. The PAC places labor in the position of voting for one of the two candidates, both of whom represent the boss, big business, the ruling class.

The labor party, by contrast, will organize labor's vote to elect labor candidates whose allegiance is sworn to labor and whose program is clear, concrete and unequivocal. Such a party would teach the labor movement something. Such a party labor must have. A great section of the CIO intends to have it, and they will have it. That can be said without the least hesitation. They will have it.

Who, then, will start it? The auto workers might. The rubber workers could start it. 50,000 rubber workers and 90,000 CIO workers in Summit County could be victorious in Akron. Once started, such a labor party, putting forward real working class program, would spread all over the country as labor's voice in politics.

If Bass takes the initiative in this, he would contribute more to the cause of organized labor in one month than he has hitherto contributed with all his work. However, in all probability, the initiative will come from the progressives, the militants in the unions, who will find the spokesmen for their demands.

Harlem WP Calls Meeting To Aid Columbia Defense

By CHRIS WARREN

On May 27 thirty-four men of Columbia, Tenn., will stand trial on a variety of charges ranging from "carrying dangerous weapons" to "first degree murder."

These men are victims of the "race riot" in Columbia last February. The riot was supposedly caused by the arrest of a Negro woman and her son, a Navy veteran, who had been cheated by a radio repairman.

The repairman, Will Fleming, struck Mrs. Stephanson when she accused him of cheating her for some repair work. Her son, who was standing by, promptly knocked Mr. Fleming through a plate glass window. The police arrived and arrested the Stephansons. Mr. Fleming, a brother of the Democratic Party nominee for sheriff, was left undisturbed.

Rumors quickly spread through the town that a lynch mob was being formed. The Negro population of Columbia retired to their homes in the segregated district and prepared to defend themselves. They were well informed as to the actions of a lynch mob and to the amount of "protection" they would receive from the police.

The local police telephoned for the militia after four cops were fired at by Negroes who thought they were part of the lynch mob. The Governor responded by sending over 500 men to quell the "riot." These men surrounded the Negro section and then moved in. They marched through the streets and left the place in a shambles. Stores were torn apart, windows were broken, cash registers were looted. Sixty-eight men were arrested.

On February 28 two of these men were shot to death in the jail because "they attempted to escape." The official explanation of how and why these men were trying to escape is not very convincing.

Officials and police officers have termed the events as a "planned uprising." The facts prove the fact that this is not so.

There is no doubt that there was a good deal of ill will between the Negroes and white residents of Columbia. This ill will was fostered by the working conditions for Negroes at nearby war plants. Negro workers received lower pay for the same work done by the white workers. They worked under inferior conditions and were subject to all the indignities and insults that have been their lot for so many years.

The UAW convention on March 23 adopted a resolution condemning racial discrimination. The resolution warns against the forces of reaction "that are attempting to divide labor and the Negroes, by increased attacks upon the Negro people and other minority groupings." The Workers Party joins in condemning racial discrimination and protests sharply the actions of the government of Columbia, Tenn., against its Negro citizens.

On May 19, the Harlem Branch of the Workers Party will hold a meeting to show its solidarity with these 31 men who are awaiting sentence. We ask you to come and join with us in protesting the murder of the two Negroes who died "trying to escape" and in the sentencing to prison of men who did nothing but attempt to defend their homes and families.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Stalinist Slanders in Hibbing, Minn.

The following letter was received by LABOR ACTION'S Hibbing, Minn., representative:

Dear Sir: Upon making inquiry concerning the labor paper which you are selling, I found that it really does not serve in the best interests of labor. It is an established fact that the paper is being supported by the NAM and other big anti-labor factions. Nevertheless, I received one subscription, which I hope you will fulfill. Thank you. F. T. Hibbing, Minn.

We reprint herewith excerpts from a letter of our Hibbing representative, which demonstrate that the Stalinists are doing their usual dirty work on the Iron Range, too. We refer interested readers to back copies of this paper for many articles written from Hibbing, dealing with rail, mine and steel labor, all of which uncompromisingly took up their problems from a labor and socialist point of view. It is the Stalinists, rather, who peddle the line that LABOR ACTION presents the viewpoint of the NAM, who really put forward views inimical to labor and

no different from those of the NAM, during the war, when Russia was allied with the U.S. Now that the big powers have fallen out, it serves the interests of Stalin, who gives the Communist Parties their orders, for the Stalinists to pose as militants again. Should the international lineup change again, the Stalinists will again defend the no-strike pledge, incentive pay and all the other anti-labor devices they championed during the late war for democracy.

Dear Editor: In recent letters I have described an anonymous but perceptible attack on our local organizational activities—including the distribution and sale of LABOR ACTION. We sold a sub last Sunday to a mine worker at the first house approached; this man evidently resented the incorrect strategy and tactics used in the CIO steel worker strike. He seems to know the score on the PAC and generally showed considerable enthusiasm about the paper. He went so far as to take us to several houses in the block where he lived, introduced us to several workers and was thus instrumental in getting a number of subs.

That was last Sunday. On getting home from work this evening the enclosed letters from this man, plus the sub were in the mail box. It would seem from his actions, as well

as from the contents of his letter that he is not a Stalinist. He promised to sell, or try to sell, LABOR ACTION at a miners' strike meeting last Sunday afternoon that we could not attend. Either at this meeting or later, the Stalinists evidently practiced another lesson out of their school of falsification.

It is my opinion that this matter is sufficiently important and serious to warrant a complete article in LABOR ACTION built around this man's letter. Since the state CIO set-up is dominated by Stalinists (they control Minnesota Labor, the state CIO paper which thousands of miners here read) and they have a considerable Range following (no open meetings and membership largely unknown), we haven't the resources to battle them openly at this time on a local basis. But LABOR ACTION could point out in a special article that would be of universal interest the facts in the case, including articles that it has carried on the present strike of Range steel workers.

You will recall that in an article carried about three weeks after the strike began here on February 8, we tore into a mine superintendent for Butler Bros. mine at Nashwauk who ripped through a picket line at the Cooley Shops with his car. Earlier, there was an article, Steel Trust Offensive on the Mesabi, which the CIO leadership for the big Hull Rust Local at Hibbing read to all their members at a meeting in the Little Theater in that town.

The fact of real significance here is that where miners like those at the Interstate at Calumet would not subscribe to the paper prior to their strike, they very readily subscribed to it recently in the few cases where we have been able to contact them. It so happens that there is a Stalinist center at Calumet and yet some of them, although we cannot prove their identity, have taken the paper and obviously like it.

I think that we should point out to this man and others that while we do criticize the false policies and shortcomings of the labor leadership and set forth our own program based on socialist science and the needs of the workers, we ALWAYS support the workers against their class enemies. LABOR ACTION can be produced for the various years to let this man see for himself who is right in this matter.

One can do only so much in a case of this kind. If the controversy becomes bitter, it might be possible to get on the air and also to put out handbills advertising LA in relation to the attacks upon it. But we should not neglect the fact that some of LABOR ACTION'S staunchest supporters on the Range are railroad

where the working people no longer have a choice. The capitalist-class bias of the capitalist government has been revealed time and again, and now without any room for counter-argument. Price fixing and enforcement has been thrown into the lap of the working people. WORKERS' COMMITTEES AND HOUSEWIVES' COMMITTEES ARE ADVOCATED BY LABOR ACTION AND THE WORKERS PARTY TO GET TO WORK ON THIS JOB.

Price Control - -

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file, is to write letters to Congress. As if Congress doesn't know that all but the monopolists favor price control! Of thirty thousand letters already received by Congress, only five per cent opposed price control. The University of Denver National Opinion Research Center ascertained that 82 per cent of the people want price control, with five per cent doubtful and thirteen per cent opposed. If PM can procure this information, certainly Congressmen also have it.

But the principal objection to this course of action is that it still relies on OPA to fix and enforce prices. But the OPA has been steadily giving in to the pressure of the National Association of Manufacturers and other capitalist associations since its creation. It has functioned by TALKING "hold the price line" and ACTING to raise price ceilings. It has covered up actual price increases, as for instance when Chester Bowles before the House Banking and Currency Committee—where he spent a total of fifty hours testifying—declared that the cost of living has increased only 3.4 per cent since the spring of 1943. Tell a housewife this lie—that the cost of living has gone up only 3.4 per cent in the past three years—and she would either burst a blood vessel in suppressed indignation or resort to justified violence on the liar.

The price issue has reached a pass

1945 BOUND VOLUME LABOR ACTION. A permanent record of Marxist analysis of the year's outstanding events. \$2.50 Each. Order from LABOR ACTION 114 West 14th St. New York 11, N. Y.

WORKERS PARTY

Pre-Convention Discussion...

The articles that appear below are DISCUSSION ARTICLES published as part of the pre-convention discussion in the Workers Party. Because our space is limited, it will be impossible to devote more than two columns per issue to this material. Contributions will therefore have to be brief, not exceeding 750 words. Pre-convention discussion articles are also appearing in The New Internationalist and in the Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be gotten by sending fifteen cents to the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Readers will understand that these articles represent neither the views of the party nor of LABOR ACTION, but are written with a view toward establishing policy at the coming convention of the WP.

Political Party or Trade Union Party?

The central problem before the party and the coming convention is how to break out of our present isolation. The party must recognize that four years of wartime immersion in the union movement has not significantly enlarged our size or our influence. Some heartening gains have been recorded, it is true, but compared to the needs and tasks and possibilities of our period, they are microscopic.

The party must find political roads to the masses. It must orient, not only into and toward the union movement, but into and toward the political arenas of post-war America. The veterans and the struggle for housing, the Negro struggle, the struggle of the unemployed, the political struggle against the preparations for World War III—these must be recognized as fruitful fields of work in their own right.

Even if there were no other reason, proper functioning of our union fractions would demand that the party undertake political work outside the unions. The workers cannot be raised from the level of pure-and-simple trade unionism and of political struggles conceived within the framework of capitalism solely from the basis of the struggle within the factories. If the party fixates on only one aspect of the class struggle it will not succeed in spreading its ideas even there.

Our party must stop trying to prove to the SWP that we are as rooted among union proletarians as they are. The problem of how and where to concentrate our force in the coming period must be decided on the basis of the political possibilities in post-war America, not automatically concluded from the historic role of the proletariat. The problem of recruitment to the party cannot be resolved by breaking it down to winning over individuals one by one, necessary though that is. The party will recruit when it is functioning properly, when it is breaking out of isolation because of its activity in political arenas.

LABOR ACTION will assume a different complexion when it reflects a party that is ready to intervene on political questions, as it did in the actions at Madison Square Garden and at Gerald L. K. Smith's meetings.

What is required, however, are not isolated actions, but sustained activity in the places it will bear the most fruit. The alternative, that of remaining a party whose entire energy and attention are concentrated on trade union developments, can only lead to converting the Workers Party into what the SWP is, a trade union party.

JOE LEONARD CHET MARCO April 16, 1946.

Fund Passes \$9000; Some Branches Slow

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

Our drive this week was opened very pleasantly with a letter from a LABOR ACTION reader in Mumford, N. Y. "Enclosed find \$5.00. This is the best I can do at this time." The five-dollar donation sent by this worker represents for him a very great sacrifice. For ourselves it is a spur to our determination to achieve an eight-page paper.

The Los Angeles Branch of the Workers Party keeps plugging steadily toward its goal. Starting about two weeks late in the drive, the Los Angeles Branch has not missed a week in its contributions to the Fund Drive. This week Los Angeles contributed another \$60 toward its \$600 quota. This branch is still somewhat behind schedule but the Fund Drive director, Esther Griffin, writes: "Enclosed is a money order for \$60, which brings our Fund Drive collections up to \$255. The general practice seems to continue to be the payment of lump sums, so we are now expecting a few sizable donations soon."

The Chicago Branch came through again with \$105 in an effort to catch up. The National Office added \$500 toward its own goal. New York's contribution for the week (\$405) brought that local just one point short of 80 per cent fulfillment. Other contributions for the week: San Francisco \$50, Akron \$30, Philadelphia \$27, Reading \$7.00. Total collections for the week amounted to \$1,184.

The Fund Drive, which began on March 1, will end on May 31. Only five weeks remain. With the drive about 60 per cent over, we have raised about 60 per cent of our quota. It is important to note, however, that this ratio has been maintained primarily by five branches (Hibbing, Baltimore, Newark, Boston and New York), which have kept well ahead of schedule, thus compensating for branches which are well behind.

Table with 5 columns: Branch, Quota, This Week, Contribution, Per Cent. Lists various branches and their financial progress towards the Fund Drive goal.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER! The thousands of dollars required to make this advance must come from our readers. We appeal to every reader to send us a contribution to make the expansion possible. Fill out the blank below and send it to us at once. Make all checks and money orders payable to LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

## "Operation Dixie" - - CIO Begins Labor's Great March to the South

By DAVID COOLIDGE, Labor Sec., Workers Party

"Operation Dixie!" This is the phrase which has been coined to describe the new CIO organizing campaign in the South. This operation has also been described by the watchword: "We Are Marching South!" A million-dollar fund has been contributed by CIO internationals. An organizing staff under the direction of Van Bittner has been appointed. The organizing attack will be directed chiefly at the rubber, textile, furniture and clothing industries. In time other sections of Southern industry will be brought within the orbit of this organizing campaign.

This is the second great drive into the South within a period of a hundred years, the second march into the South, the second "Operation Dixie." The first was the Civil War, which struck the shackles from 4 1/2 million black chattel slaves. This drive gave citizenship to these millions and to one-half million free Negroes. It gave them democratic rights, so far as the constitution and law could give democratic rights.

### "OPERATION DIXIE"—THEN AND NOW

By constitutional amendment and law, the first "Operation Dixie" gave the Negro people political and economic equality. They had the right to vote and be voted for, the right to a job just like other people, the right to be free from proscription, discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow and insult. However, the first "Operation Dixie" was not carried through to completion, either in relation to the interests of the freed black slaves or the interests of the free white workers. The leaders of the new Northern industrial capitalism, who organized the war against the Southern slave owners and cotton planters, knew what THEY wanted and how to get it. They got what THEY wanted. They got a vast territory with unlimited natural resources and a working class of millions to exploit as they went about their business of the capitalist development of the country.

The labor movement of the days following the Civil War did not know how to get what it vaguely conceived to be "the workingman's share." It did not understand the real meaning of the Civil War: "The Second American Revolution." This early labor movement did not understand that it must have an "Operation Dixie," that it must march into the South, that Sherman's March to the Sea was only a small part of what was necessary to give real freedom to the chattel slaves and opportunity to the white wage slaves. Because the early labor movement did not understand these complex social, political and economic problems, the emancipated slaves were left stranded, at the mercy of their former

masters and without the protection of the organized working class, of which they had the right to be a part and from which they had the right to claim protection.

