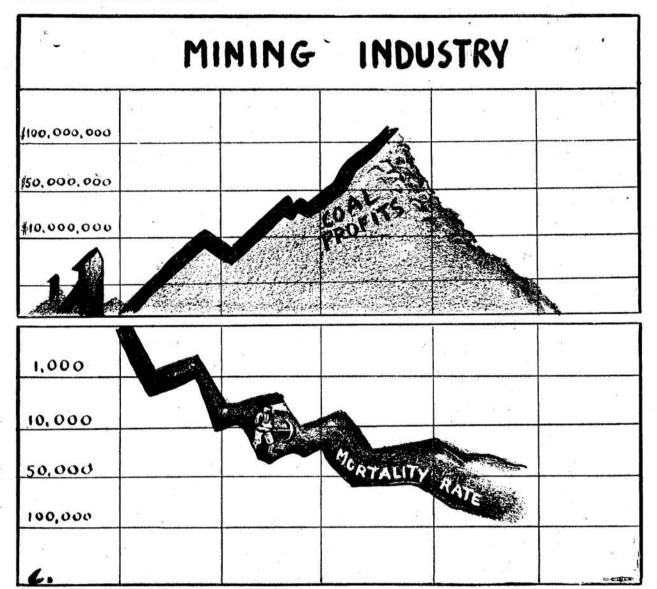
# LABOR AGTION

May 20, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# **Profit and Loss**



# **Miners Determined to Win Demand for Welfare Fund**

By MIKE STEVENS

The majority of the striking soft coal miners returned to work this week when the leaders of their union, the United Mine Workers, agreed to a twelve-day truce. About 76,000 Pennsylvania miners refused to return to work and other thousands in West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio also refused to accept the truce. In Illinois, the miners went back to the pits only after five days of insistence by the union leaders.

the truce was called ference between John L. Lewis, president of the union; Mr. O'Neal, the representative of the mine owners; and President Truman. The truce was called, according to the union leaders, in order to keep industry going and to negotiate a new union agree-

### ASKS WELFARE FUND

At the first negotiating conference this week, Lewis presented the union's demand for a welfare fund. The method of payment as presented this time was for seven per cent of the soft coal industry's annual payroll. The owners refused this demand immediately. However, to give the impression that they were really in a "generous" mood they agreed to pay the miners the overtime pay they owed them since last year. This overtime pay was due to the miners who received straight pay instead of over-

### YOUTH GROUPS PROTEST JIM CROW IN SKATING RINK

Saturday night, May 11, about 50 vouths turned out with vigorous enthusiasm to protest the Jim-Crow practices of the Brooklyn Empire Roller Drome. The group was made up largely of the City-wide Youth (an inter-racial high school organization) and the Socialist Youth League (youth section of the Workers Party).

Several weeks prior to this, a mixed group of these youths went down to the skating rink. Although the white boys were admitted, the Negroes were rejected on the "grounds" that they did not belong to the "Figure 8" skating club. Since the white boys weren't members of the club either, they accused the management of discriminatory practices. The owners did not deny this at the time.

The white boys led by the Negro and white members of the SYL, joined the Negroes in a demonstration against the rink.

Much attention was drawn by the picket line and the shouting of such. slogans as "Jim Crow Must Go." But more important still, it was a demonstration of what youth who are alert to the problems of fighting Jim-Crow can do. The campaign will be continued, uniting Negro and white youth in the struggle against discrim-

time pay for four holidays they worked last year.

The owners have been trying to avoid paying this overtime, but this week they came through. The newspapers claim that this will cost the poor owners more than \$3,000,000, but this is untrue. It would be far less than \$3,000,000 even if ALL the miners had worked on these holidays, and it so happens that when the miners saw they were not getting overtime pay very few of them worked on the holidays.

The newspapers are building up this overtime figure to give the impression that the coal owners have already agreed to pay a huge sum to the miners. But the press and the mine owners aren't kidding anyone -certainly not the mine workers.

The press may rage and condemn the union's demand for a welfare fund. The representatives of the capitalist parties in Congress may foam at the mouth at this terrible disaster that has befallen the country, claiming that the money will only go into Lewis' pockets. But the miners know that the only method by which they have a chance of having some security against accidents, diseases and old age is through such a fund. The miners would rather have a democratically elected committee of miners handling the fund rather than Lewis and his "official boys." But they know that it is more important for the union to fight and get such a fund now and keep the method of administrating it within the unionthan to depend on some commission appointed by Truman to get it for them and then hope that it may be used for the miners.

The refusal of more than 25 per cent of the soft coal miners to return to the mines even for twelve days is significant. Although they may be convinced in a few days to return in order to show that the union acts as a solid body, nevertheless their reluctance to return after six payless weeks shows a determination to fight for their demands. These demands are of the utmost importance to the miners and unless the owners agree substantially to the demands the miners will go on strike again when the truce expires, regardless of what pressure is put on them.

# HOUSING CRISIS CAN BE SOLVED!

# **Open Boarded-Up Mansions!**

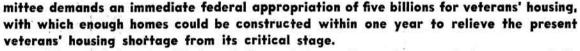
From foxhole to doghouse, that's the plight of the veteran.

A Housing Action Demonstration, called by various veterans' organizations, is being held at New York's City Hall on Saturday, May 18, at 12 noon. The Workers Party

asks every worker, every veteran, everyone seeking a decent home in which to live, to join this demonstration and make their voices heard.

Right now, there's a need for more than 211,000 homes for veterans in New York, with no immediate solution even being attempt-

The Workers Party Veterans Com-



There are innumerable boarded-up estates and mansions, each large enough to house adequately from three to eight veterans' families. The absentee owners of these spacious homes spend little time in them, having special summer, fall, winter and spring homes, even more palatial, elsewhere. The Workers Party Veterans Committee calls upon the government to requisition, sub-divide and open these homes to veterans as a source of immediate relief in this incredible housing crisis.

The government once requisitioned hotels during the war to house military and naval installations. The Workers Party Veterans Committee demands that the government repeat this performance to provide decent temporary housing for the veterans to fill the urgent need until a five billion dollar, one-year veterans' housing program could be completed.

By MARY BELL

The housing crisis in the United States, chronic since. the virtual cessation of homebuilding in 1925, acute during the war, now accentuated by the return of millions of veterans, has reached the boiling point.

In New York City alone, a minimum of 211,000 veterans need immediate housing. In addition to the pressing need of veterans, vast numbers of New Yorkers still live in slum buildings that were condemned in 1885! New York only mirrors the national situation, which will find three million families doubling up by the end of this year.

What is the reason for the crisis? In Europe, the chronic housing shortage that exists under capitalism was intensified in the extreme by blockbusters and firebombs. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki it was settled atomically. But in the United States, untouched by the military aspects of the war, the housing crisis lies directly at the door of the chaos and greed of big business.

### BUSINESS REFUSES TO BUILD

Low cost housing for human need has never been very profitable, so that even the bloodsuckers of investment capital, hungry for every drop of profit, have neglected this field. As a consequence, the building industry is what is termed by Fortune magazine - "that disorganized and warring group of organisms known euphemistically as the building industry." It has refused to build lowcost homes because this is not a lucrative field for investment.

However, since a mighty roar has swept the nation from labor and the veterans, some segments of capital have seen a possibility in the new market of low-cost homes. But just as big business would not turn a wheel to start producing the weapons for the "Arsenal of Democracy" in the late war until the government had guaranteed its profits, refunds and post-war insurance, so big capital will not move into the housing field until it has a gilt-edged guarantee from the government.

For this reason, plus the fact that this is an election year, Congress came through with a \$400 million veterans' housing subsidy program. This was originally rejected in the House, was whittled down from the \$600 million original figure, and finally passed by the Senate (its eyes glued on the votes it hopes will return it to office) and then the House. The bill calls for the construction of 2.7 million houses by the end of 1947, a figure which won't even meet the need for replacements. Even they do, make the best of things. Af- this subsidy has been decried by priter all, this is better than being at vate construction interests as "creeping collectivism" and "socialism."

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# Vet Housing - - Too Little, Too Late

NEW YORK-Five veterans and a sailor still on duty have found a place to live. On April 6 they drew keys to six houses on Laurel Hill Blvd., Queens, turned over to them by Borough President Burke. The houses were taken over by the city in 1938 and have been unoccupied since. Starting May 1, the six families will have to pay \$15 a month. They will also have to make repairs, paint, obtain and install plumbing fixtures. Subject to move on thirty days notice from the city, perhaps they will be able to live in these houses for a year and a half, perhaps two years. The daily press played this up, hailing Burke as a spirited public servant who knows how to take action in an

But New York City veterans will need 211,000 housing units by December 31, 1946, according to a report submitted in March to the State Legislature by the Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings. Six have been found temporarily. Others, less desirable, have been found in reconverted barracks and Quonset huts. The problem has not even been

## TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE

Around November, President Truman began to worry about the housing shortage. Veterans without a place for themselves and their families to live began to worry a good deal earlier. It is now May, We are still worrying. But worry is not enough. One thing is clear: the gov-

ernment, local and national, has no genuine policy for handling the prob-It's a ticklish question for them,

tied up as it is with the human interest slant of no homes for the men 'who served their country so heroically during the war." Many plans and emergency measures are being offered to ease the crisis. Burke makes a lot of publicity about turning over six unused houses and suggests such a policy for relieving the emergency. O'Dwyer moves for liberal tax legislation to induce landlords to rehabilitate boarded-up buildings. But of the 77,000 vacancies in New York City as of March 1, according to the report mentioned above, most are in substandard buildings and practically none can be made really fit to live in.

