

## Why Isn't There Enough Bread?

Why isn't there enough bread in New York City? And why is there too much cake?

Millions of New Yorkers were asking themselves this question last week. Even though the size of bread was cut 10 per cent, without any cut in price; even though the price of bread is scheduled to go up a penny per loaf next week; despite all this, there wasn't enough bread in the city. But there was too much cake.

It was as if Marie Antoinette's classic boner "Let 'Em Eat Cake," which incensed the hungry Parisians when they asked for bread, had suddenly come to life in New York City.

Plenty of cake. Not enough bread.

Why? Because the rapacious, rotten, profiteering, calloused baking companies could make a higher rate of profit on expensive cakes than on cheaper bread. So they produced cakes instead of bread, expecting to chisel more money out of the people by forcing them to buy cake instead of bread.

The result: thousands of housewives, together with the unfortunate bachelors who run their own homes, had to line up in the morning to buy bread, which had suddenly become a scarce item.

The remedy: consumers' committees set up by the trade unions and by neighborhood groups of workers to put the squeeze on the rats who run the baking companies to force them to make more bread.

"Let 'Em Eat Cake," said Marie Antoinette. Remember where that smart wisecrack brought her to?

## Fight Jim-Crow In Columbia Trial

By CHRIS WARREN

The atmosphere in Columbia, Tennessee, is tense as the trial of 31 Negroes accused of attempted murder enters its third week. The population of 30,000 white and 10,000 Negro workers has divided into two hostile, fighting groups. The Tennessee press, called "bitterly unfair" by Chief defense counsel, Thurgood Marshall, continues its vicious attacks on the 31 defendants, their lawyers and the witnesses called to prove that it is not possible for a Negro to receive a fair trial in Columbia, Tennessee.

Over 186 Negroes have testified that not once in the last fifty years has a Negro served as a juror, although 3,000 are qualified to do so. On this basis the defense attorneys declare that the 31 Negroes were illegally indicted.

Threats of violence against the defendants and their lawyers have reached such proportions that the attorneys "commute" to the courthouse every day. They refused police "protection" because "the police killed two Negro defendants right in their jailhouse—I most certainly don't want them to protect me!"

The Federal Grand Jury is investigating the destruction of the Negro section of the town last February and the death of two imprisoned Negroes. They have confined themselves to "investigating." No action has been taken against the state policemen who shot the Negroes in their cell. No action has been taken against the local officers who arrested over 100 Negroes without warrants, beat them unmercifully and destroyed their homes and stores. No action has been taken against those who formed the lynch mob to kill James Stephenson and his mother because Stephenson had knocked a white man through a window for hitting and kicking his mother. The Klan has been left undisturbed although they marked a large KKK on the funeral parlor of one of the defendants and have kept up a running campaign of hate and violence.

### NOT AN ISOLATED INCIDENT

The trial is the aftermath of the arrest of hundreds of Negroes who barricaded their homes and prepared to defend themselves as rumors of a lynch mob spread through the town. The mob was out to get a young Navy veteran and his mother who had been arrested for assaulting a white man. "Mistakes" have been made before and the Negro population of Columbia took no chances. They got out

their guns and waited. The local police sent out a call for the state troopers who marched into the Negro section of the town with guns drawn. The Negroes, believing they were the lynchers, fired upon them. The police arrested hundreds and left the Negro section in ruins.

The incident at Columbia, Tennessee, is not an isolated affair. It is part of the social pattern of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination, a social pattern which has its roots in capitalism itself.

Nowhere is this more clearly indicated than in Columbia, itself. There, Negro workers in the chemical plants,

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## Leaders Duck Labor Party Issue

By SUSAN GREEN

At the March convention of the United Auto Workers-CIO, President Walter Reuther was asked at a press conference whether he considered an independent Labor Party in the cards. Reuther answered: "Not in the immediate future." LABOR ACTION commented: "Just what is he waiting for?"

When on May 27 in Detroit Reuther announced a proposal, presumably backed by top leaders of the UAW-CIO, for a national united labor conference of all unions—AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods—to take measures against the vicious, fascist attack on labor by the Congress and the President of the United States, there was reason to hope that perhaps this is what Reuther was waiting for. Perhaps now such a conference would actually be called and the question squarely posed to utilize labor's economic and political power in an independent class party.

Since May 27 the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO met in Cleveland. The principal resolution passed by the board on the political crisis in which labor finds itself is a glaring example of craven labor leaders ducking their responsibility to the class they supposedly lead and clinging frantically to the coattails of capitalist politicians. The announcement of May 27 appears to have been a phony.

### PROGRAM FOR INACTION

No militant call for a nation-wide conference of all labor came from the heads of the largest and most

militant union in the country. As a miserable substitute the IEB resolution contained these clauses:

"We call upon our local unions to join together in their own communities with AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods local groups to protest against the President's proposals and all anti-labor legislation.

"We call upon all organized labor to join together nationally in a united protest against such legislation." That is all!

Congress is moving to take away labor's right to strike. The President wants to clamp military controls approaching totalitarianism on the workers. And all that labor's leadership proposes is that the local unions and all organized labor meet to "protest against." That, Messrs. Reuther, Thomas, Leonard, Addes, et al., is not positive action—and positive action is what the present political crisis demands.

Instead of going forward to an independent Labor Party, severing the chains that bind the workers and the mass of common people to the parties of the capitalist class, the resolution adopted by the IEB of the UAW-CIO looks back nostalgically to what? "To the program and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt!" Says the resolution: "When Harry S. Truman took the oath of office as President of the United States he pledged that his administration would carry out the program and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has violated that pledge." And again: "The President is directly responsible for many of these betrayals of Franklin

Roosevelt's policies." And more to the same effect.

What misleading nonsense about the "program and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt!" What program? What policies? Did not FDR himself bury the New Deal, such as it was, in an interview with Dilworth Lupton, columnist of the Cleveland Press, at the end of 1943? Did not FDR himself call in "Dr. Win the War"—Dr. New Deal having served the purposes of American capitalism? And was it not FDR who started the firing of New Dealers, bouncing Leon Henderson off the OPA and Henry Wallace off the Board of Economic Warfare, as well as off the Democratic Party ticket—all as concessions to the reactionaries?

Not that LABOR ACTION or the Workers Party ever put any stock in New Dealism as anything but a capitalist maneuver to keep the working class in tow at a time of crisis, but the labor misleaders did—and do! The rank and file should know the score.

### FDR'S STRIKE-BREAKING

Furthermore, just how did Truman "betray" Roosevelt's policy on the labor draft? In FDR's statement to Congress on June 25, 1943, he said:

"I recommend that the Selective Service Act be amended so that persons may be inducted into non-combat military service up to the age of 65 years. This will enable us to induct into military service all persons who engage in strikes or stoppages or other interruptions of work in plants in the possession of the United States."

Is this not the essence of the Truman strike-breaking totalitarian proposal? And don't think that FDR gave up easily his attempt to regiment labor. For again in his message to Congress in January, 1944, he urged:

"A national service law, which, for the duration of the war will prevent strikes and, with certain appropriate exceptions, will make available for war production or for any other essential service every able-bodied adult in the nation."

It is not Truman who is betraying Roosevelt. On the contrary, the former only applies in the peacetime crisis of capitalism the same anti-labor policy that the latter sought to establish in time of war.

The betrayal is by the labor leaders of their rank and file!

### HAVE THEY FORGOTTEN?

It cannot be that these leaders have forgotten how all of them—CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods—protested against FDR and condemned his attempt to put labor into the strait-jacket of militarism. And it cannot be that the top labor leadership has forgotten a most humiliating interview at the White House in January, 1944, where Philip Murray tried to dissuade President Roosevelt from his draft-labor proposal, as "quack medicine." Victor Riesel, labor editor of the New York Post, reported the President's arrogant defiance of Murray, Green and the other leaders present, and his reiterated determination

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# LABOR ACTION

JUNE 17, 1946

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

# MARITIME LABOR DEFIES STRIKEBREAKER TRUMAN!

WORKERS PARTY ADVOCATES

## A Fighting Program for Maritime

1. For a Maritime Joint Action Strategy Committee consisting of CIO and AFL waterfront and maritime workers to coordinate the efforts of all the workers in the industry.
2. No retreat and no compromise in negotiations with ship operators and government until the just demands of the maritime workers are granted:
  - Four-watch system, 40-hour week at sea and in port.
  - Thirty per cent cash increase in basic wages.
  - Increases in overtime rates.
  - Six-hour working day for long-shoremen and warehousemen.
3. Extend the GI Bill of Rights to seamen who shipped during the war.
4. Full unemployment benefits for seamen.
5. Drive the shipowner - government scab agencies (Coast Guard, WSA, Maritime Commission) out of the industry.
6. Take the ships out of the hands of the profiteers. Nationalize maritime industry under control of seamen's committees elected by the men who sail the ships.
7. For defense and extension of equal shipping rights to all regardless of race, creed or color. Prevent shipowners from breaking union solidarity with race prejudice!
8. For a call issued to all workers in the United States for material and physical support of the waterfront picket lines.
9. For a call issued to all waterfront workers in Europe, South America, Asia and Africa to demonstrate their solidarity with the U. S. strikers by refusing to handle any cargo reaching their ports after the strike has been called.

