

SWP Minority Group Joins Workers Party

Protesting the refusal of the Socialist Workers Party leadership to take any genuine steps towards unity with the Workers Party, the Chicago Minority of the SWP this week announced its affiliation with the Workers Party through its spokesman, Albert Goldman, and called upon all revolutionary militants to follow its course. A group of SWP sympathizers in Chicago simultaneously announced their intention to follow the large group of Chicago Minority comrades into the WP. In New York, another group of SWP comrades, motivated by the same reasons as the Chicago Minority, also left the SWP to join the WP.

This action of the Chicago and New York SWP Minority comrades comes only a few weeks after six comrades, led by Oscar Shoefeld, had quit the SWP to join the WP as a protest against the inaction of the SWP on the question of the unity.

The statement of the SWP Minority which is printed below damns the SWP leadership's monolithic conception of the party as "alien to Trotskyism." It traces the history and arguments of its Minority's fight for unity of the two Trotskyist organizations, the reaction of the Cannon leadership in the SWP, and attitude of the WP which clearly established itself as the party of unity.

Albert Goldman, whose adherence to the WP is an event of great significance, is one of the best known figures in the American and world Trotskyist movement. With a long record of prominent activity in the revolutionary movement behind him, Goldman joined the Trotskyist movement in its early years. He was a member of its leading committees and highest bodies. Until his decision to join the Workers Party, Goldman was a member of the Political Committee of the SWP.

Minority Statement

Dear Comrades:

Our leaving one Trotskyist group, the Socialist Workers Party, and joining another Trotskyist group, the Workers Party, requires an explanation for the advanced workers of this country and all other countries.

Ours is a group composed largely of comrades with ten to fifteen years of service in the Trotskyist movement. We left the Socialist Workers Party because it rejected our proposal for unity of the two Trotskyist groups. We joined the Workers Party because it accepted our proposal for unity.

We left the SWP because in rejecting unity, and in using the most dishonest methods to do so, the leaders of that party clearly indicated that what they want to build is not a revolutionary Marxist party, a Bolshevik party, but a monolithic party.

We joined the Workers Party because the leaders and members of that party want to build the kind of a party we are interested in building—a living, thinking revolutionary socialist party.

The Minority (in the SWP) had a sharp political difference with the Majority at the party convention of 1944. The Majority, basing itself on the proposition that we are living in an epoch of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions, denied the importance of democratic demands for the European countries. The Minority, accepting the same basic premise, insisted on the great importance of democratic demands as a means of mobilizing the European masses against the capitalists, Stalinists and Social-Democrats.

But it never entered the mind of any comrade in the Minority to leave the party because of that difference.

We had sharp differences with the Majority on minor organizational questions. They were important only because the position of the Majority on those minor organizational questions indicated the existence of a

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Albert Goldman, SWP Minority Leader who joined the Workers Party, shown with Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, for whom he acted as attorney.

LABOR ACTION

JUNE 10, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

FIGHT STRIKEBREAKERS WITH A LABOR PARTY!

Same Old "Big Steal" Formula!



By IRVING HOWE

The bitter assault against American labor into which Harry Truman has catapulted his administration reached its peak this week. Gloves were abandoned, syrupy talk was at an end; seldom before in recent history had an administration so openly proclaimed its role as a strike-breaker in behalf of America's Sixty Families who own and exploit this country's wealth.

It looked like a finish fight—and the odds were high, very high. The war between the needs of the people and the greed of the capitalists which had recently broken out in a rash of strikes—this war, involving our future security and right to exercise the workingman's greatest weapon, the strike, was now open. And everybody knew where the Little Man in the White House stood. Harry Truman stood revealed as a strike-breaker; he had broken the rail strike, was threatening to break the coming maritime strike and had proposed to Congress the most vicious piece of anti-labor legislation in American history. The Little Man in the White House could think only of cops' billies, of soldiers' bayonets as answers to the cry of America's workers for a decent wage.

Here, in brief, were the main events of the week:

- 1) Congress had passed the rotten Case anti-strike bill. At the moment this article is being written, it is not yet known if the Little Man in the White House will sign or veto it.
- 2) Labor had at last rallied to condemn both the Case bill and the even more outrageous "strike-draft" proposal of the Little Man in the White House. Philip Murray, president of the CIO, wrote a stinging attack on the Case bill.
- 3) In the meantime, America's most progressive and aggressive union, the United Automobile Workers, announced that it was preparing to fight for new wage increases in order to meet...
- 4) The rising cost of living, which spiraled upward once more last week, with milk up a penny a quart and butter 11 cents a pound.
- 5) The Little Man in the White House—"Hell hath no fury like a mediocre politician unable to cope with his problems"—threatened to break the strike of the maritime workers scheduled for a few days hence.
- 6) Never before was there a more urgent need for labor to break from the two old capitalist parties and form its own Labor Party. The PAC policy of supporting "good" capitalist candidates had come to its bitter but logical conclusion when many of the men whom it had helped put in Congress voted for the Case bill.

And now to fill in the details of the picture:

1) THE ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION Two pieces of anti-labor legislation had passed through Congress. The first was Truman's "labor-draft" bill which had been shoved through in two hours in the House of Representatives with only 13 opposing votes. (This was the House which the PAC had hailed after its election as a "progressive victory.") In the Senate, the bill was passed by a vote of 61-20, though there one of the worst of its sections, which would have allowed the President to draft strikers "against the government," was cut out. As it stands, however, it is still a rotten, vicious blow at labor's rights. Some of its worst provisions:

- Federal judges would have the power to issue injunctions in order to break strikes. Experienced veterans of the labor movement will recall that the injunction, until its limitation by legislation in 1932, was one of the most potent strike-breaking weapons of the bosses and their judges.
- The President may proclaim a "national emergency" in case of a strike, "take over" the factory or plant or mine (while the bosses continue to clip their coupons of profit) and end the strike.
- The President could then order the strikers back to work and arbitrarily set wages and working conditions.
- Not only would unions be penalized if they refused to knuckle under, but even individual workers would lose their status as employees, their rights under the Wagner Labor Act and their seniority if they refused to return to work. In the words of Senator Pepper of Florida, "this is the first time Congress has made it unlawful for a lone individual worker to quit work." Such a worker would be subject, he said, "not only to criminal prosecution," but could "be tried by a single judge in contempt procedure without any limitation on the penalty."

This bill, then, is the proposal of President Truman. Even with the omission of the "labor-draft" provision, it is vicious. Now it goes up for conference between members of the House and Senate to "iron out" the differences in their versions of the

(Continued on page 4)

Welcome, Comrades To Workers Party!

LABOR ACTION is proud to welcome the comrades of the SWP Minority into the Workers Party. For us this is an event of signal importance that will have far-reaching consequences in building the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States.

It is not merely a matter of numbers, though the group that has joined the Workers Party is a large one. We think the significance of the action of these comrades far transcends the size of their group. For as a demonstration for the unity of the Trotskyist movement it is at the same time a demonstration for the principles and concepts of revolutionary party organization in the tradition of our great organizers and teachers, Lenin and Trotsky.

For that, the concept of the party, is the real issue. It is the unique quality of the Workers Party that it bases itself on those principles of democratic centralism that were woven into the texture of the revolutionary socialist movement under Lenin, before Stalin tore it to shreds with bureaucratism and monolithism.

Acting upon the initiative of the Minority in the SWP, the Workers Party took a clear and unambiguous stand for unity, holding that differences in views were permissible in one party, given common agreement on the basic Marxist principles of revolutionary organization and politics.

In its internal life, the Workers Party has demonstrated that this is the concept by which it operates, as friends of the Workers Party who follow its discussions know. The result has been that, within the framework of democratic centralism and in an atmosphere of free interchange of opinion on matters of policy and organization, the Workers Party has been able to make significant contributions to Marxist thought and policy, notably in the development of the party's view of Russia as a bureaucratic collectivist state, on the relation between democratic demands and socialist struggle in Europe and on the use of transitional demands in the workers' struggle in the United States.

The militants who have now joined the Workers Party did so because they shared that concept of the party with us. For that, in essence, is the meaning of their campaign for unity—just as the rejection of unity

by the Cannon leadership in the SWP flows from a monolithic conception of the party that is, as the comrades say in their statement, completely alien to the spirit of Trotskyism, which made its earliest fight against Stalinism precisely on this issue. In joining the Workers Party, they clearly admit various points of disagreement with party policy, but these differences are compatible with membership in one organization—where they will be ironed out in democratic discussion. That is the basic tenet which the Minority championed in the SWP. That is the concept on which the WP is based.

