

## Truman Guards Pocketbooks of Railroad Trusts

In all his public statements on the rail strike, President Truman did not by so much as ONE WORD criticize the powerful men who constitute the railroad trust in the United States. All the President's venom and pressure were directed against the striking trainmen and engineers.

Who was Truman fronting for in his strike-breaking efforts? What section of America's Sixty Families—the families who control the economy of this nation—was Truman working for in his successful efforts to drive the strikers back to the rails with their demands unmet?

The answer can be found in a report published by the United States Government Printing Office in 1939—a report on "The Structure of the American Economy," by the National Resources Committee.

This report informs us that trustification on the railroads, by 1935, had reached the point where the thirteen major systems and eight other roads owned about 95 per cent of the total railroad mileage.

The J. P. Morgan-First National Bank group, in addition to its industrial corporations and utilities, controls, according to the above report, "eleven major railroads or railroad systems, controlling 25 per cent of the first-class railroad mileage of the country."

Included in the Morgan group are the following roads:

Railroads	Assets in 1935
New York Central System	\$2,356,000,000
Great Northern	1,152,000,000
Northern Pacific	1,131,000,000
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	(not given)
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe	1,091,000,000
Southern Railroad	587,000,000
Western Pacific	196,000,000

Other roads owned complete or in large measure by the Morgan group are the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western; Rutland; Spokane, Portland & Seattle; Gulf, Mobile & Northern (now the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio); Chicago, Indianapolis & Louisville (the Monon); and the Denver & Rio Grande Western.

The authors also assigned the Allegheny System (Chesapeake & Ohio; Missouri Pacific; Erie; New York, Chicago & St. Louis; Pere Marquette; Chicago & Eastern Illinois; and Wheeling & Lake Erie) to Morgan, noting, however, that a struggle for control of this empire was raging between Robert R. Young, of Cleveland, and Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co. Young has since taken the C. & O. and the Pere Marquette.

Financial relations between Morgan and all the roads controlled by him "have been very close and of long duration," it is observed.

Only major rival to Morgan in the rail field is Kuhn-Loeb, whose interest lies primarily in railroads. Kuhn-Loeb & Co. control "thirteen major railroads or railroad systems which together controlled approximately 22 per cent of the first-class railroad mileage in the country in 1935," the report states.

A partial list of the Kuhn-Loeb railroads follows:

Railroads	Assets in 1935
Pennsylvania Railroad	\$2,893,000,000
Union Pacific	1,069,000,000
Southern Pacific	1,677,000,000
Milwaukee Road	699,000,000
Missouri-Kansas-Texas	249,000,000
Delaware & Hudson	235,000,000

Other roads controlled by Kuhn-Loeb are the Illinois Central; Norfolk & Western; Wabash; Lehigh Valley; New York, New Haven & Hartford; Detroit, Toledo & Ironton; Boston & Maine; and a half interest in Rutland, Morgan holding the other half interest.

The Mellon family controls the Virginian Railway, which, in 1935, had assets of \$153,000,000.

### TRUMAN PROTECTS THEM

Morgan, Kuhn-Loeb, the Mellons and the other anti-social parasites who own the nation's railroads—these are the men who used Truman and Congress and the Army as political tools to break the railroad strike and force the men back on the job with their major demands concerning rules changes and wage increases unmet.

An impartial reading of the testimony presented before the Truman emergency fact-finding board which investigated the dispute will convince one that the trainmen and engineers' brotherhoods proved to the hilt that their demands were justified and that the rail trust could grant them.

This the rail trust was determined not to do. In the crisis provoked by the strike, all the agencies of capitalist government—including the President of the United States—were ordered to stand guard over the pocketbooks of the Morgans and Mellons to break the strike.

President Truman stands condemned as the White House agent of America's Sixty Families.

Roosevelt, in the Little Steel strike of 1937, said "A curse on both your houses"—and supported the steel trust against the steel workers.

Truman, in the rail strike of 1946, blamed the strike on the "obstinate arrogance" of the union leaders.

Informed workers will understand who was arrogant in the recent strike.

## Ku Klux Klan Stirs Up Race Hatred in West

By J. H. BRENT

Los Angeles received a calling card from the Ku Klux Klan in a series of incidents that reminded the community that the hooded protectors of "White Gentile Supremacy" are renewing their activity with increasing boldness.

The first alert was sounded when Mr. Hickerson, a Negro home-owner, saw a six-foot cross burning on his lawn. Mr. Hickerson has been fighting a court battle against the restrictive covenant regulations whereby Jim Crow proprietors endeavor to keep the neighborhood lily-white on the ground that community property depreciates when Negroes move in. The fiery cross is the Klan's warning to Mr. Hickerson and the entire Negro population that the hooded gangsters intend to act on their own, law or no law.

Attorney General Kenney, Democratic candidate for Governor, has



PRESIDENT TRUMAN

promised to push the investigation of the Klan, with the view toward outlawing it in the State of California. At the same time, the local police department refused to grant Mr. Hickerson a permit to carry a gun to protect his home and his family from future terrorist activity.

### WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS

The Klan, reputed to be one hundred thousand strong in California, is closely linked to G. L. K. Smith's fascist outfit. Ray Schneider, one of Smith's bodyguards, is a Kieagle in the KKK. These latest terrorist acts against the Negro and Jewish population are the first signs of the fascist movement that reaction hopes to build on a nation-wide scale "when the time is ripe." The first lesson that labor learned from fascism overseas is the necessity of building NOW, Workers Defense Guards. Here in California, with half a dozen fascist organizations active on the scene, we must have our own "police"—workers without uniform, who can be relied on to defend the rights of labor and the minority groups against the stooges of capital.

# LABOR ACTION

JUNE 3, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR



ONE CENT

# FOR A GOVERNMENT OF LABOR, NOT OF STRIKEBREAKERS!

BREAK WITH THE STRIKE-BREAKERS

## Form a Labor Party Now!

### "Strike-Breaker"

This is the curse that the multi-millioned voice of American labor is shouting at President Truman's administration which it helped to elect.

In the most anti-labor speech made by any President in the last two decades, Truman proposed a labor draft, use of the Army to break strikes, nullification of virtually every piece of pro-labor legislation, imposition of penalties, fines, injunctions, loss of all rights of labor. This was how he broke the rail strike. A slave labor act, military government, Hitler-like labor battalions—all of these terms describe the legislation proposed by Strike-Breaker Truman and supported by his strike-breaking congressional lieutenants.

And what were the men who are back at the throats and in the caboose of the trains striking for? They were trying to obtain in the only way that labor can, what they lost during the war, what they were promised by Truman's predecessor, Roosevelt, in exchange for the no-strike pledge. They, like the miners, were not fighting for wages alone but for better conditions on the railroads which would in turn benefit commuters through better safety conditions. The profit-bulged rail profiteers, like the coal operators, like the auto barons, refused to share their war booty produced by the men who do the work.

### WHAT THE STRIKES ARE ABOUT

The reaction of labor has been unanimous. All organized labor has turned thumbs down on the strike-breaker President and the strike-breaking administration. They have been denounced by Green, Murray, Lewis, the brotherhoods, the Political Action Committee of the CIO, labor veterans' groups, etc. The UAW has called for a national conference of all organized labor to combat the anti-labor legislation flooding Congress. Whitney of the brotherhoods has pledged millions of dollars of union assets to defeat Truman. Truman is assailed as a "one-termer," a "political freak," etc.

The crucial problem is: How is this anti-labor legislation to be done away with?

We are solidly for the defeat of Truman, for making him a one-termer. But this phrase is being utilized to contrast Truman, a "bad" Democrat, with his

### YES! LET'S DEFEAT TRUMAN!

forerunner, Roosevelt, presumably a "good" Democrat. Let us only recall that Truman is following in peacetime the steps that his mentor attempted in wartime. Roosevelt, too, called for a labor draft in the course of the war, which was directed against the mine strikers.

We are solidly for the use of all the funds labor can muster to defeat Truman. But what is labor going to do to defeat Truman? The leaders of the railway unions, who called off the strike without consulting their rank and file, are quite capable of using their union funds—representing the hard-earned dues of members—to back a Republican. And the Republicans are trying to make all the political capital they can out of the situation. Senator Taft is leading the Republican opposition to the Case Bill, not for love of labor and not for hatred of the bill's fascist aspects, but for the love of labor's votes! The CIO-PAC is organized only to defeat the more reactionary Democrats and Republicans and replace them with those of the Truman stripe! Certain liberals and the Stalinists are plumping for a "third party" which will only tail-end the Democrats and again head off a genuine Labor Party.

All of these roads lead to support of capitalist politicians and capitalist politics. They lead to support of the men and the parties who revere profits above human needs. They lead to government strike-breaking, anti-labor legislation and militarization.

The answer is crystal clear. Labor must elect a government of, by and for the workers. The unanimous sentiment of organized labor against Truman **FORM LABOR PARTY NOW!** PAC must stop sloshing around in the swamp of capitalist politics. Labor must make the break, and make it clean, once and for all.

### FORM AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY NOW!

**BREAK WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF STRIKE-BREAKERS!**  
**PUT A LABOR GOVERNMENT INTO POWER!**

By JERRY TODD

CHICAGO, May 26—Confronted with mountainous pressure from all agencies of the government, including the mobilization of Army forces as strike-breakers, and sabotaged by leaders of eighteen other railroad unions, Presidents A. F. Whitney of the trainmen and Alvanley Johnston of the locomotive engineers called off the nation-wide rail strike shortly before 4 p. m., Saturday, May 25.