The result of this indifference, ignorance, prejudice and lack of understanding on the part of the labor movement of the period following the Civil War, is in no small way responsible for the situation which the organized labor movement is confronted with in the South today. I do not speak only of the situation in which the Negro toilers find themselves but the no less miserable state of the white workers. Disfranchisement of Negroes directly by law and indirectly by the poll-tax. The disfranchisement of millions of white toilers by the poll tax. The lowest wages in the land, the longest hours and the worst working conditions for all workers, white and black. Peonage, intimidation, terror and lynching. The clubbing and mobbing of union organizers. Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland. Ignorance, savagery and brutality. Hovels, disease and hatred. Government by "Rope and Faggot." Ranting and itinerant Bible pounders, black and white, calling emaciated textile workers and cotton pickers to repentance!

This is the South. The South, 86 years after the first "Operation Dixie," after the "Second American Revolution," after the first March into the South.

### THE SECOND MARCH TO THE SOUTH

Negro and white workers participated in the first "Operation Dixie." We marched together in 1860 for freedom and we will march together in 1946 for a higher freedom. This means that there is a difference in the two Operations Dixie. In 1860 just one year after Governor Wise of Virginia had hanged old John Brown, the troops of the North were marching South singing: "John Brown's Body Lies A-Mouldering in the Grave, but His Soul Goes Marching On." Today, the working class armies of the North prepare to march South in the spirit of Working Class Solidarity Forever.

John Brown knew what Gov. Wise did not know and what Lincoln may not have known in the beginning: that the problem of chattel slavery could not be resolved by peaceful means. John Brown was hanged for carrying this sound conviction into action. The leaders of the slave rebellions knew this also. Gabriel and Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner understood this far too well for the comfort of the slave barons of the South, the copperheads of the North and the emerging industrial capitalists of the North. Harriet Tubman understood this too, as she carried on her "Operation Dixie," by going into the South with her shotgun to bring black slaves to the North and to freedom.

The first march into the South was welcomed by the black slaves who described it as "The Coming of the Lord." What they really meant by the "Lord" was freedom; freedom from misery, hunger and nakedness. Freedom for the body and the mind. Freedom to be a real human being, freedom from fear and freedom of opportunity. The black, freed men did not get what they had fought for, prayed for and suffered for. The "Lord" turned out to be a northern capitalist with his exploitation for the white toilers and his super-exploitation for the black toilers. This capitalist with his textile factories, mines, steel mills, cotton acres, turpentine swamps and lumber camps, only wanted and took his pound of flesh from black and white worker alike.

The "Lord" turned out to be Bilbo, Smith, Rankin and Eastland: the men of "Rope and Faggot," organizers of the mob to lynch Negroes and club the organizers of the working class. This "Lord" was a divider of the masses; who came not to bring peace, happiness and plenty to the masses but division, hatreds and misery.

### THIS OPERATION DIXIE CAN BE SUCCESSFUL

The white and black masses of the South will welcome the second "Operation Dixie" today just as they did the first "Operation Dixie" 86 years ago. The present march to the South is long overdue. The masses have been ready and were ready long ago. Those of the labor movement, in the North, were not ready. Now they have begun. They can be successful. They have the money, the men and the strength. They know how to do the job. If they fail, it will be the failure of the labor movement in the North. The leaders of the CIO know what the job is and they do know how to do it so far as the organizational problems are concerned. They know too, to some degree, that this "Operation Dixie" is not merely a trade union organization task. It is a political task, requiring not only the most painstaking economic organizational procedures but independent working class political organization. This is true today for the young capitalist ruling class of the 60's. The capitalists of the 60's understood this. It remains to be seen just to what extent the leaders of labor understood their task today.

The first "Operation Dixie" has been called by the Beards, the historians, "The Second American Revolution." The second "Operation Dixie" can and may become a part of the Third American Revolution: the final mighty effort of all the workers and toilers: black and white, male and female, native and those born in other lands, to free themselves and all mankind. We know that this great consummation, this goal is not a part of the thinking, in any concrete way, of the leaders of the CIO drive into the South. But history,

## Conclusion No. 1!



even labor or working class history, is not made by labor leaders only. Often they only begin what others more enlightened, more courageous must complete and make permanent.

The toiling workers and agricultural laborers of the South can make history too. They must be organized and led. But it is only to the degree that they participate, in a most democratic way, in their own organization that they can make their own history and settle the problems of their own liberation and the liberation of the whole of mankind.

### WE HAIL THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT

On this May Day the Workers Party welcomes and hails "Operation Dixie" of the CIO. The black and white exploited of South will welcome again their liberators from the North. They expect you to carry on. All the martyrs of the labor movement, black and white, in every land, would expect you to carry on. But we of the Workers Party, we of the revolutionary socialist movement, say that we too have a place in this struggle. We have a big place in this struggle, not a subordinate place. As "Operation Dixie" proceeds, some of the leaders of labor may learn this. Thousands and thousands of the toilers surely will. You of the trade union movement cannot complete this job alone and the oppressed and exploited of the South and of the whole country will learn this. And in that day they will turn "Operation Dixie" into the real Third American Revolution.

## Open the Books - Towards Workers Control of Production

By ERNEST ERBER

The demand of the United Automobile Workers that General Motors "open their books" to the union has been greeted with more enthusiasm than understanding in the ranks of even the politically advanced workers. Very much of what one hears and reads about the slogan is terribly naive, if not infantile. But worse, most of the comments reveal that the far-reaching revolutionary implications of the slogan are not understood.

Let us first set straight what the demand did not mean. It did not mean, as so many assume, that General Motors make public its earnings for the last years. These are not a closed book. Anyone can go to a public library and secure one of the various annuals that give reports on the financial situation of joint-stock corporations and secure a record of General Motors earnings before and after taxes, and various other data on its financial situation.

No investor would sink a dollar into the stock of a corporation unless he had such information. The financial pages of the newspapers, special investor's reports and services, monthly reports by the large banks, and other sources, regularly report on these matters. This is required by law and has been almost since joint-stock corporations assumed important dimensions. The law which established the Securities and Exchange Commission further tightened up the requirements for public reports by corporations on their financial standing. These "books" are always open to accountants from the Treasury Department for purposes of checking on tax remittances. Any single stockholder can secure a court order for access to the financial records of the corporation if he has grounds to suspect that his interests are not being safeguarded.

It is, of course, true that the financial reports which are public property often conceal hidden assets and, in other ways, juggle the accounts to add to the corporation's wealth without full payment of taxes or declaration of maximum stock dividends. The stockholders are often milked by the "insiders" who control the corporation by means of special "bonuses," often consisting of blocs of stock, voted to the officers, or by means of inflated salaries to the executives. It must also be remembered that if the earnings show up badly the price of the stock will fall. The "insiders" may manipulate this for one or two years in order to buy up the stock at deflated prices but this cannot be a consistent practice even if they could avoid prosecution by the SEC. It is these malpractices that the SEC was created to combat. This, however, has mostly to do with the defrauding of the middle class investor by the big capitalist or the defrauding of the government. Its main aim is not to hide the corporations earnings from the unions.

### WHAT THE AUTO WORKERS WANTED TO KNOW

If the demand of "open the books" merely meant the right of the union to know how much the company earned it would certainly not be anything new in the labor movement. The practice of demanding that the employer make known his financial standing has been a standard procedure in negotiation for a long time, particularly on the part of the AFL unions who deal with small employers, as for instance the teamsters, printing, building trades, food industry, etc. The best organized system of examining the employers' books is operated by the ILGWU in the ladies garment trade. The small shop character of this and other needle trades industries requires that the union deal mostly with privately-owned

shops or partnerships. In these cases the union has no other means of checking the financial records of the employer except to examine his books. The ILGWU maintains an extensive accounting department that occupies itself exclusively with this task.

That the auto workers were not concerned with this aspect of "the books" is obvious from the brief which they submitted to General Motors as the statement of their case in the negotiations. Their brief contained a detailed account of General Motors earnings from 1917, when the corporation was organized, to 1944.

What, then, DID the auto workers demand to know? What they wanted was access to the production data of General Motors or, as it is usually known, the cost accounting system. What is the significance of this? Precisely in order to know, not what GM earned last year, but how much GM will make this year and, therefore, how much it can pay.

What the union wanted to know were the exact figures on increased productivity of labor in GM plants, how many man hours it takes to machine an axle, how a new power press has reduced the man-hours per so many fenders, etc. What the union wanted to know was just how much did it cost the corporation to manufacture a Buick in 1936 and 1940 and how much will it cost in 1944. What the union wanted to know was just how many cars does GM expect to produce in 1946? What the union wanted to know was just what effect has the expansion of GM plant space by government building of war plants had on GM production costs? Just how has the replacement of thousands of machine tools by new equipment furnished by the government during the war increased industrial efficiency? Just what new wrinkles have GM production engineers added to the assembly line process? Just what degree of speed-up is involved for the workers? Just how is GM planning to make use of new discoveries in chemistry, electronics and other fields during the course of the war? What will be the "work-load schedule" for the some 92 odd GM plants all over the country? How much over-time is being scheduled? When and where are layoffs indicated?

It is precisely this information which is necessary in order to know how much GM will earn in 1946. But this information is the most guarded secret of any large corporation. This is what Charles Wilson, GM president, referred to when he said that "we don't open our books to our own stockholders." This is what the head production manager of GM sparred around with in an exchange with Walter Reuther during the Pittsburgh sessions of the negotiations. In answer to Reuther's question as to how GM computes the cost of a certain part, the production manager grinned and replied: "We make a good guess." It is this information which GM refused to turn over to the War Production Board during the war on the grounds that it is their top commercial secret and turning it over to the WPB may lead to it falling into the hands of GM's competitors.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS DEMAND

What is the tremendous significance of the union wanting to base its wage demands upon what GM will earn in 1946 instead of what they did earn last year?

The tremendous, even revolutionary, significance comes under several headings:

Firstly, it runs counter to the entire basic principle upon which capitalism pays wages. Under the capitalist system, wages are paid out of existing capital. As Marx pointed out nearly a hundred years ago, the capitalist buys labor power, that is, he buys the workers ability and availability to labor rather than paying for labor performed. Marx used the term "variable" capital to describe that portion of capital which is used for the payment of wages. The capitalist pays wages in accordance with its market price, that is, he pays as little as he can to get the kind of labor power he needs, just as in buying any other kind of commodity. The market price of labor power (wages) is determined, roughly, by the cost of living (based on a prevailing standard) and the law of supply and demand (the amount of competition for jobs).

The union demanded, on the contrary, that General Motors re-

veal what it expected to earn in 1946 and base its wages on ability to pay as revealed by those figures. The union does not want labor power to be regarded as a commodity to be purchased in the market for the lowest price it can be obtained. The union does not want the workers to produce tremendous profits for GM in order to be able to ask for a little more in 1947 by pointing to the 1946 earnings. The union demands that if the "books" show that GM will produce at lowered costs in 1946 and increase its income, that labor share in that increased income by higher wages now.

In short, implied by the union's demand is a rejection of the whole basis of the relationship between labor and capital that prevails under capitalism and the establishment of a principle for the remuneration of labor which, in the last analysis, can only prevail under socialism.

Secondly, the demand to open the production schedules and cost accounting records to the union means to admit the union into what the capitalist press refers to as the "sacred rights of management." It is this which caused GM executives to get blue in the face and scream about labor getting a "finger in the pie." The crucial importance of keeping labor away from any voice in problems of management has long been recognized by capital. This is why almost every union contract has a clause inserted by the company's attorney which states that nothing in the contract can be construed as authorizing labor's interference with the rights of management in the sphere of production.

### A STEP TOWARD WORKERS' CONTROL

To "open the books," in this sense, is the first stage toward workers' control of production. For the right of labor to keep itself informed on production data to be effective, it must be done on all levels of labor-capital relations from the main office of GM to every division plant, to every separate building, to every department. Who will exercise this right on behalf of the union? Only the hired accountants of the union? No! The latter will work under the jurisdiction of union committees. On a department and plant level these will be the shop stewards' councils and shop committees.

What will happen to the authority of management if the shop committee can go to the superintendent and ask to see his production plans for next month? What will happen if they demand a 10% slow-down of the assembly? What will happen if they demand that the wages of milling machine operators be increased because of the introduction of a fixture which permits doubled output? What will happen if they demand that he cut down on overtime in department 12 and quit laying off men in department 9?

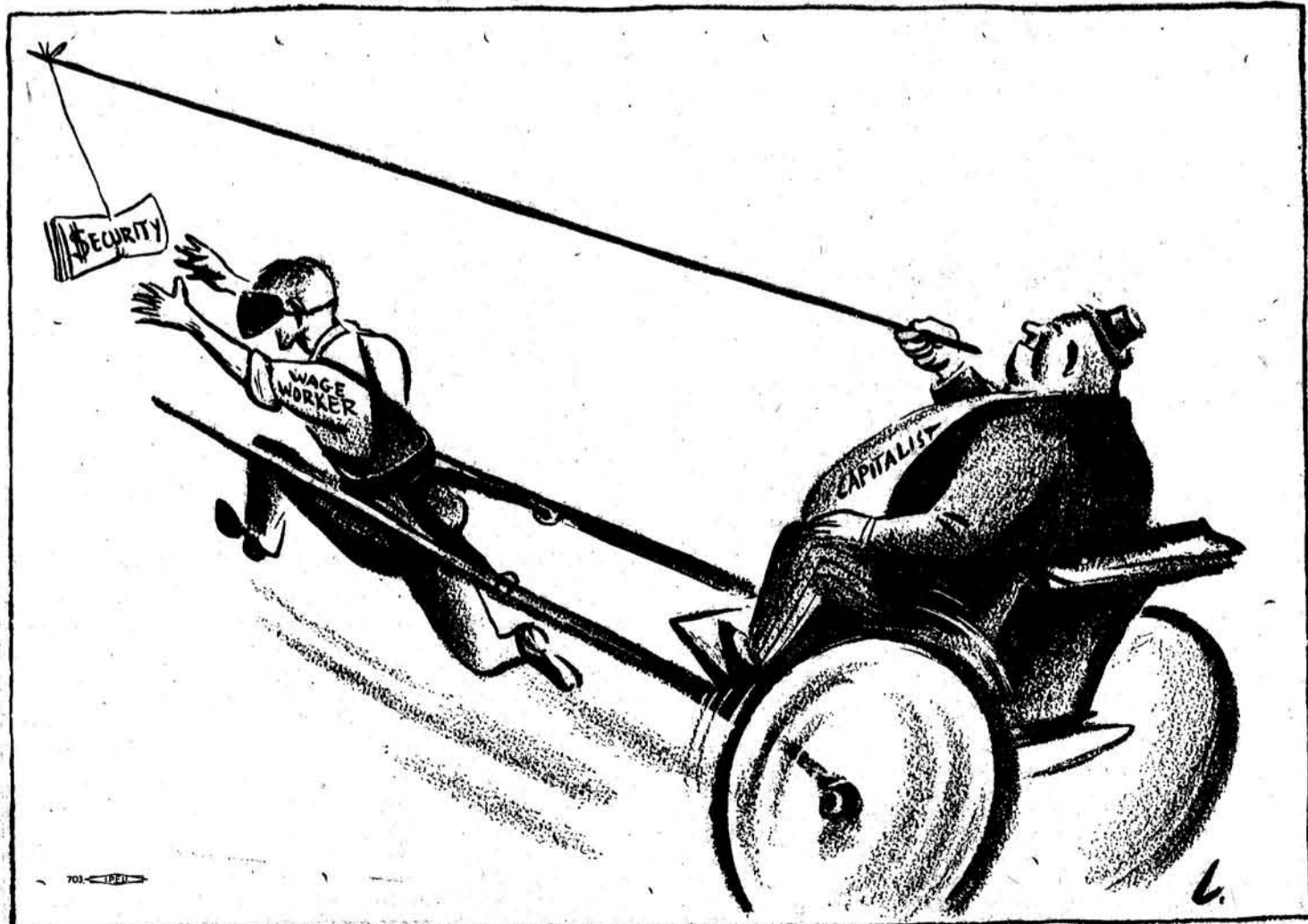
This is what will happen: the workers will enter stage two in workers' control of production—the right of the shop committees to veto, to counter-propose, to countermand, in short, to use their organized strength to impose their own ideas on production upon management.