In another sense, too, the acquisition of these comrades by the Workers Party is of tremendous importance. Again it is not a matter of size. But it is most definitely a matter of composition. The comrades who joined are all of them experienced revolutionists, with ten, twelve or fifteen years of membership in the Trotskyist movement. Many of them waged the battle against Stalinism inside the Communist Party or Young Communist League before they joined the Trotskyist movement a decade or more ago. Several, as in the case of Albert Goldman, date back their membership in the revolutionary socialist movement a score or more of years.

Experienced, trained hands are not easily come by. And the Workers Party has gained just such a group. They are comrades with deep experience in the theory, history and practical work of the movement. And we are confident that many will follow their example, just as, in welcoming the New York comrades who joined several weeks ago, we were confident that others inside and outside the SWP, would follow them.

No greater or better or more effective demonstration could have been made for the unity of the two organizations than this action by the New York and Chicago SWP Minority comrades. We are certain that it will prove to be of inestimable value to the Trotskyist movement in this country and internationally.

In welcoming these comrades to the ranks of the Workers Party with revolutionary enthusiasm, LABOR ACTION calls upon all militants also TO JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY, TO HELP US BUILD A PARTY FOR SOCIALIST VICTORY!

Why SWP Minority Joined Workers Party

Hear from representatives of the SWP Minority themselves!

CHICAGO SPEAKERS:

Friday, June 14, 8 P. M.

ALBERT GOLDMAN, Attorney for Leon Trotsky, former National Committee Member, SWP

LYDIA BEIDEL, former National Committee Member, SWP

MAX SHACHTMAN, National Secretary, Workers Party

MAJESTIC HOTEL — 29 West Quincy Street

NEW YORK SPEAKERS:

Sunday, June 23, 8 P. M.

Albert Goldman and Max Shachtman

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Hudson and Manhattan Tube Strikers Still Out

By WILLIAM BARTON

The echoes of the thunderous rail strike have hardly died down. In the New York metropolitan area, the trainmen and engineers of the Hudson & Manhattan Tube Lines, which operate between New York City and suburban New Jersey, have not gone back to work. The owners of this line have not even granted the 18 1/2 cents an hour wage increase that the larger railroads didn't dispute.

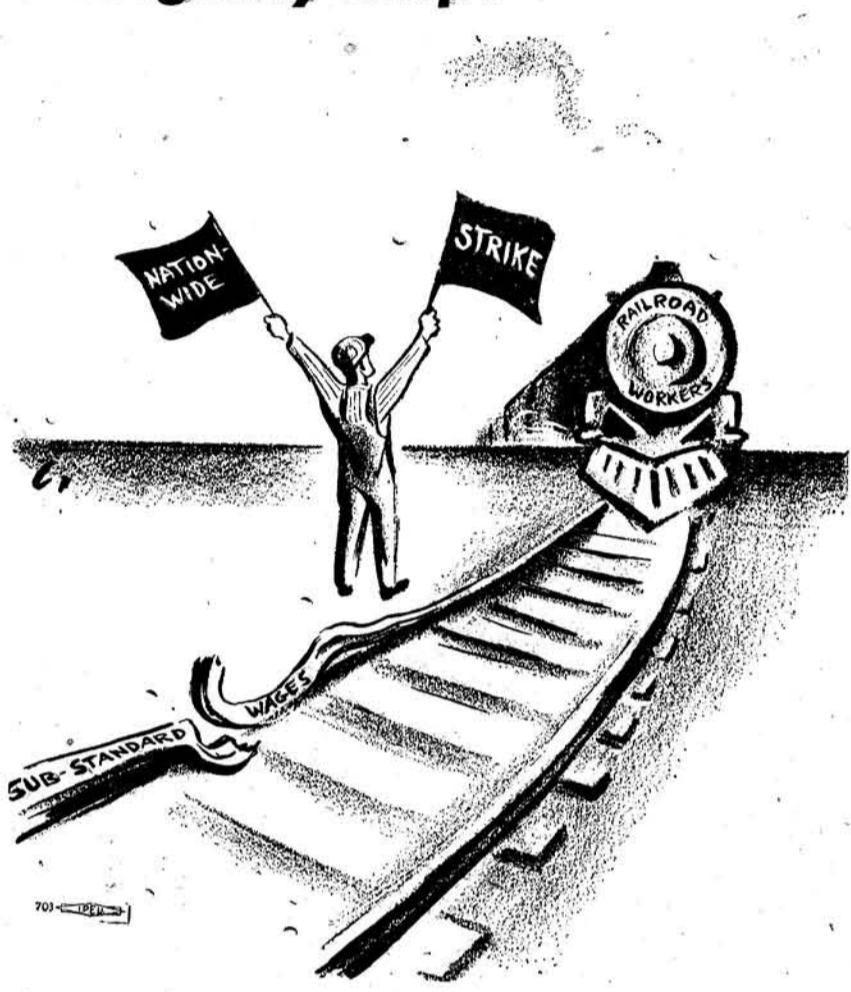
Just demands are stymied by their "good friends" in Washington. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and President Truman were extremely close. The former was the only significant labor leader who urged the latter to attempt to achieve the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination in 1944. On his side, the President was reported as showing toward Whitney little of the concealed hostility he had toward Murray, Green, Lewis, etc. As we know, this proved to be of no benefit to the railroad workers and points to a lesson well worth learning.

Under the Railway Labor Act, a long "cooling off" period of "conciliation, mediation and arbitration" is required between a strike vote and the actual walkout. Truman devoted himself during this time, besides collecting a score of honorary college degrees and eating ice cream on the White House lawn, to forcing the rail unions to accept the settlement wanted by the operators.

responsibility for lack of agreement was theirs. This was capped by an ultimatum (addressed to the labor officials, of course): "You will meet them (the operators) and settle matters here. Otherwise the government will run the railroads."

doubt that he had already carefully planned his answer—strike-breaking and the vicious anti-strike legislation proposed a few days later.

Emergency Stop!



Maritime Unions Face Strike

SAN PEDRO, Calif., June 10.—President Truman has torpedoed our efforts to get a higher wage by his statement that he will use the army and navy to run the ships if there is a maritime strike on June 15, declared the Committee for Maritime Unity. "He has given the employers assurance so that now they will refuse to meet our demands," the Committee added.

have turned down a shipowner's offer of a \$12.50 or 10 per cent raise a month and are holding out for a 30 per cent raise and a 40-hour week. Evidently the longshoremen are waiting to see what the seamen will do. If the seamen hit the bricks the longshoremen will go out for their original demands.

How Railroad Workers Regard Harry "Strikebreaker" Truman

CHICAGO, May 25—Here are some of the reactions of Chicago railroad strikers gathered around a union hall in this city after the broadcast of Truman's strike-breaker speech to Congress. All refused to give their names for fear of "getting into trouble with the government."

From a young switchman: "I'm 28 years old and I soldiered for 28 months overseas and I come home to this. They call us bums because we're fighting for our working conditions."

Another engineer commented: "He (Truman) downed Johnson and he downed Whitney but he never told you a thing about the other side, about the interlocking directorates, the watered stock and all the rest of it."

Another striker spoke up: "Hell, they told us we were the most patriotic men in the country during the war; we broke every rule in the books to keep their trains running. And now they call us a bunch of Communists."

"He could have used a little force on them (the railroad companies) if he's going to use force on us," one said.

"Yeah," broke in an engineer, "we'll get us a labor government, like they got in England. They'll drive us to it."

This is a small example of the feeling of resentment of Chicago railroad workers at the strike-breaking role played by the government. It explains the bitterness of men who sewed up this largest rail center in the nation so tightly that passenger service was at a virtual standstill and freight service was at one per cent of normal.

It recalled to oldtime railroad workers and other oldtimers in the union movement the great rail strike of 1894, led by Eugene V. Debs, which was centered in Chicago and which was broken up by the intervention of federal troops called out by President Grover Cleveland.

96% of Quota Met; Drive Ends June 15

Many of our branches have requested that the fund drive be extended for at least two weeks. The Fourth National Convention of the Workers Party will be held this week and branches are busily engaged in raising funds to finance delegates. Many members wishing to attend the convention have requested postponement of payment on their last installment of their pledges until after the convention so as not to interfere with their attending the first post-war convention of the Party.