O'Dwyer's plan isn't working and it cannot work. It's a dud. Only after the housing demand had grown desperate did national housing administrator Wyatt issue an ambitious plan calling for the construction of about three million permanent dwellings by the end of 1947, half'a million to be completed by the end of 1946. But more than three million homes are needed nationally right now.

For the immediate needs, right now, no solution! The attitude of the government is clear. We've got a tough situation. Don't get impatient. Don't have a chip on your shoulder. We hope things will get better. Until war. You've served your country be-

(Continued on page 2)

\_''Peacemakers'' Paint Picture of World War III-in-Making\_

# People Are Pawns in Big Power Wrangle at Paris

A socialist does not put any faith in peace treaties between imperialist governments for the simple reason that when imperialist interests so dictate, peace treaties become meaningless scraps of paper. But the mass of humanity that is not yet socialist, still puts some faith in peace treaties. They watch to see what will come out of the Paris conference of foreign ministers who met there weeks ago to arrive at preliminary agreements as a basis for peace treaties to end World War II legally-and have done

Capitalist reporters in Paris, both conservative and liberal, are of the same opinion, namely, that the peacemakers have other objectives than peace. Thus Freda Kirchwey writes in the liberal weekly "The Nation": "But the big fact behind every specific dispute is that no basis for any fundamental agreement now exists." And in the conservative "New York Times," C. L. Sulzberger is tempted

to paraphrase the famous saying of Trieste. Trieste is a fine city with Clausewitz that war is the continuation of politics by other means, by cynically remarking that "nowadays peace is a continuation of war by other means.'

And mind you this: Byrnes, Molotov, Bevin and Bidault met to consider merely the fringe questions of European peace. On the agenda are Italy, the Balkans and Finland. Germany was the main enemy, whose fragments lie scattered across the middle of Europe, and about which certainly something has to be done. But Germany was not even put on the agenda. That is how controversial the subject is and how hostile are the four powers whose armies control the four German zones like armed bastions. But even on the less important problems the foreign ministers are getting nowhere very fast.

DISPUTE OVER TRIESTE

Thus far the bone of imperialist contention has been the Italian city of it is the rich plum Russia promised

good docks, a shipbuilding industry, other industries and businesses, and commercial connections to and from mid-eastern Europe. But above all, Trieste is important because it lies at the head of the Adriatic Sea, connecting with the Mediterranean and thence east and west to all parts of the world. Yugloslavia and Albania, both Russian satellites, flank one side of the Adriatic and Italy the other. The Russians, therefore, want Trieste to go to Yugoslavia, while the United States, Great Britain and France wish Trieste with seventy-five percent of its 700,000 population Italian, to remain an Italian city under the benevolent wing of the

But there is more to the unbending attitude on both sides than that. Trieste has been chosen to test the power of the two leading imperialists, Russia and the United States. Russia fights for Trieste not merely because

to Belgrade. If Russia gets Trieste it tested with his usual vigor that premeans Russia strengthens the tentacles it has extended into western Europe and expands southward into the Mediterranean. On the other hand, Byrnes and Bevin are working to push Russia back behind the line of the Oder-Niesse Rivers, out of western Europe and away from the western Mediterranean, and they hold onto Trieste as the first step in this direction. So after fourteen sessions, a perfect stalemate was arrived at by the worthy foreign ministers, the staffs and the experts of the United States, Russia, Great Britain and

When Secretary Byrnes proposed to arrange for the general "peace" conference in Paris on June 15 with all twenty-one victor nations present -presumably not on the assumption that twenty-one clashing interests would get further than four, but rather that the United States can control more of the twenty-one nations than can Russia, Molotov pro-

liminary agreements must be arrived

"WAR BY OTHER MEANS" And sure enough, a day or so later the correspondents were sending in reports overplaying a "new attitude" on Russia's part. Lo and behold, a tentative agreement was reached about some of Italy's North African colonies. Russia, which had an eye on Tripolitania and thereby gave the British imperialists hysterics, graciously consented to a United Nations trusteeship with administration over Tripolitania in Rome. Agreement on a reparations figure of \$100,-000,000 that Russia is to collect from impoverished Italy, was played up, as were also some more or less important settlements of Balkan boundaries and an understanding on handling war criminals after peace treaties have been signed. So the air was full of expectations. They were fulfilled,

for who could have expected anything but more dissension!

The next day Mr. Sulzberger wrote in the "New York Times" that while \$100,000,000 was the figure settled upon for Russian collections, Byrnes wanted it paid out of Italian property in the Balkans and by transferring Italian naval and commercial vessels, while Molotov was holding out for that huge slice of current Italian production. But the real pay-off came when Molotov, without batting an eyelash, declared that now that he had made several concessions to the western powers-meaning Tripolitania which was not Russia's anywayhe thought the western powers should give him his way on Trieste. So there

was Trieste again, and still is! The latest reports, as this article is written, are that Mr. Byrnes is bristling with another proposal regarding North Africa. Libya is to be under United Nations supervision with Rome as administrator, and special

(Continued on page 4)

# NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Nationalize the Mines Under Workers Control!

throws workers out of their jobs is,

of course, not a very nice thing-es-

pecially for the workers. Under the

capitalist system, as every school-

child knows, anybody who doesn't

work, for no matter what reason, does

not eat for very long unless he has

another source of income. In fact,

the workers realize this so well that

they are now demanding that the

government provide full employment

the year around. We do not think,

therefore, that John L. Lewis' min-

ers light-headedly leave their jobs

or that Lewis is able to lead his min-

ers around in such a manner merely

No, the strike of the miners is not

for his own prestige.

NOT AGAINST PEOPLE

By PAUL NEWMAN

The city of Chicago has been hit as though by an avalanche in a coal mining pit as a result of the United Mine Workers' strike. Caught with a shortage of coal, the Commonwealth Edison Electric Co. has been forced to cut consumption of electricity by more than 40 per cent. This has resulted in a dimout more severe than in wartime. Most industries have been ordered to go on twenty-four hours a week operating basis or have their electric power completely shut off. To date, approximately 38,000 workers have been laid off in Chicago's big industries, including such plants as Electro-Motive, International Harvester and U. S. Steel. The many industries which have remained in operation have instituted the twentyfour hour week schedule. For lack of coal, the railroads have slapped on an embargo which has reduced freight

shipments out of Chicago virtually to

There is no doubt that the refusal of the miners to work at a time when the coal stockpiles in the Chicago area are low, has caused, for a time at least, a real industrial tie-up in Chicago. And this is where the newspapers take off on their panic-stricken, bloody-murder stream of antiunion propaganda: "One Man Is Holding Up Reconversion"; "This Is a Strike Against the Interests of the American People"; "The Miners' Strike Is Endangering the Gains Made by 'Good' Union Men"; "The Government Must Stop This Strike." and so on and on. The Daily News prints the story of an interview with miners in Southern Illinois in which they have "found" that seven out of ten miners do not support Lewis. Such is the filth spewed forth by the capitalist press.

# Vet Housing - -

(Continued from page 1) fore at war, serve it again by keeping calm. Much fooling around but not one word about taking over unoccupied luxury dwellings for emergency housing. Not one word about taking over hotels for emergency housing.

It's the old story. On duty in San Francisco the brass hats used to answer discontent when they didn't court-martial it, by saying, "Be glad you're not overseas." On Saipan after the island was pacified, they said, "Be glad you're not on Okinawa." Always the same song. Be satisfied with what you've got.

#### VETERANS MUST ACT

But veterans' experience has been quite different. When what we have isn't good enough, we've got to make it better. Demobilization was speeded up after the mass demonstrations in every theater all over the world. When the American Veterans Committee staged a demonstration at the offices of the Real Estate Board of New York on March 22, the government took notice. When we just worry and gripe the government fools around and attunes its moves to the pressure of Real Estate lobbies and

We have a housing crisis. Tens of thousands of veterans and their fami- their own interests.

zero during the past two days.

lies need homes. Real emergency

measures must be taken. In England,

discharged veterans facing such a

crisis formed committees which seized

unoccupied luxury houses and moved

in the families of needy veterans.

Veterans in the United States should

form committees in their organiza-

tions. They should say it is our right

to live and to live as well as we can.

We need homes. Even if this is an

emergency we want to live decently.

Here are tese luxury dwellings which

no one is using. Each would serve not

one of us but a number of our fami-

lies. There is no reason for their be-

ing unoccupied. We don't want to ex-

propriate them. We only want to use

them during the emergency and until

we can get adequate homes of our

own. We cannot afford to fool around.

If the government will not make them

available to us, we will have to make

them available ourselves through our

own committees, through our own or-

The Real Estate lobbies and other

pressure groups have made their own

interests more important than the

people as a whole for too long. It is

time now for the masses of this coun-

try who have not had their needs met

to make their own pressure felt for

ganizations.

a strike against the American people. If the people controlled the government and owned the mines, this would be the case. (And then, of course, there would probably be no reason for such a strike.) But no

sane man would today make such a fantastic assertion. This strike of the miners is a strike against the mine owners, and it is they, not the miners, who are responsible for holding "reconversion" and who are "striking" against the interests of the people.