## Forward to Victory!

The biggest question of the week in the labor movement is whether the 200,000 maritime workers, mostly CIO, will be forced into a showdown fight on June 15 with Strikebreaker-President Truman. The latter, in fine strikebreaking fettle after his scabby, double-crossing role in the railroad strike, is threatening the maritime unions with the use of the Army, the Navy and the Coast Guard.

While President Truman prepares for the biggest strike-breaking action in U. S. history in behalf of the profit-logged ship operators, a unity and solidarity is being slowly forged among the unions. The Committee for Maritime Unity has on its side the solidarity of the working class of the world, which

## AFL Seamen Prepare for Job Actions

By JOE NOSTER

With shouts of "Strike! Strike!" 5,000 militant AFL seamen, at a stop-work meeting on June 6 defied the shipowners and their governmental agents. A series of meetings along the entire East, West and Gulf coasts adopted several resolutions which made clear the determination of the AFL seamen to join their CIO brothers in the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours and to eliminate boss-government intervention in the negotiations of the unions and the ship owners.

In New York the assembled seamen cheered a statement by New York Agent Paul Hall that any attempt by President Truman to break the imminent NMU strike by means of Navy, Coast Guard and WSA personnel would be regarded by the SIU-SUP as a lockout against the entire industry. Member after member took the floor to explain the necessity of constant job actions until their demands are granted. As one old-timer expressed it at the meeting, "Every time we hit the deck, we should hit the dock."

The basic demands of the AFL seamen include: a six-hour working day at sea and in port for all ratings; a 30 per cent cash increase in wages; an increase in overtime rates ranging from 48 cents to \$1.20 per hour; amendments to and clarification of working rules.

At present seamen receive an average wage of \$150 per month for a 56-hour week at sea and a 44-hour week in port. No overtime pay is given to those who work the 56-hour week at sea. This includes the majority of seamen. The present overtime rate is 90 cents per hour for all ratings.

### PLEDGE ACTION

The decision to hold stop-work meetings was brought about by the refusal of the shipowners to meet the union negotiating committee since the contracts expired in October, 1945. The meeting in New York went on record in favor of the following resolutions:

1. To condemn strongly the attempt of the Washington politicians for their intervention into what should have been normal contractual and negotiation procedure between the operators and the union.
2. To condemn Secretary of Labor Schweilenbach for depriving AFL seamen of their collective bargaining rights under the Wagner Labor Act, by refusing to allow them to negotiate directly with their contracted operators.
3. To oppose any attempt to foist

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already ranges from two AFL maritime unions in the U. S. which have pledged not to cross the picket lines, to New Zealand waterfront workers and maritime unions of other countries.

The government's role in this strike, as in the railroad strike, as in its current mania for anti-labor laws, is not surprising. It is continuing in peacetime its wartime benevolence toward the corporations. During the war it guaranteed profits to the ship operators to the tune of 21 billion dollars. Now, to maintain in peacetime those super-profits gotten through the sweat and lives of the merchant marine, it assists the corporations by its strike-breaking offer.

### RANKS WANT STRIKE

If this strike occurs, it will not be because the Stalinist leadership of these unions, represented by Joseph Curran and Harry Bridges, is ready for a showdown fight with the ship operators and the government strike-breaking machinery which is expected to go into motion the minute the strike starts. Curran of the National Maritime Union has already tried to get the ranks to accept a paltry \$12.50 a month increase. But he had to retreat before the mass indignation of thousands of seamen who held meetings on the East, West and Gulf ports. But the ranks rebelled. As late as Monday, June 10, thousands of CIO seamen jammed Manhattan Center in New York to shout "Strike! Strike!" in answer to the shipowners' niggardly concessions.

American seamen are determined to lift themselves to the level of the rest of militant American labor. Their principal demand is for a forty-hour week instead of the present 56 and 63 hours. The ship owners are resisting this major demand with everything in their power, including government-given strikebreakers.

The seamen of the AFL, the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union are echoing the "Strike!" shouts of the CIO. Leaders of the SIU have been authorized by their membership to take a strike vote. The unions have gone on record against the crossing of any picket lines. AFL and CIO longshoremen and teamsters are also involved. All the waterfronts, the entire coastline of the U. S., face a complete shutdown.

### A NOTE OF WARNING

A note of warning must be sounded. The leaders of both CIO and AFL maritime and waterfront unions have made militant speeches at their respective union meetings and issued radical statements to the big business press in this situation. In so doing they expressed the sentiments of the

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## Why SWP Minority Joined Workers Party!

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

OSCAR SHOENFELD, One of the Eighteen Defendants in the Minneapolis Frame-Ups

FOR THE WORKERS PARTY:

MAX SHACHTMAN, National Chairman

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Hear ALBERT GOLDMAN

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# UNITY!

- THE STRUGGLE FOR A UNIFIED TROTSKYIST PARTY
- OPPOSITION OF THE CANNON REGIME TO UNITY

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

United Action Is Only Way to Beat the Ship Owners

By CHISPA
SAN PEDRO, June 8 - The word unity, used and misused more than any other by the leadership of the CIO maritime unions in the past few months, begins to take on real meaning in these last few days before the scheduled maritime strike.

The inability of the shipowners to cope with the problems confronting them in the maritime industry is illustrated once more by Truman's pledge to break the strike with soldiers and sailors forced to act as scabs. Just prior to the first world war, in spite of protective tariffs and other government assistance, Congress was forced to appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars to replace America's obsolete merchant marine.

During and after that war many more hundreds of millions were poured into the bottomless pockets of shipowners and builders. In spite of the numerous scandals surrounding the financial manipulations of those years, no action was taken against these swindlers. The Shipping Board, a federal agency similar to the Maritime Commission, assisted the shipowners in smashing the maritime unions in the great post-war strikes of 1919-1921. After breaking the maritime unions, the federal government poured other millions in shipping subsidies into the outstretched hands of the shipowners so the American Merchant Marine could maintain its high place in world trade. Not only did the millions disappear without a trace but the merchant marine slipped from a first to fifth rate fleet.

EFFECTS OF '34 STRIKE

The only break in the continuing government approved plunder of public funds came in 1934. West Coast longshoremen who had begun to organize in 1933 called a strike in 1934 and were immediately followed by the sailors, firemen, and other maritime workers. The '34 strike culminated in

a general strike in San Francisco and was settled as a complete victory for the longshoremen and a partial victory for the sailors.

What the seamen hadn't won in a contract in the '34 strike, they won by "job action," as the hundreds of quickie strikes during '35-'36 were called. The highest development of '34 was the birth of The Maritime Federation of the Pacific, an organization of shoreside and deepsea maritime workers. The Federation fell apart in 1938 as a result of bitter competition between Harry Lundeberg and Harry Bridges over domination of the Federation.

There was some intervention by the federal government in the '34 strike but it wasn't until just prior to the '36-'37 lockout that Congress got down to the business of overhauling the government's merchant marine program, in anticipation of World War II.

Not only were American shipowners unable to operate their "free enterprise" without financial assistance from their government, but even with that assistance they had plundered and mismanaged the maritime industry into virtual bankruptcy. The Merchant Marine Act of 1936, with an eye toward the approach of World War II, set up the Maritime Commission, an agency with a twofold purpose.

First, it was to build an adequate fleet of modern merchant ships to fulfill expected supply needs of the armistice to be mobilized for the coming war. The second task of the Maritime Commission was to mobilize a force of "disciplined, responsible" merchant seamen, men whose training would be supervised by the Navy and who in time of war would be incorporated into the Navy. This latter task could be achieved only by the emasculation of the maritime unions, by obliterating all gains

made in the great struggles of '34 and '36-'37. The move was recognized for what it was by most of the unions and was fought vigorously and with partial success. Repeated attempts to establish government training schools and hiring halls for seamen were repulsed by the unions up until the war.

Those maritime unions controlled by the Stalinists, particularly the NMU, pursued a contradictory policy of acceptance and resistance to government intervention according to foreign policy changes of the Soviet Union. In spite of the confusion created by this oscillation, it wasn't until the war that the government stepped into the personnel picture with a firm tread. In spite of the vast scale of government control during the war, the unions have remained intact. In spite of the weakening influence of continued division of maritime workers into the SIU-SUP camp headed by Harry Lundeberg and ILWU-NMU camp led by Harry Bridges and Joe Curran, the mari-

time unions are still a force of great vitality and vigor.

Truman's pledge to the shipowners to break the coming strike is one more bid by the government to carry out its program of regimentation and government control of seamen.