Can such "dual power" prevail in the shop indefinitely? No. Such industrial democracy is incompatible with the industrial dictatorship of capitalism. One or the other will prevail in the long run. For workers' control of production to prevail, it must be fortified with a political power that is also "dual," in this case, to the capitalist government. In the last analysis it is control of the power of government that decides. That is why workers' control of production must lead to a workers' government and, through it, the nationalization of industry under democratic management. This is, of course, what we call Socialism.

### NEXT WEEK IN LABOR ACTION—

- Analysis of the UAW and the R. J. Thomas Program
- Feeding the Hungry World: Inadequacy of UNRRA
- Continuation of the Series on Anti-Semitism

## The "Free Enterprise" Racket



Meeting a Current Problem in the Labor Movement

# The "New Line" of Stalinism: a Danger in the Trade Unions

By JACK WILSON

Every trade union militant knows from his own experiences that the Communist (Stalinist) Party has made a turn in its union policies since the war ended and the imperialist antagonisms between Russia and the Anglo-American bloc became intensified.

In the war period it was easy to distinguish the Stalinists by their vicious anti-union policies—for the speed-up, against any strikes, against job action—and by their outdoing the American Legion in flag-waving.

These reactionary policies in the union movement were relatively easy to oppose, for they ran counter to every ABC interest of labor. These policies alienated all militant workers and cost the Stalinists much of their union support.

The extent of the defeat suffered by the Stalinists in the union movement has been revealed in the Stalinist press. Recently a report from the coal fields quoted a coal miner in explaining why Stalinist branch after Stalinist branch had disappeared. "The party deserted us in the war," he said. The truth, of course, is that the Stalinists long ago deserted the working class in its struggle for emancipation, but it took the war to bring that home to many people.

The Stalinists recently published excerpts from a report by John Williamson of their political committee, in which he said: "Generally, our party is not yet rooted in the shops and industries that can be decisive in determining the main course of the workers' struggle."

In General Motors there are only 122 CP members, after a ten-year concentration! In Toledo, out of 252 party members, only 24 are auto workers.

In New York, the percentage of industrial workers in the CP dropped from 34 to 29 per cent. In Michigan from 66 to 58 per cent, and in California from 41 to 38 per cent.

In a word, the Stalinist party changed its composition as a result of its role during the war. It lost much of its working class support.

### NEW STALINIST LINE IN UNIONS

Today, the Stalinists are engaged in a well-financed and well-organized campaign to re-establish and increase their trade union influence. A recruiting drive for 20,000 members has been announced.

How does the Stalinist party expect to accomplish this goal? By its turn in trade union policies. The Stalinists have now put on the costume of union militants again. They are for strikes, they speak against "company security" and they talk about a new political party which they label a third party.

But before taking up their new program, it is necessary to call something else to the attention of trade union militants. The future role of the Stalinists cannot be judged solely by the policies they carried out during the current strike wave.

The post-war strike wave caught the Stalinists in the period of their policy change. Except for isolated cases like the packing-house strike, where they mobilized themselves on the new program, the Stalinists had just begun to carry out their new line.

What is the actual form that these new policies will take? The Stalinists are again concentrating on trade union struggles, and for the building of a third party. In the field of foreign policy, they concentrate all activity around the slogans "Against Anglo-American imperialism" (but not Russian, to be sure), and they have raised the slogan, "A Struggle for Socialism." All in all, mighty "radical" for the same outfit that out-Legioned the American Legion in the war.

These new policies coincide to a considerable extent with the moods of the discontented masses in America today. The Stalinists expect to capitalize on this fact. The deep dissatisfaction among the people with the two capitalist parties provides fertile soil for the third party slogan, especially as a neat flank attack on the idea of a Labor Party.

As for the anti-union policies pursued during the war, the expulsion of Earl Browder is supposed to serve as a convenient scapegoat. "We expelled the man who revised the basic party program." This is the Stalinist alibi among workers.

The new turn of the Stalinists, therefore, presents a real problem for trade union militants and revolutionary socialists in the union movement. Stalinism isn't dead in America; it is just beginning to make its major drive for mass influence!

### AVOID THE TRAP OF RED-BAITING

Points one, two, three and the next twenty, in a program of fighting Stalinism successfully, are that it cannot and must not be fought from a "red-baiting" point of view. This is a fatal policy. The history of the labor movement is strewn with bodies of unionists broken in that kind of struggle against the Stalinists. Last week the utility workers' convention passed a resolution which barred any believer in "Communism, Nazism" or any ism from holding office. That kind of victory over Stalinism only obscures the real issue. For it is part and parcel of the same totalitarian

methods which mark the Stalinist tactics. It is precisely on this issue, "democracy within the unions," that union militants can score their first dent in the Stalinists' newly-painted armor tinged with red. The Stalinists as agents of a totalitarian power reflect the character of their rulers: the Stalin machine. In American trade unions they are forced to fight against freedom of speech and press, except, of course, for themselves. In unions which they control, they maintain a ruthless bureaucracy. Thus, even the new Stalinist policies find themselves going counter to the democratic yearnings of the masses. The program of a Philip Murray fails in fighting the Stalinists among other reasons because it also violates the democratic principles required to keep alive a progressive union movement.

On the matter of political action, advocates of a labor party—and its foremost proponents must remain the revolutionary socialists—must continue to counterpose that idea to the Stalinist propaganda of a Third Party.

In combating the Stalinists within the union movement, it is very important to bring out the record. Let it speak. The war record of the Stalinists in particular subjects them to merciless and well-deserved blows. Stalinism is a deadly danger within the labor movement, but the record is not enough.

Only by participation in the mass struggles, in the consistent advocacy of a genuine class struggle program, such as our transitional program provided us, and by continuing as fighters of real trade union democracy, can the revolutionary socialists guide trade union militants in their activity and successful struggle against the Stalinists, and build the base for a genuine mass revolutionary party rooted in the labor movement.

### On the Road to Plenty For All:

# What a Real Workers Government Would Look Like in America

By SUSAN GREEN

May Day is so very different from every other holiday on the calendar. The Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday, Labor Day and other holidays the workers get by the grace of the capitalist class and the capitalist government. May Day, however, is a holiday labor has taken for itself—a day it celebrates as a class, separate and apart from, and against the capitalist class—a day symbolizing the struggle between labor and the parasites on labor's back.

Though the celebration of May Day grew out of the long and bloody battle for the shorter work day, the meaning of this holiday has gone far beyond that limited fight. The significance of May Day embraces the historic enmity between capital and labor—a battlefield that can be demobilized only after the victory of labor over capital. In a word, May Day proclaims the challenge of labor for POWER to rule society on behalf of all the toiling peoples.

And what is power? It is organized government by dint of which one class or another rules over all. So we may say that May Day betokens the revolutionary push of the workers towards their own government, a workers' government, to displace and replace the government of the capitalists, monopolists and bankers.

First let this be made clear. The establishment of a workers' government implies a rock-bottom revolutionary change in both the basis and the form of government. Whenever a historic class triumphs over its oppressor, that triumph can be realized only by the victorious class creating

the governmental system that will allow it to rule society.

### HOW CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY

How it works in this country is daily demonstrated to the workers. Take price control as an instance. With prices merrily ballooning skyward, with a world famished for food, clothing and bare necessities, "our" legislators think first of the profits of the capitalists. How can this happen? The basis of representation under capitalist democracy is a geographical division. Congressmen are supposed equally to guard the interests of all the classes in their districts. Actually this is impossible. So they represent the class that controls the capitalist parties and that wields monopolistic economic power. Congress is full of lawyers, politicians, office-grabbers and businessmen who understand how capitalist democracy works for the capitalist class.

Obviously this is not what a workers' government would look like. Something else is wanted.

The special strength of the workers is that they are workers—their strength is in the factories and wherever else they work. Therefore, geographical districts embracing all classes must be scrapped in favor of industrial and occupational representation, proportioned to numbers of workers, not as now to all-inclusive population. This would be the new base and form of a workers' government.

Let us see how it might shape up in an industrial hub like the city of Detroit. The government might be called the Detroit Workers' Council. In this council would sit the democratically elected representatives from

all the auto plants and all related and other industries in the area. The transport workers of all branches would elect and send their deputies. The clerks and all employees in department stores, markets and all goods distribution centers would choose their ablest and best, and probably in this group would be included the small businessmen who do not exploit labor but eke out a modest living by retail trade.

Then there are schools, libraries and all educational institutions from which would come duly elected representatives to the Detroit Workers' Council. Employees in hospitals, clinics and all institutions for public health and service would delegate fellow employees from those institutions. Farm laborers and farm families who feed the teeming city, would be likewise represented in the Detroit Workers' Council.

Who would have the right to vote in the factories and other occupational units? Every worker by hand or by brain, the man on the production line, the stenographer, the technician, the engineer, the hospital attendant as well as the doctor, the school janitor as well as the principal.

### WHO'S MISSING FROM LIST?

Who then is missing from the list? Only those who never would be missed in a society based on use and not on profit: the capitalists, monopolists, bankers, stock manipulators, profiteers—all who exploit labor, all parasites on labor, these alone would be excluded from a workers' democracy.

Actually a workers' government extends democracy. Also you can see

how close the workers' government is to the workers themselves. They are really represented by fellow workers from their factories and other places of work. Furthermore, workers would have the right, by majority vote, to recall their representatives from the Workers' Council if the latter did not carry out the wishes of their factory constituents. That means, in turn,

that elections in factories and other occupational units would be on the basis of a program that the workers want carried out and that the candidates to the Workers' Council would pledge themselves to carry out.

This is what a workers' government would look like in Detroit or in any other industrial center. On the

# Report on Socialist Youth League

By SHIRLEY WALLER

Eight months ago, August 6, 1945, two dozen young people gathered in Detroit to found the National Provisional Committee for a SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE, and to lay the basis for building a youth organization from scratch. This rebirth of the socialist youth movement in the United States, dedicated to the program of the Workers Party, signifies an important step in building the Socialist movement.

When the organization was formed, the overwhelming majority of members were new to the revolutionary movement. Hence, the first stage of the SYL's life stressed internal education, consolidation of the units, and the training of a core of leaders from the ranks. In all units, classes were held on the basic principles of Marxism and the program of the Workers Party Educational Outlines, a Monthly Educational Calendar, and a series on the Lessons of Marxist Youth Movements of the Past were published.

The activity of the SYL was not

confined solely to internal educational work. By October, the organization launched YOUTH ACTION FOR SOCIALISM, a monthly paper designed to enlist young workers, farmers and students in the militant unswerving struggle for socialist freedom.

### ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

When the Detroit branch of the Workers Party issued a call to picket the meeting of America's well known fascist, Gerald L. K. Smith, a group of militant high-school students enthusiastically responded and demonstrated against this demagogue. Immediately following the demonstration, these young fighters formed the Anti-Fascist Youth League which, after a two months' existence, amalgamated in November with the Socialist Youth League and became our Detroit unit.

In December, Justin Graham went on the first tour for the League to Detroit and Chicago. While he was in Chicago, the League actively aided the Montgomery Ward strikers on the

picket line and thereby won the sympathy of some of the young workers.

The most important event of the organization since the founding conference was the National Educational Conference held from December 29-31 in New York. Again comrades from various cities gathered to discuss the foremost problems facing the growing League. In addition to discussions on our internal life, sessions were devoted to the discussion of Party-Youth relations, the revolutionist as an individual, Youth and Jobs, Youth and Militarism, and Youth and Education.

The new year began with the National Secretary's tour which extended over a two-month period to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Madison and Chicago. A unit was formed in Baltimore; a nucleus for a unit was formed in Cleveland, and twenty new comrades were recruited.

The first open forum of the Baltimore unit held shortly after it was formed, proved to be an outstanding success. Although in this Jim-Crow

town, an interracial meeting is a rare and unusual sight, the League has continued to attract good audiences to its forums.

Participating actively in the Workers Party's fight against fascism, the Chicago League protested against the meeting of Gerald L. K. Smith by joining the picket line of 1500 workers and students. Prior to the hate-monger's meeting the SYL distributed thousands of leaflets calling the Chicago youth to join the line.

In March a new unit was formed in Seattle, Washington and a nucleus for a unit was set up in Boston, Massachusetts. Having formed the organization with but a few dozen members, the League had grown in seven months to over a hundred.

Although small today, the League is confident that it has started on the road to a strong inspiring youth movement. Assured of the aid of the Workers Party, desiring to fight for socialism, the League has begun to blaze the trail against the inhumanity and injustice of capitalist oppression.