Today, in the United States, mines, along with the rest of big industry, are owned by a few unbelievably rich families. It is out of the sweat. blood and death of miners that they have made enormous profits which keep them living in luxury without stretching a muscle. It is against the Sixty Families who own and control U. S. industry and the U. S. government that the miners are striking. It is the same Sixty Families who kept millions of workers idle for ten years during the depression because they could not make profits by providing workers with jobs.

And the miners today are not striking against the Sixty Families over a trivial matter. They are striking over an issue which can well mean life or death. They are striking in order to gain safety conditions in the mines (ONLY 1,034 miners were killed in 1945), hospitalization and decent sanitary facilities of their own and for a wage increase that will enable them to exist under the present inflationary cost of living. They are only demanding of the owners of U.S. industry that they be provided with the elemental ne-

Now, an industrial tie-up which cessities of life. If the mine owners cannot or will not provide workers with security, it is not the fault of the workers that industry is tied up. It is the fault of the Sixty Families, who are incapable of organizing production for the benefit of the people, but only for their own profit.

> The mines are a key and basic industry in the U.S. It is out of coal, and consequently the labor of the coal miners, that the great industrial empire of the U.S. was built. Time and again the capitalist owners of the mines have proved themselves incapable of providing any real security, for the miners-in income, safety measures, health standards or otherwise. It is only out of their long and bitter struggles that the miners have been able to maintain themselves at the subsistence level.

> Even if John L. Lewis' demands are won, they will only alleviate the

conditions of the miners for a short time. Next year the struggle will break out all over again. As long as the mines remain in the hands of the monopoly capitalists, so long will the miners struggle to maintain their bare existence.

The demands of the miners for security, a living wage, proper safety and health safeguards can be won. But this means that the production of coal must be carried on under a rational system of production. And such a rational system of production can be accomplished only if the mines are nationalized and production carried out under the control of the miners themselves. The mines must be taken from the hands of the bankrupt capitalists.

The demand of the miners today should be: NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES UNDER WORKERS'

# Navy Yard Dumps Oldtimers, Union Plans Washington March

In recent weeks there have been wholesale layoffs of oldtimers, some with more than thirty years of service in the Navy Yard of Brooklyn. So far the shipfitters' and machinists' shops have been affected, but the rest of the shops will be hit soon. From a wartime high of 60,000 workers the Yard has a "reduction of force" program which will lower the number to 7,000 by January 1, 1947.

How is it possible for the Navy to include men who have worked there for fifteen, twenty or more years? The answer to this question lies in the newly dreamed-up efficiency system and a form of super-duper seniority for veterans returning to the

Both these items have thoroughly wiped out all vestiges of seniority that the old workers accumulated. The efficiency system is the primary criterion for discharge. If a supervisor gives a worker a grade of "R" (reasonably satisfactory) or "U" (unsatisfactory), the worker loses all seniority and, with the shortage of work, gets the gate. A veteran with only a year or two at the yard has superseniority for the first year and can be fired only if he gets a "U." This vicious system gives the bosses complete power over the men, and fa-

voritism is rampant at the yard. After the first year, the returning veteran still has some super-seniority but the boss manipulating the efficiency system can put him outside the gate too.

The Brooklyn Metal Trades Council, representing all AFL unions in the Yard, the Retirement Federation and the unions as individual organizations have set a powerful movement under way to accomplish several important things: 1. Restore a strict seniority system.

2. Give federal workers unemployment insurance.

3. Apportion work to the Yard to keep the men employed.

To these ends a "March on Washington" is being organized. Twenty bus loads of workers are leaving May 8 to present these demands to congressmen, the President and the Navy gold braid. An open air meeting was held May 3 in a parking lot at Park and Carlton Avenues to rally support for the "March."

The Navy Yard's answer to those men who were told that they were "indispensable" is in the best tradition of the capitalist class. Everything for the imperialist war-the breadline for the imperialist peace.

rialist and anti-feudal elements they

could expect guarantees of autonomy

from the Arabs within the larger

framework of an independent feder-

ation of Middle East Arab states, and

this could be the program on which

they would join in a joint fight

against the imperialists and the Arab

Instead of these ideas, you inserted

the phrase, "they could logically de-

mand that Jewish rights and inter-

ests be respected." I do not think a

single member of the Hagana would

respond to a call for Arab - Jewish

Except for the improper use of my

The reason why the editor had to

insert vague generalities instead of

concrete slogans was that the Work-

ers Party has not discussed the Jew-

ish problem fully and has not drawn

up a program. A full study of Jew-

ish needs today must be made be-

cause the changed situation among

Europe's Jews and in Palestine de-

mands a re-evaluation of the old pro-

gram of the Communist International

issued in the 1920's which is the pro-

gram dominating the thinking of the

party comrades to this day. The crises

among Europe's Jews and in Pales-

tine demand a transitional program

for this immediate period. Just as

we say to the American workers

that there are intermediary stages in

the struggle for socialism, so must

we have a concrete program to end

the impossible situation in which the

persecuted Jews of Europe who want

to go to Palestine, the Palestinian

Jews and the Arab peasants find

Therefore I think it is urgent for

the Political Committee to draw up

themselves today.

name over an article that distorted

my ideas, I do not question the right

unity under that slogan.

Workers Party.

reactionaries.

### -WORKERS PARTY....

# **Pre-Convention** Discussion . . .

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 International and in the Workers Party Bulletin. Copies of the latter may be obtained by sending 25 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

### **Communist Parties** Not Working Class

One of the major differences of opinion facing the coming convention is the problem of how to characterize the international Stalinist Stalinist movement. This traditional position of the Trotskvist movement was that, just as Russia was a "degenerated workers state," so the Stalinist parties were degenerated and even counter-revolutionary workers parties, but workers parties none-theless. The Workers Party, having rejected the false theory that Russia was a workers state and having characterized it rather as a new social formation, bureaucratic collectivism, now faces the need of giving a new characterization to the international agency of the Stalinist state, the Communist parties. Correspondingly, the International Resolution of the Majority of the National Committee proposes that the coming convention of our party characterize the Stalinist parties as being non-working class in character, and totalitarian agents of a totalitarian bureaucratic collectivist state in Russia. Comrade Johnson. who believes that there is fascism in Russia, persists, however, in continuing to characterize the Stalinist parties as working class.

In my opinion, the position of the Majority is correct for the following

(1) The various Stalinist parties do not in any way represent the interests of the working class or any section of the working class. The traditional, classical Social-Democracy has represented the labor aristocracy, the highly skilled sections of the workers and the labor bureaucracy-all parts of the working class or working class movement. The Stalinist parties on the contrary represent the Russian dictatorship. Now whether one applies the socialogical characterization of bureaucratic collectivism or of fascism to Russia, the basic fact is that all of us in the Workers Party reject the idea that Russia is a workers state. Correspondingly, we must reject the illusion that a party so completely and thoroughly under the domination of this state, functioning as its agent, can be a working class party. Exactly how comrade Johnson proposes to reconcile his characterization of Russia as a fascist state with his idea that the agent-parties of this state are working class parties, is a

bit of a mystery. (2) The Stalinist party, unlike ev-

The articles that appear below are ery party that can in any way be characterized as working class, is the agent first and foremost of a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy in Russia. It is not in any fundamental way amenable to the pressure of "its" working class. If it is to the interest of Russia to prevent strikes in America, the American Stalinists will onpose strikes no matter how much they are in the interests of the workers and no matter how much the workers want them. Even the Social-Democracy at its worst has been amenable in various degrees to the pressure of the working class. (3) The Stalinist parties are thor-

oughly and completely totalitarian in their internal structure. No matter how bureaucratized, no working class party can be checked in the same way -and here again, not even the Social-Democracy at its worst. Comrade Johnson offers a rather bizarre objection to this point by writing in his resolution that the Stalinist parties are not totaliarian because "membership in the Stalinist party is voluntary. The party holds no power of life and death over its membership. It cannot prevent secession and the formation of other parties." But Johnson's logic leads to the conclusion that a party is totalitarian only when it has state power for that is the only time it can fulfill the requirements which he lists as essential to the definition of a totalitarian party. In that case Hitlers' Nazi party, which before it seized power also didn't have 'the power of life and death over its membership" was NOT a totalitarian party and became one only after its accession to power. That seems to me a patently absurd point of view.

(4) Stalinism has as its purpose the destruction of democracy, proletarian and bourgeois democracy. It aspires to create a state of affairs similar to that of its model and inspirer in Russia; and it has succeeded in doing so in certain eastern European countries. Here again we see where it is totalitarian in structure, purpose, ideology and method.

Comrade Johnson offers only one reason for calling the Stalinist parties working class: "their program and practical activity appeal to the working class on the basis of the class struggle against the capitalist class for the socialist society." But the fact that the Stalinist demagogically utilize the socialist tradition for their own reactionary ends does not make them a working class party. Consider the following: The Nazi movement has as its basic purpose the buttressing of finance capitalism, Big Business. Yet, both in its "program and practical activity," it appealed to the middle class. It had a mass base in the middle class, as Stalinism has in the working class. Nonetheless, Nazism remained essentially in the historic interest of, and essentially to be characterized as, a movement of Big Business. Similarly, with Stalinism in relation to the working class.