NEED FOR UNITY

This brings us back to the question of unity. If the strike occurs—and this will not be definite until June 15—two possible factors will be of particular importance in determining the outcome. The first is the question of participation by the AFL seamen led by Harry Lundeberg. His prestige will be undermined if the CIO unions he has accused of bluffing hit the bricks. The inner pressure of the SIU-SUP rank and file for joint action against the shipowners has reached the bursting point. Neither the sailors nor the longshoremen have forgotten that the only thing that made the magnificent strikes of '34 and '36-'37 successful was joint action against the shipowners.

However, even a fighting united front against the shipowners will not be enough this time. The second factor is of even greater importance. If the armed forces are employed as strikebreakers, maritime workers will have to call upon the workers in every port in the country to support them with the greatest weapon in the hands of labor. They will have to call for a general strike to defend not only themselves but all of organized labor from eventual annihilation. If troops are used with success

in this coming strike it will only be a matter of time until all strikes will be similarly smashed.

MARITIME WORKERS AFL, CIO AND INDEPENDENT MUST PRESENT A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE UNITED SHIPOWNERS!

IF TROOPS ARE USED TO SMASH THE STRIKE, ALL ORGANIZED LABOR MUST BE AROUSED AND MOBILIZED BEHIND THE MARITIME WORKERS IN A GENERAL STRIKE!

A Boss's Dictionary

Humanitarian:



AFL Seaman for Job Action - -

(Continued from page 1)
on the SIU-SUP any of the decisions of the shipowner-CMU-Washington run-around negotiations being held in the Capital.

4. To demand that a date be set immediately for direct negotiations between the SIU-SUP and their contracted operators, and in the meanwhile to hold a nation-wide strike vote of the membership.

5. To send the following telegram to President Truman:

"The members of the Seafarers International Union and the SUP assembled in general meeting wish to inform you that we have gone on record to the effect that we will regard any attempt to utilize the Navy, Coast Guard or WSA personnel to man ships under union contract as an attempt to undermine and destroy the hard-won union conditions in the Merchant Marine.

"We wish to inform you that we will in no way cooperate with such personnel in the movements of American vessels and that we will regard and treat such personnel for what they are, that is, strike-breakers."

6. To go on record as intending to hold work-stoppage meetings as often as is necessary to enforce settlement of their demands.

7. The meeting also adopted a resolution stating that the record of the Communist Party and the Communist dominated unions is one of betrayal. The resolution declared, "They (the Communist Party) have demonstrated time after time that the economic interests of workers involved in a life and death struggle with the employers are secondary to the political interests of the Party.

"There is no common ground between the Communists and the SIU... The Seafarers unequivocally state that Communist participation in any union activities spells defeat of that union and warns all seamen to be on guard and maintain constant vigilance against any Communist infiltration."

LUNDEBERG ON THIN ICE

The leadership, however, of the SIU failed to discriminate between

the Stalinist NMU leadership and its rank and file. In failing to do this they created an atmosphere of distrust and disunity between the AFL and CIO seamen. At a time when unity of all merchant seamen is essential in the struggle to gain their demands this does not help the workers of the industry. The lack of clear-sighted and constructive thinking on the part of the SIU-SUP leadership may well prove to be the reef upon which the seamen's present struggle may founder.

On June 9, Harry Lundeberg, president of the SIU-SUP issued a statement to the press in which he said that he would not support any "political strike" and that he regarded the present Washington negotiations as "a three-ringed political circus."

While Lundeberg's condemnation of the intervention of Washington's boss representatives into the negotiations will be greeted by all seamen, his attitude of no support of the strike can result in a desertion of the struggle of the seamen and may end in leaving the rank and file of the NMU holding the bag. This will render more secure the position of the ship owners in undermining the unions' fight. He has also given the ship owners another weapon by calling off the strike vote in the SUP. However, the strike vote of the SIU, according to present reports, will be held as scheduled.

Lundeberg's attempt to characterize the NMU struggle for its demands as leading to a political strike is in contradiction to the statement of the SIU leadership that they would recognize NMU picket lines and join them if the government attempts to man the ships. In other words, despite justified distrust of the Stalinist NMU leadership, the basic economic demands of the NMU rank and file must be recognized and supported.

Clearly the NMU seamen want was what demonstrated when they rejected the paltry sell-out settlement that their leadership attempted to impose upon them. To Curran's demand that they settle for a \$12.50 per month increase, the rank and file replied with a resolution to go ahead with the strike until their full demands are granted.

While suspicion toward the "political" strikes pulled by the Stalinists in support of Kremlin power politics is absolutely justified, it is necessary to distinguish between such strikes and those conducted for legitimate workers' demands.

LABOR POLITICS NEEDED

However, it must be recognized that every strike called by seamen today must have a political content. In each of their struggles the seamen come face to face with the government as the agency of the ship owners. In the present situation Truman has announced his intention to break ANY seamen's strike. In the recent period he has led the drive to undermine and destroy the trade union movement. Labor must demonstrate its militancy not only on the economic front but also on the political front if it is to prevent boss politicians from passing union-busting legislation and calling out the Army and Navy to break the back of organized labor.

The best way of combating the use of these fascist tactics to destroy the organized labor movement is to accompany action on the economic front with the building of the workers' own party on the political front. American working men cannot depend upon the politicians of the two boss parties to defend their interests. The need of the hour for organized labor is the building of a national Labor Party independent of the ship owners and boss class.

WHY WE NEED A LABOR PARTY

"God only knows where we are going in the next election. ... Good God, what if we had to go out tomorrow and choose between Truman and Taff?"—R. J. Thomas at a special meeting of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council protesting the Case and Truman labor legislation. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 6.)



Fund Drive Is Now 98% Completed

By NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer, Workers Party

The \$15,000 Fund Drive nears its completion. One week remains for seven branches to fulfill their quotas and put the drive over the top. To date a total of \$14,786.66 has been raised. The next week must net us \$215 to make the drive 100 per cent successful. As the drive nears completion, the LABOR ACTION editorial staff and business department are busily gearing for the publication of the eight-page LABOR ACTION. Every branch must give the editors and the business department full support by not relaxing for a minute their efforts to go over the top on their quotas.

Louisville and San Pedro joined the 100 per cent centers this week. That makes 13 branches which have fulfilled their quotas. Ten of these have over-subscribed their quotas. The National Office and Akron each have to make a slight push to put them over. Detroit, Reading, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and St. Louis are still holding us up. How about a little action from these branches? Next week tells the story. Let it be good. Let's record every branch at 100 per cent by June 15! Then we start digging in to provide the eight-pager with a wider audience. \$15,000 by June 15!

Table with 5 columns: No. Branch, Quota, This Week, Total, Per Cent. Lists 21 branches and their progress towards the \$15,000 goal.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EIGHT-PAGE PAPER!

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

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Maritime Labor - -

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rank and file. But, unfortunately, the leaders of both maritime organizations do not have the best interests of the workers at heart. The first loyalty of Bridges and Curran is to the Kremlin and its agency in this country, the Communist Party. If Russian foreign policy dictates waterfront peace in the U. S., so it shall be, provided Bridges-Curran can put this over on the ranks.

The experience of the war years is still fresh. How can the ship and waterfront workers forget the flaky policies of the Stalinist Bridges-Curran machine: Curran's support of the bonus cut for seamen; his support of the Coast Guard control of maritime; his support of the Maritime Commission's scab training schools and flak hiring halls; his support of the no-strike pledge and opposition to all job action by seamen after Russia entered the war on the side of the Allies?

Similar and even more notorious were the policies of Harry Bridges. Remember how he prepared his longshoremen for the inevitable post-war struggle against the industrial ruling class by offering the Waterfront Employers Association a POST-WAR NO-STRIKE PLEDGE! The ranks of the ILWU and NMU must be on their guard and see to it that their negotiating committees do not retreat from legitimate union demands.

The seamen of the AFL must not permit a retreat from the stand of their leadership last week when they declared that if the government attempted to man any struck ship on June 15 with civilian or military scabs, they would call that an industry-wide lockout and strike every AFL ship on the Gulf, East and West Coasts. That is real solidarity. Differences between AFL ranks and the leadership of the NMU must be subordinated to such solidarity. It must also be remembered that the NMU rank and file overrode the Curran leadership on its shameful settlement proposals only two weeks ago. Both AFL and NMU are faced with a common enemy, the ship owners and their government stooges.

This government, presumed to be "by, for and of the people" is mobilizing all its military strength to shoot down, if necessary, any "troublemaker" who has the nerve to fight for a 40-hour week and a slight increase in pay to meet the runaway cost of living. It is high time the maritime workers, with the rest of organized labor, stopped voting for the strikebreakers of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. They represent nobody but big business. Labor must build its own political party, a labor party, based on its own unions and independent of boss parties and boss politics. This party must aim for a workers government and demand that the shipping industry be taken out of the greedy, incompetent hands of the shipowners. While the present government owns 80 per cent of this industry, it follows the practice of leasing the ships to

private operators and guaranteeing them a handsome profit. The fact that the government already owns most of shipping testifies to the complete bankruptcy of the capitalists in this field. Starting with such a preponderance of government ownership, nationalization of the maritime industry is simple.

But this nationalization must be supplemented with control by committees of seamen and waterfront workers elected by the men who load and sail the ships. This is the genuine way to get rid of strikebreaking and profiteering!