As of June 1 our fund quota has reached \$14,434.66 or 96 per cent of fulfillment. Eleven Branches have fulfilled their quotas and nine of these have over-subscribed their quotas. Philadelphia, San Pedro, Los Angeles and St. Louis at the end of the list must drive hard in the two remaining weeks.

The deadline on the LABOR ACTION Boosters lists is up. All branches should collect these from members, contacts and sympathizers and send them in to LABOR ACTION.

Table with columns: No. Branch, Quota, This Week, Total Contr., Per Cent. Lists branches like Hibbing, Minn., Boston, Mass., etc.

Gridley Killers "Not Guilty"

BLOOMINGTON, Ill. — The four strike-breakers who, on February 6, opened murderous fire into a group of unarmed pickets at Gridley, were found not guilty of manslaughter by a jury in Circuit Court here, May 24.

The murderers, on the payroll of George P. McNear, president of the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad, killed two pickets outright and wounded three others. The guards, among those manning a special train with steel-sided cars sent on a test run, were armed with shotguns and revolvers and constituted a death trap planned by McNear for the pickets.

The acquittal came in the killing of Irwin K. Paschon of Bartonville, striking TP&W timekeeper. State's Attorney Coolidge said that the other indictment, involving the killing of Arthur W. Brown of Peoria, striking engineer, would not be pressed. Brother Paschon was 27 years old, married, the father of a little girl, and a Sunday school teacher. His young widow, Gloria, collapsed after being told her husband's murderers had been acquitted.

The strike against the TP&W has been in effect since its return to McNear by the government last October 1, after 3 1/2 years of operation by the Office of Defense Transportation. A labor dispute in 1942 brought about the government take-over.

President McNear of the railroad picked up the railroad years ago for a song, according to the railroad brotherhoods, and has fought the unions ever since, chiseling on their wage standards and working conditions, and trying incessantly to break the union. His railroad was not included in the national wage movement on the railroads which came to a head recently with President Truman's breaking of the trainmen and engineers' strike.

There are many complicating factors about the proposed June 15 maritime strike. For one, the Committee for Maritime Unity, although it represents over 200,000 maritime workers does not include the AFL seamen or longshoremen who number well over a hundred thousand maritime workers. Plus the fact that the strategically important waterfront teamsters are AFL.

Continued Inaction Scored In Carlo Tresca Case

NEW YORK CITY—With Vito Genovese, reputed ex-gang chief, scheduled to face trial Thursday in Brooklyn in connection with a 1934 homicide, Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, asked today what District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office had done to investigate a charge that Genovese had arranged the 1943 slaying of Carlo Tresca, radical editor.

"This question becomes timely," Mr. Thomas said in a statement, "not only because of the pending trial, but because the District Attorney's annual report is due any day now. In three such reports, Mr. Hogan has ignored the Tresca case. Never did he mention it by name, though once he referred to it indirectly. That was in 1944, when he disclosed that his office had uncovered friendly relations between Magistrate Thomas A. Aurelio and Frank Costello, racketeer, by tapping telephone wires in investigating an unrelated crime. That was the Tresca killing."

"In that summer Ernest Rupolo, Brooklyn gangster, facing a long sentence before Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, won a postponement by giving 'information' about others. He was reported to have declared that Genovese, then described as a fugitive in Italy, had arranged the Tresca murder at the bidding of Count Ciano, son-in-law of Benito Mussolini, who earlier had placed the New York anti-Fascist editor on his 'death list'."

"Last February two other Italians were questioned by Kings County authorities, and front-page stories stated that one of them admitted that he drove the car in which Tresca's slayers escaped, and was the finger-man who pointed him out to the gun-man, and got \$2,500 for that service. The two questioned were John Sorlucco, ex-head of the liquidated 'Black Hawk' gang, who was sentenced to 40 to 80 years in prison last winter, and Joseph Di Somma, also of that gang."

"Mr. Hogan would not make any public comment about the stories told by Sorlucco and Di Somma, and we find no record of his commenting on Rupolo's reported charge. Last December, when Assistant District Attorney Eleazar Lipsky resigned his post, after heading the Tresca inquiry for a year, Mr. Hogan promised that that investigation would go on. But the case remains unsolved."

"Carlo Tresca's friends generally regard his killing as a political murder, and in the labor movement there is a widespread belief that political pressure is one reason why the killers, and those who hired them, have not been apprehended."

"Will Mr. Hogan continue to ignore the Tresca case in his forthcoming report or will he let the public know something of what his office is doing about it—if anything?"

Tresca was shot down in the dim-out near the office of his paper, II Martello (The Hammer), at Fifth Avenue and 15th Street on January 11, 1943. . . . The Tresca Memorial Committee includes Oswald Garrison Villard, John Dewey, Angelica Balabanoff, William Henry Chamberlin, Frank Crosswaith and Varian Fry.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

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

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On Relation Between Wages, Prices, Profits

Editor: Day by day your paper is getting better, even if you do make some economic errors. One of these I have noticed is your contention that price increases—steel and others—will offset wage increases. Did you read this in Marxian literature? Either market laws govern prices or the "will" of the government of the capitalists dictates prices. Which is it? A wage increase is always a distinct loss for the capitalists who buy labor power. More wages always mean less profit. The wage increases granted to steel workers, auto workers or rubber workers cannot be rubbed out by price increase grants by government (OPA). If so, how does it reach the pay envelope? Workers buy mostly necessities.

JOHN C. GREEN.

Then we have received no reply. We have also learned that the letter was not read to the membership of the SWP, having simply been "filed" by the Executive Committee. SWP, San Francisco, Calif. Dear Comrades: In the May 9 issue of Local 10 Longshore Bulletin there is a vicious attack against LABOR ACTION and The Militant as papers that are put out by the "ship owner clique of disrupters." In typical amalgam fashion, Barney Mayes is also brought in as a "stoop-pigeon" belonging to the same "clique."

SWP Doesn't Answer WP on Joint Action

Dear Comrades: The following letter was sent to the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party on May 11. Since

we did NOT say that higher wages MUST mean higher prices. That is a capitalist contention completely exploded by Marxian economics. However, what we did say is that higher prices would eat away at wage gains. That's a fairly obvious point. If the laborer has to pay more for what he buys, then his wage gain is cancelled. How does it reach the pay envelope? Workers do not buy steel in carloads. But they do buy the products made of steel (for example, irons). Thus, the price rise is passed along until it is taken from the pocket of the wage workers. It may not be as apparent as a boost in the cost of eggs, but it is there. The capitalist tries to minimize the effect of the wage increase on his profits. For the relation between wages and profits we refer you to a discussion of this on page 2 of the December 10, 1945 issue of LABOR ACTION by E. Garrett, and a series of articles at about the same time on General Motors' Theory of Wages, by E. Erber. —Ed.

pose of working out a concrete offensive against the Stalinist attacks on LABOR ACTION and The Militant. One of the things we propose is a joint printed leaflet by the WP and the SWP exposing the lies of the Stalinists. Every worker on the waterfront, particularly the longshoremen, would receive from us such a leaflet. We must frustrate the Stalinist plan

to work up a lynch spirit against us as part of their general betrayal of the interests of the workers.

It is necessary that we act jointly as soon as possible. We would appreciate a most early reply from you.

Fraternally yours, DEAN MILLER, Acting Organizer, WP, San Francisco Bay Area.

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

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

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

2. Less Hours—More Pay
 Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

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

FOR THE POST-WAR WORLD

4. Jobs For All at a Guaranteed Annual Living Wage
 A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

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

6. For a Democratic Peace
 Against peacetime military conscription of American youth! For a truly democratic peace, which means no land-grabbing under any pretext; no reparations; no slave labor. Complete independence for all colonies and subject peo-

ples and the right of all people to decide democratically their own future.

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

THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH

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

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

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

THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY

11. Workers' Control of Production
 Control of production by democratically-elected workers' committees.

12. An Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government—For a Socialist America with Plenty for All!
 Make the machines that now produce only for war and capitalism produce for the needs of all the people!