We must recognize a new fact in history when it thrusts itself in our faces. Stalinism is a new, unique historical phenomenon. It is an international totalitarian movement, the completely subservient agent of the Russian bureaucratic ruling class; its method, purpose, structure, ideology and historical character are-despite its mass base in the working classnot working class in character.

IRVING HOWE

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor ... nounced by workers everywhere. vention, Sidney Hillman, president by saying that because of the compe-inspired the development of an Arab

### The May Day "Plot" Against MacArthur

General MacArthur's Tokyo headquarters announced last week the discovery of a plot against MacArthur's life planned for May Day. By implication and indirection it was hinted that the workers' movement was somehow involved. References were made to the Stalinist-Communists in such a way as to link the Japanese labor movement to this discredited group to demonstrate that the Stalinists were in some unspecified manner related to the assassination plot.

The working class of Tokyo gave its answer to this stupid attempt at provocation on May 1, when 500,000 workers marched in a united front parade through the heart of the city, demanding removal of the reactionary Shidehara government and food for those who work, and reviving old but unforgotten revolutionary songs such as "The Red Flag."

Thus this first open May Day demonstration in over a decade was a gigantic and inspiring show of strength, and a challenge to the Social Democratic leadership, which led the parade and which leads many of the trade unions. They cannot avoid responsibility any longer, as they have to date, with the argument that the Japanese working class is insufficiently organized or alert. The demand for an end to the Shidehara government is at the same time one of the first powerful mass expressions of growing disillusionment with the MacArthur military dictatorship, since Shidehara held power solely by

the strength of MacArthur's support. However, any attempt to involve the labor movement of Japan in terrorist provocations must be de-

of the American working class, which for its part must demand that American soldiers be returned home, as they wish to be, and that the Japanese workers be left to decide the destiny of Japan, not the MacArthur dictatorship.

If there are terrorist fascist elements in Japan and this is probable they are not a vital part of the labor movement. They remain as active groups precisely because of the American policy in Japan of protecting and giving power to the reactionaries, to the Zaibatsu billionaires and to the feudal Emperor and his court Mac-Arthur has a large American army at his disposal with which to deal with terrorist fascist groups, whose first victim in the late twenties and thirties was the labor movement.

MacArthur has returned the Emperor and the old bureaucracy to power. These forces act as rallying centers and help create and protect the milieu in which fascists can operate. The first slogans of the workers movement must become:

An End to the Military Dictator-

An End to the Occupation! This would be the first step to settling accounts with their own reactionaries and fascists. MacArthur cannot and will not do this job. J. B., Philadelphia

ACWA Member on Convention Capers

LABOR ACTION

Hillman bewails OPA wrecking, But his PAC still goes a-necking With the ones who used the axe, That gang of "good Democrats." In his opening address to the con-

ers of America, decried the recent scuttling of OPA by what he called "the reactionary elements in Congress." But a closer study of the record reveals the salient fact that among the reactionaries of whom Hillman speaks are some of the socalled "good Democrats" whose election to office was brought about through PAC's direct support or who got into office as a result of the support of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party in the presidential election of 1944.

No doubt, Hillman will say, "this mistake in its selection of 'good Democrats' can be rectified as proposed by replacing the 'good Democrats' now turned 'bad' with another batch of 'good Democrats.'

Immediately two important questions rise in the mind: (1) Can labor afford the price that it must and does pay as a result of these mistakes? (2) Can labor eventually prevent these mistakes and serve its best interest by committing itself to a type of political action that commits labor to a program of choosing the lesser evil?

The answer is plainly, No. Nothing proves this better than the elimination of OPA with the consequent increase in prices which nullifies whatever small increases in wages were recently obtained by the workers. This negative answer is also proved by the scuttling of the Fair Employment Practices Act when again these so-called "good Democrats" failed to serve labor's interest; when under the guise of protecting freedom of speech the "good Democrats" did not invoke cloture, thereby allowing FEPC to be talked to death.

In view of these facts, labor's course and the type of political action for labor is clear. That is independent political action. To pursue any other course involves labor in a gamble with the cards stacked against its winning or breaking even, a gamble that labor has lost and always will

Murray doesn't give his promised word any more; On labor organizations he is not

sure

As to whether with two or one A better job for labor can be done.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, addressing the ACWA convention, after a few sly digs at John L. Lewis and the AFL, sought to justify or at least whitewash the failure of the leadership of the CIO and the AFL to bring about labor unity. He indulged in a bit of wishful thinking

This is particularly the responsibility of the Amalgamated Clothing Work- tition and rivalry involved, "Maybe party made up of genuine anti-impetwo labor organizations are for the American worker." Coming from one who is supposed

to be a leader of millions of workers, the indecision and uncertainty contained in this sort of irresponsible statement is alarming. Not that Phil Murray hasn't been quite indecisive and uncertain these past few years, as witnessed by his "Promised Word" on the question of the Little Steel formula and wage freezing at the 1943 Steel Workers convention and later before the Senate committees on the Full Employment Bill when he warned that failure to enact the bill would result in an end to free

enterprise and bring on socialism! These statements, when studied, point to one conclusion: either Phil Murray knows what labor's objective is and the way to that objective and is wilfully confusing the workers by this fish-and-fowl statement; or Phil

Murray really doesn't know. In either case it becomes clear that, left to Phil Murray, labor would be in a terrible fix.

LEN. New York City.

### Objects to Line On Jewish Problem

In the May 13 issue of LABOR AC-TION, you printed an article written by me dealing with the report issued by the Anglo-American Commission on the problem of the displaced Jews in Europe and their relation to Palestine. Several deletions were made in the final paragraphs, where I outlined concrete slogans which might form the basis for Arab-Jewish unity in Palestine. I said that Jewish nationalist feeling was intensely strong among hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe and among the Jews in Palestine, and whereas their desire for national autonomy was not realizable under present conditions of imperialist control or under the Zionist program, it was conceivable that if the Jewish militants of Palestine

CHICAGO LABOR

**ACTION FORUM:** 

**MAY 22** 

"Is War With Russia Inevitable?"

Speaker:

GORDON HASKELL

188 West Randolph St., 29th Floor

8:00 P. M.

a resolution which shall form the basis for party discussion in this present pre-convention period. Sincerely,

JESSIE KAAREN.

Editor's Note: We call attention to the editorial appearing in the November 12, 1945, LABOR ACTION, "A Socialist Program for the Jews," which presented our policy on this question. In addition, a resolution on this question is in preparation for the coming national convention of the Workers Party.

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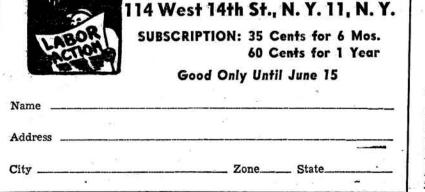
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MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

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

#### FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS 1. Full Unemployment Insurance

Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependencies to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

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Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

### 3. Jobs and Full Opportunities for Veterans

Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized ' veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

### FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

#### 4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage

A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

#### 5. A Planned Rise in National Income

A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

#### 6. For a Democratic Peace

Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peoples and the right of all people to decide democratically their own future.

#### 7. Full Social, Political and Economic Equality for Negroes

Complete democratic rights. The right to vote, to run for and hold any elective or appointive office, North or South. The right to equality in employment; to hold any job, skilled or unskilled. The right to be free from insult, segregation and Jim Crowism; anywhere and in any place, North or South.

#### THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH 8. Slum Clearance

A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modernization.

#### 9. Nationalization of Big Business

Nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

#### 10. Taxing the Profiteers

A 100 per cent tax on all war profis above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

#### THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY 11. Workers' Control of Production

Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

#### 12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government-For a Socialist America with

Plenty for All! Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!

# One-Tenth of the Nation Negroes Watch "Operation Dixio" By J. R. Jo

"Operation Dixie" is getting under for the most part felt that labor was ous social régime of the Southern way and we have not only to follow its development but to enter actively into what is potentially one of the most significant campaigns ever entered upon by the labor movement in this country.

The CIO is establishing headquarters at Birmingham, Ala. Van A. Bittner, veteran of many organizing campaigns, is director. The list of his assistants is significant in its associations. From the Rubber Workers Union is Sherman Dalrymple. From the Textile Workers Union comes George Baldanzi, vice - president. From the Amalgamated Clothing Workers comes Jack Kroll, vicepresident. From the Auto Workers will come another assistant director. Rubber, textile, clothing, auto and, at the head, Van Bittner of the steel industry. The labor movement in its most significant sections is challenging the Southern system. The aim of the CIO drive is a million and a half

members. The AFL has already established headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. Their spread the doctrine and organization Southern representative is George L. Googe. On May 11 and 12 there will be a conference of 8,600 AFL locals in Asheville, N. C., which will for- and to say some that have not been mally launch the AFL drive. The said. goal is one million members.

If the AFL is launching its drive with a conference representing its 8,600 locals, the CIO, beginning with the UAW conference at Atlantic City has made it clear to all its members and sympathizers that the next important stage in its development is the successful carrying out of this

Simultaneously the Political Action Committee has declared that it is ready to launch a drive against certain of the Southern congressmen.

#### NEGROES SEE SIGNIFICANCE

Meanwhile, on Sunday last in Harlem, thousands of people attended a great rally at the Golden Gate Ballroom. True the Stalinists around People's Voice were its inspirers. But the Negroes who attended did so, not because they were interested in Stalinist maneuvers, but because they

undertaking a task of vital importance to Negroes not only in the South, but everywhere. The Negroes all over the country have made great strides toward recognizing that a victory for the CIO anywhere is a victory for the Negro people as a whole. Even Father Divine spoke and his followers (who are much more important than he is) turned out in

great numbers. "Operation Dixie" has caught the imagination of the Negro people. That in itself is political progress—the fact that their minds have been turned from the President and from Congress and telegrams to Wallace and Eleanor Roosevelt to the most powerful social force in the country—the or-

ganized labor movement. This column, from the very beginning of this drive, has recognized its significance for the Negroes, for organized labor, and for the country as a whole. I have traced the political relation between the conflict in the Democratic Party and this drive to of collective bargaining in the South. I think, however, that at this stage, it is necessary to restate a few things

### ONLY A BEGINNING

1. The present drive can only be a beginning. True, it is a beginning in a fundamental, basic sphere-the organization of Southern workers. But in relation to the problems of the South, it is only a beginning. Its political significance is that the country being where it is today, it will be impossible to organize the South on any serious scale without coming face to face with the deep-rooted racial segregation and anti-democratic practices characteristic of the area.

2. Once this is recognized, it follows that at this stage, one cannot expect the CIO and AFL drives to overturn the social organization of the South. Passing of a permanent FEPC Bill for the nation, abolition of the poll-tax, important and progressive as these measures would be, could not seriously alter the barbar-

WORLD\_POLITICS

states. It took a desperate civil war to abolish slavery and, if history is any guide, it will take equally conscious determination to make the South into a truly democratic community.

3. The labor leaders, both of the CIO and the AFL, are not people who are ready to risk all for the sake of liberty and justice in the South. They are ready enough to capitulate to the ruling class in the North, as soon as the struggle becomes fierce, far more so in the South, where the situation is packed with dynamite. They know, however, that it is packed with dynamite. Yet they propose these drives. They are serious and, as far as is possible within their timid, narrow conceptions of social development, they will push hard to organize the Southern workers.

4. But the Southern employers of labor and the plantation owners are not going to allow labor organizers to sow the seeds of their overthrow without fighting back. They are mobilizing in opposition already. They are not made more "democratic" by the moderation of Murray and Green. They know that this drive can set off currents of social and political opposition among the workers far beyond what is contemplated by Murray and Green and their lieutenants.

5. From this flows the task of the revolutionaries, the militant CIO workers, the Negro workers and those elements among the Negro people who are ready to sacrifice all for the emancipation of their race. We have to bring the national significance of "Operation Dixie" to the attention of the nation. We have to mobilize such political and moral support for it as to strike terror into the minds of the Southern reactionaries and stiffen the CIO leadership.

Let us remember how the CIO was built in Detroit, in Flint, in Akron and in Chicago, It will be ten times as hard in the South. But 1946 is not 1936. Organized labor can lead the nation. This is one critical sphere in the life of the American people where

# Jim-Crow in **Army Life**

By PHILIP BAGRADIAN

Negroes found themselves in an army which practiced segregation and discrimination. Jim Crow was practiced even before entry into the Army, in as much as the Negroes were accepted on a separate Jim Crow quota for induction. There was an enormous shortage of nurses, but Negroes were not acceptable because all nurses are officers and the armed forces wanted as few Negro officers as possible. The War Department was continually clamoring for radio technicians. Air Corps weather officers, pilots, etc., but although there was no doubt of the technical abilities of Negroes. they were not wanted ...

There were also numerous incidents where the Army authorities failed completely to protect Negro soldiers from white lynch mobs in the South,

FORT BENNING, GA., May 2, 1941-The body of a Negro private, Felix Hall, was found hanging from a tree, arms and legs bound. Negro groups charged that Private Hall was lynched. The Bulletin of the NAACP stated that at Fort Benning "concentration camp tactics are allegedly being used against colored soldiers and torture and killings take place at the pleasure of the military po-

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., Aug. 6, 1941-Sergeant E. L. Hargraves, white military policeman, and Private Ned Turman, Negro engineer, were killed and four other soldiers wounded in a gun battle between white and Negro soldiers on a crowded bus. Cause: brutality by white MPs.

Alexandria, La., Jan. 1, 1942 - Twenty-eight Negro soldiers were shot or clubbed in a race riot provoked by the attempt of a white MP to arrest a Negro soldier. Three thousand Negro soldiers were put under arrest by white MP's and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored MP's.

SAVANNAH, GA., June 10, 1942-Negro troops in the Army Day parade were forced to march at the tail end, behind garbage trucks.

BEAUMONT, TEXAS, Aug. 10, 1942-Negro Private Charles J. Reco was clubbed and shot by two city policemen. No action was taken by Army authorities.

The Air Corps fought to keep Negroes out altogether as pilots. A typical example was that of Walter L. Robinson, a Negro who finished his Civilian Aeronautical Authority training course and rated thirteenth in a class of 300, who was told "There is no place for the Negro in the Air Corps." Out of 100 Negroes who took CAA courses in 1940 and 1941, ninety-one qualified for licenses, despite slanders about Negroes being incompetent to fly

Even the humanitarianism of the nation's blood banks was corrupted by Jim Crow practises. Although no scientist has yet demonstrated the slightest difference between the blood of different races, the Red Cross insisted on segregating Negro blood banks from white. Many workers both black and white, refused to donate blood to the Red Cross because of this Jim Crow policy. Unions. like Local 16 of the IUMSWA, went on record as refusing to donate blood precisely because of the policy of Jim Crow carried on by the Red Cross.

HOW THE SOLUTION WILL COME The white Southern soldiers with their prejudices against the Negro infected the Northerners who were looking for something on which they could vent their dissatisfaction with the war and with army life. There were others like myself who spent time arguing against these prejudices, with not too much effect. But in the same manner that those soldiers who were the loudest complainers against unions returned to the ranks of militant unionism in the recent strike wave, similar changes will take place in the solidarity of workers, white and Negro, as they become conscious of their work-

The Southern Negroes who came into contact with Northern, better educated, more enlightened Negroes, will return, too, but not as the docile human beings they were previously. A certain feeling of comradeship was learned in the Army, a feeling of the need for working and fighting together for a common goal. They have found out that they are equally as capable as the white man.

The CIO organizing drive in the South will bring into its fold thousands of these Negroes who will carry on the fight for democracy, against Jim Crow and against discrimination through the strong, militant trade unions. But this alone is not enough. So long as the profit system exists so long will the seeds of Jim Crow be planted in the minds of the people, because Jim Crow means bigger profits. With a working class divided against itself by Jim Crow or other forms of racial and religious intolerance, the solid front of labor against the exploiters is broken.

Only a system based on genuine equality for all mankind, a system which will not tolerate the exploitation of man by man will bring these conditions to an end-and this system is the socialist brotherhood of mankind.

# Editorials

# Why Is "The Militant" Silent?

Several weeks ago LABOR ACTION printed the statement issued by a group of trade unionists, intellectuals and members of the radical movement who addressed an appeal to the court which is trying the Nazis at Nuremberg, Germany, This appeal requested the court to interrogate the defendants and check their records to see if any evidence could be produced in connection with the infamous charges made at the Moscow Trials against the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky. We of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party, confident of the complete socialist integrity of the greatest revolutionary of our time, Leon Trotsky, supported this appeal since we believed it would expose the inability of the Stalin government to produce a shred of credible evidence.

Subsequently, we printed a list of additional prominent individuals who signed the appeal. This appeal, be it noted, was reported in many leading newspapers in America it was also reported in most of the radical journals.

Thus far, one socialist newspaper has failed to print so much as a word about this matter-we refer to The Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, a political group which behaves as if it had a patented monopoly on the ideas of Trotskyism. The SWP has not commented favorably or unfavorably on this statement; it has not even IN-FORMED its readers of the issuance of such a statement. Now it should be noted that this statement closely parallels one issued in England, which was signed by such prominent individuals as H. G. Wells and Arthur Koestler, and that the English statement was initiated in the Socialist Appeal,

organ of the English Trotskyists. It should further be noted that a number of the continental Trotskyist parties have raised a similar demand.

We submit that The Militant owes its readers, and the SWP owes its members, an explanation. Why do they, who are so ready to announce themselves as the exclusive disciples of Trotsky, refuse to print a word of or about a statement issued in behalf of Trotsky's defense against the slanders of the Stalin dictatorship? Is it because, among the signers of the statement, there appears the name of Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party? Has factional animus against an other Trotskyist group, that is, the Workers Party, so blinded them that they are unable to rise to the needs of the most elementary kind of united front action in Trotsky's defense?

Or do they believe that it was incorrect for the signers in America-and their sister parties in Europe-to initiate this campaign? If so, why? Let them express their point of view, and the matter can be debated frankly and openly before the judgment of the revolutionary movement.

In any case, one thing is certain; whatever their point of view. The Militant and the SWP are pursuing a policy of silence which, in view of the importance of the matter, can only be described as shameful. They have failed to give any publicity to the statement; they have failed to comment on it or criticize it. Such behavior is unworthy of a serious revolutionary party, and its members and sympathizers owe it to themselves to request an

# **Housing Crisis Can Be Solved!**

### (Continued from page 1)

In addition, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, squeezed out of a reactionary, labor-baiting Congress by an angry people, provides \$143 million per year and will provide about 500,000 low-cost units a year for a few years. There will be immediately provided some 200,000 reconverted Quonset huts for the veterans who have just left them.

## PRIVATE INDUSTRY WILL NOT MEET NEED!

All this is scarcely a dent. At the present pace of construction, for example, the acute crisis in New York City alone will last five years or more!

What's wrong? Why can't Congress, which appropriated \$417,260,127,310 from 1941 to 1946 for the war, begin to make a dent in a problem where human need is concerned?

Why can't a country which produced millions of guns, tanks, planes, ships and that \$2 billion queen of weapons, the atomic bomb-all for the purpose of destruction-exert itself similarly for the purpose of constructing decent homes for its citizens to live in?

Obviously, housing must be a government job. When the business of mass murder and destruction was involved, the government stepped in, \*told industry what to produce and what not to produce, how much to produce, how much wages could be paid, etc. Of course, industry in turn had a market guaranteed by the government as well as its profits. Thus was accomplished the miracle of production—for destruction.

### LABOR ACTION AND WP PROPOSE:

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party propose a \$250 billion five-year housing program to clear the slums and build new homes and execute other public projects. This sum is not stupendous.

If some \$400 billion were spent in six years of death and annihilation, why cannot \$250 billion be spent for the peacetime needs of the people?

We do not think that the present government, the presidential and congressional aides of big business, can realize this program. They have shown that. They have done no more than they have because it is not to the interest of the profiteers that they do more.

Therefore, the solution of the housing crisis lies elsewhere. It lies primarily in the action of the organized labor movement, since it is the working people and the majority of their veteranallies who are hardest hit and most in need of unprofitable, low-cost houses.

The organized labor movement, which has embarked upon "Operation Dixie" to organize the South, should also undertake to champion an "Operation Housing." It is only labor, which is the organized spearhead of the little people, which can propose and fight for a real solution. For labor is unmoved by considerations of profit, investments and special interests.

In order to push a program of its own, labor must have its own representatives in Washington, supported by labor and the little people, and directly responsible to them. This means that the CIO, instead of conducting a "purge" of the Democratic Party and trying to elect better instead of worse capitalist politicians, should detach itself from all capitalist parties.

Labor must strike out on its own, form an independent Labor Party which will be based upon a real program in the interests of all the working people and will undertake a housing program geared to human needs and not profits.

HOUSING PROGRAM!

FOR A \$250 BILLION NATIONAL FIVE-YEAR

A number of odds and ends have accumulated in this corner over a period of weeks and this week's column will be devoted to clearing up a few of them. (As soon as we expand to eight pages there will be room for fuller coverage of international news.)

#### MORE ON STALINIST CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN EASTERN GERMANY

By IRVING HOWE

Some weeks ago this column reported that the Stalinist military occupation in Eastern Germany had reopened Nazi concentration camps and placed in them various anti-Stalinist radicals and Social-Democrats who opposed the "fusion" of their party with the Stalinists. This latest indication of the fact that wherever Stalinism becomes dominant it does its best to destroy independent organizations of the working class can now be further corroborated by reports from Europe. The Manchester Guardian, from which we quoted the report that Hermann Brill, a Socialist leader, had been sent to a concentration camp, now reports in its March 28 issue that Dr. Brill has been released. He was released, however, ONLY after resigning as chairman of the Thuringian section of the Social-Democratic Party, that is, only after giving up the political struggle against the fusion with the Stalinists.

The London Tribune, a left laborite weekly, reports in its April 5 issue of "increasing arrests of opponents of fusion" on charges of "insulting the Red Army." Writes the Tribune:

"By mid-February, eighty-three Social-Democrats, including thirty party officials, were held on such charges in the well known concentration camp, Sachsenhause, near Oranienburg. One of the latest arrests is Werner Ruediger, one of the two chairmen of the Greater Berlin area organization of the party.... There are now detailed reports available from all the provinces in the Russian zone showing how unwilling district and local leaders were induced to agree to immediate local fusion by similar methods. Against those opponents of fusion who are beyond the reach of the Russians a campaign of personal slander has started: Dahrendorf, the Berlin leader who was celebrated for his underground activities before the present conflict arose, is now attacked in his former paper as an employee of the Flick armament combine, while Soviet-controlled papers in the provinces-not in Berlin, where they could be answered -have published an anonymous letter accusing Dr. Schumacker, the Social-Demcrat leader in the Western zones, of having belonged, while in the Nazi concentration camp, to a committee helping the Nazis to decide which prisoners should be gassed as politically incur-

Perhaps the most revealing statement on the whole matter is quoted by Leon Dennen, who reports from Germany for the New York New Leader. Dennen quotes Otto Grotewohl, one of the Social-Democrats who favors fusion with the Stalinists: "Twelve years of concentration camps or underground existence is enough in one lifetime."

This is the "liberation" which Stalinism has brought Eastern Germany.

#### THE APPARENT "DISAGREEMENTS" AMONG THE EUROPEAN STALINIST PARTIES

Rigid and inflexible though the allegiance of the various Stalinist parties is to the dictates of their Kremlin masters, they are apparently allowed a certain flexibility on some important boundary problems which are now agitating Europe. For instance, the French Stalinists support the demand raised by their government that the Ruhr be separated from Germany; the German Stalinists, in the name of national unification, urge that the Ruhr be retained within the boundary of Germany. On the future of the Ruhr depends the future organization FOR AN INDEPENDENT PARTY OF LABOR! of European economy, for the Ruhr, despite its partial

destruction by bombing, remains the industrial heart of the continent. So long as Germany retains it, she is in a position to rebuild its power and become once again a threat to France. Hence, the obvious desire of French nationalism to deprive Germany of the Ruhr-not to mention its hope to get its own fingers into that juicy industrial pie. Both Stalinist parties in Germany and France are aping the super-nationalistic jingoes in their own countries; they are completely foreign to the simplest conception of socialist internationalism.

A similar situation exists with regard to Trieste. The Stalinist-dominated Tito government of Yugoslavia insists that Trieste be ceded to it and the Russian government supports the demand. But that puts the Italian Stalinists in an impossible position, for they know that they would become the most unpopular party in Italy if they ran counter to Italian nationalist feeling by urging that Trieste be abandoned to Yugoslavia. So the Italian Stalinists equivocated, stammered and hesitated. Their embarrassment was heightened when the French Stalinist party through a speech by its leader, Jacques Duclos, on April 20, said that Trieste should go to Yugoslavia for "geographical and economic reasons." He also said that "we (notice Duclos' identification with French imperialism-I. H.) have the unimpeachable right to ask for adequate reparations."

The Italian Stalinists thereupon issued an official statement two days later in which they said that they were "unanimous in hoping that a solution of the Trieste question will be found which will be different from that urged by the French Communists." They further opposed the idea of Italy paying reparations to France.

The question arises: Do these differences of position represent a serious internal divergence within European Stalinism-a divergence provoked perhaps by the development of tendencies within the Stalinist parties which become more closely identified with "their" national capitalist class than with their Russian masters? Probably not. The theory that the Stalinist parties or significant sections of them would try to break loose from Russian domination and gravitate towards "their" native capitalist class was advanced by Trotsky before the war, and was shown to be incorrect by the experiences of the war. No matter how unpopular their position was during the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Stalinist parties remained loyal to the Russian bureaucracy first and foremost, even though that meant persecution by the governments of the countries in which they functioned. There seems no reason to assume that this is not just as true today; witness, if proof be needed, the recent "turn" in Stalinist policy.

How then explain the different lines taken by the European Stalinist parties? For one thing, at present it doesn't make any decisive difference. The future of Trieste will, for the moment-one may imagine the Stalin bureaucracy calculating-be decided by what the Big Powers want and not by what the Italian Stalinists say. Therefore, in order that they may retain their mass support, let the Italian Stalinists "oppose," however weakly, the ceding of Trieste to Yugoslavia. Much the same reasoning probably permits the Stalinists to continue with different lines in Germany and France on the Ruhr problem. It is more important for Stalin to be able to manipulate mass parties in Europe, which are his strongest means of applying pressure on his erstwhile allies, than to consider the formal consistency of their programs. And so the Stalinist parties in Germany, France and Italy are permitted by their master to indulge in seemingly contradictory ultra-nationalist propaganda, but all with the common purpose of helping that master.

### DEFEND THE "31"!

Arrested in Columbia, Tennessee charged with attempted murder for the "crime" of defending themselves and the Negro Community. Come to

The New York Workers Party Defense Meeting SUNDAY, MAY 19, 1946

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Room No. 1

SPEAKERS: DAVID COOLIDGE, Labor Secretary, Workers Party

NATHAN GOULD, Chairman Veterans Committee, Workers Party

PROMINENT GUEST SPEAKERS

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-Starvation Stalks the World-

# Famine Rides on Broken Transport

By WILLIAM BARTON

(Continued from last issue)

War and famine inevitably go hand in hand. The war meant actual destruction of productive farm lands, disorganization of transport services, decrease in farm machinery and draft animals, a serious lack of fertilizer (both natural and synthetic), the destruction of barriers against natural hazards (blowing up of flood-controlling dikes on China's Yellow River), manpower shortages on farms, and much else.