Labor Party Issue - -

(Continued from page 1)

to sign any bill that would restrict labor.

These policies of FDR were well known to the labor officialdom when they supported Roosevelt in the 1944 election and went along with his support of Truman for Vice-President, a choice made to placate the reactionaries. The CIO squandered the money and energies of the PAC to get out the vote for this team of capitalist politicians. Now Truman is following the reactionary path already indicated by Roosevelt!

The labor bureaucrats look back to a Roosevelt paradise that never existed because they refuse to look forward. Events cry out the direction labor has to take. It has to break with capitalist politics. The PAC, with its human and material resources, has to be transformed from a tool of the capitalist parties and used as the foundation for an independent Labor Party. This is what the present crisis demands if labor is to save itself.

DUBINSKY'S CALL

Almost at the same time that Reuther and his colleagues were meeting in Cleveland, another labor leader, David Dubinsky, president of the International Garment Workers Union, AFL, spoke for what he called a "National Labor Party" at the convention of the United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers in New York. He denounced the labor "statesmen" whose "main object is to bore from within in the existing parties."

"Have these statesmen prepared an independent labor political movement in this country so they could send their own people to Congress?" asked Dubinsky. "No! On the contrary, they have always been against a third party. They have told the reactionaries in advance: 'Don't be scared; we have nowhere else to go; we will have to vote for you anyhow.'"

That sounds like something, doesn't it? At least it indicates that Dubinsky sees the handwriting on the wall, and feels the still unexpressed desire of the rank and file for something more than "protests against." However, Dubinsky has a record. He is leader of the Liberal Party in New York. This Liberal Party, under Dubinsky, has played capitalist politics

without hindrance from him. In 1944 it went all out for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

This year Dubinsky and the Liberal Party have indicated their support for Senator Mead, Democratic Party man, if he receives the nomination for Governor of New York. The Dubinskys may consider such politicians "their own people," but will the workers and the masses of common people? What Dubinsky wants is merely a third CAPITALIST party. What the workers must have is an independent labor party, a class party, based on the unions and other mass organizations, cut free from all capitalist parties and politicians. What more proof is needed than the present attempts of capitalist parties and politicians to take away labor's right to strike and to make involuntary servitude the law of the land!

Walter Reuther may be waiting for something else. But will the rank and file wait for Reuther!

Columbia Trial

(Continued from page 1)

performing the same jobs as white workers receive 30 to 50 per cent less in wages. This pay discrimination deliberately practiced by employers is used to divide the working class into two hostile groups. The Negroes, if they are unwilling to take the lower rate, are faced with having to return to even lower paying household jobs. The whites are threatened, if they demand higher wages or better conditions, with loss of their job to Negroes who will accept much less. The white and Negro worker become so intent on fighting each other that they fail to unite to fight the common enemy, the exploiter of both, the boss.

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party call upon all workers to rally to the defense of the 31—to contribute financially, to join the protest.

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A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the

Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.  
CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

Vol. 10, No. 24

June 17, 1946

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Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx)  
Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.  
Under the Act of March 3, 1874

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IN THE RECONVERSION AND POST-WAR PERIOD**

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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!

**WORLD POLITICS**

**The Paris Peace Congress**

By IRVING HOWE

All of the smoldering conflicts between America and Britain on the one hand and Russia on the other will reach a head at the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Paris on June 15. There is a general feeling in diplomatic circles of America and Britain, a feeling which readily finds its way into the press, that a failure to reach agreement on the reorganization of Europe at this conference will make impossible the construction of a peace treaty and will indefinitely perpetuate the present stalemate of disorganization and confusion.

The crisis is chronic; it is deep; and no rhetorical flourishes can ease its severity. For what is at stake is nothing less than the question: who will control Europe, Anglo-American capitalism or Stalinist Russia? Concretely, at the present moment that means: who will control Germany which, despite its partial destruction by bombing, remains the industrial heart of Europe; and who will control the strategic port of Trieste?

When the question is posed this way, as one involving basic imperialist conflict, it can be seen how vacuous and infantile has been 99 per cent of the comment in the daily press on the stalemate among the "Big Three." That Molotov is an obtuse underhand parrotting the instructions of the Stalin dictatorship; that Byrnes is a cracker politician of (to put it delicately) limited vision; that Bevin is an obstinate bureaucrat distinguishable from his Tory predecessor only by his lack of manners—this is of tenth-rate significance. The superficial foreign correspondents seize upon the admittedly none too admirable personalities of the negotiators as an explanation for the diplomatic deadlock, because they are unable to understand the basic issues.

**THE STRUGGLE TO CONTROL TRIESTE**

Take, for instance, the matter of Trieste, the important port which lies between Italy and Yugoslavia. It has been a bone of contention between the Italian and Slavic imperialists for many decades; its conglomerate population, predominantly Italian, has recently been subjugated to a virtual civil war, in which British troops have buttressed the otherwise weak Italian government. The Stalinist-supported Tito dictatorship of Yugoslavia has kept troops mobilized on the border to contribute its share to the war of nerves.

For the disposition of Trieste is of first importance in the determination of the political character of Europe. Trieste is a terminal port for central Europe. Whoever controls it, also controls the Adriatic sea. That means that if Tito got Trieste, Russia would in effect have acquired control of the Adriatic and would have gone a long way to closing the vast pincer movement, flanked on the left by its infiltration of Iran and its designs on Turkey and on the right by its penetration to the Adriatic, which with it has been menacing British domination of the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean. (Russia's insistence that the Italian navy be obliterated acquires additional significance in light of this situation; the absence of an Italian navy would make basic domination of the Adriatic.) This, then, is a vast imperialist squeeze play by the Russians and against which the British are fighting desperately.

Trieste, one of those pivotal port cities which, like Danzig, seems to bear the tragic destiny of becoming the focalpoint around which the drift to imperialist war is centered—this city will itself play no role in determining its future. It would seem obvious that if the disposition of a city or area is in dispute that the people in that city be allowed themselves to determine their destiny by plebiscite. But the victors of the Second World War, whatever their differences, are agreed that the determination of the future of Trieste and other disputed places must be made in secret conference by diplomatic fencing and military threats. The talk about "democracy" and "self-determination" was useful during the war when it was necessary to lead men to death; but surely now, when the booty is being divided and idealistic rhetoric is at an end, no one can seriously expect that the people of Trieste will be allowed to determine their own destiny!

**TRIESTE AND THE EUROPEAN TRAGEDY**

The tragedy of Europe is concentrated in this city. Constant guerrilla warfare cripples Trieste. The British administration is inept and bureaucratic. It is probable that a plebiscite in Trieste itself would result in a majority for the Italians; the forty day reign of Tito's terror last May and June left a bitter taste in the mouths of many of Trieste's people. But that is of secondary importance. What is important is that the workers of Trieste are being demoralized by nationalist propaganda from both sides, that they are being subjected to a nationalist tug of war.

The Stalinist Party of Trieste is in a most uncomfortable position. It has to decide between the position of its Yugoslavian sister party, which is heatedly in favor of annexation to Yugoslavia, and the position of the Italian Stalinists who urge annexation to Italy. (This is the Stalinist version of internationalism!) The Trieste Stalinist movement, despite internal dissensions, has officially come out for annexation to Yugoslavia, a decision which rapidly followed the official Russian declaration in favor of the same position—and which earned the Trieste Stalinists the embarrassed condemnation of the leader of Italian Stalinism, Togliatti.

In the meantime, the functioning of the port is in a state of virtual paralysis. The Italian and Yugoslavian governments subsidize demonstrations—men will shout almost anything if they are hungry enough.

Multiply this situation indefinitely, and you have a picture of the tragic, heartbreaking situation of Europe today: a continent prostrate and victim to a ruthless and ceaseless struggle between the former victorious war partners. And the Foreign Ministers Conference meeting in Paris this week will see this issue of Trieste, and the other similar issues, brought to a climactic discussion. The imperialist powers will make a perhaps final attempt to reach some working agreement, but whatever that agreement or non-agreement may be we can say in advance: the domination of Europe by either Russian Stalinism or Anglo-American imperialism or both will result in the further disintegration of the continent. That is why the first duty of the revolutionary movement in Europe must be to take the lead in the struggle to drive out ALL armies of occupation from their borders so that the workers of Europe can begin once again painfully and slowly to reassert their needs.

**Background  
Of Those Who  
Joined WP**

Last week's LABOR ACTION reported the entry of the SWP Minority into the Workers Party. We print below the revolutionary record of some of these comrades.

**ALBERT GOLDMAN**

Albert Goldman, as a very young militant in the IWW, in Chicago, became one of the earliest founders and militants in the Communist Party. As a young Communist he distinguished himself by the first polemic written in this country in defense of revolutionary Marxism and the Bolshevik revolution, as embodied in the principles of the early Communist International, when he published a pamphlet in reply to an attack on Bolshevism written by the then leader of the American Socialist Party, Morris Hillquit.