### A Workers Party Statement on Labor's Great Advance:

# The Significance of the GM Strike Program

The following article consists of the essential excerpts from a letter which Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, has sent to members of the party. It contains an analysis of recent events in the United Automobile Workers Union, especially with regard to the program put forward by the UAW during the recent GM strike and the significance which that program has for the entire American working class. We believe that this letter will be of interest and value to all LABOR ACTION readers:

Dear Comrades:

The end of the war has unleashed a powerful movement of the workers which had been successfully restrained and even suppressed during the war by the bourgeoisie acting through the trade union bureaucracy. This movement is manifested in the series of strikes that has swept some of the most important basic industries of the country. It is more clearly manifested in the demands that the workers are making and most clearly manifested in the demands that were made in the strike against the General Motors Corporation. Outside of the organized revolutionary Marxists, the auto workers may be considered as the most advanced section of the American working class. What they think and say and do today the rest of the working class will think and say and do in due time; hence the enormous political significance of what our press has designated as the GM program. Our task is to take the GM program, not in the literal way in which it was presented by Reuther, but in the most radical interpretation that we can give it and utilize it as a bridge over which to bring the workers to an ever clearer understanding of the situation, of their tasks and of the revolutionary method we propose for accomplishing these tasks. That means that we must become the most consistent and radical champions of the GM program....

This program gripped the imagination of tens and probably hundreds of thousands of workers, perhaps even of millions, and the fact that the bourgeoisie recognized its importance to such an extent that it found it necessary to launch a nation-wide ideological campaign against it as a threat to the very foundations of the system of "free enterprise," that is, of capitalism itself. By this program the GM workers demanded that they should have an important voice in establishing not only the scale of wages but the scale of prices and of profits. Looked at from the purely formal standpoint, these demands could be placed in the category of "class collaboration," the idea that side by side and on an "equal" footing labor and capital would decide these fundamental questions.

But looked at from the standpoint of the movement of the working class, the demands have revolutionary implications. It is precisely these implications that we must make clear to the work-

ers to the point where we succeed in ridding them of all ideas of class collaboration and moving them to think in terms of workers' power. Apart from ourselves, only the big bourgeoisie understood this clearly; hence their desperate counter-campaign.

### WAGES, PROFITS, PRICES INTIMATELY CONNECTED

If the purely formal aspects of the demands are set aside, the GM workers declared in effect: the industry can give us a decent wage (30 cents an hour increase). The question of a decent wage can no longer be settled by looking at the problem of wages alone. Wages are inseparably connected with prices and profits. We declare that we can get a decent wage and you, the corporation, can draw a "decent profit" without prices being raised to the consumer.

At one and the same time this signified a vote of non-confidence in the "managers" of "free enterprise," a demand for direct intervention by labor in the running of the economy as a whole, for only the direct control of the economy can make possible the regulation of wages AND prices AND profits. From this demand to the demand for a government which will control wages, prices and profits in the interests of labor or of the "consumer" is only one step, regardless of how long it may take the working class to take this step.

There can be no question but that the workers realize, to one degree or another, that with this program, which insisted not only on a decent wage for the workers and a "fair profit" to the employers, but on protecting the consumers by the demand for low prices, the labor movement received the support of the general public (i.e., of the middle classes) to a far greater and more significant extent than at any time in recent history. This cannot but have the effect in the long run of encouraging the workers to persist in this course.

Accordingly, this makes it possible for us to concretize our propaganda work of pointing out that when labor makes a bold effort to assume the responsibility for the nation as a whole, it does not need to worry about the middle classes but can be assured of their sympathy and even of their outright support. It is an excellent argument against all those in the labor movement who oppose a LABOR party and propose instead a THIRD party because, they argue, the "public" will not follow the leadership of a class party.

### THE EMPHASIS WE GAVE TO THE GM PROGRAM

It is true that Reuther, a reformist, put forward this program. But Reuther did not, and being what he is, could not conduct a consistent struggle for this program. That would require unleashing such class forces against the bourgeoisie and its state as could

not so easily be controlled. Our task in combating the reformist leaders consisted in taking up these progressive demands, giving them the most radical interpretations and pointing out those concrete class struggle steps that must be taken by labor in order best and more speedily to realize this program. That is why our agitation ran something like this:

You, the workers, say that the industry, while paying a fair profit to the corporations, can still pay a decent wage to the workers without charging monopolistic prices to the consumers. In this you are absolutely right. The monopolists, however, hold a contrary position. Then why not get rid of the monopolists? Your demands on GM are not only a challenge to the corporation; they are a challenge to the labor movement. If you say that industry can do these things and the monopolists say that industry cannot, then it is perfectly logical for YOU to take over industry and prove in practice that your demands are realizable. By their position, the monopolists have proved that they are SOCIAL bankrupts. Remove these bankrupts from control of industry by demanding the nationalization of the industry under workers' control, that is, under the control of those who have committed themselves in public to the declaration that industry can provide the things they demand. Will the Truman administration consent to this? No. Why not? Because at bottom it is the government of these monopolists. But that only means that you need a government of your own. The first step in getting such a government is to organize a political party of your own, acting independently in the political field. And just as firmly as you have declared publicly your program, this party, the Labor Party, should declare firmly that its aim is the establishment of a workers' government that will realize this program.

Take another aspect of the question, the Reuther demand for opening the books. This is an old slogan of our transitional program.... In Reuther's hands, the slogan by itself could easily be a trap. Not only the bourgeois journalists and ideologists but many of the labor leaders themselves posed the question to Reuther. They asked: Suppose the books show that the company is losing money. Does that mean that you would advocate or that we would have to take a wage cut? The best that Reuther could do in reply was to say that in that case he would scale his demands down to zero. That is all that Reuther could say. It was worse than no answer at all, it was a reactionary answer. Naturally, Reuther went on the assumption that the books would show such a profit that the necessity for scaling his demands down to zero would not arise. But, again, that is at best the answer of the reformist. Our answer, contained in our agitation, takes as its point of departure our primary interest in the standard of living, the conditions, the progress

of the workers. This made it possible to cut through all these "technical arguments" and to say that the solution to this "threatened" problem is: nationalize the industries under workers' control. Under such circumstances will the books not only be opened to the workers, but the workers will be able to establish standards of production in their own interests.

The whole political significance of the GM program was missed by the Socialist Workers Party. The comrades will find very interesting the contrast between our analysis and position and that of the SWP by reading the criticism of the SWP line written by Comrade Morrow for the SWP Bulletin, a copy of which is being sent to you for your study....

### HOW TO PRESENT OUR IDEAS ON THE GM PROGRAM

Every one of our militants in the unions must see to it that every worker whom he can reach has the articles in LABOR ACTION dealing with this question pointed out to him week in and week out. In a campaign it is necessary to concentrate and to avoid diffusion. The attention of all comrades should be drawn specifically, every week, to those articles which deal with this question in particular. Every effort should be made to draw the contacts into a discussion of the articles. It is precisely in these discussions that our comrades should point out all the social and political implications of the GM program. It is precisely in these discussions that they should point out, as concretely as possible, the shortcomings of the Reuthers and the need of building up a revolutionary party which fights for this program consistently and which makes all of its implications clear....

It is inconceivable that this should remain a UAW question. In one form or another it must spread to other sections of the working class. Indeed, we must take the initiative in spreading the GM program, in our sense, to be sure. In all the other unions among all the other workers we must call weekly and daily attention to the campaign in LABOR ACTION, to the articles which are especially devoted to the subject, always seeking to engage workers in discussion about the profound social and political significance of the program and about the need of organizing in the revolutionary movement....

The splendid forward movement of the American workers, which is sure to go still further and much further, and the line taken by our press, gives us a perfect opportunity for recruitment to the party. Let us centralize and concentrate all our efforts into utilizing this opportunity to the maximum.

With best party greetings,  
MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary.

# Labor Action Embarks Upon Its Sixth Year As the Champion of International Socialism

By Albert Gates

ON MAY 1, 1940, the first issue of LABOR ACTION came off the press to begin its appearance as the outstanding labor and socialist weekly in the country.

It was indeed a perilous time to originate a new paper. The second world imperialist war had already begun in Europe and although the United States was not yet a belligerent nation, the nature of the war and the course of action pursued by the Roosevelt Administration made her military entrance inevitable.

Those were the days of swift war mobilization of the economy and the physical resources of the nation. The war economy, planned for many years in advance, began to operate swiftly. The great mass of men between the years of eighteen and forty-five began to be drafted in the millions for a slaughter whose purposes were in no way different from the imperialist slaughter of 1914-18. This war, too, was a war for markets, natural resources, territory — for profit.

The small band of people, members of the Workers Party, who bent all their energies to promote LABOR ACTION and to secure its existence went about their business in response to the task imposed on them by their socialist program and ideal: to speak out the truth about the war, to tell why it was fought and what its bad results must be. To the everlasting credit of LABOR ACTION, it was the only working class paper which met the declaration of war by the United States with a resounding, truthful manifesto against it. No other paper did it. The labor press joined their officialdom in support of the war. The other so-called radical and "socialist" papers were either silent, confused or engaging in support of imperialist barbarism.

The Manifesto of the Workers Party, "The World in Flames," made a penetrating analysis of the causes of the war which lay in the rivalries of the capitalist powers for the riches of the world. It pointed out that an imperialist war could not be fought for democratic aims, for the people; that the war was against true democracy and against the interests of the people. The manifesto warned the workers of this country that the war economy meant saddling the workers with the burdens of war while industry and finance, the capitalist class, would, as they did in the first world war, enrich themselves at the expense of the people.

The manifesto warned that the end of the war would find the world faced with the same unsolved problems which capitalism created. That for the mass of people of the world, the war meant death, hunger, disease and destruction. For the American workers it meant a lower standard of living, rising costs in those commodities required in order to live, and a general insecurity of life.

## SPOKE FOR LABOR DURING WAR

From the date of the publication of that famous manifesto, LABOR ACTION remained true to its banner of working class solidarity and world socialism. It never hesitated, whatever the issue, to speak in the interests of labor here and abroad. It analyzed the real meaning of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program. It described the conduct of the labor officialdom in giving up the strike weapon and accepting Roosevelt's request for a "no-strike pledge" without the slightest guarantees to labor, as a murderous weapon in the hands of the bosses which could only result in an increase of their war profits at the expense of every worker and his family.

The government organized the war economy, planned its production, supplied raw materials, gave out contracts and guaranteed the bosses high profits. Roosevelt, who could not solve the problem of unemployment during peacetime, did solve it during war for the purposes of creating the means of mass destruction. There were plenty of jobs, but under conditions difficult for labor.

The worker, faced with a steadily rising cost of living, could not achieve a substantial measure of economic security, even temporarily, because his wages were frozen. The working class as a whole was bound hand and foot by the no-strike pledge. The capitalists, enriched by the war and a war economy which they directed through their immediate representatives, used every provocation imaginable to break down the union standards of work won after many years of struggle. Labor worked long hours under any and all conditions, while wages were pegged to an out-lived "Little Steel" Formula.

## REMEMBER THE WAR LABOR BOARD

Behind this conspiracy was the War Labor Board, the inhuman graveyard of labor's wage demands. Its role was to pile up case upon case, thereby making it impossible to redress labor's wage demands. But while the capitalist government operated efficiently in keeping the workers of this country chained to the war-machine, it made a farce of rationing and price control. For all of this labor paid with its blood, sweat and tears.

It was no wonder that, despite the conservative and even reactionary role of the labor officialdom, thousands of workers went out on strike, and that the coal miners, engaged in the most dangerous of occupations, struck four times against that pack of wolves known as coal operators, who were backed by all the forces of capitalism, the government, the press, the radio, and the "minions

of the law." Occupation of struck plants by troops, often invited by labor leaders, proved fatal to the workers, for in each case production was resumed, profits for the bosses continued and the workers received either slight wage increases or nothing at all.

In this situation, LABOR ACTION stood out almost alone, as the champion of the interests of labor. Very early in these struggles it campaigned for revision of the Little Steel Formula, for the abolition of the WLB and the resumption of collective bargaining and for rescinding the no-strike pledge.

LABOR ACTION threw its support to every fight made by labor, big or small. It exposed a rationing system directed against the poor and revealed the conspiracy of big business to rob and cheat the people in yet another way, through gigantic, well-organized black markets.

## LABOR ACTION'S INTERNATIONALISM

But that was not all. As a socialist paper devoted to the abolition of the capitalist system of profit and exploitation of the people, LABOR ACTION

defended the interests of oppressed people the world over, showing how these interests were common to all who labor. It called for support to those peoples fighting for their national sovereignty and independence. It struck out against the hypocrisy of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, forecasting that they were merely propaganda vehicles of the Allies to entice support of the people for their brigand's war. LABOR ACTION declared that all the Allies, including Stalin's Russia in its own way were imperialists and that the close of the war would demonstrate it fully.

Before the war came to an end, the world was shocked by the explosion of Hiroshima which disclosed the proud product of the "arsenal of democracy," the atom bomb, before whose destructive powers the whole past history of slaughters pales. So enormous is the destructive potential of the atom bomb that the control of atomic energy in the hands of imperialism threatens the whole of mankind and its civilization. LABOR ACTION, in individual articles and in series form subjected the development of atomic warfare to a searching analysis showing why socialism, a system free of classes, profits, exploitation and war was the only hope

for humanity, for the peace, freedom and security of all the people.

The immediate post-war period—a period of preparation for a third world war, increasing misery of peoples in Europe and Asia, growing insecurity of all who toil—finds LABOR ACTION carrying on in its militant traditions, as the champion of the working class and all oppressed peoples here and abroad.

## LABOR'S POST-WAR STRUGGLES

The post-war period will be accompanied by great struggles of the workers in the United States for security. The General Motors' strike already exhibited that these struggles, coming after a war in which the whole social order was mobilized for destruction, will be of a higher order and fought with greater consciousness by labor.

In Europe and Asia the fight of the peoples for life will also be on a high plane.

In this great clash between the forces of progress represented by the mass of people and in the first place, the workers, and the forces of capitalist and bureaucratic exploiters, LABOR ACTION will continue its great aim: to help raise these struggles to a socialist level, to seek the abolition of the rotten system of capitalist exploitation, of wealth concentrated in the hands of a few and poverty for the tens of millions, of estates for a handful of rich and hovel for the people, of fine foods and delicacies for a handful and hunger for the mass of people, of security for the rich and insecurity for those who work in order to live. It will fight for a socialist society of plenty for all.

LABOR ACTION appeared regularly throughout the war as a four-page weekly. This was made possible by the great sacrifices of its supporters, by the indefatigable devotion of its contributors and staff members.

## FORWARD TO A REGULAR 8-PAGER!

But that is not enough. The post-war period is rife with problems of a decaying and complex society. LABOR ACTION is far too small to deal adequately with the great and burning questions of the day. Expansion of LABOR ACTION to eight pages weekly is indispensable for maintaining its past high level. There is only one way it can be done: Every reader, sympathizer and supporter of LABOR ACTION should get behind the drive for the eight-pager and thus help to insure another six years of prosperous existence for the outstanding labor and socialist weekly in the country.

Fraternally yours,  
JAMES T. FARRELL.

## May Day Greetings From James T. Farrell

Dear Friends and Comrades:

Permit me to send you May Day greetings. May Day is usually the occasion for a renewal of hopes in the socialist future. However, the valuable and highly precious feelings which we experience on May Day often lead many to overvalue small gains and to draw from these falsely optimistic conclusions.