In Northern Indo-China there is a very dense population, which is essentially agricultural. There are 400 to 800 inhabitants per kilometer (five-eighths of a mile) living in the Tonkin Delta. The peasant of these regions cultivates his soil with very rudimentary materials and methods. The earth is highly subdivided and the average peasant holding does not exceed one hectare (approximately 2.5 acres). The complete lack of industry makes the standard of living extremely miserable. In order to exist and pay taxes, the small Indo-Chinese peasant is forced to borrow on his land, which passes little by little to the patrimony of the Church or to the Indo-Chinese banks. The proletarianized peasants, then, must work as laborers in the mines or as agricultural workers on the farms of the large landed proprietors. Wages barely reached more than two to four francs a day before the war of 1939-40.

On the large plantations belonging to the French colonists, an agricultural proletariat, recruited from the overpopulated Tonkin Delta, lives in extreme misery. In the South of the country the large Indo-Chinese landholders, to whom the French Administration granted immense domains, possess nearly all of the country.

The peculiar conditions existing in Indo-China create a situation wherein the hazy revolutionary movement comes from the countryside in order to reach the urban centers, contrary to what usually takes place in the West. There is no important industrial proletariat in the cities which are primarily populated by small shopkeepers. On the other hand, the agricultural proletariat and the small farmers form the majority of the population, whose standard of living is terribly low.

The situation in Indo-China has been revolutionary since the last imperialist war and a study of the successive revolts makes clear that when the Indo-Chinese masses demand their independence through an expulsion of the French colonizers, they visualize also the expropriation of their national oppressors.

The years 1917-23 were marked by the success of the bourgeois nationalist movement.

The years 1923-27 saw the progress of the nationalist petty bourgeois and peasant movement crowned by a revolt and followed by the massacres of 1929.

The rise of the workers' movement in France in 1936 had its repercussions in Indo-China, where large mass movements lasting over a period of several years were savagely crushed in 1939. At the beginning of the war the Communist leaders were arrested.

THE INDO-CHINESE PARTIES

The Trotskyist organization was especially strong in Cochinchina, the southern part of Indo-China. So far as the Indo-Chinese Communist Party is concerned, its influence differs according to the region. In the north and in the center, its activity is clandestine; but despite these unfavorable conditions, it attained about 300,000 active members in 1938-39. In Cochinchina, the Communist Party is semi-legal and even with a policy of popular frontism it could not organize an effective party. The last elections gave 15 per cent of the votes to the governmental party, 80 per cent to the Trotskyists, and only 1 per cent to the Communist Party.

In Tonkin and Annam, on the contrary, the Indo-Chinese Communist Party has a very strong influence, above all in the peasant stratum. The peasant federations, through CP inspiration, are constituted to resist the Mandarins and the large landed proprietors. They defend the wages of the agricultural workers, organize mutual aid among the small farmers to help the latter struggle against the Mandarins and the usurers. More and more, these federations take on the form of co-operatives. With the resources of the federation, the peasants

buy land that they cultivate in rotation and the harvests of which are divided.

INDO-CHINA UNDER THE OCCUPATION

The beginning of the Japanese occupation was marked by very important uprisings. In October, 1940, Tonkin; in November, 1940, the Cochinchina; in January, 1941, Annam. Japanese and French imperialism united ferociously to repress these popular movements. It is then that the Viet Minh, the league for Indo-Chinese independence, was formed. It was formed by two nationalist parties, including the petty bourgeoisie and the left wing of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Communist Party and the Trotskyists. Its 1941 program was a program of democratic rights.

During the Japanese occupation, the French bourgeoisie tried to obtain the support of the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie, which preferred to serve Japanese imperialism. In effect, the lack of industrial development of Indo-China does not permit the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie the hope of ruling without the support of a foreign imperialism. It would be incapable of playing an independent role; it can only rely on a foreign imperialism. That is the reason why the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie always tries to lean on the strongest imperialism. That is what made it pro-Nipponese during the Japanese occupation and why it now turns its eyes toward American imperialism. The pro-Nipponese parties led by the Indo-Chinese bourgeoisie didn't have a profound influence on the masses. An "independent" government was constituted by Japan. At its head was Bao-Dai, who covered up by his imperial authority the exploitation of the country by the French bourgeoisie and who, then, put himself at the service of Nipponese imperialism.

THE ROLE OF THE VIET MINH

After the capitulation of Japan, the Viet Minh took the governmental authority in its own hands, forced Bao-Dai to abdicate and drove out its pro-Nippon ministers. All the power is now in the hands of the Viet Minh. French imperialism would very much like to regain its position in Indo-China but by itself it would be incapable of realizing its ends. It demands the support of British imperialism, which also has aims in Indo-China but which is waiting in order openly to oppose France.

The United States would also like very much to impose its domination on this part of the world. It doesn't operate openly but through the medium of China. It tries on one hand to limit English expansion in Indo-China and, on the other hand, to impose its puppets on the Viet Minh in order to ward off the communist danger. It depends for that on the Revolutionary Union for Independence, the old Nationalist Party, the right wing in the Viet Minh, which tends to enlarge its base in the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.

There is a double danger for the Indo-Chinese revolution. It is menaced by the nationalist parties inside which depend on Yankee imperialism and by the three imperialist sharks which lay siege to the country. If the Indo-Chinese revolution is isolated it will not be able to triumph over these difficulties.

The Viet Minh is menaced by the development of the nationalist parties of the right, which will separate themselves from it in order to combat the revolutionary tendencies as soon as that will be possible, following an analogous process to the one we witnessed in Greece. The Indo-Chinese revolutionaries must demand of the Viet Minh the entire execution of its program.

(The above article is reprinted in part from *Quatrième Internationale*, magazine of the French Trotskyists.)

International Relief Work Of the WP

The following are excerpts from the report submitted to the Workers Party convention on the international relief work in which the Party has been engaged since the latter part of 1945. Friends and sympathizers of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party have assisted in this undertaking by contributions of food and clothing.

Europe is literally on rations from the United States. The danger of starvation is so pressing and widespread that warnings have come from the offices of U. S. military leaders in both Germany and Japan that the people of those countries "must be fed or shot." Generals McNarney and MacArthur demand either "more wheat or more soldiers." U. S. imperialism is thus confronted with the necessity, in order to do business, to prevent struggles against its occupation and, to maintain some support as against the Russians, to ration the starvation. LABOR ACTION has pointed out in article after article the fact that food is a political weapon for the ruling class.

The sending of food, clothing, medical and other supplies is no less a political weapon for the revolutionary party. Because of their uncompromising revolutionary political line, the comrades of the Fourth International have been the hardest hit—they have been killed, tortured, jailed, starved, hounded and persecuted by the bestial totalitarianism of both fascism and Stalinism. Yet it is upon these slender and triply harassed cadres that the leadership in the struggle for the liberation of the European peoples from the yoke of U. S. and other imperialisms and the struggle for a proletarian revolution depends.

Hence the task of sending relief to our comrades abroad, despite the fact that it is 99 per cent manual, technical and administrative work, is a POLITICAL one of the highest importance. It is not merely a humanitarian or sentimental undertaking, but a SOCIALIST responsibility. Food is a weapon for us, too.

MUST DO MORE

It was with this idea in mind that the Workers Party started its modest campaign of sending supplies abroad. We had at first only a few names, acquired mostly by soldiers, since all contacts abroad had been broken by the war. Now our list has expanded to over fifty and includes comrades in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy and Greece. The list of comrades who need assistance is growing continually and, given our political and economic estimate of the world today, can only continue to grow. The task of sending relief abroad becomes a PERMANENT one for us.

In addition, despite the favorable review of our work in this field which will follow, we must do more than we have. Our efforts are not nearly enough to meet the needs of these comrades. We are informed via a letter of this month that one of the German comrades in exile to whom we have been sending food and clothing exists even now by eating and by selling potato peelings! A communication from the Comité Internationaliste de Solidarité Ouvrière of May 20, 1946, states:

"Far from slackening, the demands on us for food are likely to increase in the coming months. Even in France a bread crisis is expected just after the elections. But even more serious is the case of Germany, where rations, though not down to the catastrophic Austrian level of 320 calories per day are already below 1,000 and likely to go lower. At present writing, it is not yet permitted to send food packages direct by parcel post from the U. S. to Germany and we are forced to canalize the work here, reshipping into Germany by various devious means. It is suggested that those of your contributors who are particularly anxious to aid German workers should indicate the fact by putting a conspicuous capital "D" on their packages."

Between October, 1945, and April, 1946, the Workers Party sent 3,861 pounds of food 3,376 pounds of clothing, and 560 pounds of miscellaneous items, or a total of 7,797 pounds, almost four tons.

Despite the fact that relief work was begun just after the war ended, just as our civilian comrades were undergoing reconversion lay-offs and transfers to lower-paying jobs and before most of our soldiers had returned to augment our forces and increase our income—the party has responded magnificently. Exceptions are only where there has been a drastic lack of personnel. Out of a deep-rooted sense of international solidarity, the comrades have dug down deep to assist their fellow revolutionaries. We have received hundreds of letters from recipients of our packages acknowledging the value of our assistance.

SYMPATHIZERS CAN HELP

New York, with the greatest resources and manpower, has done an outstanding job. The credit for this must go largely to Ben Walker, who, in addition to organizing the relief work of Local New York, has done most of the purchasing, wrapping and mailing, with the able assistance of Gertrude Randall.

In Chicago, under the supervision of Mimi Slater, relief director, a highly successful musicale which obtained clothing and food supplies for the relief work, was held.

The fact that smaller branches can do better than they have done, despite lack of forces, is proved by the work of Hibbing, where the organization and finances have been borne almost wholly by one person in addition to all of the other work of the party.

Seattle, Reading and Louisville, all small branches, have responded generously and Louisville has been specially cited by its "wards" for the excellence of its contributions.

It is proposed that, in view of the necessity of our expansion and the long-term perspective on this work, an official committee be set up in New York City, which will draw in sympathizers of the party and enable us to increase the financial and material contributions. After this is done, local branches can form branches of the committee, which will facilitate their own work. The San Francisco branch has already attempted to obtain the cooperation of a local Swiss relief organization. The names of our comrades are also being sent to the Socialist Party relief organization. But none of this is enough, and we must continue to expand our own work.

This is politically necessary as a concrete demonstration of our international solidarity.

MARY BELL, Relief Director

Shift to Right in France Despite CP-SP Majority

By MARY BELL

While the combined votes of the Socialist and Communist Parties of France in the June 1 election still represent the majority of popular sentiment, the increase in a million votes for the primary capitalist party, the Popular Republicans, with only small gains to the Communist Party and a loss to the Socialists, shows the handwriting on the wall to the parties which purport to represent the interests of the working class, and world capitalism breathes easier.

The shift to the right was foreshadowed by the defeat of the referendum on the constitution, around which the contending classes mobilized—the capitalist elements being against, the working class elements being for. The shift was guaranteed by the failure of the parties which claim the support of the working people, the Communists and Socialists, to break their coalition with the capitalist bankrupts, rule in the name of the workers and little people who supported them and embark on a program of nationalization and socialization.

While the Daily Worker touts the election results in France as a victory for the Communists, attested to by their increase of 140,000 votes, it overlooks what immediately strikes every observer except the Stalinist fanatics: the relative DECLINE of working class strength in the entire pool of votes. This decline is caused by the fact that these two parties, while having the allegiance of the workers, represent other interests; in the case of the Socialist Party, subservience to the French ruling class and Anglo-American imperialism; and in the case of the Communist Party, absolute fealty to Stalinism.

BATTLE OF SUPERPOWERS

France, the most important large neutral nation in Europe, represents a battle ground of the two rival "superpowers." The pressure of these powers was manifest throughout the period preceding the elections and mirrored in the campaigns of the French parties. Leon Blum, elder statesman of the Socialist Party, was credited with successfully negotiating the United States loan to France, which is vitally necessary for the reconstruction of tottering, war-ravished French economy.

On May Day the Communist Minister of Industrial Production began the election campaign by putting on the market large quantities of shoes and shirts below ceiling prices. The Communists, who opposed strikes and operated on the slogan "Produce!" tried to share credit for the loan by the allegedly favorable impression made on the U. S. through their speed-up and no-strike program. ("The Communist Party is exploiting to the hilt the leather and textile manna fallen from heaven."—P.M.) Russian wheat shipments were sent as a counter to Wall Street gold.

The MRP tried to exploit the defeat of the referendum on the constitution as a demonstration of the strength and viability of the conservatives. "We appeal to our beloved children of the Catholic world to launch a crusade in the world against those who deny God," said Pope Pius XII in a direct election appeal to assist the Catholic MRP in France, as well as the Catholic conservatives in Italy who are faced with similar problems.

FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE

The issue of foreign policy was the great, overriding but silent issue in the elections. The Socialists and the MRP look to the West—to the financial assistance of the United States. The Communists strive to prevent the formation of a "Western bloc" and its inevitable accompaniment of a foreign policy directed against Russia. Harold Callender writes in the *New York Times* of June 2:

"There is a majority in France for closer ties with the Western world, such as were implied in this American credit. There is also a majority in

France for nationalization of key industries, which is not readily reconcilable with the liberal system of foreign trade proclaimed in connection with this credit.

"While France wants a constitution more democratic than the last one, she also wants a large measure of socialization. To the majority of Frenchmen, Western democracy is the only possible system of government, but Western or any other capitalism is suspect in their view and in need of much restraint and limitation."

Socialization and democracy—these are the immediate desires of the French people. Therefore, the stalemate will continue in France with the continuation of the tri-party coalition. The party which is associated with nationalization, the Communist Party, is the party of totalitarianism. To embark upon a thorough-going program of expropriation of private property, it would have to enlist the aid of the working class against the Two Hundred Families, and like the sorcerer's apprentice, call upon forces it could not control. Hence, the Communist Party is limited to a mild program whose primary aim is to prevent France from falling into the coils of an anti-Russian bloc. The Socialist Party, representing the desires of the workers for an extension of democracy, is based upon the gradual reform of capitalism, which means no basic change at all.

Yet the mandate of the majority in France is clear—democracy and radical inroads upon capitalism. The first step toward achieving this is to break the three-party coalition, to form a government of the Socialists and Communists. This is the manner in which the general revolutionary socialist formula of independent class action is translated into life in France today.

True, these slogans are issued to the pro-capitalist Socialist Party and the anti-working class Communist Party. But only if radical slogans which represent the desires of the French workers are urged upon these parties—given their inability to carry out the wishes of the workers—will their supporters become disburdened of their illusions in these parties in a progressive direction and turn to the really revolutionary, working class party represented by the French Trotskyists.

Only by urging these drastic solutions will the workers be able to obtain the support of the middle class, which, as is evidenced by the election, is turning more and more to the parties of reaction.

Otherwise, the workers, too, will become apathetic, and the way will be paved for the restoration of "strong man," Bonapartist rule.

Socialist Appeal, La Verite Report U.S. Nuremberg Petition

The latest issues of the Socialist Appeal and La Verité, organs of the British and French sections of the Fourth International, print full reports of the statement issued in America, which demanded that the Nuremberg tribunal investigate the charges made at the Moscow Trials that Leon Trotsky had collaborated with the Nazi defendants. The Socialist Appeal prints the entire statement as well as the complete list of signatories.

Readers of LABOR ACTION will recall that the original statement issued in America, signed by a large number of intellectuals, radicals and trade unionists, was printed in full in this paper and was supported by the Workers Party, the national secretary of which, Max Shachtman, signed the statement.

The Socialist Workers Party and its paper, The Militant, refrained for months from even mentioning the statement. In contrast to the SWP, the British and French Trotskyists have informed their readers of the action taken and have not allowed narrow factional considerations to stand in the way of an effective campaign on this burning issue.

A Low-Cost Housing Swindle

By HENRY SALTER

The blame for the lack of adequate housing in the United States lies directly at the feet of the real estate interests—the landlords, the speculators and the rental agents. They have consistently fought any attempt to provide adequate housing, especially low-cost housing.

The result has been that today there are 211,000 veterans' families in New York City alone who have been unable to find any place to live. In addition there are hundreds of thousands in the city who live in slums which have been condemned since 1885!

Throughout the United States, some three million families have had to crowd into the quarters of some relative on whom they can impose. The blame for this situation cannot be ascribed to the bombings and destruction of war; it attaches solely to the greed of big business and rests squarely with the capitalist government.

PLAN HIGHER RENTS

By refusing to take any action, the real estate interests have planned to force rents to even higher levels and to gain subsidies for their investments. They want their profits guaranteed. They are not interested in building decent housing merely because people need decent housing. They are interested in free gifts and grants, in renting their slums for the highest sums they can get.

That is what they are trying to do in New York City in the proposal put forward by the City Planning Commission. But they hide their looting behind the false face of aiding the veteran.