In the same period, due to his militant activity in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Chicago, he was framed by the right wing bureaucrats and expelled from the union. It is interesting to note that many years later, when he broke from the Communist Party to join the Trotskyist movement, the Stalinist leaders used the frame-up charges of the right wing bureaucrats against comrade Goldman, although more than ten years before then the Central Committee of the Communist Party had officially cleared him of the falsified charges.

Active for years in the Communist movement as one of its most prominent leaders in the Midwest, comrade Goldman was especially known for his brilliant and tireless work in labor defense cases, having become the most prominent legal representative of the International Labor Defense.

After the climactic bankruptcy of the Stalinist movement in Germany in 1932-1933, which led to the unresisted seizure of power by Hitler, comrade Goldman and comrade Bennett broke away from the Communist Party and joined the Trotskyist movement, then organized in the Communist League of America. When the left wing movement began to gain strength and significance in the Socialist Party, between 1934 and 1936, comrade Goldman joined the Socialist Party and became the outstanding spokesman of its Marxist wing. When the right wingers succeeded in 1937 in expelling the left wing from the Socialist Party, comrade Goldman became one of the principal founders of the new Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party, and a member of its National Committee. Active in every phase of work of the party, he achieved international prominence in the capacity of attorney for Leon Trotsky during the hearings conducted at Mexico City by the International Commission of Inquiry, headed by John Dewey.

As one of the outstanding defendants in the case, he also conducted the magnificent defense of the 18 Trotskyist militants tried in Minneapolis. He served a term of 18 months in the Federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minnesota. Upon his release he became the active leader of the minority group in the Socialist Workers Party, fighting against the bureaucratic regime which the leadership had established in the party. He was the first to champion the idea of unification between the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party and conducted an unremitting struggle to have the party leadership decide in favor of unity.

At the recent meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, at which the Cannonite leadership made amply clear that it had succeeded in preventing the unification, and was determined to prevent it in the future, comrade Goldman announced that he was leaving the Socialist Workers Party and joining the Workers Party which stood for unity and for the principles of revolutionary Marxism and the Fourth International.

**LYDIA BENNETT**

Began activity in the Socialist movement at age of six as pupil and later teacher and member of Central Committee of Social-Democratic Sunday Schools of Chicago. Joined Young Peoples Socialist League just prior to the split in the Social-Democratic movement precipitated by the Russian Revolution and took a leftward course through the Independent YPSL, the Young Communist League (underground) and the Young Workers League (legal youth organization of the communist movement).

In 1921 became secretary and organizer of branch of the Workers (Communist) Party—subsequently the Communist Party—and served uninterruptedly as branch and section activist and functionary for twelve years. Was expelled from the Communist Party in 1933 for Trotskyism and became a member of the Communist League of America. Entered the Socialist Party in 1935. Was active in the organization of the Socialist Workers Party, becoming a member of the National Committee in 1942.

During the course of activity, functioned as organizer and secretary of Chicago locals of the International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief and Friends of the Soviet Union as well as of party units. In 1931 was secretary of FSU workers' delegation to the May Day celebrations in the Soviet Union.

In the period of the great depression and its accompanying police repression against radical organizations, served time (or was "detained") in 21 jails and prisons in four cities in two states for organization and agitation among unemployed as member of CP Unemployed Councils.

Acted consistently and uninterruptedly as organizer, teacher and speaker throughout her party history until the blighting attitude of the majority of the SWP toward minority opinion in its party made activity impossible.

**FRANK JOHNSON:** Member of Communist League of America, worker in heavy industry, trade union activist and organizer.

**DELLA JOHNSON:** Member of Social-Democratic movement in pre-revolutionary Russia, member of Young Communist League in the U. S., member of Communist League of America.

**JACK RANGER:** Joined Trotskyist movement in 1933 in Minneapolis. Defendant in Minneapolis case.

**AL RUSSELL:** Joined Trotskyist movement in 1932. Organizer of truck drivers in Omaha. Served jail term in Minneapolis for leading strike action, Minneapolis case defendant.

**DAN LEEDS, BERNIE FORREST, SARAH LEEDS, MARIAN HILLYER:** All members of Spartacus Youth, the youth section of the Trotskyist movement formed in 1932. **KARL HILLYER,** member of SWP since organization and formerly member of YPSL.

**Editorials**

**The CP and British Labor Party**

By the time this issue of LABOR ACTION appears, the British Labor Party will have made its decision on the request of the Communist Party of Great Britain to affiliate to it. All indications are that the request will be turned down overwhelmingly. The impelling reason why the British Stalinists have again requested the right to affiliate to the Labor Party has nothing whatever to do with the formal reason given to unify the British working class. Actually the demand for affiliation is only another expression of the Stalinist "unity" drives in Eastern Europe, Germany, Italy and France. What Stalinism seeks is nothing less than the complete control of the working class movement in order to head off its growing militancy and to subordinate it to the interests of the Kremlin.

In Great Britain, where the CP remains a small and relatively insignificant movement, affiliation to the Labor Party would add to the power of Stalinism and increase its ability and opportunity to corrode the working class with its politics. It would enable the British CP to carry out more readily the dictates of Russian foreign policy and provide it with an avenue to reach areas of state power now barred to it by its relative weakness. In addition it would help to break its present isolation from the mass movement of the British working class.

The opposition of the British Labor Party officialdom is based on two reasons which are contradictory and reactionary. The first reason given is that the British CP is an agent of Moscow carrying out the imperialist interests of Russia. This only emphasizes the fact that the Labor Party Government and officialdom are themselves the agents of British imperialism and defend the reactionary interests of the British ruling class

against the reactionary interests of the Russian ruling class.

The second reason given is that the British CP is a militant organization. The implications are that its activities in behalf of the working class are really socialist and embarrass the Labor Party leadership. Yet this view is completely erroneous because a truly socialist party would be internationalized and could not possibly serve the national interests of another ruling class.

The Stalinist parties are anti-working class, totalitarian, counter-revolutionary organizations. They carry out a changing line that veers from class struggle policies to the most reactionary class collaborationist policies—depending on the momentary interests of the Russian bureaucracy.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to carry on a never-ending struggle against Stalinism no matter where it exists, to do everything in their power to weaken Stalinism and to destroy its hold on large sections of the working class who mistakenly believe the Communist Parties to be socialist organizations.

The position of the British Revolutionary Communist Party, Section of the 4th International, in favor of affiliation on the grounds that the programs of the Labor Party and CP are the same and that such affiliation would help to expose the CP is a thoroughly fallacious position based on a misconception of what kind of organizations the Stalinist parties actually are. Affiliation would only add confusion in the minds of the British working class as it observed the tug-of-war between the conservative Labor Party officialdom and the CP leadership employing radical and demagogic phraseology, based upon the anti-capitalist, pro-Russian views of Stalinism. It would strengthen Stalinism rather than weaken it.

**For Complete Indian Freedom!**

It appears that the British plan for reorganizing India's government and granting a certain measure of independence (with many qualifications) to that country will be accepted and put into effect. The Moslem League has accepted the proposal, despite the plan's denial of every Moslem League demand. Gandhi has indicated acceptance on behalf of the Congress Party, and the Indian Princes, long-time stooges of British imperialism, have naturally fallen into line. No doubt the plan will begin within a few weeks, with the formation of a Congress-majority, provisional government.

This plan marks the beginning of a new relationship not only between India and the British Empire, but also within India itself. It is undoubtedly a major retreat on the part of British imperialism, the necessity of which is even admitted by the die-hard Churchill Tories whose India spokesman, Amery, has supported the proposal. Under attack from all sides, British imperialism must compromise, yield, make "deals" and reorganize the vestiges of its Empire on a new basis. American commercial rivalry, seeking to penetrate the Indian market; Russian imperialist expansion toward the India lifeline that runs through the Mediterranean—these, plus the unremitting pressure of the masses for independence, are the powerful factors that have forced a "deal" upon the British.

But the fact that now and henceforth, Britain shares power in India with the Hindu capitalists and the Moslem and Hindu landlords—this fact does not at all mean that India's long struggle for freedom is over. Far from it! It is a conditional independence, elevating not the masses of India, but only the Indian ruling class. It makes substantially little difference to an Indian peasant or worker that henceforth the native capitalists

will receive a greater portion and benefit from his, the worker's or peasant's labor. Henceforth, Indian capitalist and landlord are lined up more clearly than ever with British imperialism, against the masses of people. A new stage has been reached, a final effort is being made to settle the Indian problem on capitalist terms. But Britain will find that its retreat has only begun. The Moslem and Hindu ruling class have accepted an English arm; but the people will be satisfied with nothing less than the whole body.

**DIEGO RIVERA REAPPLIES FOR ADMISSION INTO MEXICAN CP.**

A minor event in the news, but not to go by unnoticed, is the announcement from Mexico City that Diego Rivera, famous mural painter, has reapplied for admission to the Mexican Communist Party.

Rivera completes a 100% circle that took him through the ex-Lovestone movement, the Trotskyist movement and plain, ordinary Mexican capitalist democracy. That's his privilege, but the moral issues involved are otherwise. This man claimed to be a devoted follower and personal admirer of Leon Trotsky, the man whom his comrades-to-be helped murder in the most brutal fashion. He aided Trotsky's coming to Mexico, gave him a home and assistance. Now he consorts with the assassins. Worse yet, he applied for readmission to the Mexican Stalinists together with Dave Siqueiros, former Stalinist and notoriously implicated in the murder of Robert Harte, one of Trotsky's secretaries. Evidently, the company of open GPU agents, murderers and assassins, suits the newest evolution of this unstable character.

**World Starvation Indicts  
The Whole Capitalist System**

By WILLIAM BARTON

From the urgent appeals by Messrs. Truman, Hoover and Anderson, one might get the impression that the official and semi-official Administration representatives are serious about feeding the world's hungry millions. The powers that be, almost appear to be doing everything possible to secure and send the necessary food. But this is completely and strikingly untrue.

The promise of food was an important weapon of the victorious Allied armies. Supplying necessary nutrition was planned as a persuasive method of assuring continued American dominance, under the guise of humanitarianism. But American capitalism and its politicians have failed to accomplish even this.

**SYSTEM UNDER INDICTMENT**

Guiltiest is the top man, Harry F. Truman himself. Time after time he has declared that the crisis is "worse than painted," should pass in 90 days—usually before making an emotional appeal to consumers to eat less bread. A series of "off the record" statements by the President last fall was filled with recurrent references to the lazy and stupid people throughout the world who continually require American aid.

But the issue is bigger than Truman or Hoover. It is the system that is under indictment. American capitalism could easily construct and ship the means of mass destruction that helped create the present food crisis, but can do so little to overcome it. Billions of dollars' worth of Army food surpluses lie in warehouses throughout the world waiting for the right price. An extremely significant cause for current difficulties is the lag in American wheat shipments. The deficit between assigned quotas and what has actually been sent is about 900,000 tons since January 1, the worst performance of any supplying country.

Estimates are that at least 5,000,000 more tons over previous quotas for all surplus countries must be found before July 1. In the barns of American farmers are supposed to be 5,300,000 tons. Plus the results of coming harvests, this could almost satisfy the essential basic food needs of much of the world. Some of the government proposals (reducing the amount of "carry-over" wheat held by millers, eliminating wheat for distilleries) are valuable but pitifully inadequate. The required step must be to get the farmers' surplus to those that desperately

demand it.

Why the stuff doesn't get off the farms is the fault of capitalist operations, pure and simple. Farmers find that it pays more to feed their grain to livestock which the big processors and their small black marketing compatriots buy for fancy prices. This does not mean more meat for the consumer, as every housewife knows; it means only a greater supply stocking the warehouses, known and unknown, of the food profiteers. Any solution therefore implies automatically a strict surveillance of the meat industry by popular bodies, trade unions and consumer organizations. The curbing of the black market and the elimination of super-profits for Swift, Armour, etc., is directly linked with the alleviation of famine.

What to do? Among other things, which I lack the space to discuss here, I should like to offer the following program: (1) If the facts of production prove it necessary, rationing should be instituted under the supervision of those organizations representing the majority of people. (2) Full publicity on the entire situation should be at all times readily available. (3) A constant check should be kept on the existing and

expected holdings of millers and bakers. (4) The books of the food trusts must be open to committees of workers for inspection. (5) There must be no increase in prices, using alleged food shortages as an excuse.

(6) On the international arena, the monopolistic control of the Combined Foods Board and its would-be successor, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Administration, must be ended. The task of surveying needs, allotting supplies, securing and distributing food must likewise be in the hands of trade unions, consumer groups, etc. This should be organized on an international scale in both the supplying and receiving countries.

Even the adoption of this program would insure only a partial alleviation. Technology has so far advanced that the world is more than ready to provide "plenty for all." This requires rehabilitation, reorganization, continental unification, end of the profit motive, end of threats and fears of war, end of destructive national rivalries, assurance that the benefits of production reach the people. To satisfy the most basic need of man, there is only one alternative before the world: SOCIALISM OR STARVATION.

**NEWARK FORUM**  
•  
"The Elections in France and Italy"  
Their significance in the present world situation  
•  
FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 8:30 P. M.  
LABOR ACTION HALL  
248 Market Street  
•  
Admission: 10 Cents    Auspices: Newark Br. Workers Party

**CHICAGO PICNIC**  
and  
Annual Barbecue  
Baseball, Community Singing, Campfire  
Sunday, June 30, 11 a.m.  
at  
MANNHEIM WOODS  
(Take Garfield Local to Westchester. Follow sign.)  
Auspices: Chicago Branch, Workers Party

**HARLEM READERS:**  
At our last party, YOU had a lot of fun, and WE paid our rent.  
Let's do it again on June 29!  
Watch for time and place.  
HARLEM BRANCH WORKERS PARTY

**Brooklyn Meeting—**  
HOW TO FIGHT THE HIGH COST OF LIVING  
Hear  
OSCAR SHOENFELD  
Workers Party Organizer  
Thursday, June 20, 8 p. m.  
LABOR ACTION HALL  
276 Fulton Street  
Auspices: Brooklyn Branch, Workers Party

# Workers Party Holds 4th National Convention

We publish the report of the Fourth National Convention of the Workers Party with the frank regret that space limitations make it impossible for us to present the deliberations of the convention in the detail they deserve. It would, however, be impossible to convey the full sense of the various resolutions discussed, whatever the length of the story. We should therefore like to recommend to our readers who are interested in the resolutions that they write to the Workers Party for the pre-convention bulletins in which these were published, enclosing 25 cents to cover the

cost of each bulletin. The resolutions adopted by the convention are being put into final shape for publication in pamphlet form. LABOR ACTION will announce the appearance of the pamphlet.—Ed.

The Workers Party of the United States met in Fourth National Convention this week. Delegates from Workers Party branches all over the country gathered in a spirit of enthusiasm and determination to prepare the cadres of the revolutionary socialist movement for the struggle ahead.

The convention was the first post-war gathering of the party, reuniting once again all of its forces. It marked the culmination of a three-month period of intensive preparation and inner-party discussion during which time all the members of the organization participated in the solution of the many political and organizational questions confronting the party.

Lasting five full days, the convention summed up the experience of the membership for the past few years and laid down the general lines for the coming two years. The convention's close found the delegates resolute and ready to implement the decisions of the convention, and to build the revolutionary socialist party of the working class.

The issues dealt with covered exhaustive analyses of the international scene, the slogan of an SP-CP-CGT government in France, the developing class struggle in the United States, the problem of the Labor Party, the Negro question as it relates to revolutionary program, the organizational problems of party building, veteran problems, trade union work, work among the youth, and many other questions.

The convention was marked by the presence of many active trade unionists from the main industrial cities. Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Seattle, Akron, Reading, Cleveland and New York City were among the cities represented by members rooted in the class struggle and union movement. Of special note was the participation in leading capacity of women comrades, numbering about half of the total of delegates, who carried into the convention the brilliant record they had established during the war in tirelessly executing and directing party activities.

Members and close sympathizers were constant visitors to the sessions. Opening address announced ENTRY OF SWP MINORITY. Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party, formally opened the convention on Monday. He sounded the keynote in declaring that the Workers Party had shown its political strength by its record during the war and since.

In this connection, and to the resounding applause of the delegates, Comrade Shachtman announced the decision of the SWP Minority, led by Albert Goldman, to enter the WP. The SWP Minority was joining the party, said Comrade Shachtman, because they had come to the conclusion that the WP best offered them the opportunity to build the revolutionary party in the United States, the SWP having demonstrated its insincerity on the vital issue of uniting the two Trotskyist organizations. In the WP, they will continue the fight for unity. Further, the absence of genuine democratic centralism in the Cannonite organization prevented the Minority from functioning properly. The WP, had demonstrated its ability to hold within it revolutionary tendencies of wide divergence.

Comrade Shachtman announced that the outgoing National Committee of the Party had invited the former members of the SWP to send a full delegation to the convention. The convention concurred in this action, as well as in the proposal to date the membership of the comrades who were joining the WP from the time of their original entry into the Trotskyist movement.

The convention hailed the acquisition of these comrades as a testament to the viability of the party and warmly greeted the experienced revolutionary militants who were joining the ranks and leadership of the party.

**INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTION AND SP-CP SLOGAN DEBATED**  
After the reading of the roll, the seating of the delegations, the election of the Presiding, Credentials and Resolutions Committees, the convention proceeded to the first major resolution—the "Resolution on the International Situation." On this subject, as on all decisive problems facing the convention, there were resolutions representing different points of view, presented in each case by an equal division of time for reporters and debate.

The Majority resolution, presented by Ernest Erber for the National Committee, declared that the reconstruction and growth of the revolutionary forces in Europe would depend on how well the Marxists were able to link the democratic aspirations of the masses to the struggle for socialist liberation. It pointed out that the objective situation was rotten ripe for socialism. "The task of the revolutionists, therefore," stated the Majority, "is to approach the masses on the political level to which they have

been thrust down since the First World War by the decay of capitalism and the decay of the workers' parties, and to raise them once more to the level of independent class action with an independent class (socialist) aim."