The origin of May Day is American: it is a product of the struggles of the American workers. However, the American socialist movement has not given a development in theory which runs parallel to the greatness and deep significance of this holiday which is the outgrowth of the workers' movement. In the face of the terrible defeats and equally terrible disillusionments suffered all over the world in recent decades, the all-importance of a new and rigorous development of theory has now become crucial.

It is important, I believe, on this May Day to stress the essential need of serious theoretical effort. In America, the ideas of Marx are as yet understood only by a small and uninfluential minority. This year in the May Day renewal of the hope for socialism I trust that all will dedicate themselves to the task of studying, advancing and looking with fresh eyes on the fundamental and impregnable theories of Marxian socialism.

# May Day Born in Struggles of American Labor

By CHRIS WARREN

"Let the world know that in A.D. 1886, in the State of Illinois, eight men were sentenced to death because they believed in a better future."

The words above were spoken by August Spies, anarchist, who with five comrades was executed for the murder of a policeman in Haymarket Square. On May 4, 1886, at a meeting in the Square, an unidentified person threw a bomb and five men paid with their lives, although there was no proof that any one of them had done the deed. In the history of the American labor movement this has become known as the "Haymarket Affair" and is closely connected with the celebration of May Day.

In the United States the period after the Civil War was one of tremendous industrial growth. As machine production increased and destroyed small-scale industries, thousands upon thousands of men, women and children entered the factories. It was the period of the founding of the great American fortunes and a period of great misery and poverty for the American working class. In 1870, the yearly wage of a worker was \$405.64. He stayed at his machine twelve, fourteen and sixteen hours a day. In many cases, part of his wages was paid in money and the rest in coupons exchangeable only at company stores for food and clothing. Corporal punishment, firing, the blacklist were suffered by the worker of 76 years ago without hope of relief because in the words of a New England manufacturer, "when the workers get starved down to it they will work at just what you can afford to pay."

The law offered no aid. The employers controlled it. The state militia was used to break strikes. Men were imported from other states, made deputies of the law and authorized to shoot down workers who resisted. The Pinkerton Agency, a private concern of strike-breakers and labor spies, had at one time over 1,000 men in Chicago employed in the factories and willing to perform any "job" their employers called upon them to perform.

However, as the industries grew and the capitalists became richer, the working class also grew and became more powerful. The struggles between capital and labor became more intense. After years of recruiting in small numbers, the Knights of Labor was suddenly flooded with tens of thousands of applicants weekly. Every branch of labor was affected. Skilled and unskilled workers joined together in a desperate struggle to fight their way out of the misery and suffering to which they had been consigned by their masters, those "pioneers in wealth." The membership in the trade unions increased tremendously.

It is in the light of this period of turbulent struggle between capital and labor that the Haymarket Affair must be viewed. The Haymarket Affair was not only an attempt to punish the anarchists but an attempt to wreck the growing strength of the American labor movement.

In 1884, the Federation of Organized Trade Unions and Labor Unions, later called the American Federation of Labor, passed

a resolution stating that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May 1, 1886." By March of 1886 the sentiment for a general strike on May 1 to win this demand had grown to considerable proportions. Over a quarter of a million workers were vitally concerned over the eight-hour day and over 100,000 were prepared to go out on strike on May 1.

In Chicago, preparations for May Day were started at the close of 1885. The National Eight-Hour Day Association was formed and received the support of the trade unions and labor organizations. The Knights of Labor organized a demonstration in support of the eight-hour day and drew a crowd of 21,000. The Social Revolutionaries in Chicago supported the eight-hour day vigorously in their press. They warned the working class that the employers would never peacefully accede to a shorter working day. They told the workers to be prepared to meet violence with violence.

The press of Chicago gave a lot of space to attacks upon the radicals. They blamed them for the labor disturbances and said that if "troubles occur" these men would be to blame. The Chicago police force was in readiness on May 1 and the militia was also on the alert. The long awaited and feared May Day came. Despite the excitement, the day was peaceful. Over 30,000 workers struck.

On May 3 a clash between strikers and strike-breakers at the McCormick Reaper plant resulted in the death of a striker and the wounding of half a dozen more. The anarchists called a protest meeting for May 4 at Haymarket Square.

August Spies, Albert Parsons and other anarchists addressed the crowd. In the midst of the speeches a large body of police entered the square and the captain ordered the meeting to disperse. As the speakers descended from the platform, a bomb, thrown by an unidentified person, exploded, killing a cop and injuring several others. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, Engel and Lingg were arrested and charged with murder.

"Justice has not been done, more than this, could not be done. If one class is arrayed against the other, it is idle and hypocritical to think about justice." (Schwartz, death sentence commuted.)

Eight men were sentenced to death. Two had their sentences commuted and the others were hanged. There was no evidence that any of these men had committed murder. Their crime was a continuous struggle against the capitalist system and what it meant to the working class.

The Haymarket Affair was used by the press and the bosses for a vicious attack upon organized labor. Labor suffered but won. By May 15, 42,000 workers had won the eight-hour day by striking and another 150,000 workers had gotten shorter hours and better conditions on the strength of the strikes of the 42,000.

In 1890, the AFL voted to begin the eight-hour movement again on May 1. The Second International in a convention in Paris passed a resolution calling for a world-wide demonstra-

tion by all workers on May 1 for the eight-hour day. As the years passed, May 1 came to mean the day on which the working class expressed its solidarity and voiced its demands for better conditions.

"I hate and combat, not the individual capitalist, but the system that gives him those privileges. My greatest wish is that workmen may recognize who are their friends and who are their enemies." (George Engel, executed.)

The celebration of May Day during the past five years has been passed over quietly by the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Nothing, they said, must impede the "war effort," so the fight of the working class was pushed to the background while the fight for capitalist supremacy went on.

This year, however, May Day has a new significance. It is no longer the fight for the eight-hour day. The American working class has won that demand. Today, the American workers, freeing themselves from the shackles of the no-strike pledge and the War Labor Board, are preparing new and greater struggles for the emancipation of the working class. The long fight of the GM workers for their program is a part of May Day tradition.

May Day stands as a symbol of the strength of the American working class—a strength that will be used against capitalist wars, against race discrimination, against unemployment and lowered wages and for the establishment of a social system that will guarantee to the workers of the world a life of peace and plenty for all.



## Highlights From Past May Days

**MAY DAY, 1886—CHICAGO, ILL:**  
McCormick Reaper workers, who had been on strike for three months, were joined by forty-five thousand other Chicago workers after a group of American trade unions called for a general strike on May 1 to demand an eight-hour day. On May 3, when 80,000 workers were on strike in Chicago, the police opened fire without warning on the McCormick picket line and killed four workers and injured many others. The next day as a protest meeting in Haymarket Square was peacefully breaking up, the police suddenly attacked the demonstrators. Someone—evidence indicates it was a police agent or provocateur—threw a bomb. Thereupon began one of the worst labor-baiting campaigns in American history. Practically every labor leader in Chicago was arrested; eight of the most militant were tried and convicted. Four were hanged. It is in memory of the militancy of these workers that May Day is celebrated by workers all over the world today.

**MAY DAY, 1890:**  
The International Workingmen's Congress joined the American Federation of Labor in calling for mass strikes and demonstrations for the eight-hour day and in commemoration of the Haymarket martyrs. This was the first time that May Day was celebrated as an international workingmen's holiday.

**MAY DAY, 1896—ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA:**  
Lenin wrote his famous leaflet from his Czarist prison cell calling upon the St. Petersburg workers to unite to fight for their freedom: "Comrades, if we fight unitedly and together, then the time is not far off when we too will be in a position openly to join the common struggle of the workers of all lands, without distinction of race or creed, against the capitalists of the whole world. Our strong arms will rise and the chains of slavery will fall. The toilers of Russia will arise and terror will strike the hearts of the capitalists and of all other enemies of the working class."  
Two thousand copies of the leaflet were distributed among workers in forty factories, a large number in those days in Russia.

**MAY DAY, 1916—BERLIN, GERMANY:**  
Karl Liebknecht, despite the treachery and cowardice of the Social-Democratic leaders, organized and led a militant May Day demonstration in Berlin in the midst of World War I. At the meeting he denounced the imperialist war and called upon German workers to fight their main enemy, the German capitalists. For this courageous protest against imperialist slaughter, Liebknecht was arrested, tried behind closed doors, and sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment.

**MAY DAY, 1918—GLASGOW, SCOTLAND:**  
The shop stewards movement, a movement which grew out of the anti-war sentiment of the workers in Scotland, led the militants of the Clyde industrial area of Glasgow in a break with British labor tradition which had always celebrated May Day as a picnic on the first Sunday following May 1. Two hundred and fifty working class organizations joined in the one-day general strike on May 1.

**MAY DAY, 1919—CLEVELAND, OHIO:**  
Fifty thousand workers in a mass demonstration marching through the streets of Cleveland were attacked by a concentration of police and armed thugs, who succeeded in breaking up the procession after two workers had been shot and killed and hundreds of others had been beaten and injured.

**MAY DAY, 1933—HAMBURG, GERMANY:**  
The Nazis perverted the meaning of May Day from a voluntary one-day strike of working class solidarity to an exhibition at which was displayed the hated swastika, emblem of the capitalists' bully boys. The demonstration was without enthusiasm on the part of its participants, the workers who were forced to attend under threat of discharge. However, handfuls of 100 to 150 militants gathered in separate celebrations where the true traditions of May Day as a workers' holiday were maintained.

**MAY DAY, 1946:**  
The first May Day after the madness of the Second Imperialist World War is being celebrated this year over the entire world by revolutionary socialists who remain true to the ideals of freedom and socialism. In every country, groups of the Fourth International, who have so courageously survived the horrors of the war and the persecutions inflicted upon them by the capitalist governments, by the fascists and by the Stalinists, today raise high the banner of socialism. Their arms linked in socialist comradeship, they struggle together for a better world.

We salute the heroes of our movement in Europe and in Asia; we honor the memory of the fallen. And we march together, our heads high and our banners proud: forward to socialism!  
—H.

An Unparalleled Record of Socialist Resistance

# Greek Trotskyism During the War-time Terror

Among those who fought heroically against the brutality of the imperialist war and the system that engendered it, the International Revolutionary Party of Greece (section of the 4th International) deserves an honored place. The Greek section fought valiantly and paid a heavy toll. They were persecuted on all sides. More than 200 revolutionary workers were slaughtered by the gangsters of the Stalinist bureaucracy. From 1937 to 1944 scores of others were murdered by the Greek reactionaries or the German Nazis.

From 1937, during the Metaxas dictatorship, until the retirement of the Germans, the Greek comrades were cut off from contact with other sections of the 4th International. But a recently received report from the Central Committee of the International Revolutionary Party reveals what great sacrifices they underwent and how they carried the banner forward during the years of terror. Parts of that report follow:

"In May 1937 our activity was stopped . . . all our cadres had been captured. The members that remained outside of jail were not able to do any more than carry on oral propaganda and keep in contact with those imprisoned. Only at the end of 1938 did it become possible to circulate a proclamation against the coming war . . ."

**GREEK COMRADES CONTINUE TO FUNCTION IN THE PRISONS**

"In Greece the working class movement for 20 years has almost constantly found itself illegal, and all our comrades have enough experience with illegal activity. All those who were captured, without exception, made a heroic stand despite the police brutality. But our people, in such a situation of dispersal and terror had to circulate around collecting money for our printing expenses, or for getting themselves a piece of bread. Thus by May 1937 the police had captured all the activists of our Party.

"From then on the activity of our party was transferred to the armories (military guard houses) and the prisons. The control of arms, the development of problems, talks with comrades of other organizations—all the theoretical, political and organizational problems were discussed with passion in face of the coming war.

"In the armory at Akronauplio (an old medieval fortress of Nauplio, where 600 men were herded, who in the opinion of the police were dangerous communists) a leaflet was issued with which contact was made with those on the outside. Under the most brutal terror, the Trotskyist movement continued its heroic tradition. During the various international holidays our party organized meetings. When the murder of Trotsky became known, an impressive funeral meeting was held, at which Comrades Poulipoulos and Stina spoke about the work and life of Trotsky. The Stalinists watched astounded but did not dare interfere.

"Life in the guardhouse and the prisons was full of privations and torture. The daily allowance was 10 drachmas (then 1-100 of an English pound.) With this we had to eat, wash and take care of all our needs. Books and newspapers of any kind

were strictly forbidden. In many guardhouses, beatings were given on the slightest pretext and were a daily occurrence. At Akronauplio, on September 9, 1937, the garrison fired hundreds of rounds against the inmates and killed our comrade, Staurides. Life was literally martyrdom and for our combatants worse than martyrdom because of the Stalinists' savage behavior against us.

"On the islands, from the beginning, our comrades were excluded from the relief funds, that is, from the money the workers sent for the victims of the dictatorship. Not satisfied with this attempt to starve us, the Stalinists told the farmers and the rural police that we were anarchists, agitators, atheists, without-a-countryites, against the family, etc.

"Thus they made our comrades' lives more difficult. In the prisons of Aiginis, in agreement with the administrators of the jails, the Stalinists were able to isolate our comrades and the Archeo-Marxists to a narrow and small cell with only one small window near the toilets. In this tiny room 19 comrades of ours and the Archeo-Marxists were to carry out their long sentences. . . ."

**REACTION OF STALINIST PRISONERS TO HITLER PACT**

"The signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact was announced officially by the head of the guardhouse. At the beginning, the Stalinists protested and screamed that it was a lie and a provocation. Later when they found out it was neither a lie nor a provocation, they greeted the pact with enthusiasm. We were left with our mouths open at this moral and spiritual degeneration, even though we had been prepared for anything on the part of the Stalinists. They celebrated and hailed the machine that had been put up by Stalin against the 'democratic' allies, and they mocked and laughed at them. These fanatical 'anti-fascists of yesterday were converted abruptly into defenders of Hitler's justice. And in this new point of view there was the same fanaticism as in all previous changes.

"They studied the map with conclusions about a war between Russia and Germany against England and France. Russia would take half of Poland, the Baltics, Bessarabia, the Indies, etc. They even spoke of a peaceful change of the fascist régime to one of Soviets. They gave the impression of a phonograph with a different record. With the eruption of the Greek-Italian war, there was

further sharpening in our relationship. At the meetings they called, we defended the principles of proletarian internationalism with pathos and daring, amidst howling and swearing of the assembled Stalinists.

"During the crumbling of the battlefront, the decomposition of the governmental mechanism and the bombings by the Germans, a situation developed at the guardhouse of Akronauplio making it possible for all the prisoners to escape. The fortress was being bombed, the guards had been terrified and were scattered. But the leaders of the Stalinists hindered the escape. They said they did not want to endanger the group, and because the head of the guardhouse had promised them that as soon as the Germans reached Athens he would open the gates and liberate all the prisoners. To our protests that the heads of the guardhouse would turn us over to the Germans, the bureaucrats called upon their members to follow and watch us in case we tried to escape.

"The Germans took Nauplio first, instead of Athens. The head of the guardhouse turned us over to the Germans. This dishonorable act of the Stalinists cost the lives of hundreds of workers. The Stalinists really believed that Hitler, to please Stalin, would set them free!

(The report then describes how, in the chaotic situation, a number of comrades managed to escape from their island prisons and return to the Greek mainland.—Ed.)

**THE PARTY OF GREEK TROTSKYISM LIVES AGAIN!**

"Immediately, from the escaped prisoners, the party was put together. The banner of the Fourth International is again proudly unfurled. After six years in hell, without even bothering to take a breath, they leap in battle. Naked, barefoot, hungry, sick, they run to their relatives, friends and to old comrades; collect money and buy a typewriter and a duplicating machine. A proclamation is immediately issued and circulated. A little later a print shop is purchased and our printing activities begin. We issue our newspaper and the magazine, Permanent Revolution. Proclamations are distributed regularly by the thousands. On the walls, after a lapse of years and under the slogan of the occupation, appear the slogans of the proletarian revolution.

"There is a change in the situation in the Fall of 1943. The crumbling of Italian fascism generates life in the working masses and for a moment awakens its class consciousness. The activity of the nationalist organizations, especially the EAM, is paralyzed. Our slogans find a response. The program of the Fourth International becomes the object of the most lively concern to the masses. A strike wave with class demands breaks out and our party leads the bakery-workers' strike. The merchants have food hidden in the warehouses, and the masses demand the opening of these warehouses and the distribution of

the food. Our party takes an active part in this movement, and under the leadership of our comrades many warehouses are opened and with model honesty the food is distributed. Our comrades refuse to take the share to which they are entitled.

"Everything gives the impression that things have changed, and our party develops strength. But the

seizure of Italy by the Anglo-American and German forces and the forced interruption there of the revolutionary unfolding have an immediate effect here. The working class, which for a moment had risen up, not on its two feet, but on one knee, now falls down again."

Today, despite the oppression and reaction in Greece, that section of

the Fourth International continues to rebuild itself. We can offer but one tribute to the Greek martyrs who died in the struggle and to those who managed to survive and continue the fight: to build a strong revolutionary socialist party here in the United States and continue the fight until we achieve together a socialist world.

## International Socialist Notes

**FRANCE**

La Vérité (Truth), organ of the International Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International, is the only paper in France today which denounces the crimes of the French army in Indo-China and demands immediate freedom for colonial peoples.

Both the socialist and Stalinist parties have voted war credits for financing the repression of the Indo-Chinese.

Former German soldiers, including 4,000 SS men, have been inducted into the French Foreign Legion and sent to the Far East.

For manifesting sympathy with the Vietnam government, 10,000 Annamite workers out of 12,000 were laid off from their jobs in France, and hundreds were arrested, including many Annamite soldiers. At Oran 500 Annamite soldiers have been locked up with German prisoners or put in concentration camps.

In contrast to the cowardly policy being pursued by the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, the French party has begun a campaign of vindication of Leon Trotsky, addressing demands to the prosecution at Nuremberg for the revelation of the alleged conspiracy between Trotsky and the Nazis.

An article in La Vérité states in part: ". . . the monstrous campaign of lies directed against Trotsky and the Fourth International must be pitilessly unmasked, for it is the very negation of all honesty and all democracy in the labor movement. The International Communist Party, along side the English Revolutionary Communist Party and the Dutch Revolutionary Communist Party, must in its turn address the French and Soviet representatives at Nuremberg to demand the truth, the whole truth, on the 'proofs' of the Moscow Trial."

As a result of the policy of the French government, a fascist movement is stirring into life in France. Known as the "Republican Party of Liberty," its incubation period was shortened recently by a gift of millions of francs from large insurance companies.

Our French comrades have been active in exposing the movement and in rallying workers to the meetings of the fascists in order to combat them.

Significantly enough, the toleration of the open activity of these fascists by a government in which the Socialists and Communists are a ma-

ajority coincided with the prohibition of the publication of La Vérité.

The French party has announced the coming publication of Lenin's pamphlet, "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It." It is a real event, for the occupation destroyed all Marxist literature. There is a terrible dearth of theoretical material in France. Even the Stalinists, with all their resources, have published strikingly little. The republication of Marxist classics, difficult though it is in impoverished France, is a necessary step in the political rearmament of the French working class.

**ENGLAND**

The Socialist Appeal, organ of the English Revolutionary Communist Party, recently reported interesting data on the strike of Singapore workers which began on the 29th of January and extended for several days.

"Over 200,000 workers participated in the struggle, including the engineers, dockworkers, public employ-

ees, and even domestic servants and the shopkeepers responded to the call.

"The strike had been called because of the continued refusal on the part of the British authorities to release 14 trade union leaders and militants who had been imprisoned for their participation in a previous strike in December, which took place on the issue of higher wages and better conditions for the workers."

The following appeal was addressed to British and Indian soldiers by the native workers: "The workers of Malaya humbly request you to give us every possible help in the present 'strike' to raise our standard of living. You shall perform your duty in saving humanity from the imperialist yoke. If you are not in a position to help us, please be neutral. The British government may force you to open fire upon the unarmed and innocent people. Dear brothers, keep up the name of Indfa and save mankind from poverty and death.

"Your brothers who are struggling for better living and New Democracy."  
—J. M. F.

## A LETTER FROM FRANCE

(The following letter was received from a friend now residing in France. The notes on the present situation in France will be of interest, we believe, to the readers of LABOR ACTION.)  
Dear Friend:

1. "La Vérité" is at last legalized. Many Socialist and trade union locals had passed resolutions that helped build up pressure.

2. A few words on the SFIO convention of last week-end. What a difference between the diplomatic mouthings—the talk of "production and more production"—and the "great moral heritage of France" by Gouin, Daniel Mayer and Co., and the demand of the Socialist ranks for nationalization of industry with workers control—and an SFIO-CP-CGT government or just SFIO-CP. The more Stalinized elements were strong. But there were also those like Boutbien, a leading member of the Seine delegation who said:

"We must not let ourselves be locked in the dilemma—Anglo-American bloc or Soviet bloc. The policies of the Big 3 have led the world and peace up a blind alley. Why? The real cause is the evolution of international capitalism—the enemy that must be struck down. It is even one of the principal causes of the degeneration of Soviet socialism,

which well proves that Socialism cannot be realized in one country." He further attacked the reliance by his own leader Blum on credits, and called for a European Economic Federation.

There was also some hot denunciation of French colonial policy by North African delegates, to which the Socialist Minister of Colonies Marius Moutet, had nothing to reply; and a heck of a lot of impatience with the tripartite government.

3. Pierre Herve, Stalinist big shot and deputy, in their weekly "Fraternité," got particularly nauseating. While "attacking" anti-Semitism, he "pointed out" that the Trotskyites are at least four-fifths Jewish. Result: PCI militants distributing La Vérité were called "Youdis! Youpins!" (Kikes) by a bunch of Stalinists. (Note: Maybe Herve read the reference by Shachtman's essay in his "New Course" to what the Stalinists wrote about the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition!)

4. The CGT (French trade union federation) holds its first convention since 1938 next Monday. The questions of wages and prices and workers' control of production will certainly bring heated discussion from the still thinking workers.

Best regards,  
D.

## Some Greek Martyrs To the Socialist Cause

This is a partial list of our heroic martyrs who died in the struggle:

Comrades Bourzoukis, C. Arbantinos, C. Tsiggelis. Ten years behind them in the movement. After escaping from prison, where they had been held for six years—sliced to pieces by the knives of the Stalinists.

Th. Oikonoum, young student, killed by the Stalinists after they cut off his ears.

Tuiligades, worker. Police brutality forced him to commit suicide, May, 1937. Member of our party.

N. Panagiotides, worker, member of the Central Committee of our party. Died at Akronauplio (prison), April, 1938.

D. Scalaios, journalist, died at Akronauplio, September, 1938. Member of our party.

I. Ioannides, teacher, starved to death during the winter of 1941 on the island of Ai Strati, where he had been exiled. Member of our party.

I. Makris, worker, member of the CC of our party. Shot by the Italians, June, 1943.

P. Poulipoulos, N. Giannakes, Xypolytos, shot June, 1943, by the Italian military. Members of the EOKA.

B. Tsamatzas, worker, G. Krokos, teacher, D. Pantazis, worker, members of the CC of our party, killed May, 1944, by the Nazis.

Soulas Miles, Kabanis, Gianakoulis, revolutionary socialists, killed, May, 1944, by the Nazis.

F. Tsigkris, student, member of our party, killed by Greek fascists.

Ananiades, Kokkinos, Ntelipolias and three other workers, members of our party in Salonika, killed by the Germans and members of the Greek "Security."

A Reaffirmation of the Revolutionary Ideal

# Why the World Socialist Perspective Remains Valid for Our Time

By IRVING HOWE

We are living—let us frankly admit—in the aftermath of great defeats suffered by the labor and socialist movements internationally. All the decadent tendencies of a rotten society accumulate speed as they hurl humanity backward. The Second World War is hardly over when there appears the threat of a third. Fascism, though militarily destroyed in parts of Europe, flourishes elsewhere; the root-conditions which nourish it, persist. Europe is a shambles, a wrecked and tortured continent; its economy shattered and without possibility of healthy reconstruction on any basis short of socialist revolution; its people unmurdered and devitalized by years of hunger and agony. The totalitarian colossus of Stalinism flourishes amidst this social putrefaction; its very sustenance is in the decay of a capitalist society over-ripe for a socialist revolution which has not yet succeeded.

The European working class, despite the magnificent urges and movements towards revitalization which have taken place in France, Italy and England, remains in many countries atomized, disrupted, disoriented. How are the workers in countries like Austria and Hungary to gain a sense of social solidarity when the very factories upon which their sustenance and status depend are taken away by the Russians? How are the workers of Germany to gain a sense of unified resurgence when their country is split into ribbons by occupying armies which create chaos and confusion? The totalitarian poisons of Fascism and Stalinism have left their mark: even many of the workers who believe themselves committed to militant struggle for the socialist program have had their conceptions of it debased and poisoned by their experiences with these two totalitarian movements. And in this situation the revolutionary movement—that is the parties of the Fourth International and adjacent groups—remain small, isolated, persecuted by all the powers.

That is the setting for our time. It is not pretty. It gives no occasion for shrill optimism or shallow bombast. We must face the problem of how to react to these events: Is the perspective of Socialism still valid? Has it been proven by history to be a mere utopian chimera? Is the possibility of social action itself a realistic one?

**ON THE NEW "FAILURE OF NERVE"**

One set of answers has already been given, both in America and elsewhere, by people who, although they are intellectuals and therefore often believe themselves to be functioning in pure and detached areas of the mind, still reflect the social pressures about them and serve as symptoms of the crisis of our times. In themselves, these people might be of slight significance; but they cannot

be viewed independently, for they are the weathervanes of the social storm.

Lamentations fill the air; cries of agony and repentance; pessimism is elevated from a mood to a philosophy—the intellectuals, stunned by the events of this world, would turn to another. Where formerly many of them believed in the possibility of social action to achieve a new society, of cooperation with the working class to build socialism, today they turn away from society. Increasingly large numbers abandon the idea of social action for the myth of individual salvation. Rather than change society, they exhort people to purify their souls. Some turn to outright mysticism, to the trinity; others—more sophisticated—develop philosophical versions of the same retreat. Suffering, we are told by them, is the inevitable and unavoidable lot of man: the fundamental human condition. No attempt to change society can alleviate that condition so long as the individual has not previously cleansed himself. The most extreme and socially irresponsible forms of individualism—in which some mythical and nonexistent individual is throned as Deity—are rampant. We are witnessing the "failure of nerve," the rout of the "men of thought" and the "spokesmen of our time" before the facts of life. And when these people mention the atom bomb, with its horrible potentialities, their rout becomes sheer hysteria.

(The absurd is brought to its final limit in France where a group of people—after issuing the inevitable *Revue*—have announced themselves as "Dolorists," people who believe in sadness as normal and desirable, who revel in the rejection of any possible social change.)

**SOCIETY MUST BE CHANGED FIRST**

Though we revolutionary Socialists do not in any way minimize the seriousness of the present situation, we categorically and contemptuously reject all such tendencies of thought as have been here described. We believe that the basic problem of our time resides in society, not in the soul. We believe that humanity can develop a healthy society of plenty and peace, and not that "sadness is our birthright." The pitiful creatures who wallow in their tears have merely magnified their own helplessness into a permanent generalization. But as socialists we continue to affirm the possibility and necessity for men to work together to build a new and decent society, and that means primarily the class which has most to gain from and can alone construct socialism: the working class.

Is it merely wishful thinking that allows us to persist in our belief? Is it merely because we want it so?

Of course, part of the answer is: yes, one of the reasons why we believe in the continued validity and relevance of the socialist

program is the fact that we desire it, the fact that it alone can solve the problems of our day. History is not some automatic process in which men are merely puppets; history is the activity of men functioning within the limits of their situation. And today that situation cries for a socialist solution. That the ranks of the socialist vanguard throughout the world have remained firm despite the most incredible persecution (see the report from Greece in this issue of LABOR ACTION) is one of the reasons why we remain so firmly attached to the socialist ideal.

**CAPITALISM CAN SOLVE NO PROBLEM**

But more: society is at an impasse. The breath of capitalism becomes shorter, more strained and choked. Capitalism is at a loss to reconstruct the world, it cannot achieve the most simple reorganization of production and distribution in Europe. In America, the gigantic paradox of its existence becomes more evident each day: the gigantic productive facilities which it unleashed for war are not, and by the very nature of the system, cannot be utilized for peacetime production. Starvation; poverty in the midst of plenty; uprooting of millions of people; renewed totalitarianism; diplomatic hypocrisy; destruction of and failure to use productive facilities; preparations for new war; imperialist exploitation; filthy jockeying for division of the spoils of war—this catalogue of the aspects of capitalist society can be continued indefinitely. The society is sick, moribund, overripe for change. It is beyond redemption, beyond reform. No realistic desirable alternative exists except a thorough socialist reconstruction. And that is the program to which the working class, for all its present confusion in Europe and political immaturity in America, will have to turn if it is not to sink completely into a new era of barbarism.

But it is not merely the impossibility of the old system which leads us to believe in the desirability and possibility of a new one. The revolutionary lever of modern history, the working class, continues to struggle. With what truly awesome and magnificent courage have some sections of the European workers risen anew to fulfill their historic tasks: the French workers immediately after the retreat of the Germans; the Polish workers in the short-lived Warsaw Commune which was stifled by Stalin; the workers of northern Italy who turned to revolutionary action and seizure of factories as soon as the war was over.

True, they have again been deflected from their tasks; the same problem remains in Europe: to give revolutionary leadership to these strivings, to break the hold of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats. But the thrivings themselves remain. Struggle is an ines-

capable condition of existence for the working class under capitalism; it will continue until there is a triumphant ending.

**THE REVOLT OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES**

Just as the working class has begun to stir inside the imperialist countries, so have the major powers of capitalism been attacked even more resolutely by a wave of colonial revolutions and near-revolutions by peoples determined to achieve national freedom. In Indonesia, in Indo-China, in India, national revolutions which strike at the very heart of imperialist power have taken place, are continuing and will take place.

And in America itself—that colossus of imperialism—the working class has been militant, has struggled with a ferocity and resoluteness that has given encouragement to the workers everywhere. The wave of strikes which culminated in the GM strike and its advanced program, indicates the freshness, the readiness to struggle of the American workers.

The most elementary needs and demands of the people are unrealizable under capitalism.

Do you want economic plenty, the utilization of the means of production for peaceful needs? Then you must fight for socialism.

Do you want the right of national independence for the colonial world? Then you must fight for socialism.

Do you want the right for democratic self-determination of the peoples of Europe? Then you must fight for socialism.

Do you want the perpetuation and flowering of the democratic rights which the workers have won through years of struggle? Then you must fight for socialism.

Do you want a future without atomic bombs, without poison gas, without terror bombing? Then you must fight for socialism.

There is no other road. Either chaos and destruction—or socialist reconstruction. The socialist perspective is more valid, more essential than ever because it alone meets the problems of our times; it alone proposes a program that is realizable in the situation of declining capitalism and which is a comprehensive solution to all of our social problems, as well as a concretization of the greatest ideals of which humanity is capable.

In part at least, the realization of this program depends upon the people who believe in it and fight for it. What we do will help determine the future. And that is why on this May Day in 1946 we unfurl again the banner of socialist revolution; we stand with arms interlocked with our comrades throughout the world; we march towards the future.

## A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

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**WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZED LABOR**  
 IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD

## A May Day Manifesto By the Workers Party

(Continued from page 1)

farce. Food, clothing, homes and furnishings are for the most part available only on the black market or at black market prices. The post-war boom has not yet materialized and when it does nobody will give any serious assurance of how long it will last before mass unemployment and mass misery are once more upon us and in a more aggravated form than ever before.

The American working class is losing confidence in capitalism and the spokesmen for "free enterprise." That is a most encouraging sign.

The end of the war unleashed a series of inspiring labor struggles throughout the nation, strikes which blanketed one basic industry after another. So great is the power of American labor, organized into unions that are fifteen million strong, that the monopolists and their government were unable to break the strikes or the spirit of the strikers by direct attack.

In these strikes, the American workers showed that they are no longer content with merely asking for a wage increase of a few cents on the hour. They are beginning to see that their fight for existence, their fight for security, their fight for higher wages, is inseparably connected with the question of prices and of profits. They are beginning to see that this fight, in turn, cannot be won by directing their efforts against this or that employer alone. They go far beyond that. They see what a decisive and all-important meaning the government has in this fight. This is only another way of saying: *political power is decisive. To win, to gain our legitimate demands, to realize our aspirations, we must get political power!*

In the advance guard of the American working class today are the workers of the General Motors Corporation, the giant du Pont monopoly. In their strike, they, more clearly than any of the other workers, proclaimed their vote of non-confidence in the rule and management of the monopoly capitalists.

They said: We, the workers, claim that the industry can give labor a decent wage without the monopolists raising the prices of automobiles to the consumers, and without the corporation taking a super-monopolistic profit for itself. We, the workers, can prove this by the books of the corporation itself, which we ask to have opened to our control.

The monopolists did not even have the courage to deny the claim of labor. The government did not challenge it, either. All they could do and all they did was to reject the demands of the workers.

Think of this, working men and working women! By their attitude, the monopolists and their government admit their social bankruptcy. They are saying that they must have their super-profits above all other things, and that in order to get them the wages of workers must be kept low and the prices to the consumer kept high.

**The GM workers are the first great body of American labor to begin to voice the demand which will sooner or later be voiced by the millions everywhere in the country: Labor must control wages and prices and profits! Labor must control production! Labor demands that the industries of the self-confessed bankrupts be nationalized!**

It has already been shown what a tremendous power this demand, clearly and boldly voiced, would have throughout the nation. Practically all the people, including the middle classes, were sympathetic to the demands of the GM workers. The

big corporations were so panic-stricken that they poured out millions in a nationwide publicity campaign against the GM workers' demands. But the results showed a most important thing. The common people, the little people of the country, are ready to follow the leadership of labor if labor declares courageously and militantly that it is ready to take over the leadership of the nation, that it is ready to take over the responsibility for organizing the economic life of the nation in such a way as to provide prosperity and security for all.

The power of the ideas voiced, however moderately, in the GM strike is so great that even the opponents of these ideas in the leadership of the Auto Workers Union find themselves compelled, in the fight against their rival, Reuther, to put forward the most radical-sounding program they dare to write.

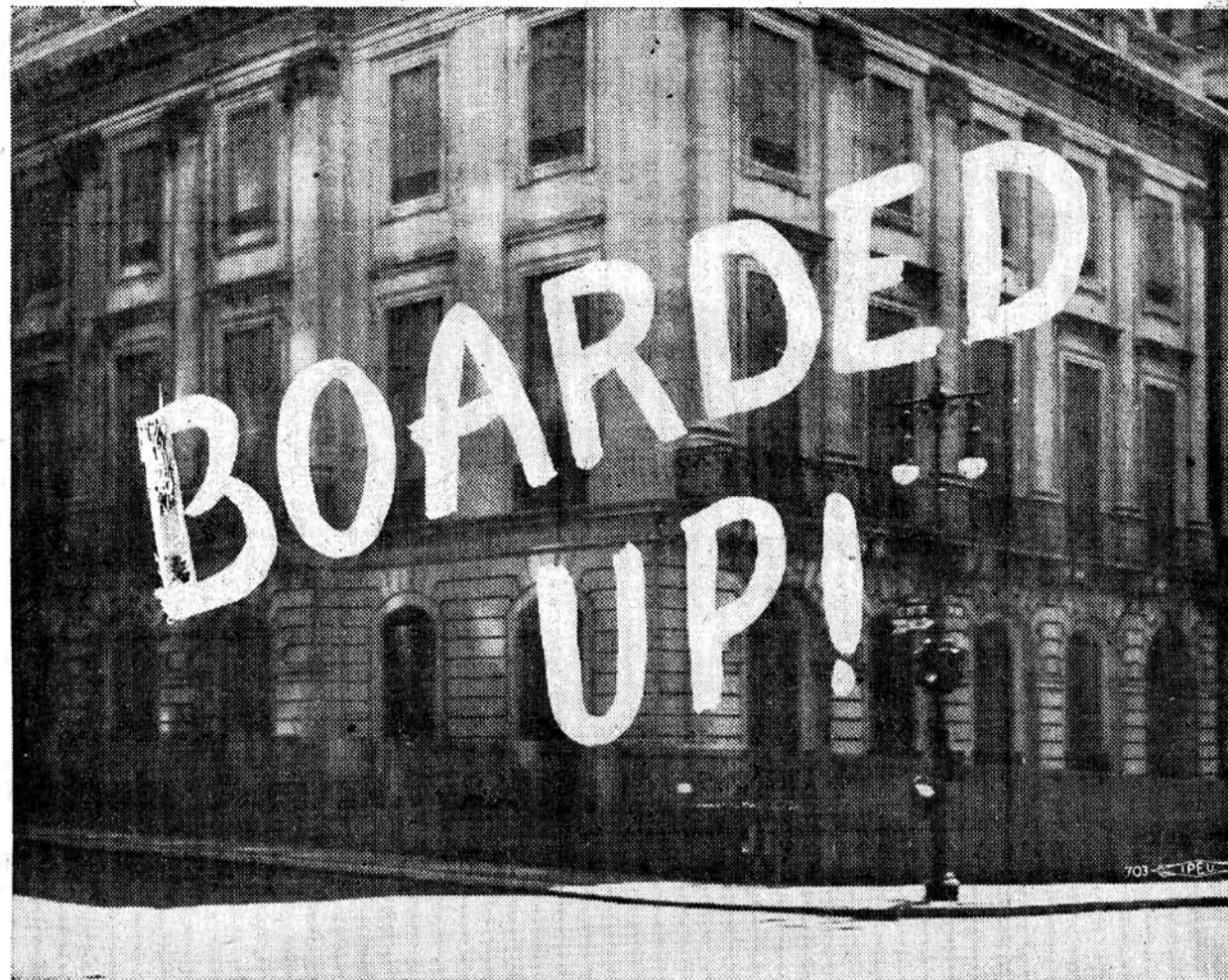
**FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT** But these ideas must be clarified and the instruments created for realizing them. The monopolists cannot and will not assure the people a high standard of living, a guaranteed year-around job and a minimum annual wage. Therefore, nationalize the industries of these bankrupts! The Truman government cannot and will not nationalize these industries, or lift a finger against the economically and politically powerful monopolists. Then let us establish a government of our own, a workers' government, which will do what is necessary!

**Toward this end, the mighty American working class must have a mighty political organization, an Independent Labor Party based upon and organized by the trade unions. To think of such a party in terms of electing a congressman or two or even twenty, is an absolutely miserable way of dealing with the problem. Labor, with an independent party of its own which will break completely from all the capitalist parties, can think seriously of dealing with its problems only if it thinks seriously in terms of a workers' government, in terms of a revolutionary program of organizing and managing the economy of the country so that there is abundance for all, in terms of taking the leadership and the responsibility of leadership of the nation in every field of social life.**

The Workers Party greets its comrades and brothers and sisters of the working class of this country and throughout the world this May Day. We are the party of revolutionary socialism. We are part and parcel of the labor movement and have no interests separate from the interests of the whole working class. This is a day of great rejoicing for us in this country. The American working class is on the march. It is taking the first big steps out of the slime of capitalist decay, capitalist disorganization, capitalist bankruptcy, capitalist barbarism. It is rising to its truly gigantic stature as the reorganizer of society. It cannot achieve this goal, accomplish this task, without moving toward a victory which is the victory of socialism. It cannot be victorious without lifting the rest of the world, now gripped by ruthless American imperialism on the one hand and Russian Stalinist despotism on the other, to the eminence of socialist freedom. Therein lies the program, the aim and aspiration, the reason for existence and the need for our revolutionary socialist Workers Party.

**Forward to the struggle for a Workers' Government!**  
**Workers of all countries, unite!**

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
 WORKERS PARTY,  
 MAX SHACHTMAN,  
 Secretary.**



## Mansions Are Boarded-Up While Veterans Seek Homes

By Philip Bagradian

"I can put you on the waiting list for a cave" is what one of the apartment-hunting vets in the new musical comedy, "Call Me Mister," is told. But this doesn't even happen in real life. A veteran can't find an apartment or a cave or even a fox hole.

Have you just returned from a fox-hole? Have you found it necessary to "double up" with your in-laws, other relatives, friends or even strangers? Have you spent days tramping the streets for a "Vacancy" and found only a maze of "No Vacancy" signs? Have you looked longingly at the boarded-up mansions you passed in your search for a home? When the demobilized British soldiers faced the same situation upon their return home last year, they organized "Vigilante" committees and "seized" the homes of absentee owners and moved in with their families.

Now that they've won the war (at least, so they say), the industrialists, the owners of the means of production, the leisure class (parasites) of society are now resting on their laurels and taking a well-earned (?) vacation. They are now reverting to their pre-war habits and are once again spending their fall and winter months in Florida homes and their summer months at Lake Placid in their palatial summer mansions. The town houses of this specially privileged class, and which they don't seem to be able to find time to live in because of pressing social engagements, elsewhere, are boarded up, vacant, unused. These are the homes that you've undoubtedly passed in the residential neighborhoods in your quest for a roof over your head.

Fifth and Park Avenues have a great number of boarded-up mansions and many large estates whose "absentee owners" don't seem to be affected by the housing shortage, while veterans sorely in need of shelter roam the streets looking for a place to live. According to a report of the Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings, "The veterans of

New York City will need 211,000 housing units by December 31, 1946."

While the government is undoubtedly deeply concerned as the hundreds of articles appearing in the press would have us believe, it has done practically nothing to solve this crisis. If there were 211,000 mansions available, we assume that all the veterans would have to do would be to move in with his family and just "take over." But, since there aren't that many available, we're sure the veteran would not object to being slightly cramped for space and move in with a few other families into a home where only one family had previously lived. Of course they wouldn't be able then to keep the servants that the previous inhabitant had, but many vets wouldn't mind even if they had to live in the servants' quarters. We're sure that these vets would gladly give these temporary homes back to the former owners as soon as new housing would be provided. It would be a relatively simple matter for the government to requisition these homes and permit their use by veterans and their families until the present housing crisis is over.

Between 1941 and 1946, Congress appropriated \$417,260,127,310 for the war! That's right, four hundred and seventeen billion dollars and some change! Had this money been divided among the families in the United

States, each family would have received \$11,936. This money would have provided every family with a brand new home (\$7,000); house furnishings (\$1,500); a new car (\$1,000); and a reserve fund of \$2,346.

The housing bill recently passed by the Senate, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill would cost the government, at the most, \$143,000,000 per year. Billions of dollars are available for death and destruction. That is more important to the present rulers of society than life and health, as evidenced by the niggardly sum that is made available for housing for veterans.

Less than one-one hundredth of the amount spent for war is being spent for the heroes of that war!

There's been a lot of ballyhoo by all sorts of committees and tons of articles written in the newspapers about rehabilitation and readjustment of the veteran to society. But, how can a veteran even begin to re-adjust himself without a roof over his head?

Labor must realize that the veterans must have the support of every working man and woman in their demands for decent housing. The needs of the veterans are also the needs of the labor movement. A five billion dollar, one-year veterans' housing program, which is advocated by the Workers Party, would supply jobs and homes for millions of unemployed workers and veterans.

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## OFF LIMITS

By JAMES M. FENWICK

### A MAY DAY TO REMEMBER

May 1, 1916. That was thirty years ago to the day—a whole generation as our grandfathers reckoned time, and in terms of working class political consciousness it seems ever more distantly remote, so severe has been the ebb of world wide revolutionary thought in our time.