The proposal of the Planning Commission provides for a subsidy to tenant owners who improve and alter certain existing dwellings. At the same time it allows raising the rent to \$16 a room, a figure completely out of line with existing rent levels for similar housing. That is to say, the city would pay for the improvements and the landlord would make the profits on the city's investment. Furthermore, when the landlord pays his taxes, he would not pay on the valuation of the improved property but on the valuation set on the old unimproved building.

Big business usually justifies its profits on the ground that it runs a risk in investing its money. But the money-hungry landlord in this case would not be taking any risk. The

entire slum. The value of the property, which was \$30,000, is now \$40,000. However, the landlord would pay taxes on only \$30,000. Instead of paying \$1,200 annually on the improved tenement valued at \$40,000, he would continue to pay only \$900. Furthermore, the city returns \$833 of this amount to him. In other words, he actually pays only \$67 annual taxes.

Now let's figure up his profits. Annual rent of \$9,216, minus a \$67 payment for taxes, leaves \$9,148. THAT IS TWENTY-THREE PER CENT OF HIS TOTAL INVESTMENT OF \$40,000, AND NINETY-TWO PER CENT OF HIS RECENT INVESTMENT RETURNED TO HIM IN ONE YEAR'S RENT.

This is the proposal which one agency of the capitalist government makes to provide "adequate," "low-cost" housing to the recent tenants of foxholes.

With the Workers Party

AKRON

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

BUFFALO

HEADQUARTERS at 639 Main St.

CHICAGO

LABOR ACTION, 1703 West Madison St., Room 3, Chicago 12.
 Telephone: CHesapeake 5798.
 Office hours: 3-5:30 p.m. daily, except Sundays, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

DETROIT

HEADQUARTERS: 3773 Gratiot (at Mt. Elliott).

LOS ANGELES

Office, 127 South Broadway, Room 310.
 Office open daily 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. except Fridays and Sundays. Open evenings: Wednesdays 6:00-8:30.

NEWARK

LABOR ACTION HEADQUARTERS in Newark at 248 Market St.

NEW YORK CITY

CITY OFFICE—114 West 14th St., open all day until 7 p.m.
 Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays—open until 10 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

HEADQUARTERS, 1105 Walnut St.

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

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has youth units in the following cities: Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Cleveland, Ohio; Madison, Wis.; and Seattle, Wash.

If you live in any of these cities and desire to attend the youth meetings, write to the Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Statement on Joining the Workers Party by the Minority - -

A Boss's Dictionary

Democracy



(Continued from page 1)
Stalinist trend on the part of the Majority with reference to the nature of the party.

An article which was clearly a build-up of Cannon was permitted in the Fourth International; a letter by comrade Goldman mildly criticizing the tendency to leader-worship evidenced in that article, and insisting that leader-worship is hostile to the tradition of Bolshevism, was refused publication.

A letter written by James T. Farrell criticizing articles that appeared in the Fourth International was refused publication. The Minority protested vigorously.

Four comrades were censured by the Majority for organizing a discussion with members of the Workers Party on the Russian question. The Minority objected, declaring that to prevent members from discussing with opponents was a characteristic to Trotskyism.

of Stalinism and was completely alien. Although the Minority fought against the Stalinist attitude of the Majority on these questions it never occurred to anyone of the Minority to leave the party because of these differences. It was our view that we could combat the growing monolithism in the party through pressing for free discussion of political and organizational problems.

It was the dishonest attitude of the Majority on the unity question, an attitude which clearly revealed the Majority's monolithic conception of the party, that is the fundamental cause of our decision to leave the party. A subsidiary cause was the refusal of the Majority to permit the Minority to fraternize politically with the WP.

THE MINORITY'S ARGUMENT FOR UNITY OF WP AND SWP

The Minority raised the question of unity after the SWP recognized that the defense of the Soviet Union was no longer an important question, and that the defense of the European Revolution against Stalin was far more important. True, we always accepted the position, that differences on the nature of the Soviet Union or the defense of the Soviet Union do not justify a split. But it was only natural that the end of the war, which brought the necessity of defending the European Revolution against the Stalinist army, should have turned our attention to the question of unity. On the question of the defense of the European Revolution against Stalin the two parties had an identical position.

The position of the Minority on the question of unity was simple indeed. The two parties had the same fundamental program for the overthrow of capitalism; they carried on approximately the same agitation on the important immediate questions. Why not unite? Why continue a split that weakens the Trotskyist movement? Why have two parties with two weekly agitational organs, with two monthly theoretical magazines, with enormous duplication of effort and with resulting confusion created in the ranks of the advanced workers?

There are of course differences, but a Bolshevik party without differences is inconceivable. The Minority had no hesitation in saying that the differences were compatible with membership in one party.

The Minority did not propose immediate unity. It proposed that the two parties go on record in favor of unity and proceed to joint work in the trade unions, to joint election campaigns, to joint anti-fascist campaigns—all for the purpose of preparing the parties for unity. It was necessary to eliminate the personal ani-

mosities resulting from the sharp factional struggle of 1940. Common work in the interest of the working class would show whether unity was possible without the danger of a factional struggle immediately following the unification.

Without the slightest hesitation the leaders of the majority rejected the proposal for unity. Cannon, when confronted with the resolution, stuck to his line previously enunciated: "We must deepen the split." He had encouraged the SWP members to consider the WP members as "renegades," and unity with "renegades" was out of the question. His first and honest reaction to the proposal of unity was a definite "no."

WP DECLARES ITSELF CLEARLY FOR UNITY

The WP, on the other hand, accepted the proposal of unity. The leader of the Majority claimed that the acceptance was only a maneuver, that in reality the WP wanted to enter to prepare another split. On the face of it the claim is absurd. The WP comrades were willing to give up their organization and their public press; they were willing to submit to the discipline of the Majority. To do that in order to unite with a small party in the hope of making a bigger split would not enter the minds of the most inexperienced people. And the WP is led by experienced revolutionists.

The Minority was absolutely convinced of the sincerity of the WP comrades in accepting the proposal for unity for there is only one test: readiness to accept unity. And the WP so committed itself.

Because the WP accepted the proposal, Cannon could not continue with an open opposition to unity. He shifted his ground from open and

honest opposition to a shifty, dishonest one. Whereas at first he took the position that there was nothing to discuss, that the press of the WP gave us all the information we needed, he began a farce of insisting on a "thorough discussion and probing of the differences."

As a decisive objection to unity, the Majority leaders cited the fact that the WP insisted on publishing its own internal party bulletin after unity, something that every group has a right to do in a Bolshevik party. To remove that pretext the Minority requested the WP to promise not to publish its own organ provided the Majority recognized the right of a minority to publish an internal bulletin if it so desires. The WP consented, but the Majority in no way changed its mind.

The Minority became convinced that the real motive of the Cannon clique in opposing unity was the fear of having in the ranks of a united party a large number of revolutionists who would not blindly follow the leader, that Cannon and his clique want to build a monolithic party.

It was this conviction that led the Minority to state: either unity or we belong with the WP. It was this conviction that led the Minority to launch upon a course of political fraternization with the WP in disregard of the policy of the Majority which considered the WP comrades to be "renegades."

MINORITY REJECTS SWP BAN ON FRATERNIZATION

To the charge that we were violating the principle of democratic centralism we answered: that principle is a means to build a revolutionary party; when it is used to prevent unity of revolutionists it is used in a criminal manner. Under the circumstances, the Minority refused to abide by the policy of the Majority against political fraternization with the WP.

The Minority was confronted with the question whether to leave the party immediately or remain in the party and continue fraternizing with the WP. For a time we followed the latter course since that enabled us to exhaust all possibilities for achieving unity and it was unity that we wanted above everything else.

We chose a most difficult course, and followed it until it became absolutely certain that we could not have unity. The fakery of a discussion with the WP was continued when the Political Committee of the SWP issued a list of questions for "discussion." The list included all the possible differences—major and minor, past and present—for the obvious purpose of confronting an inexperienced membership with the statement that there are too many differences for unity to be practicable.

The fact that the fundamental anti-capitalist program of the two parties is the same; the fact that in day to day agitation of the parties there is a great similarity if not identity; the fact that the WP expressed its willingness to abide by the decision of the Majority on those questions where there were differences—all that was completely ignored.

After the death of Trotsky, Cannon is bold enough to introduce completely dishonest methods as a substitute for political arguments!

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SPLIT RESTS ON CANNON CLIQUE

When, at the last meeting of the National Committee, a warning was given the Minority to give up its course of political fraternization with the WP with the threat of expulsion if the Minority refused, it became evident that it was useless to remain in the party.

Characteristically enough, Cannon accused the Minority of "disloyalty." What was essentially a political question he, in the manner of a policeman, transformed into a question of disloyalty. There can be no criticism of a majority expelling a minority that refuses to abide by the decision of the majority; but honest and understanding Trotskyists do not pursue the method of Stalinism and then raise accusations of disloyalty.

Upon the shoulders of the Cannon clique rests the responsibility of the continuation of a tragic division of forces in the American Trotskyist movement. It is responsible for perpetuating the split in the American Trotskyist movement.

The comrades of the SWP Minority, in joining the WP, do not give up the platform of unity. Together with the other comrades of the WP they are ready to unite the Trotskyist forces. It is entirely up to the Cannonite clique.

To the question as to why we chose to leave the SWP instead of continuing the struggle we answer: Since there is another Trotskyist party in existence led by comrades who have our point of view on the nature of a revolutionary party, it is far more fruitful for us to join that party and help build it than to waste our efforts in constant factional struggle with opponents who are not interested in

honest discussion but in mere distortion and name-calling.

Until unity is achieved we shall be in the WP helping to build a revolutionary party without a trace of Stalinism. In the WP we shall work to effect the two Trotskyist organizations. And we call upon our comrades who have remained in the SWP to continue their fight for unity.

We appeal to all unaffiliated revolutionists to join the party of unity, the Workers Party. Join the Workers Party with us! Join us in building the kind of party that led the Russian masses to victory in 1917!

ALBERT GOLDMAN, for the SWP Minority.

Fight Strikebreakers by Labor Party - -

(Continued from page 1)

bill. If it passes, it will be a catastrophe for the trade unions.

2) LABOR RALLIES AGAINST CASE BILL

Let's take a glance now at that other labor wrecking bill, the Case bill, which is waiting for Presidential signature. Here's how this nifty cuts into our rights:

● It prohibits a union from striking for 60 days after its request for collective bargaining conferences. This is known as "cooling off." What it means is this: one of a trade union's most effective strike weapons, SURPRISE, is lost to it. The union has to give the boss two months' notice of its intention to strike, which gives him plenty of time to prepare for it. This provision also makes possible this situation: the boss, having received the notice of your union that a strike is to be called in two months, tries to provoke a strike before that time by making life miserable for his workers. If he succeeds, the workers are "guilty of having violated the law" and are no longer covered by the Wagner Labor Act. Either way, then, this main provision of the Case bill is a crippling blow to labor.

● Section 6 of the Case bill provides that in a dispute in a public utility (which it defines very loosely), the President may create an emergency commission to investigate the situation and report back to the President. During this investigation and report, utility workers are prohibited from striking. This amounts, in the words of Philip Murray, to "an indefinite cooling off period at the will of the President." It means, as the CIO head puts it, that "the government steps in to protect the employer in any position the employer wishes to take, however unreasonable, in the negotiations."

● Section 8 of the Case bill prohibits an employer from paying money to a union, except for a trust or health fund, which, the bill insists, must be jointly run by the boss and the union. This section is aimed at union health funds to which some employers have been contributing.

● Section 9 eliminates from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act all foremen and "supervisory employees." This section is aimed at creating dissension among various groups of workers.

● Section 10 opens labor organizations to suits for alleged violations of collective bargaining agreements and makes unions legally liable for the acts of their agents even when those acts were not authorized by the unions. These provisions mean that unions would constantly be haled into court in order to milk their treasuries and that all kinds of provocateurs would be able to commit acts "in the name of the union" for which the union would be held responsible.

So far, there is no definite news as to whether the Little Man in the White House will veto this bill. His political advisors, who know that he is finished as far as re-election goes unless he has labor support, have been urging a veto. But labor should stay on guard for one possibility: Truman might veto the Case bill, only a little later to sign the anti-labor bill he himself has sponsored.

3) UAW ASKS FOR HIGHER WAGES

The United Automobile Workers Union wasn't asleep at the switch. Stating that its recent 18 1/2-cent raise had already been eaten up by price jumps, it has served notice on the Chrysler Cor-

poration that wages would have to be hiked if prices keep going up. The UAW executive board meeting was expected to raise similar demands for the entire industry.

Once again the UAW, with its advanced program during the GM strike—which we have called the GM program—which had urged that wages be tied to profits and prices, has pointed the way. That program made clear that wage raises were next to worthless if price jumps continued, and that it was the job of the union movement to fight to raise wages and keep prices down. Now, however, that prices have gone up, the UAW is planning a fight for additional wage increases, a demand which points the way to the whole labor movement. Only by unceasing struggle can the vicious wage-price circle be broken; a struggle which involves more than mere picket line victories.

4) PRICES KEEP RISING

It was no accident the UAW chose this week to ask for reopening of wage negotiations. For when the workers of America came home from their benches this week, they were told by their wives that the price of milk had gone up a penny a quart and the price of butter had gone up 11 cents a pound. The pay envelope was worth less and less.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics released figures which showed that the rise in the cost of living had gone up 50 per cent since August, 1939. But, as Sylvia Porter, economist for the New York Post, wrote in its June 3, 1946, issue, "even that rise fails to tell the full story.... It fails because the barometer of the Bureau of Labor Statistics does not reflect the disappearance from the stores of hundreds of low-cost products; it fails because the official index cannot and does not mirror the terrific deterioration in the quality of goods.... The impact of these and other 'invisible' items upon the average family's cost of living has been immense."

When these wage-consuming price jumps are compared with profit figures for 1945, then you have a true picture of the situation. For in 1945 wholesale and retail corporations had profit percentages double those of the boom year 1929, while manufacturing corporations had a profit take equal to that of 1929.

Was it any wonder that America's workers stared with anger and amazement at the attempt in Washington to deprive them of their one great weapon, the strike, by which they could try to remedy this situation?

5) MARITIME LABOR MAY STRIKE

The next big crisis was expected to come in the maritime industry, where the CIO unions had raised demands of from 22 to 35 cent increases per hour—and where the Little Man in the White House, sizzling with anti-labor venom, had threatened to call out the Marines, Navy and Army to break the strike. But just as coal can't be mined with bayonets, so ships can't be sailed with rifles. And the men who work the ships, from boiler room to top deck, were determined to stick it out for better wages.

Truman sizzled, Truman spluttered, Truman threatened—but against the might of labor, the might of thousands of workers determined to fight for a better life, how ridiculous seemed this mediocre haberdashery salesman whom accident had catapulted to power.

6) NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

And now in the last section of this article, let's try to tie the knots together. In this crisis, which had brought to a head all of the conflicts of the post-war period, labor needed a lot of things. It needed an aggressive, fighting policy. It needed a militant, united leadership. It needed to make its own "GM Program" by which the auto workers had plunged into the lead of the American labor movement.

But it needed one thing especially, one thing which could give added power to all the others: it needed a political party of its own. This was put quite well in the words of John Christensen, head of the AFL lumber workers in the Northwest, who wrote:

"The fact that only 13 Congressmen dared to support labor's rights by voting against the President's bill certainly proves that the working people can no longer trust the old-line politicians and their political parties. I believe this brazen attack on American democracy may force organized labor to discontinue its present political policies and launch its own independent political action. I see no other way in which the working people can guarantee their right to strike, their right to bargain collectively and all other fundamental human rights which are jeopardized by the existence of a political set-up that operates solely in the interests of big business. Unless the workers organize politically under the banner of organized labor, this nation may soon become a fascist police state."

Yes, that was putting it pretty well. The blather-skites of both old parties which had been elected with the aid of the CIO-PAC had shown their true colors. The overwhelming vote for the anti-labor bills showed that most of them voted against labor. And what else could you expect? When the PAC supported these birds it was supporting capitalist candidates of capitalist parties. And when a fundamental crisis, such as the present one, arose, it was to be expected that they would vote against labor.

That was to be expected. But how much longer will labor continue its fatal policy of supporting "good" capitalist candidates? Many sections of the labor movement have turned against Truman; that's fine. Whitney has said that his union will spend 2 1/2 million dollars and that the Railroad Brotherhoods have 47 million dollars to lick the Little Man in the White House; that's fine, too. But whom are they going to support? Some mildewed politician in the Republican Party? A so-called liberal with a collapsible spine?