The Minority resolution, reported by J. R. Johnson, declared that the road to the winning of the masses lay in posing the question of the socialist revolution primarily in terms of soviet power for which the masses were ready and the Socialist United States of Europe as the immediate answer to today's problems.

After a lively debate, the convention rejected this point of view as being out of keeping with a living Marxist approach to class reality and socialist necessity in reconstituting the revolutionary organization of the working class and leading the masses to workers' power. In accepting the Majority resolution, the convention also accepted a number of amendments made by the delegates, rejected some, and referred still others to post-convention discussion.

Following this there was an intense debate between Max Shachtman and Emanuel Garrett, and supporters of the positions presented by each of the two reporters, over the slogan for an SP-CP-CGT (trade union federation) government in France. Speaking for the National Committee's position in favor of the slogan, Comrade Shachtman argued that the slogan would serve to put the workers into motion against the ruling class and their own misleaders of the CP and SP, and constituted the central unifying demand in the program put forward by the revolutionists in a period when the masses were intensely attentive to the problems of government. Comrade Garrett, speaking for the members who oppose the slogan, though in full agreement with the general line of the Majority as presented in the International resolution, argued that it was a contradiction of the position on Stalinism therein stated and that the slogan would serve to miseducate the workers on the nature of the CP, which could not be viewed as a working class party (as stated also in the International resolution), and that its net effect would be to enhance the influence of Stalinism.

Many important questions, particularly those relating to the nature of Stalinism, were raised in this discussion, which ended in upholding the position of the National Committee as best suited to the requirements of revolutionary strategy today. Post-convention discussion will permit the Party to clarify many aspects of this problem. It is worth noting that the comrades of the SWP Minority who joined the WP complimented the convention on the excellent quality of the discussion on this point. (The New Internationalist will shortly carry a presentation of the views pro and con.—Ed.)

**PROBLEMS FACING LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES**

The second day of the convention opened the debate on the United States—that is, the problems facing the working class in this country and the Party's proposals for their solution.

The Majority resolution, reported by Albert Gates, and overwhelmingly approved by the delegates, analyzed the coming two years as a period of sharp class struggle resulting in heightened consciousness and militancy in the working class. It hammered home the lesson that the task of the revolutionary vanguard was to translate this growing awareness into political consciousness and independent class action in the form of an independent Labor Party. The resolution further elaborated on the necessity of utilizing the revolutionary implications in the workers' own program as exemplified in the GM Program.

In opposing this viewpoint, the Minority resolution, reported on by Comrade Johnson, declared "the task

of the party in the United States is to adapt the minds of the American masses to the objective need for revolution," seeing the period ahead as one of precise preparation for the struggle for workers' power. This, it went on, can best be accomplished by encouraging the self-mobilization of the masses for revolutionary action through the creation of factory committees and similar means.

A separate discussion followed in which Albert Gates, for the National Committee, defended the party's position on the Labor Party as a central slogan of revolutionary propaganda and activity. Hal Draper presented a contrary position which held that the slogan of a Labor Party was wrong and militated against building the revolutionary party of the working class. After which, the delegates voted, upholding in large majority

the National Committee's resolutions on the general situation and perspectives in the United States, and its specific position on the Labor Party. Here too various amendments were adopted or rejected.

**PARTY PROBLEMS COME BEFORE THE CONVENTION**

On the third day the delegates devoted themselves to a serious and sober appraisal of the organizational questions facing the party.

In the discussion on veterans' problems based on an extremely elaborate study embodied in a resolution prepared by the National Committee and presented to the convention by Nathan Gould, veteran after veteran took the floor to discuss the knotty problem of veterans' retroactive seniority, and the linking of veterans work with party work. The conven-

tion adopted the position in favor of closely defined veterans' retroactive seniority, more or less as outlined in the UAW Model Contract, with special protection against the displacement of Negro or women workers. In adopting the resolution and report, the convention stressed the need for special attention to veterans' needs.

The discussion on the specific organizational tasks confronting the party brought out a wealth of interesting comment from the delegates. In this session the delegates exchanged valuable experiences with the aim of developing better methods of recruiting and integrating workers into the organization. The report, delivered by David Coolidge, stressed the increase in party work and proletarianization, and methods by which the party could meet this increase. The importance of electoral activity was underlined as a means whereby the party could bring its program directly before large masses.

All the discussion around the problem of trade union work, which began with a report by Comrade Coolidge, revealed that the party has gained invaluable experience in this most vital of all fields of work and that it had within it many able unionists with whom to move forward to a period of intensive and meaningful activity in the union movement. Members of the ship, auto, rubber, electrical and steel unions participated in this session, bringing the lessons of their experiences to bear on the problems of party work. The discussion and adoption of the report clearly emphasized that the primary orientation of the party is toward the factories and toward the unions.

A press discussion, led by Comrade Garrett, and a discussion of the party's educational work, led by Comrade Erber, followed. Both discussions, covering the party's central public and internal activity, revealed the close critical and concrete interest of the party membership in all phases of its work. The prospects for party growth indicate the need of a solidly trained party membership, educated in the principles of the party, and able to educate others. Thus the convention discussed the importance of education in the basic principles of Marxism as the specific and unique contribution of the Workers Party to the arsenal of socialist theory.

**BUILDING THE CADRE OF THE PARTY**

The fourth day of the convention was highlighted by a three-convered discussion on the political aspects of party organizational problems and a specific program of activity in which Comrade Shachtman reported for the Majority of the National Committee, Comrade Johnson for the Minority and Comrade Erber for a separate position.

As in the case of the other discussions held at the convention, it is impossible to convey in any adequate degree the reports and discussion. Comrade Shachtman's report argued that in the all-inclusive revolutionary party we are trying to build, where in various tendencies live and functioned freely, it was quintessential to develop a party cadre united in major acceptance of the party's principal and distinctive positions, trained in the specific positions of the party and capable of educating new members and contacts to an acceptance of these positions.

Comrade Johnson presented a broad disagreement with the line of the Majority resolution and with the concept of the cadre. Comrade Erber specifically opposed the cadre concept and further proposed that the party orient itself around the concept of a "small mass party." After a debate which lasted for many hours and which centered primarily around the question of the cadre, the delegates rejected the views of Comrade Johnson on the general issues, and Comrade

Erber's views on the small party decisively, and then upheld the Majority resolution on the cadre. Here again it is worth noting that, as on every issue before the convention, the party demonstrated its uniquely democratic and informed political quality by the level of discussion.

**CONVENTION ADOPTS NEGRO RESOLUTION**

The principal subject on the agenda of the convention's last day was the Negro question. However, before it was considered there were other reports. Shirley Waller, secretary of the Socialist Youth League, reported on the work of the SYL. The convention adopted a motion authorizing the National Committee to take what measures may be necessary to formalize the relation between the SYL and the party after the coming convention of the youth organization.

An international report by Comrade Garrett informed the delegates of the situation in the various Trotskyist parties throughout the world and subjected the resolutions and actions of the recent international pre-conference of the Fourth International to severe criticism. (The New Internationalist will carry a detailed criticism of the resolution soon.—Ed.) Comrade Gates reported on the unity negotiations with the SWP and the latter's refusal to undertake any concrete steps toward unity. The convention endorsed the line and actions of the National Committee on unity.

Greetings to Natalia Trotsky and to the Fourth International were adopted and sent by the convention. Resolutions on the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom, on Operation Dixie and on the trial of the 31 Negroes in Columbia, Tenn., were also adopted. (LABOR ACTION will begin publishing these smaller resolutions next week.—Ed.)

The several resolutions on the Jewish question were referred to post-convention discussion because the convention lacked the time to probe them adequately and did not want to rush through so important a question. (The Workers Party has already made plans to initiate this discussion as well as the one on the nature of Stalinism. LABOR ACTION is happy to announce that both these discussions will be featured in the eight-page LABOR ACTION.—Ed.)

Three resolutions were presented on the Negro question, and a reporter spoke for each. Comrade Coolidge reported for the Majority position, which ties the struggle of the most oppressed section of the working class, the Negro masses, to the struggle of the white workers, and emphasizes that the organizations of the Negro are the class organizations of the working class. We must encourage and support, says the resolution, the struggles of the Negro masses for their rights, and push the unions to wage incessant warfare against Jim Crow, for the unions are the basic organizations of the Negro workers as they are of the white workers.

Speaking for the Minority, Comrade Johnson argued the necessity of encouraging the creation of independent organizations of the Negro masses against Jim Crow. Comrade Berg presented a resolution which was accepted by the Majority as a supplement to its own resolution but which he asked to be put before the convention separately. The Majority resolution with the Berg resolution incorporated was finally adopted by the convention.

After amendments to the party constitution and by-laws, the convention proceeded to the election of a National Committee to guide the party for the coming two years.