President Truman, who took the lead in breaking the strike, a few minutes later went before Congress to agitate for passage of a Slave Labor Law which, in effect, would outlaw the only economic weapon left to the union movement, the strike.

The strike of the two railroad brotherhoods, during the 48 hours it lasted, was completely effective. With military precision the trainmen and engineers on the nation's railroads marched off their jobs in a body at 4 p. m., May 23.

For the first time in decades the nation felt the enormous social weight of the railroad workers. The railroad transportation system of the United States was paralyzed, as was much of the country's heavy industry.

## Will India Really Get Its Freedom?

By HENRY JUDD

After two months of negotiations with Indian political leaders, and its failure to bring about an agreement between the Congress Party and the Moslem League, the British Labor Government has announced its own plan for solving the Indian deadlock. Gandhi, leader of the Congress Party, has already indicated his acceptance of these proposals; Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, has been silent but, at best, will only give his tacit consent to the plan, since his Moslem League is given the short end of the stick by the British. It appears, however, that this plan will be adopted and put into effect by Brit-

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Congress can filibuster for months against passing a measure which would outlaw the poll-tax. The nation hardly feels it. The bosses can take the winter off to vacation in Florida. They are not missed. But 300,000 railroad workers stay off the job for two days and the nation is thrown into a crisis.

### TRUMAN REVEALS FACE

The strike brought to an end President Truman's pose as a "friend of labor." The Missouri Democrat mobilized all the powers of his office to shield the railroad trust, to brush aside the demands of the rail unions, to create an army of strike-breakers and to smash the walkout.

Just prior to the walkout, Truman presented the two unions with an ultimatum that they abandon their

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## Thousands of Soldiers Languish Overseas, Victims of Brutal Military Court-Martial

By JOSEPH HAUSER

An article in a recent issue of LABOR ACTION told a little about army justice and described conditions in overseas GI prison camps comparable to those in Hitler's concentration camps. While almost all general prisoners have been transferred from these camps to state-side installations, thousands of these men languish in disciplinary barracks, facing long years of imprisonment.

Now, one year after the end of the war in Europe and nine months after the end of the war in the Pacific, most of the men drafted into the armed forces have been returned to civilian life, and a good proportion of those still in uniform can figure more or less when they will be released. As a rule, however, prisoners have nothing to look forward to but dull, brutal years of incarceration, with the only hope being that the top army review boards will reach their cases some time in the not too distant future and reduce their sentences.

An examination of the general run of cases shows the extremely severe prison terms imposed on men convicted by courts-martial and makes clear the necessity of action to correct the situation. We must demand immediate release with honorable discharge for all soldiers convicted of purely military offenses. We must also demand immediate reconsideration of all other court-martial convictions, with open hearings, right of prisoner to own civilian counsel, court to con-

sist of at least fifty per cent enlisted or former enlisted men, and right to appeal to civil court of comparable jurisdictional status. Granting of these demands is of the utmost importance to save thousands of men from continued imprisonment and to restore them to a normal existence in civilian life.

The Articles of War are the laws of the army. Men charged with violations of these articles, if convicted, face prison terms, dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of pay and dependents' allowances. Some publicity has been given to prison conditions, but nothing has been told of the terribly harsh sentences meted out to the men. A man brought to trial faces a court composed solely of officers and is entirely at the mercy of the court in determining sentence. Virtually all of the Articles of War detailing various offenses contain the phrase, "shall be punished as a court-martial may direct." This means no limit to term of imprisonment and, in actuality, no limit was imposed during the war. Articles of War Nos. 46 to 50½ are supposed to provide safeguards against unwarranted punishment through review by various authorities in the military organization. But little was accomplished except for some reductions in sentence. A few sample cases will reveal the way military justice works.

Take the case of Soldier A. This man went AWOL for nine days, suffering from battle fatigue, and turned himself in at the end of this period. He was returned to the front line and, not being able to stand the strain, he took off again and was not apprehended for four months. For this he was tried, convicted and sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment.

Soldier B was on pass, got drunk and didn't return for twenty days. He had a record of two previous offenses, one for eighteen days drunk and AWOL, the other for one hour (!) AWOL (missed a truck). The army, considering, no doubt, the conditions which drove so many young men to drink, sentenced this man to ten years in prison.

Soldier C was a twenty-three-year-old band musician, went AWOL twenty-one days in England. For thus impeding the progress of the war, this man was sentenced to life imprisonment, later reduced to twenty years.

Soldier D was assigned to guard duty, though he was drunk at the time. He asked to be relieved on this duty; his request was denied and he was later found asleep on his post. Sentence—twenty-five years!

Soldier E is a Negro convicted of assaulting four white officers. He was repeatedly not identified by the officers involved, but was found guilty solely on the testimony of another suspect who was then exonerated. This frame-up gave him ten years.

F was an infantry lieutenant with six months in combat, purple heart, five battle stars. He disobeyed an or-

der to take command of a machine-gun platoon because he felt incapable of doing the job. For his consideration of the safety of the men he was ordered to lead, this officer was rewarded with twenty years' imprisonment.

Soldier G had spent eleven months in combat when he received word that his younger brother was missing in action nearby. He knew the odds were against his brother's being alive and wanted a day or two "just to think it out by myself." G was not in action at the time but his company was being held in reserve. He went to town for one day and then turned himself in. For this one day's "desertion" under conditions understandable to any humane person, G received a forty-year sentence.

Soldier H was twenty-one years old, had nerve-wracking experiences in mine-fields, seeing buddies blown to bits. He went to pieces under the strain and "look off" for eighty days, spending all of this time in an army rest camp. He turned himself in and was sentenced to forty years for his terrible crime!

### WHY THIS SYSTEM?

This listing of cases could go on indefinitely, but it is enough to show the extremely long terms administered. The purpose is obvious. The army attempted to enforce its discipline by making an example of men brought to trial. Unable to sell the war to the men, unable to convince

them that they were fighting for the very ideals which they saw flouted in their own units, it was necessary for the brass hats to scare the men into remaining at their posts. Yet the conditions were such that thousands of men "took off" or broke discipline in one way or another, and suffered prison brutalities and long sentences as a result.

Now that the war is over, the army finds itself with thousands of imprisoned men on its hands, with pressure from various sources for reconsideration of their cases. A handful of top review boards is going over all the records, but literally at a snail's pace. Some sentences are being cut, with the men given dishonorable discharge. Some men are "graciously" given the opportunity to redeem their status by returning to duty (and immediately going overseas again to the Army of Occupation) and eventually getting an honorable discharge.

Much as they have reason to hate the army and its system of justice, many prisoners grab the chance to be restored to duty, as they fear that their DD will hurt their chances for employment in civilian life, and they know that in certain states dishonorable discharge means losing the rights of citizenship. Still other men will serve out their sentences, gaining only the "good time" allowed for not breaking prison rules. Good time amounts to thirty days for the first

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## An Exchange of Letters on the Character of Russian Society:

## What Is the Historical Perspective of Bureaucratic Collectivism?

## THE LETTER:

Editor:

In your polemics with the SWP over the past nine months, there can be little doubt in the readers' minds on the question of relative democracy within the two parties. The principle of democratic centralism seems to me to be an attempt to solve the inner contradiction between the necessity for power to meet the opposing power of the reactionaries on the one hand, and the democratic aspirations of socialism on the other. You have published the SWP minority's testimony as to Cannon's orientation toward centralism versus the Morrow-Goldman-WP orientation toward democracy. There is a further question, however, which I think lies at the bottom of the SWP-WP differences upon which I would like the WP explanation.

The Marxist justification for the rise of capitalism and for its victory over feudalism is that, at that stage of technical development, only by satisfying the rising capitalists' selfish material interests could the productive capacity of society as a whole be increased. According to the materialist conception of history, those property forms which, at the given stage of history are capable of raising the general standard of living are justified and will in the end supersede existing property forms which have reached the limit of their ability to raise the standard of living.

Therefore, if the Stalinist bureaucracy has increased Russia's industrial capacity (whether or not this has yet appreciably increased production of consumer goods, or has only affected heavy industry so far), it is progressive, in the same way that at one time the selfish interests of the capitalists were progressive. History does not seem to take much stock in subjective motives, but does take stock in objective material progress. How does the theory of bureaucratic collectivism account for Russia's industrial development under Stalinism, how does this development contradict the materialist conception of history, and how does the bureaucratic collectivist explanation of this differ from that of the degenerated workers' state theory? How does the

bureaucratic collectivist theory deal with this objective situation, quite apart from world-revolution versus socialism in one country (upon which the SWP and the WP agree in strategy)?

The answer to this question seems to me to be the key to the SWP's closer orientation to the CP than that of the WP. That is the reason

## James Farrell, Shachtman Speak At N. Y. Workers Party School

NEW YORK—On Friday, May 24, Max Shachtman closed his class on Russia for the Spring Term of the New York Workers Party School with a lecture on "The Future of Bureaucratic Collectivism." The gist of his comments was that, while theoretically the extension of bureaucratic collectivism, which is the totalitarian régime of Russia today, is a possibility, politically speaking, it is not in the cards.