No; it's about time we stopped that sort of thing. We need our own party, an independent Labor Party representing the masses of American workers, firmly based on the trade union movement. Such a party would be on the political field what the trade unions are on the economic field.

We are facing grave days of crisis. Never before has labor faced such a hopped-up administration whose inept leader is out to "get" the unions. Never before has labor so needed a policy of struggle and aggressiveness to halt the price spiral and jack up wages.

But above all, labor must begin to move in the political arena. We need a clean break. Our own independent Labor Party aiming at the establishment of a workers' government which can begin to solve some of these problems!

That, in the first week of June—when the little-minded Little Man in the White House vented his anti-labor spleen—was the burning need.

A Condemnation of the SWP Stand on the Nuremberg Petition

The letter of comrade Jack Weber, which we are glad to publish here, is of special importance in view of the many years of his prominent service in the revolutionary Marxist movement. One of the earliest members of the Communist movement in the United States, comrade Weber joined the Trotskyist movement more than a dozen years ago, and became one of its leading members. Up to the last convention of the Socialist Workers Party, he was a member of the Political Committee of that organization. He has since severed his connections with the Cannonite organization—Ed.

Editor, LABOR ACTION,

Dear Comrade:

With the greatest interest I read the statement in The Militant on the Nuremberg Trials issued at long last by the Cannonites. It was inevitable that such an explanation should appear, however belatedly. The Great Abstainer, Cannon, had, however reluctantly, to make up his mind in the typical attitude of looking backward.

It would seem to me that the members of the SWP would require just a bit more in the way of explanation. For example, just how does it happen that a Thomas and a Wall (the Cannonites call the statement issued to the capitalist press the Thomas-Wall petition) could take the initiative in a defense that should so obviously have been conducted not by them but by the official Trotskyist movement? That question is all the more pertinent in view of the fact that the American movement has the unique

distinction of being the only one that did not participate in the Nuremberg campaign in the entire period of its relevancy.

The initiators of the campaign here were not at all Thomas and Wall. The writer gave it an initial push, but the one mainly responsible and most active of all was James T. Farrell, with active assistance from Meyer Schapiro and Sidney Hook and Max Shachtman. None of us had the slightest doubt that, once the English movement had broken the issue into the open, the Cannonites would not hang back but would enter and take the most active role. They were specifically invited to do so through Shachtman. Why did their statement fail to mention that fact? It was with real amazement that we watched the Cannonites deliberately turn their backs on the issue. The campaign could have taken on a far greater scope than it did had they taken over the leadership which nobody dreamed of denying to them. To his credit Norman Thomas quickly joined in pressing the issue home and his name became associated with it because there was no organized movement other than his own that participated strongly enough. For the Cannonites now to criticize the wording of the petition, after they threw away the opportunity proffered to them, adds just that needed touch, that final touch of irony. Who should have demanded that a representative of Natalia Trotsky be allowed to go to Nuremberg if not they? Who stopped them from doing so?

Are the members of the SWP satisfied with the reasons given for their non-participation? If they examine the matter closely, they surely would not be. The Cannonites were "apprehensive" that the Trial would result in a new frame-up designed to bolster the shaky Moscow Trials. The reason this did not occur, we are informed, is that the sharpening conflicts between Russia and the Allied imperialists prevented any "understanding" of this kind. But throughout this whole period the Cannonite press was headlining these same conflicts and even basing their entire policy on the imminence of a third World War. The reason given is obviously disingenuous. Their handling of the Nuremberg Trial issue shows precisely how the Cannonites play right into the hands of Stalin on the war issue. And not only Nuremberg! Their defense of the Soviet Union becomes—except on formal occasions—silent, implicit defense of Stalinism. It is transparent that they do not state their real reason for abstention on this issue. They were in a dilemma. They were afraid of being classed with the "war mongers," with those who were "fomenting" discord between Russia and the Allies. Come, now! Weren't they on the point of calling those who raised such issues social-democratic warmongers? Weren't they on the verge of denouncing those who made a political issue of the Nuremberg Trials because they felt this to be part of a general campaign against Soviet Russia? In

this issue we have epitomized the political ineptitude of Cannon, the inability of the Cannonites to combat Stalinism whatever the circumstances. We leave aside the political cowardice involved in not giving the honest-to-God reasons. One has only to read the letter sent by Dobbs to Goldman on the issue to see how perilously close they came to coming out in opposition to the Nuremberg campaign.

The Cannonites felt "apprehension and alarm" at what might happen at Nuremberg. Surely strange sentiments in a matter of this kind. Feelings that reveal total helplessness in coping with a situation that led to complete, abysmal silence. Let us assume that the Stalinists had resorted to collusion either with the German prisoners or with the Allies. Or that they could be expected to do so. How in the world does an ostrich policy of abstention give the political answer to such a situation? Even on their own assumptions, the Cannonites showed political paralysis. Did they seriously think that if they started a campaign this might drive the Russians into such a move to tie the Nuremberg and Moscow Trials? Did they seriously think that the thought of using Nuremberg would not occur to Stalin unless the Militant called it to his attention? The proper answer could only have been an immediate fore-warning of just such a possible attempt to bolster up the rotten Moscow frame-ups. The Cannonites thought they would better wait till Hess was killed and then raise the

question of why the Stalinists had not confronted him on the "conspiracy" with Trotsky and others. It is actually this warped line that the SWP is now following. What stupid myopia!

In their way the Stalinists did try a preliminary experiment at Nuremberg. It had to do with the terrible affair of the Katyn forest, the frightful killing of the Polish officers (unquestionably by the Stalinists). The Russians insisted on pinning the crime on the Germans in the indictment. The Allies refused on the ground that there was insufficient evidence. Finally they told the Russians that the latter could go ahead on this issue entirely on their own account. The result was that, the Russians having introduced the matter into the indictment only for the purpose of using the cover of a general condemnation, later dared not permit the Germans to say a word on this crime. The Germans tried to force the issue on the record, with the Russians obstructing them from answering the indictment. Unquestionably had the Allies played ball on this issue, the Russians would have gone further. But they were deterred by the simple fact that they did not have complete control of the Trials and therefore did not dare expose themselves before the outside world.

PLAY INTO STALINIST HANDS

The real dangers of frame-up are not at all at Nuremberg. The Cannonites failed completely to under-

stand the nature of the campaign. They looked at it in terms of its coming to the actual questioning of Hess and others on the Moscow Trials. Thus the Cannonites miss the point and fail to make the issue clear. The Stalinists would have liked nothing better than the sort of tactics pursued by the Cannonites. The Russians have some of the vast German archives. There is nothing to prevent them, after all the Nuremberg defendants are properly hanged, from saying that they have after considerable search found documents proving the conspiracy between Hitler and Trotsky, etc. They can even invite a Pritt and a Snow to Moscow to view the documents in the Kremlin. The answer to this can only be to warn in advance of the Stalinist methods of forgery. Real political foresight should have consisted—and fortunately did for all but the "apprehensive" Cannonites—in demanding during the Trial while the defendants were still alive, the production of all such documents for confrontation and questioning and scientific verification. The policy of the Cannonites would have played directly into the hands of the Stalinists. Silence during the Nuremberg Trials would have deterred Stalin not in the slightest had he been able to make use of the affair for his benefit. Not even the public campaign will stop Stalin from attempting new frame-ups through forgeries. He is virtually driven to such a course. The German documentation was so complete on every foreign entanglement

that Stalin cannot afford not to "find" the documents he needs. But he will are not subject to the scrutiny of our find them in his own time where they siders.

So much for the Cannonite "strategy" on Nuremberg. Truly something less than pathetic. But there is more to be said. As a matter of fact the Cannonites were unable to move because they had no faith that they could enlist for this cause either intellectuals or labor leaders. They felt themselves completely isolated. Their conduct with respect to the "intellectuals" has been so utterly short-sighted, so crassly high-and-mighty, that they felt it would be useless to appeal for support on this issue. Nobody was more surprised than the Cannonites when they saw the response in the public press. They could not comment until they had caught their breath! Had the campaign been started when the English conceived the idea, the results would have proved astounding. The work of one single girl, Pearl, left virtually undirected because of lack of organized forces, brought in hundreds of signatures in no time at all.

Let us leave in silence—it is only mete and decent—the motives of "prestige" on the lower level of things that kept the heroic Cannonites from following the lead of others — and thereby caused them ignominiously to lose prestige.

—JACK WEBER, June 1, 1946