May 1, 1916, found Germany caught midway in the horrible carnage of World War I. Though the war was not to end for two more years, the German workers and soldiers, then the most politically educated of the entire world, were already deadly sick of the seemingly endless slaughter.

Betrayed by the social democratic party, which had preached international socialism before the war and had turned rabidly patriotic when war was declared, propagandized by the German capitalist press, and enslaved by the notorious discipline of the German military machine, thousands of German workers were waiting only for leadership to demonstrate their international working class solidarity.

Their chance came.

POTSDAM SQUARE, MAY 1, 1916, 8 P.M.

Posters, illegally printed and bearing the following words, "All out for the May Day demonstration," appeared in working class neighborhoods. Leaflets were distributed by militant workers saying, "All who are against the war, come to Potsdam Square, May 1, 8 p.m. Bread! Liberty! Peace!"

The posters and leaflets were the work of Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacists. Liebknecht, a member of the social democratic (socialist) fraction in the Reichstag, was the first parliamentary representative of the German working class to oppose the imperialist war. The Spartacists were the members of the social-democratic party who were opposed to the war on a Marxist basis.

On the evening of May 1, despite masses of mounted and foot police who had been ordered out, ten thousand Berlin workers mobilized on Potsdam Square to demonstrate against the war. At eight o'clock Liebknecht, who had been drafted by the government so as to curb his activity, appeared and began to speak.

He was able to shout only "Down with the war! Down with the government!" before he was pulled down by the police and arrested. The police then attempted to break up the crowd, but they continued to march around the square demonstrating for two hours before they were dispersed.

Simultaneous with the Berlin demonstration, similar mass meetings were being held by the Spartacists all over Germany—in Dresden, Jena, Stuttgart, Magdeburg, Braunschweig, Leipzig, Kiel, Bremen, and Duisburg.

### THE RISING TIDE

After a prolonged trial Liebknecht was sentenced to four years in jail. Shortly thereafter his associate, the famous revolutionist, Rosa Luxemburg, was similarly sentenced to jail, as was the courageous Franz Mehring, the brilliant scholar and internationalist, who was then a man of seventy.

But the tide was not to be turned.

As the butchery continued anger continued to mount. The October revolution in Russia added fuel to the fire. On October 21, 1918, Liebknecht was liberated from prison through the pressure of the masses, though only half his sentence had been served. Finally, mutinies broke out in the navy and revolts in the army. The German capitalists, faced with allied military superiority and the opposition of workers, soldiers, and sailors, had to sue for peace.

The bloody butchery was over.

### A LESSON FOR OUR TIMES

Contrast the course of events in Germany in World War II with the events of World War I. In this last war, despite the unparalleled length and frightfulness of the destruction, for lack of a socialist consciousness in Germany the Wehrmacht fought from the last pile of rubble in Berlin.

For lack of socialist consciousness among the ranks of the workers, soldiers, and sailors of allied armies the slaughter of the workers of the world was allowed to continue unhindered.

Only socialism can ultimately drive war from our planet.

Let every veteran who has seen the horrors of the recent simple war of mechanical force, ponder those facts carefully in the face of war of atomic force which our capitalist masters are coolly preparing for us unless socialism intervenes.

## WORKERS PARTY MAY DAY MEETINGS

### NEWARK, APRIL 28:

Speaker: Irving Howe  
 Editorial Board, Labor Action  
 Labor Action Hall, 248 Market Street

### NEW YORK, MAY 1:

Speakers:  
**ERNEST ERBER**  
 National Educational Director, Workers Party  
**NATHAN GOULD**  
 National Organizer, Workers Party  
**JACKIE ROBINS**  
 Socialist Youth League  
 Place: Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St.  
 Admission: 40 Cents

### CHICAGO, MAY 1:

Speaker:  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
 National Secretary, Workers Party  
 Chairman: Robert Ferguson  
 Chicago Organizer, Workers Party  
 Place: Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St.

### AKRON, MAY 1:

Speaker:  
**ALBERT GATES**  
 Editor, Labor Action  
 Place: Milk Drivers' Hall, 324 Perkins

### PHILADELPHIA, MAY 1:

Speaker:  
**EMANUEL GARRETT**  
 Editor, Labor Action  
 Place: Grand Fraternity Building  
 1626 Arch St. (Room 20)

### READING, MAY 1:

Speaker:  
**JAMES F. FENWICK**  
 Philadelphia Organizer, Workers Party  
 Place: Labor Lyceum, Reed and Walnut Sts.

### LOUISVILLE, MAY 1:

THREE SPEAKERS  
 Place: LABOR TEMPLE  
 Broadway, bet. Hancock and Jackson

### BUFFALO, MAY 1:

Speaker:  
**DAVID COOLIDGE**  
 Organization Sec'y, Workers Party  
 Place: LABOR ACTION HALL  
 639 Main Street

### BALTIMORE, MAY 3:

Speaker: SHIRLEY WALLER  
 Nat'l Sec'y, Socialist Youth League  
 Place: Friends Center, Lombard  
 and Penn Streets

### LOS ANGELES, MAY 3:

MAY DAY PROGRAM—BUFFET  
 Place: Cooperative Ctr., 4203 S. Hoover  
 Admission: \$1.25 — Time: 7 P. M.

### DETROIT, MAY 4:

Speaker:  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
 Nat'l Sec'y, Workers Party  
 Place: Labor Action Hall  
 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott)  
 8:00 P. M. Admission Free

# Greetings on May Day, 1946

## From Local New York Of the Workers Party . . . . .

FOR A BIGGER AND BETTER LABOR ACTION

Queens Branch

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."  
—Karl Marx.

Harlem Branch, Workers Party  
2143 Seventh Avenue

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION

Chelsea Branch, Workers Party

HAIL THE G. M. STRIKERS! GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION

Brooklyn Branch, WP  
UAW Workers  
276 Fulton Street

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS!

Brooklyn Branch, WP  
Electrical Workers  
276 Fulton Street

FOR THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Yorkville Branch  
Workers Party

## With the Workers Party

**AKRON**  
For information, write to Bill Ford, Box 221, Akron, Ohio.

**BUFFALO**  
HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

**CHICAGO**  
LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12.

Telephone: CHesapeake 5798.  
Office Hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

**DETROIT**  
LABOR ACTION HALL—3773 Grand (at Mt. Elliott). Office hours: Monday-Friday, 11 A. M. to 3 P. M.; Saturday, 1 to 5 P. M.

**LOS ANGELES**  
LABOR ACTION headquarters at Mason Theatre Building, 127 So. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Room 310.  
Office open daily 11 A. M. to 3 P. M., except Friday and Sunday. Open evening: Wednesday, 6:00-8:00.

**NEWARK**  
LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.  
Labor Action Hall is available to

organizations for meetings. For rental terms and arrangements, write R. Shaw, Labor Action Hall, 248 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

**NEW YORK CITY**  
CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St.  
—open all day until 7 p.m.  
Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday  
—open until 10 p.m.

**PHILADELPHIA**  
HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

For information of other Workers Party branches and LABOR ACTION offices, write to the National Office, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

**SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE**  
The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: Manhattan, New York; Brooklyn, New York; Philadelphia, Penna.; Baltimore, Maryland; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wisconsin, and Seattle, Washington.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to Socialist Youth League, 114 W. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

ONWARD TO LABOR'S VICTORY!  
Cleveland Branch  
Workers Party

REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS FROM  
STEPHEN AND TIMOTHY  
Egbertsville, N. Y.

GREETINGS FROM  
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE  
BALTIMORE

GREETINGS FROM THE  
SAN PEDRO  
BRANCH

MAY DAY GREETINGS

Buffalo Branch  
Workers Party

SALUTE TO LABOR ACTION ON MAY DAY AND THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST BARRIBARISM AND FOR THE WORKERS' REVOLUTION!

San Francisco Bay Area Branch  
Workers Party

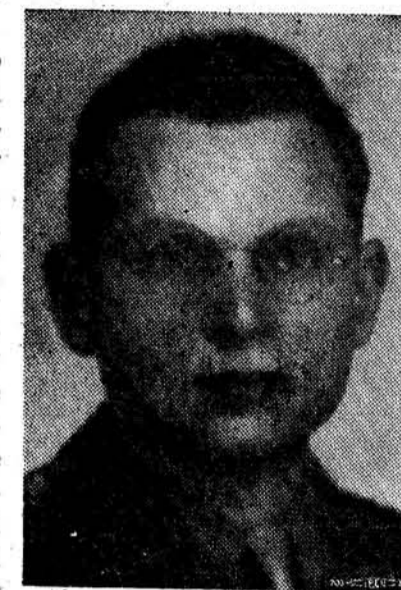
Greetings from the  
Reading Branch  
Workers Party

### GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION

IN MEMORY OF A FALLEN COMRADE, OUR SON,  
BOB PIERCE (SEYMOUR SILVERFARB)  
AN ACTIVE MILITANT IN THE WORKERS PARTY

To the very end Bob displayed the courage that had made him a fighter in humanity's cause despite his youth, giving his life while trying to save another's.

For his act of bravery, Bob has posthumously been awarded a Silver Star in a War Department citation that reads: "For gallantry in action on April 11, 1945, at Schweinfurt, Germany. When a man was severely wounded, during the attack on Schweinfurt, Private Silverfarb, although warned of the deadly enemy fire concentrated on the area, steadily made his way forward. As he approached the wounded man, Private Silverfarb was hit by enemy fire and mortally wounded. He died while still trying to administer aid to the casualty."



BOB PIERCE

We know that Bob would want us to ask his comrades to carry on in the fight against imperialist war and for a socialist world.

MR. AND MRS. SILVERFARB.

## Labor Action's May Day Greeting to New Readers

By REVA CRAINE, Press Manager

The drive for 5,000 new subscribers and readers of LABOR ACTION, which comes to such a successful conclusion on May 1, constitutes for us a very special event on this May Day. While extending our May Day greetings to all the toiling and struggling peoples of the world, I want in this column to greet our more than 5,000 new readers—and to welcome them into the growing army of LABOR ACTION enthusiasts.

When the members of the Workers Party were out during the last three months selling trial subscriptions to LABOR ACTION, they were primarily interested in getting you to read our paper—and selling you a sub was our means of bringing you LABOR ACTION each week. It is our hope

that your acquaintance with LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party has only BEGUN with your purchase of that sub, and that in the coming weeks you will find out more about what we stand for.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party during the six years of their existence have fought consistently and steadfastly on the side of the working class against the capitalist class. On this point we have never hedged—we have never posed as "impartial" in this great struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor.

OUR PROGRAM  
But LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have done far more than express sympathy for one side

as against the other. We have by means of the printed word and active participation in the building and strengthening of labor's organization, put forward programs, policies and proposals which were best calculated to achieve victory of our class. In presenting these, we have at all times indicated that the successful struggle of the working class will lead to the victory of socialism—and that we of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party are revolutionary socialists.

These policies were not culled out of the air nor are they the result of contemplation by a group of arm-chair philosophers. They come right out of the actual class struggle in which the members of the Workers Party participate, and from our deep conviction that these are the policies which will permit the working class to achieve its aims—immediate and ultimate. We put forward these policies for the purpose of having them supported and adopted by the working class in general—and by you, the readers of LABOR ACTION, in particular.

We do not expect you to accept our ideas on our say-so. We do not believe that just because something appears in print it must be accepted as gospel truth. That is a concept which the capitalist press tries to inculcate in our minds. LABOR ACTION, on the contrary, urges its readers to examine what we have to say, to examine it critically, and to accept our point of view only on the basis of conviction. We want the opportunity to discuss with our readers THEIR ideas on how the working class can best wage its fight for a decent life, and we want you to express these ideas in the columns of LABOR ACTION. We want you to feel that LABOR ACTION is YOUR paper in every sense of the word—that you not only subscribe to it, read it and give it to your friends, but that you also utilize its columns for the purpose of discussing with us and other workers what you propose as the answer to the many problems which come up in the labor movement and the world generally.

### AN EIGHT-PAGER

To make room for our readers' contributions, your contributions, LABOR ACTION is to be expanded to an eight-pager. In the added space there will be a section devoted to discussion with and among the readers and subscribers of LABOR ACTION of the program and policies of the Workers Party and of other organizations. We especially invite our new readers to participate in this discussion and to feel free to express their views and impressions.

On this May Day, which is also the sixth anniversary of the founding of LABOR ACTION, in renewing our pledge to carry on the fight against capitalist oppression and exploitation, we extend our best socialist greetings to the new readers of LABOR ACTION in the hope that many will join us soon in the active fight for socialism, the hope of humanity.

Branch	Week Ending		Total	Per Cent
	Quota	April 22		
Akron	200	—	204	102
Baltimore	10	1	6	60
Boston	10	13	63	630
Buffalo	200	6	71	35.5
Chicago	350	4	382	109
Cleveland	100	3	23	23
Columbus	25	—	11	44
Denver	25	—	25	100
Detroit	1000	1	673	67.3
Hibbing	100	20	180	180
Los Angeles	250	4	204	81.6
Louisville	50	8	58	116
Miscellaneous	—	3	39	—
Muskegon	25	—	28	112
Newark	150	15	202	134
New York	2000	107	1892	94.6
Oregon	10	—	9	90
Philadelphia	500	43	305	61
Reading	75	—	91	121.3
St. Louis	25	1	33	136
San Pedro	250	34	221	88.4
San Francisco	200	1	241	120
Seattle	200	99	210	105
Seattle Youth League	75	—	20	26.6
Streator	25	2	34	136
Youngstown	25	—	40	160
Totals		365	5270	105.4

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 City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

### MAY DAY GREETINGS—AROUSE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE, UNITE FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM, THE HOPE OF HUMANITY!

CHICAGO LOCAL, WORKERS PARTY  
AND  
SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE  
1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12, Ill.

### Greetings from the Party's Newest Local! BUILD THE WORKERS PARTY!

Forward to the Socialist Revolution!

Newark Local, 248 Market St.

### MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM THE SYRACUSE COMRADES!

### "YOUTH BE BOLD: SCRAP THE OLD BATTER DOWN THE WALLS WHERE TRUTH IS SOLD!"

Socialist Youth League

### MAY DAY GREETINGS TO LABOR ACTION

Seattle Branch  
Workers Party

### MAY DAY GREETINGS

Workers Party  
3773 Gratiot, Detroit

### HEARTY MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM:

- 4349—George Yamada    3977—Robert Hegler    4469—Wallace Nelson
- 4358—Leonard Mehr    4257—Katsuki Otsuka    4470—Thomas Parks
- 4380—Joseph Guinn    2674—David Wieck    4488—Albert Ebeling
- Roger Axford    3256—David Zernoske    4341—Worth Randle
- 4398—Clifton Bennett    2532—Lowell Naeve    4283—Don Hurford

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