The base for bureaucratic collectivism could be in the layers of the labor bureaucracy, the frustrated middle-class professionals and others whom decaying capitalism cannot treat in the style to which they have been accustomed and who no longer have any material use for capitalism. These layers, with an ear in production, could well see the merit of grabbing the powers of state to institute a collectivism which they would dominate and exploit, and enter the Stalinist orbit under the leadership of the Communist Party bureaucrats.

Politically, however, said Shachtman, and as a matter of practical prognosis, such a development is not to be anticipated because the era is not one in which any kind of imperialist expansion can be sustained. The epoch will be characterized by the social revolution of the working classes against both decadent capitalism and totalitarian collectivism.

Time did not allow for a full development of the ideas outlined nor for a comprehensive discussion from the floor. However, the question of

that this question seems to me to be the most pertinent issue in the SWP-WP differences, and nowhere have I seen it dealt with in your press. Unfortunately, so far I have been unable to get hold of a complete exposition, or even a complete outline, of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism.

DIXON ADAMS, Calif.

## THE REPLY:

Dear Friend:

The Editorial Board of LABOR ACTION has asked me to answer your extremely interesting letter. At the outset, I want to emphasize that our differences on Russia in no way preclude unity between the WP and the SWP. That is the Workers Party position. I wish to state that what follows is a personal opinion for which I alone am responsible; our party has not taken a position on many of these questions and I see no reason why, as a party of practical political activity, it needs to take a position, for example, on a problem involved in the materialist conception of history.

(1) Is the Stalinist bureaucracy "progressive" for having "increased Russia's industrial capacity" in the same way as capitalism was progressive in its early stages because it increased "the productive capacity of society"? The comparison does not seem to me to be a valid one. When capitalism appeared on the historical scene, it resulted in tremendous changes in human society: the rise of the world market, the unparalleled stimulation of technological development, the resultant knitting of the world into one economic unit; in short, the lifting of society from feudal stagnation to the point where the development of capitalism made possible for the first time in history a society of abundance and security.

In that sense, despite its inhumanity, EARLY capitalism was historically progressive. That is, it increased man's control over nature which was a prerequisite for removing man's domination over man. Today, however, that great historical task has already been accomplished. The technological, economic and historical prerequisites for socialism on a world scale already exist, and in view of that fact the Stalinist dictatorship cannot be characterized as progressive when one bears in mind that it bears the terrible onus of having been mainly responsible for the many defeats of the world working class in the recent decade. The Marxian conception of progress is not merely a matter of technological index; it is

technological index within a social reference.

The development of the productive forces by capitalism on an unprecedented world scale made possible the liberation of humanity from class society; the comparatively puny development of productive forces by Stalinism has come as part of the development of a totalitarian dictatorship which made a mockery of socialism and destroyed the world revolution. If one thinks of the matter only on a narrowly technological basis, then consider how insignificant is the development of Russia's productive forces by Stalinism as compared with the set-back to the productive forces of the world as a whole which resulted from the Stalinist betrayal of the revolutions during the past twenty years and which resulted in the perpetuation of the economic system that destroys the productive forces today, namely capitalism.

(2) Just what is meant by saying that Stalinism has developed the productive forces of Russia? If you mean that it has developed more than would have probably been taken place had Russia remained capitalist in 1919, that is correct. But Stalinism arose as an alternative to a genuine working class régime, and not as an alternative to capitalism. Viewed concretely then, does it not seem highly likely that a democratic and genuine workers' government, giving stimulation to the initiative of the working class rather than ruling it by terror and, above all, helping the workers of the advanced European countries come to power and thereby providing revolutionary assistance to the working class government of backward Russia—does it not seem likely that such a government could have achieved far more even on a narrow Russian scale in terms of its industrial capacity, not to mention its people?

(3) The development of the productive forces under bureaucratic collectivism in Russia in part may be explained (in accordance, I believe, with the Marxist approach to history) by the following factors:

By virtue of its perpetuation of nationalized economy, bureaucratic collectivism succeeded in overcoming some of the economic contradictions of capitalism. By starving its people, by unprecedented brutality, by silencing everything into the war machine, by the vicious speed-up it called Stakhanovism, the Russian bureaucracy succeeded in enlarging its industrial plant and gearing it for war. But, let me repeat again, it did so at the expense of the Russian working class and its revolution, as well as at the expense of the world revolution.

The criterion of productive expansion as an index of the progressiveness of a society can be applied only on a world scale and over a long-range period of time. For otherwise, we would be forced into the absurd conclusion that the economic development of Japan during recent years, in the era of capitalism's world decline, makes Japanese imperialism historically progressive. Despite our difference of sociological characterization of Russia, we would often agree with the SWP on some of the specific factors which permitted of Russian industrial expansion. Only we assign different significance and give different interpretation to those factors.

## HISTORICAL QUIRK ON WORLD SOCIETY?

(4) I fear that you will not find "a complete exposition" of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism if you mean by that a highly detailed and thorough working out of its "economic laws of motion" such as Marx made

of capitalism. If that is what you mean, such an exposition seems to me at present impossible to write, for the following reasons:

(a) Russia is the most thoroughly totalitarianized country in recent history and there is simply not enough information available, such as Marx found about capitalism in the British Museum, with which to attempt such an analysis;

(b) and more important: when Marx wrote *Capital*, the economic system he described had existed on the world arena for many years and it could be observed in its historical world genesis and in its internal developments from commercial to manufacturing to industrial capitalism, unlike Russian bureaucratic collectivism which has existed in an isolated context for only a few years and which has thus far been merely a kind of historical aberration. Whether it will continue as such an isolated historical quirk or may perhaps become a possible successor to capitalism on a world scale I shall not attempt here to say. The latter possibility can only arise on the basis of a future complete failure of the working class to achieve the socialist revolution; that is, bureaucratic collectivism could arise on a world scale only in a situation where the total decline and disorganization of world capitalism and the failure of the working class to rise to its historical task would produce a sort of social vacuum from which there would follow what Marx called "barbarism." That is a meaning which can be as-

signed to Marx's phrase that humanity will either move forward to socialism or regress into barbarism. It is for these reasons—the fact that bureaucratic collectivism's historical future, if any at all, is still to be determined by the result of the present day class struggle, unlike the situation when Marx wrote, in which capitalism was clearly the dominant world economic system—that one should not expect a detailed economic exposition of the internal laws of bureaucratic collectivism.

However, a number of worthwhile and suggestive statements about the nature and possible perspectives of bureaucratic collectivism have been made by leading members of the Workers Party. In that sense, you may find a "complete exposition" of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism. The articles of Max Shachtman in *The New Internationalist* over a period of years, beginning with his article "Why Russia is not a workers' state" in the December 1940 issue; the discussion articles by W. Kent and Joseph Carter in *The New Internationalist* for 1941 and 1942; editorials in recent issues of *The New Internationalist*; and Max Shachtman's essay, "The Struggle for the New Course" printed in book form together with "The New Course," will provide interesting material for you. That there is much additional theoretical analysis to be done on this problem would be absurd to deny; but we have done the basic preliminary work, I believe.

IRVING HOWE

## Battle Against Union Jim Crow Waged by Los Angeles Labor

Word was received here that Jim Crow in the ranks of organized labor got its first clout on the head in several years; but not before Negro workers dragged their fight for equality through the capitalist courts. After a long and expensive litigation against the Boilermakers Union, the court ruled that the union cannot legitimately collect dues from Negro workers as long as they are organized into separate Jim Crow auxiliaries. This week, final victory was seen with the resolution adopted by the International Executive Board instructing California locals to accept Negroes into full membership of the union.

The fight for full equality was carried on by the Shipyard Committee Against Discrimination which organized the struggle against the reactionary policies of the boiler-makers. There remains a danger, however, in the method used to win the battle, namely, that Negro workers will look to the courts to settle a dispute that properly belongs within the ranks. Progressive unionists, Negro and white, must press for the immediate elimination of the disgraceful Jim Crow clause from the constitution of the AFL unions. This is a fight within the family of labor and an outsider—an unfriendly one at that—must not be asked to settle it.

## Why Labor Needs a Party of Its Own

By SUSAN GREEN

Somewhere else in this issue of LABOR ACTION you will find the "Workers Party Program for Organized Labor." This program has twelve demands, for the reconversion and post-war period, designed to give all the workers jobs and wage security, to solve the veterans' problems, to give Negroes and other minorities full equality, to stop militarism, to build enough houses and public works, to break the power of the banks and monopolies by nationalization, to curb profits and accumulated fortunes. This gives an idea of the kind of program it is. The twelfth demand is the one pertinent in this article. It is for an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government. Why does the Workers' Party make as the conclusion of its program the demand for a Workers' Government? The reason is ABC.

These demands, which are so reasonable, still cannot be obtained while the capitalist class is in power and a capitalist government rules the country. Technologically speaking, it is altogether possible for every family to have a guaranteed annual income of at least \$5,000, on the basis of at most a thirty-hour work week—but not while private profit is the motive of production. It is perfectly feasible to spend \$250,000,000,000 in the next five years for building houses, public works and so on—which is only a fraction of the wealth this coun-

try burned up in the war—but not while capitalist outlook and capitalist interest determine government expenditures. And what capitalist government would reduce all profits to a maximum of five percent on invested capital, put a ceiling of \$25,000 on individual income and levy a capital tax on wealth over \$50,000—in order to pay for housing and other human needs out of profits?