The convention closed on the same high note of enthusiasm with which it had opened. The party emerged from the convention armed and strengthened for the stormy years ahead, preparing itself to play a decisive role in the struggles of the American working class.

## Labor Action Will Appear An 8-Pager on August 5th

Regular weekly publication of the Eight-Page LABOR ACTION will begin with the issue dated August 5.

Originally announced for June 17, it has been necessary to delay publication of the eight-pager for six weeks because of technical difficulties beyond our control. We ask the indulgence of our friends who made possible our advance by contributing to the \$15,000 Fund Drive.

Our plans and arrangements are made. Unfortunately, difficulties have arisen in the printing plant which publishes our paper. It has been necessary to add new equipment and material, the installation of which is taking more time than our printer had anticipated. Further, it has also been necessary to adjust our schedule so that it ties in best with the vacation time of the workers in the plant.

We intend to use the extra month to improve our plans for the paper. Our readers know that the enlarged paper will contain a four page magazine insert. We have already described its contents, regular features and columns. We are increasing our regular staff, and will feature new contributors.

The regular editorial board will consist of Emanuel Garrett, Albert Gates, Irving Howe and Henry Judd. Max Shachtman, David Coolidge, Susan Green, Mary Bell, and those writers with whom LABOR ACTION readers are already familiar, will contribute special features and articles. Also, we are happy to announce the addition to our staff of comrades who left the Socialist Workers Party to join the Workers Party. Albert Goldman and Jack Ranger, both of them skilled revolutionary journalists, have promised to write regularly for LABOR ACTION.

To the friends who have made this advance possible, we wish to extend our thanks and appreciation. To that we should like to add a plea for continued financial contributions. Printing costs are sky-high now, and going up weekly. The expenses of publishing a revolutionary newspaper are enormous. We have no big-money (or, for that matter, little-money) advertisers, nor any wealthy "angels" to promote our work. We depend entirely on the slim resources of our readers who feel that the working class has need of a paper like ours, and who are willing to help it spread its message.

That has kept us going for six years—the dimes and dollars contributed to the maintenance of our revolutionary socialist press. We will need more of these dimes and dollars to keep the eight-pager going. Become a regular LABOR ACTION BUILDER! MAINTAIN YOUR PAPER!

## Democrat-PAC Bloc Loses California Primary

By JACK BRENT  
LOS ANGELES, June 6.—The Democratic party and the CIO-PAC suffered a major defeat today in the nomination at the primary for Governor and U. S. Senate. Despite the enormous amount of work poured into the campaign in the form of radio programs, mass rallies, and house-to-house work, Governor Warren, a staunch Hoover Republican, won the election hands down. Attorney General Robert Kenney, California's "own" Henry Wallace, conceded defeat today in a precedent-shattering vote that made Warren the first Governor to succeed himself in thirty years and the first to be elected at the primaries.

This was no ordinary election. By his ability to garner most of the votes on the Democratic ticket, Warren is already being groomed as the next Republican nominee for the presidency. Significant, too, is the fact that the "Big Five"—CIO-PAC, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Independent Committee for the Arts and Sciences, Progressive AFL, and the Railway Brotherhoods—combined forces to campaign for the capitalist politicians on the Democratic ticket. The Stalinists,

too, active in all the organizations, gressive slate.

The voters stayed away from the polls by the millions. The latest figures show that approximately fifty per cent of the electorate failed to vote in an election that was considered "the most significant in California history." The light vote in this Democratic state indicated early that the Warren machine was in.

The CIO campaign was chameleoned, streamlined, 1946 model Gompersism along the line employed by the Stalinists to elect "labor's friend" O'Dwyer in New York City. In New York, the Stalinist machine helped elect the Tammany politician but labor lost anyway, as every honest union man will admit after witnessing Gen. O'Dwyer as strikebreaker in the recent tug-boat strike. Here in California, labor lost in the election of the reactionary Warren. The Democratic, labor-backed machine failed even to elect its candidate.

There were some strange aspects to this campaign. First, Warren will not have to campaign in November since his only opponent will be the famous "one-way" Corrigan who is running on the Prohibition Party. This is the result of the phony "cross-filing" law in this state which allows the candi-

date to run in the primaries on both major tickets. Everyone, except those driven batty by the campaign oratory, is well aware that Warren is a Republican and Kenney a Democrat.

**ROLE OF COMMUNIST PARTY**

Another interesting side to the whole story of the election is the role of the Communist Party. Their "new line" is a mixture of the most vulgar opportunism and their recent leftist, anti-capitalist turn. They will support anyone who will go half-way in condemning Anglo-American imperialism and keep his mouth shut about Russian imperialism while blathering about "Big Three Unity." The Stalinists knew, for example, that the Democratic machine was "trying to appease conservatives and reaction," yet failed to say a word about the role of the regular Democrats. The truth is that the Stalinists, who are a potent force in the Los Angeles Democratic Party, had to fight a rear-guard battle against their own allies, the boys in the up-state machine.

The Communist Party is "radical" today and will remain leftist as long as the conflict between American and Russian imperialism continues. Thus the Stalinists are attracting workers went all-out for the so-called pro-

on the basis of their anti-capitalist agitation, exposing big business, etc. But the hangover of its honeymoon with capitalism will remain for a long time. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the recent campaign in California. Among those who were recommended for election were three representatives who voted for the Draft bill advocated by Truman in the House last week. All of labor characterized the bill as a "fascist" measure designed to destroy the labor movement, yet the CIO-PAC endorsed Congressman Doyle, Hollifield, and Outland. And the Stalinists endorsed the entire slate. The excuse for this shameful approval of men who voted for a fascist bill is, of course, the moth-eaten one that "these men have chalked up a good pro-labor record," etc., etc. The Stalinists are proving once again that their old stock-in-trade of lies, confusion, and hypocrisy, is far from exhausted.

The West Coast Stalinist daily is now beginning to beat the drums for a third party—not a labor party but one whose leadership would be drawn from these self-styled progressives who hand labor a crumb one day and then slip the noose on the next. The inability of the Stalinists to capture the machinery of the

Democratic party is making them all the hotter for this phony third party which they hope they might be able to control.

**LABOR'S NEED**

The significant factor in this election was the extremely light vote, in spite of the vigorous campaigning and the importance assigned to it by both parties. Labor simply refused to get excited about candidates who were running on Truman's ticket, especially when many of them ran as supporters of the Administration.

The working men and women of California really had little choice in the election. For three years Kenney had not a word of criticism for the Warren regime; neither did the hypocritical Stalinists. Overnight the populace discovered that the reactionary Warren was reactionary and this was a fight between "the forces of light" and "the forces of darkness," between the "good" representative of capitalism and the "bad" one. Labor and the progressives will have an alternative when they can vote for a man who runs on a labor program, opposing both parties, dedicated to a platform that is genuinely pro-labor, namely, on an independent labor party ticket.

## PCI Polls 45,000 Votes In France

PARIS, JUNE 2.—The French Trotskyists (Parti Communiste Internationaliste) registered a significant advance in the elections held yesterday, polling a total of 44,906 votes as compared with 10,821 votes in the last elections. Despite the extraordinary expenses and difficulties involved in putting its candidates in the field, the PCI ran a total of 79 candidates on 11 lists. Given the situation in France and the viciousness of the Stalinist campaign against the Trotskyist Party, the vote is particularly noteworthy.

The following is a tabulation of the vote received by the PCI, compared with the total vote in each district where the PCI was able to get on the ballot:

District	PCI Vote	Total Vote
Paris—		
1st Sector	4,677	439,334
2nd Sector	6,032	475,737
5th Sector	4,587	363,571
Finistere .....	4,168	390,088
Lot-et-		
Garonne .....	970	125,328
Gironde .....	7,698	408,090
Isere .....	3,751	266,825
Puy de Dome	2,891	238,957
Marne .....	3,690	183,754
Rhone .....	4,949	281,219
Savoie .....	1,493	107,841

Totals .....44,906 3,240,744  
The Stalinists pulled a last-minute trick in Paris, distributing circulars announcing that the PCI does not really exist, that its appearance on the ballot is merely a trick by the reactionary PRL to split the Stalinist (CP) vote. With smaller resources than those at the disposal of the Stalinists, the PCI was unable to reply to this monstrous slander in time. It is possible that this slander campaign loosed by the Stalinists in preparation for more vicious types of persecution directed at the revolutionary socialists of the PCI, cut into the PCI vote. Further, many workers were frightened by the MRP-PRL offensive against the working class, witnessed in the vote on the referendum two weeks earlier, into "not taking a chance on wasting ballots on a party that doesn't stand much of a chance of winning" etc., voting instead for either the CP or SP.

There will be another election in several months. Actively pressing its socialist program, the PCI is now making plans to participate in the next campaign on a greater scale. French law will make it necessary for the PCI to post huge sums of money for its candidates. However, the militants of the PCI are confident that with the help of the workers whom they are daily reaching in greater number, and who came through magnificently for this campaign, and with the help of comrades abroad, they will be able to make their influence among the French working class felt on a larger and increasingly successful scale.