It will take a long time before many a formerly productive area can produce again. Some of the best land in Poland is now reputed to be "virtually desert." The policy of scorched earth has meant that important sectors will require intensive soil treatment before they can again yield anything like their former crops. Vineyards were cut up for use as airfields. The retreating Wehrmacht made a point of blowing up food-processing plants in occupied countries. Animals were stolen and sent to Germany by the tens of thousands. That many of these arrived and survived is doubtful; no one has reported any oversupply on German farms.

#### PRODUCES BLACK MARKET

The disruption of industry and disorganization of transport produced a typical situation wherein, did the farmer have a salable crop, there was no way by which he could cart it. The result: BLACK MARKET. All that was needed to become an "operator" was a car, a gallon of gas, and a carton of cigarettes. Highly-organized black market rings, often protected by political influence, were considered serious enough in France several months ago to have the death penalty proposed for participators.

The black market is not only a re-

sult of food shortages, it is also a cause for them. Several UNRRA employees have been found guilty of channeling food in its direction. Industrial and transport rehabilitation are essential for its complete eradication, but the immediate solution to this most vicious of crimes lies in the demand for popular control of food distribution through trade union, consumer and cooperative organizations.

Large - scale industrial reconstruc-

tion and revitalization may be too big a problem to be discussed here, but transportation is immediately relevant to current food shortages. The difficulties are still so great that small surpluses in one part of a country can't get to another sector (Yugoslavia, Italy). And what good are shipments of food when they can't get much further than the ports, which is often the case? There are enough railways and highways; the great shortcoming is in vehicles and fuel. A year ago the Western armies were being supplied and maintained by a mass of trains, trucks, jeeps, ducks, boats and airplanes that can only be described in the Hollywood term-colossal. And there were rarely any serious fuel shortages.

#### WHY IS THERE NO FUEL?

horizon at sea. It does not "pay" to send them to run stalled trucks and motor boats in Europe and Asia. But coal for locomotives remains the principal fuel source. The press and politicoes have made much of the effect of the coal strike on planned shipments to stricken areas. Bunk! Both Europe and Asia have tremendous coal sources only very partially

But how can Manchurian coal be dug when the Russian army has taken most of the machinery and kept the

population in a constant state of terror? How can the Eastern German fields (Silesia) be worked when most of the skilled workers were driven out as the area was incorporated into Poland? And how can the Ruhr and Saar deposits be extracted at anything near capacity when they are in the British and French occupation zones of Germany while the food for the working miners must come from the American and Russian zones? It is hardly the struggling miners who are responsible for fuel deficiencies. That lack could be seriously alleviated right now by the imperialist

As for the miles of vehicles that carried and supplied gigantic armies -they remain just where they were a year ago. A few have been turned over to needy countries, but most of them, over a billion's worth, remain

BASES OF CONFLICT

perialist capitalist nations.

of power game is on.

run by the latter.

ments of Russia.

YES, IT IS

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but this urgently necessary material will continue rusting until a better price (or a gilt-edged political guarantee) appears.

Better transportation is essential for alleviating crucial food needs, but is not enough. Throughout Europe and Asia nature has further supplemented the destructive crimes against humanity of capitalist war, with a series of damaging floods, droughts and insect plagues. Sustenance for almost a billion people must come from a few favored places. And for a large proportion of these, this will be true for some time. The supply must come principally from the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia and several bumper crop "islands" (Burma, Siam, Ethiopia).

(To be continued)

—A Socialist Point of View—

What are the aims of each foreign power in Germany?

(1) Russia desires a weakened Germany in the imme-

diate future with agriculture as the main economic base.

She desires to control Germany politically through her

foreign arm, the German Communist Party, or by amal-

gamation of the Communist Party with the German So-

cial Democratic Party. The latter she presses for today

in Germany as everywhere else where the Social Demo-

cratic Parties have any strength. Either a weak, decen-

tralized system of capitalism or a copy of her own sys-

tem of bureaucratic collectivism, is possible of attain-

ment: this is to Russia's liking and need. She wants

Germany in her orbit as a bulwark against western im-

will serve two purposes. She wants German capitalism

restored as a fairly strong economy under the control

of the Social Democracy. Germany was England's best

customer before the war and Britain is in desperate

need of markets now, since the United States and Rus-

sia have invaded her pre-war areas of control. She wants

a capitalist Germany posed against the expansionist ten-

dencies of Russia and Russian ideology. The old balance

her own self-protection, since she has so often been over-

capitalist basis, not so much for trading purposes but

rather as a field for investments, for the protection of

old investments and as a bulwark against the encroach-

flicts going on over Germany today. The first is the ques-

tion of control of the Ruhr district of Germany. France

desires control of the Ruhr while Britain and the U.S.

refuse to detach it from Germany. This struggle has

many. Britain and the U.S. are backing the Social Demo-

eratic party, which stands for continuation of capitalist

economy, struggle against Russian imperialism and, most

The second struggle is for political control of Ger-

(3) France wants a weak, decentralized Germany for

(4) The United States wants Germany restored on a

These conflicting aims are the bases for three con-

(2) England has one main aim in Germany which

# Price Control Must Be Tied To Slogan "Open the Books"

The five thousand persons who gathered, despite threatening thunder showers at Lewisohn Stadium in New York last Sunday to protest the rising cost of living were told that the way to save price control and the way to stop the price rises was to write to Congress to save the OPA. This is the same feeble story being told to workers and housewives all over the country who are anxious to stop the inflationary rises.

It is time that we, the people, began to realize that price control is going to be up to us. It is time for us to realize that we are the only ones who can stop the rising cost of living. And it is time that we began to think of ways and means of doing

For this much we know: Congress has not stopped prices from rising. And Congress is not going to stop prices from rising. Truman has not done it, and Truman is not going to. The OPA hasn't done it, and the OPA isn't going to. The NAM hasn't done it, and the NAM is not going to. The job is up to us, the workers and the housewives, the consumers.

#### PRESS LINE COLLAPSES

Congress from the very beginning has tried to keep the price controlling agency as weak as possible. With every succeeding piece of legislation it removed more and more of the body of the organization until there was nothing left but an empty shell. The final blow was dealt in the House of Representatives when it extended the Price Control Act for nine months but added nine amendments that remove even that shell.

Truman has played a two-faced role. On the one hand, he appoints a fact-finding board so that he may have "impartial" information. The fact-finders find that industrialists can afford to raise wages by 25 per cent without raising prices. Truman thereupon throws the facts into the waste basket and comes up with a wage-price policy that allows the industrialists to take away the wage increases with price increases.

Prices continued to rise throughout the war. They have taken an additional spurt upward in the past few months. OPA has played up publicity holding the line; at the same time it has quietly approved increases in price ceilings. As reported by the Kiplinger Washington Agency:

"OPA is talking out of both sides of its mouth simultaneously. Out of one side OPA is saying that the price line will be held. This is the theme of all loud publicity, but it's only half true. Out of the other side OPA is telling its staff to raise prices and to hurry, make it snappy, get a lot of raises out within the next thirty days. But keep the price raises quiet -play down publicity on them-play up the publicity about holding the line-the breast-beating theme. Make the public believe that the price line is being held-while the retreat to a new higher line is actually under

That is why, every week when you go to the grocery store, there is another item that has gone up in price

one cent, two cents or three cents. These increases seem small indeed when thought of singly. But when an article costing 15 cents goes up to 17 cents, then your dollar buys only as much as 88 cents bought before. That is what is happening now.

The prospects are even worse. Milk may go up 4 cents a quart; sheese may rise 15 cents a pound; bread may cost 15 cents instead of 12 cents a loaf. These rises would take 25 cents out of every dollar in your pay en-

The NAM would have us believe that these price increases are the fault of organized labor demanding higher wages. And, according to F. H. La Guardia, the NAM has spent \$700,000 on full-page advertisements to sell this idea to the public.

#### CAN BE CONTROLLED!

But we need not be fooled by these advertisements. The General Motors strikers have already proved how false they are. Before the strike, the union showed that the company could: (1) give a 30 per cent increase in wages to its workers, (2) decrease the price of cars from the 1942 level, and (3) still make 50 per cent more in profit than in the pre-war years 1936-39.

The company on the other hand stated that it could not give a raise in wages without getting a price increase. The strikers answered militantly, "Open your books, and we'll prove it." The company refused to meet this challenge.

The control of prices is intimately tied to the demand by labor that industry open its books. Workers' committees organized at the point of production in the factories inspecting the books of the corporations are in the best position to know what is going on. They are in the best position, acting in coordination throughout an industry, to separate the capitalist desire for profits from the need of the people for goods, and arrive at figures that would be fair prices. And the consumers themselves, organized into neighborhood committees of workers and housewives, are in the best position to enforce those price ceilings and fight the black market. Only through these workers' committees and consumers' committees can the rise in prices be checked and converted into the decline in prices that our productive machinery

# **Three Weeks Left** And \$3,300 to Go!

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

For the first time since the start of our campaign to raise \$15,000 for an eight-page LABOR ACTION, Hibbing's heretofore uncontested lead is seriously threatened. Boston, breaking into a vigorous sprint, fulfilled its quota last week and this week contributed \$38, to follow close on Hibbing's 180 per cent lead. With Hibbing, Boston and Newark already over-subscribing their quotas, Youngstown joined the 100 per centers this week, making it the sixth branch to fulfill its quota.

With just a little less than three weeks to go before the drive is officially closed, we have \$3,293.72 to raise to reach our goal. This means that we must average \$1,100 per week for the next three weeks. This last week was slightly slower than usual. Only \$800 was contributed, bringing total receipts to date

The schedule this week called for 82 per cent fulfillment by each branch. There are eleven such branches now on schedule. Chicago's \$115 contribution for th week moved that branch forward to 82 per cent. San Francisco made a spectacular advance, nosing New York out for seventh place. San Francisco's \$11.24 contribution for the week brings that city up to 92 per cent of fulfillment and next in line for the 100 percenter group.

St. Louis came through with its first contribution in the drive, \$40, with a pledge that St. Louis will come across 100 per cent. A similar promise from Akron was received with an enclosed money order for \$95 putting Akron in the front part of the race.

The Detroit Branch kept pace with its former efforts and seems to be getting the better of its difficulties. A contribution of \$126 from that branch this week brings its total to date up to \$751.

The Los Angeles Branch keeps moving forward. A \$71 contribution from that branch this week advanced the branch 11 per cent and right into the 60 per cent category. Seventeenth last week, Los Angeles moved up to fifteenth place and seems to be riding on a new momentum that will put it across.

We want publicly to thank the many readers of LABOR ACTION who have responded to our appeal for the Fund Drive by sending contributions ranging from \$1.00 to \$10. These contributions have come from Muscatine, Iowa, from Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, Conn., Oregon, New York, Mumford, N. Y., and many others. We have written each contributor, thinking him for his contribution. These \$1.00, \$5.00 and \$10 contributions from our readers help to meet our objective.

We thank our readers publicly. If you have not yet sent your contribution,

Three weeks left, \$3,293.72 to go. The schedule next week calls for 88 per cent fulfillment. Let's go!

| Branch               | Quota    | This Week | Contribution | Per Cen |
|----------------------|----------|-----------|--------------|---------|
| 1. Hibbing, Minn,    | \$25.00  | \$00.00   | \$45.00      | 180     |
| 2. Boston, Mass      |          | 38.00     | 89.00        | 178     |
| 3. Newark, N. J      |          | 00.00     | 502.50       | 100.5   |
| 4. Baltimore, Md.    |          | 00.00     | 50.00        | 100     |
| 5 . Streator, Ill    | 25.00    | 00.00     | 25.00        | 100     |
| 6. Youngstown, Ohio  | 150.00   | 20.00     | 150.00       | 100     |
| 7. San Francisco     |          | 111.24    | 460.62       | 92      |
| 8. New York, N. Y    | 5000.00  | 95.05     | 4563.05      | 91      |
| 9. Seattle, Wash     |          | 00.00     | 251.36       | 83      |
| 10. Buffalo, N. Y    | 200.00   | 15.00     | 165.00       | 82      |
| 11. Chicago, Ill.    | 1000.00  | 115.00    | 825.00       | 82.5    |
| 12. Akron, Ohio      |          | 95.00     | 360.00       | 72      |
| 13. Reading, Pa      |          | 8.00      | 35.00        | 70      |
| 14. National Office  | 3550.00  | 36.00     | 2367.00      | 67      |
| 15. Los Angeles, Cal | 600.00   | 71.00     | 388.00       | 64      |
| 16. Philadelphia, Pa | . 350.00 | 10.00     | 233.00       | 63      |
| 17. Detroit, Mich    | 1250.00  | 126.00    | 751.00       | 60      |
| 18. Louisville, Ky.  | 200.00   | 00.00     | 110.00       | 55      |
| 19. San Pedro, Cal   | 400.00   | 19.75     | 216.25       | 54      |
| 20. Cleveland, Ohio  | 200.00   | 00.00     | 101.00       | 50      |
| 21. St. Louis, Mo    | 100.00   | 40.00     | 40.00        | 40      |
|                      |          |           |              | ****    |
| Totals 1             | 5,000.00 | 800.04    | 11,706.28    | 78      |
|                      | F. 10    |           | 14.1         | 07 030  |

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# **Conflict and Policy in Germany**

powers.

Oil tankers no longer cover the

important, against genuine revolutionary struggles of the working class. Russia is backing the Communist Germany has been decisively defeated. The working Party and its attempt to amalgamate with the Social class has suffered heavily both under Hitler and in the Democratic Party and to control it. This is the main course of the war. Today, in the third phase of their political struggle in Germany today. It is no accident miserable existence since Hitler took power, they are that the Labor Party in England recently invited Dr. engaged in a life and death struggle with hunger. But, Karl Schumacker to visit England for discussions. He is though weak and disorganized, the German people and the leader of the Social Democrats in the British zone economy are today the object of severe struggle between of occupation. The jailing of two Communist leaders by the four occupying powers. Their destinies are linked the American authorities is evidence of their political with that of Germany and vice versa.

> The third struggle concerns the amount of steel Germany is to be allowed to produce annually. Since this is an index of industrial strength and war potential, it is of the greatest importance. Under the Potsdam Agreement among the four powers, a small percentage of Germany's pre-war steel production was sanctioned. For the last two months Britain has been carrying on a strenuous fight to raise this quota. France is adamantly opposed to such a policy.

As revolutionary socialists, we are concerned mainly with the relation of the German working class to these battles. What policies must the international proletariat and the German proletariat follow if the German working class is to be put back on the path of their struggle

FIRST: Germany must be unified again. That means a fight against all the foreign oppressors and the withdrawal of all their troops.

SECOND: All working class organizations must have full freedom to organize and complete democratic rights.

THIRD: Germany must be rebuilt industrially on the basis of nationalization of industry under workers' control. Organization of its production under the conquerors, who will attempt to integrate German economy in accord with their own needs and suppress and destroy that which is in conflict with them, will lead only to the impoverishment of Germany and, with it, contribute to the lowering of the standard of all Europe.

FOURTH: The forced amalgamation of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties must be combatted. The Stalinists are the foes of the working class and their merger with the Social Democracy, which are democratic if not socialist workers' parties, will further stifle the struggle for democratic rights and socialism.

FIFTH: All ties between the German proletariat and the international working class must be strengthened States. In the first instance, this means propagandizing for, on the part of the revolutionary parties, a Socialist United States of Europe, which is the ultimate solution for the partitioned and impoverished continent.

# THEODORE DREISER -HIS PLACE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Guest Lecture in Current Events Class

> by JAMES T. FARRELL

Admission 25c 9:00 p.m.

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# **NEW YORK WORKERS PARTY**



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#### (Continued from page 1) manufacture of atom bombs, all are autonomy is to be given to Cyrenaica war measures that must be stopped. to avoid Italian administration of that The working people have but to take a look at the foreign ministers in Paris to be convinced that only the working people of the world can

Big Power Wrangle - -

province. Now it is Britain whose imperialist feathers are ruffled. It had its hand ready to grab off Cyrenaica for itself because Tobruk and Bengazi are strategic points, the latter being within single engine fighter range of the British island of Malta. On this issue Molotov has jumped onto Byrnes' bandwagon planning to have some fun with Bevin. However. this does not look at all funny to the masses of the world hoping for

### STOP WAR-MAKERS NOW!

What will happen when the ministers tackle the question of the Balkans? The issues there will be very hot indeed. What about the industrial equipment that Russia bundled off to the motherland? What about the special trade agreements made under the mouths of Russian guns? What about the Russian armies of occupation? Then, as stated above, there is

Germany. Molotov has firmly refused Byrnes' offer for a twenty-five year agreement to keep Germany without the means for waging war. Molotov thereby revealed the real issue, which is how to utilize Germany TO WAGE THE NEXT WAR. In a debate in the House of Commons a Laborite Member of Parliament described Germany and Austria as. "battlegrounds in which former allies are maneuvering for position." Along the same lines, columnist Walter Lippman, back from a trip to Europe, wrote: "The most important conclusion I have to report is, I am sure, indisputable. It is true that all European governments, all parties, and all leading men are acting as if there would be another world

That is why Mr. Sulzberger was absolutely correct in remarking that "nowadays peace is a continuation of war by other means." That is why the liberal Miss Kirchwey is also right when she reported: "Peace is not going to be made in a room. If peace is made at all, it will be by people fighting their way out of a desolation of suffering and ruin toward new forms of social and political control." But being only a liberal, Miss Kirchwey doesn't go the whole hog. What the suffering masses must do is overthrow the war-making imperialist powers and establish their own workers' governments.

At the same time the fight against World War III has to begin right now. All measures in preparation for that annihilating conflict must be combatted by the people who will be devastated by atom bombs. Conscription must be fought; peacetime military training, military appropriations,

bring peace by uniting against the

# EIGHTY ATTEND SAN FRANCISCO MAY DAY MEETING

SAN FRANCISCO - Over eighty members and friends of the Workers Party branch in this city attended a May Day celebration which combined brief speeches, a satirical play and a social evening. The speeches dealt with the significance of the labor holiday, its past history and with the present situation of the working class. Socialism as the means of saving humanity from atomic destruction was clearly put forward by the speaker of the evening. Afterwards, a satiric skit on the Paris Peace Conference was presented by members of the Workers Party. The celebration was very lively and considered a complete success.

# Louisville May Day

LOUISVILLE-A group of members and friends of the Louisville branch of the Workers Party celebrated May Day last week. This celebration of the workers' holiday south of the Mason-Dixon line had as its main feature a talk by one of the members of the branch on the Historical Significance of May Day. An open discussion of the current situation on the labor front followed.

### A Boss's Dictionary