In other words, the struggle for a life of minimum decency, as set forth in the Workers' Party program, means a struggle against the whole capitalist system; it means that the workers must make a bid for power; it means they must visualize their class power in terms of a government by workers' councils. An honest and comprehensive program covering all workers' problems is, therefore, a declaration of lack of confidence in capitalism and in capitalist reforms, and an open challenge for workers' power. That is why the twelfth demand in the Workers' Party program is for a Workers' Government.

## IMPORTANCE OF LABOR PARTY

There is another thing about this twelfth demand that needs explanation. It says: "An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government." See how the Independent Labor Party—and the outstanding need of American labor is to break away from the capitalist parties—is linked by the Workers' Party with establishing a revolutionary

Workers' Government. There is an excellent reason for that link.

The Independent Labor Party must indeed have as its aim the establishment of a Workers' Government, a revolutionary government as described above, which excludes the capitalist class and roots itself on the manual and mental workers in the factories and other places of work. Otherwise, what have you? A labor government like the one in England today.

Laborites moved over to the same parliamentary benches occupied by the British imperialist politicians before them, only to carry out the same capitalist and imperialist policies. In nationalizing the Bank of England and the mines, the Laborites are mortgaging the national income to government bondholders, with control of the bank and the mines remaining in the same capitalist hands. While housing lags dismally, while food and clothing are at record low, the Laborites maintain, at tremendous expense, the large military equipment of the Empire to suppress the colonial peoples.

The struggle between capital and labor must not result in a "labor" label pasted over the same old capitalist system. The revolutionary overthrow of the whole capitalist outfit, kit and kaboodle, can save what is left of civilization—before the atom bombs begin to fall. The future of mankind rests in workers' powers, in socialism!

## Will India Really Achieve Independence?

(Continued from page 1)

ish imperialism. What is it? Will it really lead to independence for India? The answer is NO; but first we must see what the plan is.

It is, above all else, an attempt on the part of Britain to make a satisfactory working arrangement with the Congress Party—that is, with the Indian capitalist class, whose spokesmen are Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders. Britain, in its present difficult world situation, needs a stable, dependable government in India. To obtain this, it must make definite concessions to the Indian capitalists and that is exactly what this plan does. It is an effort on the part of Britain to share power over India's 400 million workers and peasants with these native capitalists and landlords. It is an effort to strengthen India's strategic position against Russian imperialism, and to stave off revolution within India itself. The Attlee Labor Government is frank about it—it is making concessions to SAVE India for imperialism. The capitalist Congress Party is the most dependable and conservative force in nationalist India; therefore, the "deal" must be made with it.

In effect, the plan accepts every major proposal put forward by the Congress leadership in recent years. It categorically rejects the demand of Jinnah and his Moslem League for the formation of "Pakistan"—a separate Moslem state within India. The

Congress leaders were also bitterly opposed to a separatist Moslem state. No provision is made for any Moslem vote, or expression of opinion, on this issue. The Congress leadership also agrees with this denial of the right to vote on Pakistan by the Moslems. A complicated, vague scheme is suggested by which the Moslem provinces are offered certain "protections" against Hindu discrimination, but there is nothing beyond that.

## A CONGRESS PARTY CABINET

Furthermore, the plan accepts the Congress demand—made for many years now—for a provisional, representative government at the Center. That is, the actual formation of a government, with a Congress majority, which is to be the instrument by which the Congress Party shares political power with the British administration. The Viceroy is meanwhile to have veto powers over this provisional government, but it represents a stage higher in the effort of the Indian capitalists to gain ascendancy in the administration of the country.

It is not clear yet whether the Moslem League will participate in such a coalition government, but it is clear that the increasingly conservative Congress Party is willing and anxious to taste the fruits of political power. The formation of such a government will undoubtedly be the

next step in India, with Nehru—the new Congress president—probably occupying the post of Prime Minister. Will it mean Indian freedom? Of course not. It will mean simply that the Congress has agreed to aid the British in preserving their grip on India.

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And, finally, the British proposal provides a scheme for drafting a new Constitution, to govern India after the provisional period has ended. This section of the scheme is a reactionary and anti-democratic proposal, and reveals the true content of the whole plan. To draft a new Constitution requires a Constituent Assembly. How is it proposed to elect such an Assembly? To begin with, the proposed Constituent Assembly is not even to be elected—it is to be appointed.

The report says: "The most satisfactory method obviously (1) would be by an election based on adult franchise but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to wholly unacceptable delay in the formation of the new Constitution." Could a more miserable excuse be made for depriving the Indian people of the basic right to draft their own, independent Constitution? By this token alone the whole British proposal is condemned as a farce and an effort to perpetuate, in new form, 250 years of British tyranny. To this proposal, the Indian Trotskyists counterpose their demand for a Constituent Assembly of the people, elected by every single man and woman in India, with the British having completely withdrawn.

The plan further proposes that delegates to the Constituent Assembly be appointed by the recently elected provincial legislative assemblies. In these elections, less than

five per cent of the people participated, because of educational and property qualifications. It was an election of the privileged, based on communal lines, since Moslems could vote only for Moslems, Hindus for Hindus, etc. Furthermore, the feudal Indian princes are to have the right to appoint (no elections here at all) 93 delegates, out of a total of 383 (almost 25 per cent) to the Constituent Assembly.

In a word, this Assembly can only be branded in advance of its convening, as an unrepresentative, undemocratic body that in no sense whatsoever would represent the broad masses of the population. All it would do would be to accept the British "deal" proposals; draft a treaty with England that would continue British rule, in disguised form; and turn over national administrative and political power to the Congress Party and the native Indian capitalist class.

On the basic issues of (1) British troops in India and the demand for their withdrawal; (2) British property holdings in India and the demand for their expropriation and return to the Indian nation; (3) a clear-cut declaration of India's independence—on these issues the report is entirely silent. India has not gained its freedom by a long shot. It now remains to be seen what will be the reaction of the people in general, and of the Congress Party following in particular, to this plan of imperialism and to Gandhi's proposal to accept.

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**IMPORTANT ELECTION SERIES  
TAKING PLACE IN EUROPE**

By IRVING HOWE

A series of extremely important electoral contests has recently taken place or soon will take place in several European countries. These elections will help to determine exactly what the political climate of the continent is, the knowledge of which is indispensable for any serious attempt to develop a socialist policy.

**RIGHT WING PARTIES WIN IN HOLLAND**

The general election in Holland which took place two weeks ago continues the trend of those recent elections in Europe which have been relatively free. As in Austria, Hungary and parts of Germany, the conservative parties scored decisive victories while the Social-Democrats more or less held their own. The Socialists, on whose vote most attention was focused, received what was for them a large vote in Holland, but not a vote large enough to suggest that there has been as decisive a shift to their banner as certain commentators have suggested.

Specifically, the Catholic Party in Holland, a conservative but not a fascist party, received 1,466,510 votes and 32 seats in the States General (Parliament); the Social-Democratic Labor Party received 1,347,664 votes with 29 seats; the four Protestant parties, 1,121,153 votes with 23 seats; the Liberals, a bourgeois party, 305,935 votes and six seats; and the Socialists, 500,000 votes and ten seats. The Socialist vote, ten per cent of the total, was large when one considers that their movement has never before amounted to much in Holland; and their 30 per cent of the total vote in Amsterdam and 18 per cent in Rotterdam indicate that they succeeded in getting some support from the working class sections of the population.

Nonetheless, the basic swing was somewhat to the right of center. The Social-Democratic Premier, Willem Schermerhorn, has resigned as a result of the plurality of the Catholics, but it is believed that either he will be recalled to office or that a coalition with the Catholics will be formed. The Social-Democratic Party of Holland is even more right-wing than its sister parties in Europe; it played an ugly and shameful role in the suppression of the Indonesian revolution and has absorbed in recent months several small outright capitalist parties which give it an even more conservative coloration.

**ITALIAN ELECTIONS, PLEBISCITE ON MONARCHY**

During the first week in June, Italy will hold general elections and a plebiscite on whether to continue the monarchy or to establish a republic. The monarchists, in a frantic attempt to gain some support, had the senile King, Victor Emmanuel, abdicate and replaced him with his not much brighter son, Humbert. Indications are that the monarchy will be decisively rejected; even the Catholic party, the Christian Democrats, at their recent congress voted against the monarchy by a two-to-one margin.

In the recent municipal elections, the Christian Democrats were by far the strongest party: out of 5,000 local municipalities, they gained a majority in nearly 2,000. The Socialists and Communists together gained majorities in 2,000 municipalities, the Socialists capturing control of the local government of Milan, the most important industrial city in Italy. The extreme monarchist groups and the neo-fascist "Uomo Qualunque" did very poorly, gaining control in only 200 towns, none of them large or important.

Whatever the result of the coming Italian election, it seems likely that the present uneasy three-sided bal-

ance between the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Stalinists will be continued.

While the presence of British troops in Italy gives the Christian Democrats basic support, and insures at least the temporary continuation of the Italian capitalist class, that country remains wracked in a terrible social crisis which no electoral result or parliamentary maneuver can solve. Starvation, disorganization of production, tremendous black markets—these remain the problems of Italy, problems basically insoluble within the framework of the capitalist economy which all of the dominant political parties of that country desire to maintain.

**FRANCE FACES A CRUCIAL ELECTION**

But the most important election in Europe will take place in France on June 2. The entire working class of Europe will look to France to see which way the political wind is blowing. Five major parties are in the field: the Catholic MRP, the Socialists, the Stalinists, the bourgeois Democratic Radical Socialist Party (they whose name describes the exact opposite of what they are), and a new reactionary coalition called the Republican Party of Liberty. Relations between the Socialists and Stalinists have become progressively worse and a bitter polemic is brewing between them. The recent referendum, in which the proposed constitution providing for a unicameral legislature supported by the "left" parties was defeated, indicates that France, too, may see a slight swing to the right. But France is today the most important stronghold of European Stalinism and there seems little doubt that it will continue to hold the support of large sections of the industrial workers.

A greatly encouraging feature of the French elections is the fact that the PCI (Parti Communiste Internationaliste), the French Trotskyist group, has entered the elections with candidates in several districts. The difficult electoral laws require a party to put up the large sum of nearly 1,000,000 francs in order to run candidates. This our French comrades succeeded in doing by dint of great sacrifice. In the elections last fall, the French Trotskyists polled about 11,000 votes in the two districts where they ran candidates. A large vote for their candidates in the coming election would be the most encouraging sign that could come from Europe that the revolutionary movement is making headway.

The results of the elections held thus far in Europe and the anticipated results in those yet to come give general support to the position put forward by the Workers Party with regard to the present political situation in Europe: the masses of the continent, staggering under the weight of continuous starvation, suffering still from the effects of years of fascist domination and disoriented about the future by the reformists and Social-Democrats, are in a period of skeptical testing of programs and comparing of parties. They continue, on the whole, to give electoral support to the traditional parties of the left, but this support often stems more from desperation and lack of alternatives than from a thorough enthusiasm for these parties.

The masses of Europe are concerned with immediate problems: bread first and foremost; democratic reforms, for they have learned from the experiences of fascism that the struggle for economic gains requires a simultaneous acquisition and defense of democratic rights; and the struggle for national liberation, which in many European countries means the ousting of the military occupation of Stalinist Russia and the Anglo-American bloc. The revolutionary parties of Europe, still small and isolated as they are, can make contact with and convince the masses of their competence and seriousness only by conducting the most thorough struggle along these lines—a struggle which, in the present potentially explosive situation, can lead to posing the ultimate solution to Europe's problems: socialist power.

**SWP Minority Statement on WP Unity**

At the meeting of the full National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, the Control Commission brought in a report finding Goldman, Morrow and other comrades of the Minority guilty of "disloyal acts." Readers of LABOR ACTION know that the Minority has been leading a fight for unity between the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party. The Majority of the SWP has opposed unity.

The statement below is one that was handed in as an answer to the charges of "disloyalty" made by the Control Commission.

**Statement to the Plenum on the Report of the Control Commission**

The report of the National Control Commission on the "disloyalty" of Goldman, Morrow and other members of the Minority proves not the disloyalty of the Minority but the existence of a police psychology in the leaders of the Majority. What is essentially a political problem they treat as a problem of disloyalty.

It should be mentioned, although it is of secondary importance, that neither Goldman nor Morrow were presented with any formal charges and asked for any statements. The only comrade against whom formal charges were made and who was called upon for a statement is comrade L. Bennett. If a control commission "investigates" it should at least ask those who are being investigated for a statement.

We have never concealed the fact, indeed we are proud to admit it, that before we introduced the resolution on unity we discussed the question with comrade Shachtman and other comrades of the Workers Party, in order to convince them to favor unity. In a normal, healthy atmosphere such discussions would naturally be reported to the Political Committee but it should be remembered that the factional atmosphere had reached a point where friendly discussion of any problem was impossible.

**FRATERNIZATION AND UNITY**

One fact we want to make clear. We did not know what the reaction of the WP would be to the question of unity before we presented our resolution. We were in favor of unity regardless of the attitude of the Majority or of the WP. The difference is that we could discuss the question in a friendly manner with the WP comrades and we could not do that with the leading Majority comrades.

The bill of particulars listing the various acts of the Minority which are designated as "disloyal" is approximately correct. We have never concealed or tried to conceal that we were fraternizing with the WP comrades. We never concealed that the Chicago Minority held socials to which were invited the comrades of the Majority as well as the WP comrades. The same applies to classes held by the Minority.

We have previously explained our course of conduct and we repeat the explanation. After we were convinced that the WP comrades were sincerely in favor of unity and after the leaders of the Majority began their dishonest maneuvers against unity, the Minority decided on a course of political fraternization with the WP. Step by step this fraternization developed.

**CONSIDERED WP REVOLUTIONARY**

We considered the WP comrades as devoted revolutionists; after they indicated their desire to unite with our party we considered them a tendency in the Fourth International. Under all the prevailing circumstances political fraternization with the WP became a revolutionary duty for us and obedience to a policy of the Majority based on the idea that the comrades of the WP were renegades, would in our opinion have constituted a crime against the revolution.

Our policy of independent action with the WP did not have as its purpose the provoking of expulsions. It is true that it was a policy which lent itself to such an interpretation; it is true that Goldman said to those comrades who wanted to leave immediately: wait, you will be expelled. The basis of the policy, however, was not the desire to provoke expulsions; it was openly to show that revolutionists must fraternize with other revolutionists, under the circumstances that existed, regardless of a majority motivated by dishonest factional considerations.

To the charge of disloyalty we answer: we have been loyal to the revolution and therefore disloyal to dishonest factionalists, opposed to unity for the most despicable of reasons.

Sincere and understanding Trotskyists, even though disagreeing with us, will not stoop to the degrading methods of prosecutors. They will either permit the Minority to fraternize politically with the WP or expel the Minority without any charges of disloyalty. We can expect the introduction of police methods to solve a political difference from Stalinists and other reactionaries but not from Trotskyists.

Signed  
ALBERT GOLDMAN  
LYDIA BENNETT

**GORDON HASKELL SPEAKS AT CHICAGO WP MEETING**

CHICAGO, May 22—Speaking before a crowd of fifty friends and members of the Chicago Branch of the Workers Party, Gordon Haskell, organizer of the San Francisco Bay area of the Workers Party, dealt with the possibilities of a war between Russia and the United States. Because of the still fresh scars inflicted on humanity by the war just ended and the necessity of preparations for the next war, the speaker discounted the possibility of an outbreak of the Third World War in the coming period, but spoke at length of the inexorable force within American imperialism that was driving it toward war with Russia and conversely of the factors that were operating within the Russian Empire that pushed it to face its rival on the battlefields of World War III. This would be inevitable, he concluded, unless the working classes arrayed on either side succeeded in forging a third camp against both sides for the common people of the world.

**Of Special Interest to Women**

By SUSAN GREEN

Opposed to every effort concerned with liberating human beings and raising them to higher levels of existence, is the obstacle known as exploitation. For exploitation thrives on the enslavement of people, and will adamantly hinder progress until the exploited people get rid of it.

If I had sat down to write a skit or one-act play to prove the above statement, I could not have done better than was unconsciously done by the seven women who met early this month at the subcommittee on the status of women under the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. These women gathered to recommend to the Commission on Human Rights a program for the advancement of women. Agreement was easily arrived at on questions of political rights, economic and educational equality and certain social improvements. Such generalities are always easily agreed upon in principle. But when it came to discussing specific aspects of women's enslavement, such as polygamy and prostitution which flourish so abundantly in the most backward, poverty-stricken and exploited colonies, there was deep disagreement.

As if presented on a stage or screen, it was demonstrated how the women representing France and Denmark, countries with colonies and the unshakable greed to exploit these colonies through the continued enslavement of the people, aligned themselves against the women representing India, Lebanon and the Dominican Republic, countries that have known the deepest degradation at the hands of imperialist exploiters.

**WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES OF IMPERIALISM**

The topic under discussion was "marriage," and the "dignity of the wife" was sought to be clarified by the women to whom the indignity of polygamy is not merely a phrase. Miss Angela Jurdak from Lebanon asked: "I'd like to know if dignity of the wife includes wiping out polygamy? If not, may we include that problem, which concerns vast areas of the world?"

Instantly Mme. Helene Lefauchaux of France sniffed a threat to French imperialism. She said that there are huge regions in the French colonies where polygamy is practiced as a custom. "I don't think we are here to discuss customs," she said. But why not? Doesn't progress mean to abolish bad social, political and economic customs? Yes, of course, but not when more enlightened social customs may lead to more political enlightenment about French imperialism. Mme. Lefauchaux is a defender of the French ruling class and understands that for enslaved people to change their customs is to undermine the whole structure of slavery.

Mrs. Hansa Mehta of India retorted with the logic of the enslaved seeking freedom. "If we want to raise the status of women we have to fight customs. We should not be afraid. There are many regions where child marriages exist, just as polygamy does. That must be fought against too."

Mrs. Bodil Bergtrup of Denmark, alert to the interests of Netherlands imperialism, displayed a light-hearted unconcern about the debasement of colonial women and saw fit to throw in a joke. "There are also areas where women can have more men than one." Ah, yes; areas in Copenhagen and Paris where women of the ruling class can have as much of everything, including men, that money can buy!

But Mme. Lefauchaux was not in a joking mood. "I cannot support this proposal [to fight polygamy] because I think it will provoke a great number of women who are interested in our work but will not be able to share our point of view." What women would be opposed to lifting fellow women out of degradation? Certainly not the working women of France, but the women on the top shelf, women whose station in society depends on the continuation of colonial slavery.

Also shedding light on the true character of representatives of imperialist nations was the con-

tribution to the discussion of prostitution made by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, an ex-officio member of the subcommittee who, as we all know, is a liberal.

**MRS. ROOSEVELT AND PROSTITUTION**

To the progressive women of the colonial countries, the traffic in women and female children is the measure of the bondage of their sex. To these women it is no academic topic for discussion whether or not to lift their sisters out of the gutters and market places. Education for all women, training for useful work, opportunity to do useful work and a high standard of living to provide jobs for all are the essence of the solution of prostitution, and the representatives of the colonial areas pressed for agreement on these points.

But the liberal Mrs. Roosevelt, looking down her nose from the height of well-being and culture that is hers as a member of the American ruling class, summarily stated: "Your report is going to be longer than that of the human rights commission to which you are reporting. I don't think the subject has the slightest place in this report." A technical objection, indeed, to a question of such human importance and so basic in raising the status of women!

Of course, in the long run the report covered all subjects and presumably satisfied everybody. It included a section on prostitution, and if it didn't exactly come out to fight polygamy—and thereby ruffled the tempers of the French elite—it at any rate favored monogamy. But all this is form without substance.

The substance was revealed in the attitudes of the women representing the imperialist nations—nations which dominate the United Nations and all the councils and subdivisions thereof. Self-interest for power and profit, exploitation of classes and peoples by the ruling rich, these are the inhuman motives behind the scene, and they will never bring liberation to women, or oppressed races, or enslaved peoples.

When the motives of society are changed then there are results. When the workers and peasants of Russia made their social revolution in 1917 and established a workers' government, when with that act they toppled from power the exploiting landlords and capitalists, in days and weeks more human progress was effected than in decades and centuries of capitalist exploitation. New avenues of social, political and economic endeavor opened up to women. They became co-partners with men in their effort to build a society free from exploitation.

It is symbolic of the counter-revolution and the new exploitation imposed on the Russian people by Stalin and his ruling bureaucrats, that Russia did not even see fit to send a representative to the subcommittee on the status of women. Why should they? They have again reduced Russian womankind to the level of breeding cattle, and that is the way they want it.

In a world dominated by capitalist imperialism and Stalinist bureaucratic imperialism, there can be little hope for a higher status for the women of the world, just as there can be little hope for equality of races, just as there can be no lasting peace. Humanity will make a leap forward towards liberty and peace and economic well-being when it lays the foundation for a world of socialist brotherhood ruled by human values.

**Note on Fund Drive Column**

The weekly report on the Workers Party \$15,000 Fund Drive contributed each week by Nathan Gould, national organizer, is missing from this issue because the author is out of town. It will resume next week.

**International Socialist Notes**

**ENGLAND**

The Revolutionary Communist Party, English section of the Fourth International, continues to press its campaign for the further vindication of the revolutionary integrity of Leon Trotsky, falsely accused by the Stalinists of having collaborated with the nazis.

Of the campaign being conducted around the Nuremberg trials by the English comrades, in which the prosecution at the war crimes trial has been challenged to produce evidence of Trotsky's complicity, Natalia Trotsky, widow of the great revolutionist, has written to the English section: "All that you have undertaken seems to me to be correct and even magnificent. We must really profit from it. It is an exceptional situation to illuminate all these questions definitively. I have been very touched by your action and I thank you greatly for having set this programme of action on foot with such energy."

With the voice of revolutionary socialism as yet so weak amid the clamor of reaction which envelops the world it is a grave disservice to the cause of the working class for the English, as well as the French and Belgian sections of the Fourth International, not to have mentioned in any form the campaign being conducted by the Workers Party of the United States on this issue—especially in view of the cowardly silence for six months (until last week) maintained by the Socialist Workers Party, the "official" section of the Fourth International in the United States.

The miserable Labor Government is daily giving further proofs of its sworn loyalty to the English capitalist class. Demobilization of veterans is being slowed down. In May and June only 422,000 are to be demobilized, which is fewer than were demobilized in January alone of this year.

For serving as a representative of striking air force men at Singapore in January, Aircraftman Norris Cymbalist "has been sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude and discharge with ignominy from the services..." A campaign against this brutal sentence has been initiated by the "So-

cialist Appeal," English Trotskyist organ.

Our English comrades persistently champion the rights of colonial peoples and the populations of countries who were defeated in World War III.

Of British imperialist rule in Germany the Socialist Appeal states: The rations of the British people amount to 2,500 calories or more, daily. This winter the German workers have received 1,104 calories, now reduced to 1,000. The red-line danger point, below which the maintenance of human life becomes speculative is 1,300 calories daily. Inmates of the Belsen horror camp in Germany were given 800 calories per day.

County council elections which were recently held in England recorded further sweeping gains for labor. At the same time an exceptional apathy in regard to the elections was revealed.

"This seemingly contradictory process—of a doubling of the membership of the Labour Party coupled with non-attendance at meetings and inactivity—of a mass swing to Labour on the one hand, and of a general

apathy on the other, is clearly indicative of the waiting mood of the workers, coupled with an increasingly critical attitude towards the Labour Government" states the Socialist Appeal.

A similar apathy, it is significant to note, has been witnessed in Belgium and in France, according to reports from those countries.

The brand of the Labor government's proposal for the nationalization of the coal industry is fully typical of this government, whose policy on virtually all issues is hardly distinguishable from that of previous Tory governments, the staunchest supporters of British capitalism.

Enormous sums of money are to be paid the coal mine owners. "The colliery owners," said Peter Thorneycroft, a Tory member of Parliament, "can now go into honourable retirement. . . They can sit back and draw their state income from their inalienable bonds. It is perfectly true that this most ingenious piece of parliamentary drafting has ensured that they will be more or less practically free from participation in the productive effort. But they cannot have everything."

Of course it appears that the workers cannot have everything either. The contemplated coal bill makes no provision for the bettering of miners' conditions. In fact, governmental conferences are currently taking place aiming to withdraw rights dearly won over a period of years in an effort to increase coal production.

The coal board which has been selected by the so-called labor government is overwhelmingly dominated by capitalists, and includes two devoted servants of the working class, Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the Trade Union Council, and Eddy Edwards, Secretary of the Mineworkers Union, who out of love of the working class and the \$20,000 a year the job pays have consented to sit on the board.

As opposed to the government program, the Revolutionary Communist Party is advocating a miners' charter, the abolition of compensation, and workers' management.

JAMES M. FENWICK.

**Stalinist "Equality"**

WEALTH: Konstantin Simonev, the Russian newspaperman, has more than \$50,000 on deposit for him here, as royalties accumulated from his book, "Days and Nights." He asked a publisher's wife to help him shop for items he wished to send to Mrs. Simonev. The lady suggested the big department stores, where they could get apparel at reasonable prices and which could be considered proper wear in Moscow. . . "No, Ray," said Simonev. Then he listed the most exclusive shops on Fifth and Madison Avenues, where he wished to buy. "I'm the richest writer in Russia," said the noted Communist author, "and I want my wife to look it."

—From "The Lyons Den"  
New York Post,  
May 23, 1946

An Article on the Recent Moves for a "New Party"

# We Need a Labor Party, Not a "Third" Party

By BEN HALL

Several groups in the labor movement have recently declared themselves in favor of the formation, in the unspecified future, of what some of them call a "third party" and others a new "people's party." The Workers Party has been consistently campaigning for the formation of a new party by the organized labor movement; but the Workers Party calls not for a third party but for a LABOR PARTY. This difference in terms expresses not a slight variation in language but a serious conflict over opposing social and political principles.

It is necessary to stress this fact because top CIO officials like Sidney Hillman have repeated their long-standing opposition to setting up of ANY new party. Offhand, it might seem that the advocates of a "third" party propose a drastic change in the current political line of the CIO. But that is not true; for they remain faithful to the philosophy which underlies the old line.

In his statement of policy to the executive board of the United Auto Workers Union, Walter Reuther said:

"Labor should join hands with farmers, professionals, small business and other functional groups to work toward the eventual formation of a broad new progressive party which will truly represent the needs of our nation and its people."

The Addes (Stalinist) faction, despite its bitter fight against Reuther for control of the union, agrees with him on this point. Its platform states:

"That we work toward the eventual formation of a broad Third Party based on the thinking and interests of millions of the labor, farmer, professional and other progressive people of our nation."

The National Educational Committee for the Formation of a New Party set up on April 6-7 at a national conference in Chicago attended by a group of liberals and labor leaders, announced that it is

organized "for the purpose of carrying on an educational campaign for a people's party and for the principles on which such a party should be based." At a meeting of its national committee in Detroit on May 4, a representative of Walter Reuther was present as an observer. Others who attended were August Scholle, head of the Michigan CIO Council and director of the PAC in Michigan, and Matthew Hammond, head of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

### CONTINUE SUPPORT OF BOSS CANDIDATES

While these moves were being made public last month, the Political Action Committee of the CIO, represented by its national chairman, Sidney Hillman, was meeting in conference with two organizations composed of professional and middle class elements—the National Citizens PAC and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. This conference was presided over by former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Ickes stressed two facts: (1) The union of the three groups did not aim at the formation of a third party and (2) its purpose was to oppose the "coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans" by supporting so-called friends of the people among the Democrats and Republicans. This is a clear endorsement of the standard CIO policy of supporting "liberals" from the two old parties in the primaries and in the regular elections.

Thus, one group favors a new party and the other opposes it. However, these contrary ideas are really separated by a very thin line of demarcation; for both sides are in complete agreement on what should be done NOW. The advocates of the new party are against the formation of any such party NOW. Their plans relate to some unspecified date in the future; they do not explain when and under what conditions they hope to form their party.

The differences between the two groups in ques-

tion can be summarized as follows: (1) Both agree on the same political principle; (2) Both agree on what to do now; (3) But the new-partyites are dabbling with the idea of supporting the same old capitalist politicians outside of the framework of the two old parties. They are not for a political divorce

### Why Labor Party Is Indicated Step

"The United States Congress has not adopted a single piece of constructive social legislation since the year 1937."—Philip Murray, closing address at Steel Workers convention.



between labor and capital; they merely want the married couple to move into a new home if the old one gets too dirty.

### WHY THE TALK ABOUT A NEW PARTY?

Why is there so much talk about a new party? Because it is becoming increasingly clear that the two old parties are owned by the big monopolists and bankers. Labor needs its own party, a party based upon the organized labor movement, a party which fights for a program which will fulfill the needs of the working people. But capitalist politicians, whether or not they remain inside the Democratic and Republican Parties, cannot and will not fight for such a program.

Against the capitalist politicians, for independent

labor political action! That is the slogan of today and it means: "For a LABOR Party." The 1944 elections proved how misleading any other policy is.

In 1944, the top leaders of the CIO rejoiced at the re-election of the Democratic administration and celebrated labor's great "victory" at the polls, a victory which put the control of Congress into the hands of so-called friends of labor. A few months passed and—what disappointment reigned! The big question asked in the CIO was: "Who really won the elections?"

The answer was simple: THE CAPITALIST CLASS. Its victory was demonstrated by the decisions of Congress and the actions of the Truman administration. In the midst of the big strike wave, for example, the administration proposal for "fact-finding boards" was denounced by Philip Murray as an anti-labor, pro-capitalist scheme. The capitalist "liberals" have fooled labor many times but it is time for the workers to begin to learn. Yet the proponents of the "third" party idea continue to retain faith in these liberals. The formation of a third party with the same old capitalist politicians would only be a new means of deceiving the people who are becoming aware of the true nature of the old parties.

### WHAT DOES REUTHER WANT TO WAIT FOR?

Walter Reuther, who is probably destined to become a leading spokesman for the "third party" idea, says: "Such a movement (the new party) cannot succeed if it is launched prematurely and on a narrow basis." Addes and his followers repeat the same idea in almost the same words. They all agree: a new party is "premature."

But, we ask, what makes a new party "premature"? Whom must we wait for? Must we wait upon the exploited working class, the poverty-stricken sharecroppers and farm laborers, the disinherited one-third of a nation, the oppressed and Jim-Crowed

Negroes—in sum: must we wait upon that section of the American people which toils and sweats to earn its living? Such an idea is preposterous.

If, ten minutes from now, the organized labor movement proclaimed that it was about to form a Labor Party, millions upon millions of workers and their families would rally behind the new party with the same hope and enthusiasm that greeted the formation of the crusading CIO some ten years ago. No, the leadership is not waiting for the membership; the membership is waiting for the leadership.

These warnings—"not prematurely" and "not narrow"—give us the clues that we need to understand the nature of the "new third party." It is to be a party in which the workers wait upon the capitalist liberals. Just as we are asked to be patient and forbearing while the liberals decide when, how, why and where to form a new party; so, in the new party, labor would be expected to follow at the coat-tails of these politicians, to alter its demands and to delay its actions in accordance with their desires. Such a party would not be a Labor Party but its opposite, a party in which capitalist liberals hold the reins while labor strains in the harness. Such a party would be a third CAPITALIST party.

The formation of a "third" or "people's" party would mean a policy of compromise and collaboration with representatives of the capitalist class. The third capitalist party would therefore be not an instrument for advancing the cause of the worker but a machine to further depress and minimize his demands.

Either labor sacrifices its own program and continues to collaborate with the capitalist liberals in a new "third" party, or labor brushes these politicians aside, fights militantly for a program that will satisfy the needs of the people, and forms an independent LABOR PARTY, based upon the organized labor movement.

## For a Real Labor Government to Replace Strikebreakers - -

(Continued from page 1)

major request for rules changes and accept 2.5 cents more an hour than the 16 cents granted by an emergency board.

Johnston and Whitney, in rejecting the ultimatum, told the President that "your offer is less favorable to the men in service represented by our two organizations than the recommendations made by your emergency board. . . . In fact, your offer would leave us in a worse position because the board made a recommendation on several rules. . . . The suggested 18.5 cents amounts to less than a 12 per cent increase in pay for many of our men. It falls too far short of the recognized 33 per cent increase in the cost of living as recognized by your Department of Labor."

Truman, overriding the rail workers, proceeded to mobilize the Army to take over the strike-bound trains. Plans were made to return Army transportation corps from the war theaters and to call back into service many demobilized veterans of the transportation corps, including many striking members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

For days prior to the strike, the Office of Defense Transportation had quietly been laying its strike-breaking plans. With the aid of the American Trucking Associations, meetings were held throughout the country to mobilize the trucking companies to haul vital materials during the strike. The combination of patriotism

and profits, plus a chance to make inroads on their competitors, the railroads, was irresistible to the trucking bosses and they, plus the air carriers, supplied all cities with food and other necessities during the strike.

### SLAVE LABOR PROPOSAL

Truman, even after the strike was settled, seized the opportunity to go before Congress with a measure which would effectively outlaw the strike weapon.

Under Truman's formula, if a strike threatened to interrupt the operations of industries essential to the maintenance of the national economic structure and to the effective transition from war to peace, the President has merely to seize the industry, declare the strike unlawful, subject violators to a fine of not more than \$5,000, or to imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, rob strikers of their seniority, and induct strikers into the Army.

The House immediately passed Truman's measure without debate, while the Senate whipped through the equally vicious Case bill. Truman received "a great ovation" from the joint session of Congress in recognition of his virtues as a labor-hater and strike-breaker.

### STRIKE WAS EFFECTIVE

Despite the pressure of opinion from the bosses and their government, the ranks of the strikers held firm. Truman's radio appeal to them

on the evening of May 24 to return to work had not the slightest effect and there is no evidence to show that they would have returned to work had not their leaders called off the strike.

Here are typical reports given Saturday morning, after Truman's "get-back-to-work" talk:

North Western Railroad roundhouse: "Not a one showed up. No phone calls asking about work."

Pennsylvania Railroad: "Nobody called up. Nobody reported for work."

Rock Island Railroad: "They don't seem to be interested in getting back. No engineers are here. Nobody called up."

New York Central: "Nobody even called up."

Santa Fe Railroad: "Nobody showing up yet."

The Santa Fe sent messengers to deliver copies of Truman's speech to strikers at their homes.

Throughout the nation, the picture was about the same. The Association of American Railroads announced May 24 that the strike was "100 per cent effective."

### ROLE OF OTHER 18 UNIONS

Officials of the other 18 railroad unions played thoroughly scabby roles in the course of the recent strike, and underlined again the need for new militant leadership and for amalgamation of all railroad unions.

C. J. Goff, assistant president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, had the gall, after Truman's radio talk, to announce he thought it "a very good speech." He said he would send Truman a telegram congratulating him on his efforts to break the strike and told newspapermen that the three non-striking operating brotherhoods would man trains even with strikebreakers recruited by the govern-

ment. Other operating union officials took the same line as Goff.

When the strike ended, J. P. Shields, assistant grand chief of the Engineers, said: "We took the worst beating in the history of the labor movement—not only from the President of the United States, but from some of the men in the railroad movement, specifically those in the Conductors, Switchmen's and Firemen's brotherhoods. It seems to me that they conspired to sell us down the river."

David B. Robertson, head of the Firemen, ordered his members to stay on the job and used the radio to denounce the leaders of the two striking unions.

All 18 non-operating railroad unions accepted Truman's settlement ultimatum, despite the fact that the 15 non-ops have themselves mailed strike ballots to 1,100,000 members,

returnable June 20, seeking a 14 cent hourly wage increase.

Though the heads of the 18 unions played a scabby role throughout the strike, there is no evidence to show that the members of these unions supported the strike-breaking actions of their union leaders.

The only men the rail bosses could find to act as engineers and trainmen during the strike were supervisors and other petty bosses, who for the most part were too ashamed of their actions to give their names or permit their pictures to be taken.

### RESULTS OF THE STRIKE

1. Thanks solely to the militancy of the trainmen and engineers, approximately 1,500,000 rail workers received a wage increase of 2.5 cents in addition to the 16-cent raise won earlier from mediation and fact-finding boards.

2. The strike pitilessly illuminated the hopelessness of the rotten and antiquated craft union set-up on the nation's railroads, and should hasten the amalgamation movement for which progressives among all rail unions are working.

Whitney and Johnston, whose past records are none too savory, proved themselves essentially as bankrupt as the other rail labor leaders. The two men who sold out the other 18 unions in 1943 now had the tables turned on them, to the detriment of all rail labor.

Whitney, who poses as a progressive, is as responsible as any other union faker for imposing company union politics on the rail workers. It was Whitney, in his Labor Day mes-

sage of 1945, printed in the September, 1945, issue of The Railroad Trainman, who urged his members to "rally all progressive-minded people to achieve full employment and the other goals so eloquently summed up . . . by our late President, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Among the wretched blatherskites in Congress who held a Roman holiday howling for Whitney's scalp after Truman's speech was many a man whom Whitney and the other labor fakers helped to elect to Congress.

Each passing day reveals further the inadequacy of the old type of unionism to cope with the increasing pressure mobilized by a decaying capitalist system. Leaders of the type of Whitney cannot stand up to the pressure of a Truman. More militant leaders, more democracy in the unions so that the ranks can make their will prevail, replacement of old craft unions of the past century by industrial unions—that is what is needed.

3. Truman, by his vicious actions in the rail strike, has worn threadbare whatever pretenses he originally offered as a "friend of labor," an impartial arbiter. He is essentially a small-potato politician from Missouri, a creature of the Democratic Party machine, a willing tool of America's Sixty Families. The Whitneys and the Johnstons, the Murrays and the Tobins, the labor lieutenants of capitalism and the liberals with the penetrating eyes—these will find it still more difficult in the future to keep the American workers tied to company union politics.

## French Referendum Contest of Classes

PARIS, May 20—The results of the recent French referendum, which voted on a Socialist and Stalinist supported constitution, gave a majority of over 1,000,000 votes against the proposed constitution. This majority was, in effect, a vote for the bloc of the capitalist parties, which was the direct result of the failure of the two parties of the "left" to take decisive action in the cabinet in which they have been a majority for months.

The famous tactic of the Socialist and Stalinist officials, "We must not frighten the middle class," used always as a pretext for doing nothing but capitulating before the capitalist parties, had this result: nobody was frightened but everybody was disgusted.

In the face of the obvious decision of all sections of the capitalist class to use the referendum on the constitution as a means to mobilize a reactionary drive against the working class movement, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders continued—and still continue—the very policy that led to their defeat. This policy—collaboration with the capitalist and church-led MRP—has meant nothing but misery and defeat to the French worker, and even to most of the middle class as well.

To satisfy the capitalists, wages have been blocked while prices continue to rise. The so-called purge of fascist elements has degenerated into a farce. The black market flourishes. The food situation is unbearable. These are the conditions of life under the three-party coalition government.

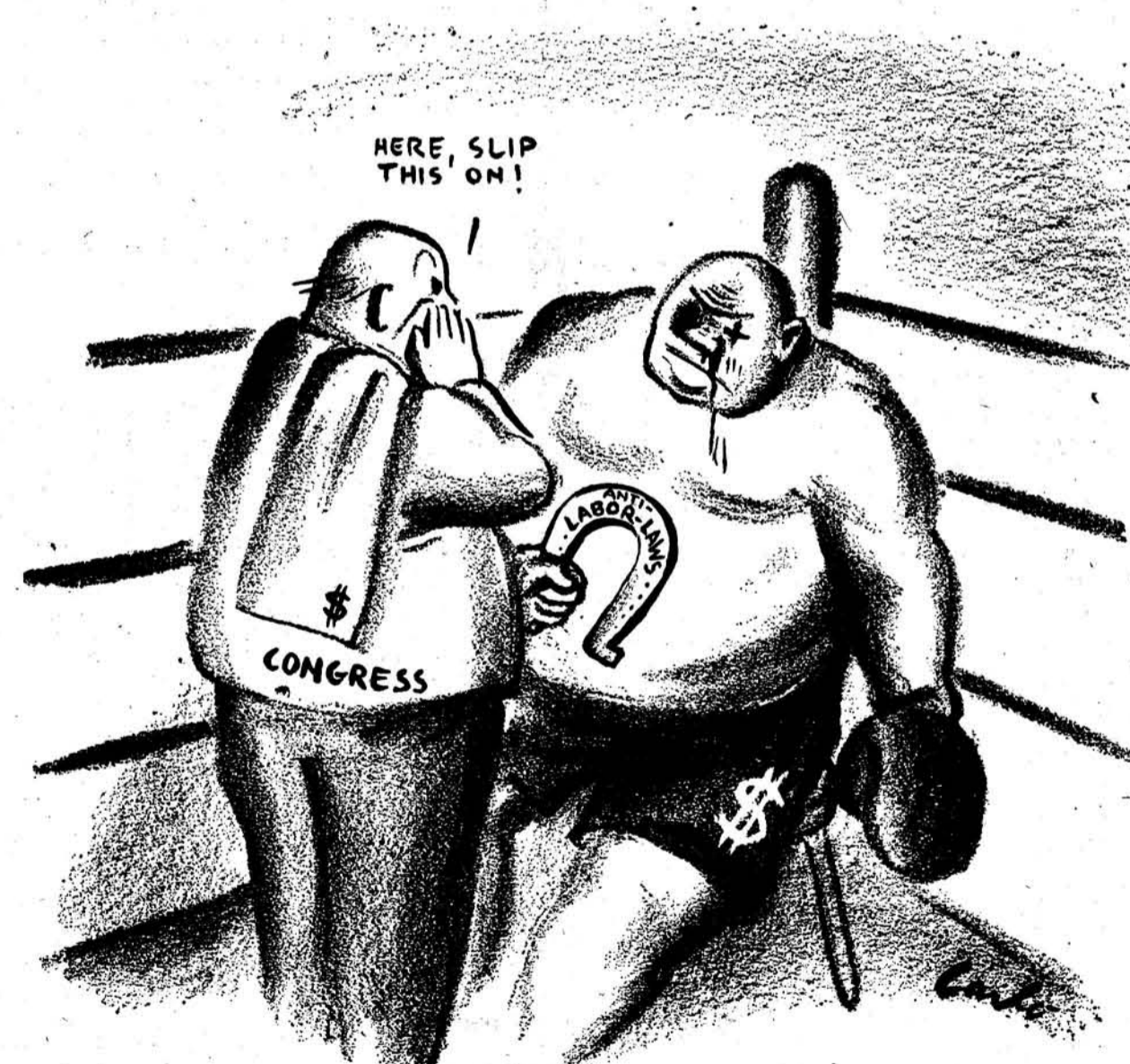
As a result, the "yes" vote in some of the strongest working class districts went down considerably as compared to the combined Socialist-

Stalinist vote last October. In the heavily leftist departments—Nord, Somme, Pas-de-Calais and Seine (including Paris)—the loss was more than 200,000!

By refusing to take the offensive, the SP and CP have allowed the reaction to mobilize. That is why the French Trotskyists, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, while supporting the unity of the working class in the face of this reaction, called for a "yes" vote while pointing out that it was a working class "yes"—a "yes" for a CP-SP-CGT government and not for a continuation of the bloc with the MRP, which showed its true colors by lining up with the reactionaries behind the "No" vote.

With the constitution itself, the Trotskyists were by no means content. It was worked out by the SP-CP-MRP coalition and is full of compromises that leave the capitalists in thorough control. But the MRP saw that the moment was ripe to get rid of even the few concessions that they had made. They capitalized on the disgust of the masses and were successful.

Now the elections to the new Assembly will soon take place. Has the defeat in the referendum of May 5 moved the Socialist and Stalinist leaders to break the suicidal coalition with the capitalist MRP? Not at all! They continue down the same ominous road. The tri-partite government continues. Only the Trotskyists have the courage and clarity to call for the ousting of the capitalist ministers and for energetic measures for the betterment of workers' conditions and against high prices and profits.



## GI's Languish Overseas - -

(Continued from page 1)

year served and sixty days for each subsequent year.

These men now rotting away in disciplinary barracks were involuntarily drafted to fight a war more horrible than any previously seen by man. They saw death and destruction on a mass scale; they suffered physical hardship and mental strain; they experienced discrimination, injustice, regimentation and brutality in their own outfits; they were isolated from civilization and denied

normal social relationships. Were it not for the war, these men would have lived then, and they would be living now, the life of normal human beings. They have been jailed for crimes against the army.

### IN ACTUALITY, THE WAR AND THE ARMY HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES AGAINST THESE MEN!

What should be done to remedy this situation? Men convicted of non-military crimes, comparable to civilian offenses, should be given IMMEDIATE reconsideration of their cases, along lines listed at the beginning of this article; and the reconsidering bodies should have full authority to reverse or amend the original court-martial proceedings. Men convicted of purely military offenses DESERVE IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM PRISON WITH HONORABLE DISCHARGE. Slow-moving boards, clemency, restoration are not enough. Nothing less than IMMEDIATE ACTION is required to remedy an unjust situation.

## Ohio YPSL Leader Joins Workers Party

AKRON, May 21—Eileen Andovian, well known Ohio leader in the Young Peoples Socialist League of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, has left the YPSL to join the Workers Party. Eileen, founder and president of the YPSL branch in Columbus, has been welcomed into the Akron Branch of the WP.

"The Workers Party in Akron has demonstrated to me by its energetic work among rubber workers and aircraft workers in Akron that it is the place for any person who wants to work for socialism," stated Eileen. "The Socialist Party always said they were for socialism, but they do not have any idea of how to obtain it," she continued. "For more than two years of activity, I was never able to find out what the Socialist Program really was. They do not know themselves, and almost all the YPSL members I know have been confused and discouraged by this" she added.

Eileen related her experience at last year's national YPSL school held at Delaware Water Gap, Pa., as follows: "YPSL members from all over the country were deceived and confused. There was no spirit such as I find in the WP. We talked over the situation among ourselves and agreed that we were getting nowhere."

Eileen is confident that she can win many of her YPSL friends to the genuine socialist program of the Workers Party. "I know many YPSL members who are as disgusted with the confusion and inconsistency of the Socialist Party as I was," she relates. "I am sure that they can be won to a real socialist party such as the Workers Party."

### The Boss's Dictionary

### Revenge:

