

Dear Comrades:

I want to draw the very serious attention of the N.C. to the following situation in the United Workers Movement.

1. In Buffalo the Movement is over a hundred strong, including Top Grievance Committee men and shop stewards in the largest steel plant in this area. These men have been recruited to the Movement only through careful planning and organization.
2. The U.W.M. has already carried out political activity on behalf of Negroes in Buffalo, which has given it status among the Negroes and the organized labor movement.
3. In Detroit some of our comrades have begun a Movement. Members of the U.W.M. from Buffalo went up and took part in the opening meeting and the prospects are very good.

There are also prospects in Cleveland, Chicago and other cities in the East and West. I also have contacts among Negro steel workers all over the country. They are anxious to begin such a Movement as union men. They approve entirely of the constitution and aims of the Buffalo U.W.M.

4. The Buffalo U.W.M. now has plans to make the Movement a National Movement. I am in sympathy with those plans. I feel that the whole situation calls for it, but as a disciplined party member I am seeking the approval and advice of the N.C. on a matter of such importance.
5. The N.C. however must realize the position in which I find myself. Four of the members of the Executive Board of the U.W.M. are old party members. They know how the W.P. functions. They are suspicious of me as a member of the W.P. and as a member of the United Workers Movement. I therefore have to be very careful in my attitude to proposals, etc. for the Movement. The N.C., I hope, will realize that in the U.W. Movement I can go only so far as the membership and particularly the leadership will let me go.
6. The situation in the Buffalo branch of the W.P. has not been good for a long time. If today the leaders of the U.W.M. are ex-party members, whoever may be responsible, at least I tried to keep them party members. I have told them over and over again that the U.W.M. aims at making good union men, struggling for Negro right, and educating its members in such a way that on the basis of their practical experience and education, the best of them will become material for the W.P.
7. There is a division in the W.P. on the Negro question. I support the minority, but I understand that the position of the majority allows the formation and support of such organizations as the U.W.M. In my opinion this must be made clear to the Buffalo branch. Too many party members believe that a Negro organization must be a kind of Negro edition of the W.P., as one Comrade says, must be oriented towards the party, and they criticize the Negro organization as if it had the program of the W.P. This is wrong and must be cleared up.
8. I request a free, frank and full discussion of the situation

with the N.C. at the coming convention period. I wish to undertake this work because I know first the importance of the W.P. and the revolutionary education and leadership it can give. That is why, in spite of many disappointments and conflicts, I remain, as I have always been, a party man, despite all the pressure of those who work with me in the shop and the U.W.M., which have been disappointed in the party. At the same time I want to get from the party an understanding of the great possibilities of the U.W.M. organization, both for the class struggle and for the party. I wish to be able to get from the party the constant advice and political direction that only the party can give, but I wish to get this from the party, as a party believing in the aims and purposes of the U.W. Movement. I have a great influence in the U.W.M. All plans, manifestoes, pamphlets, etc. of the movement, I can influence a great deal. I want the party to help me with these and I will struggle to get as many of these and as much of them as possible accepted by the U.W.M.

If the party leadership and particularly the N.C. will take the lead in clarifying this matter for the party, then I believe despite past conflicts and political differences, a good job can be done and the party will benefit in influence, in prestige and in membership. But to do this the party membership must not have a hostile attitude to the Negro organization and the party membership must not have the attitude that because the Negro organization does not follow the line of the W.P. in everything, therefore it must be condemned and the W.P. members in it to be blamed.

9. If there is a good discussion and these points are cleared up I am confident that not only the work of the W.P. members in the U.W.M. organization will be helped, but that the task of getting the Buffalo branch on a good basis for the post-convention period will be helped also. I have concrete plans to put before the N.C. on the Negro organization and shall do so at the coming meeting.

With Fraternal Greetings,

Comrade Jones
Buffalo Branch

I

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Workers Party solidarizes itself with the Fourth International on the general strategic perspectives for the world revolution and the tasks outlined for the Fourth International in the Political Resolution adopted at the Conference.

The Workers Party also welcomes the increased recognition by the Conference of the positive role of the struggle for self-determination of all oppressed nations. This however, is, like all other democratic slogans closely related to the character of our epoch and the revolutionary perspectives outlined by the Conference.

The Workers Party, however, condemns the April Conference for its false and misleading analysis of the role of Russian imperialism in the imperialist war just concluded and the immediate post-war period. This affects both the strategic perspectives and tactical tasks, particularly in areas contiguous to Russia. To state, for example, that certain sections of the Fourth International should "tolerate the presence of the Red Army only to the extent that it is a friendly proletarian armed force..." is merely another example of the false positions, disorienting the proletariat and the Fourth International, which flow from the increasingly untenable attempts to maintain the position of Trotsky on the Russian question. Under the circumstances, it is imperative, therefore that the International re-examine its Russian position and begin a full, free democratically-conducted discussion throughout the Fourth International, in preparation for a World Congress at which all positions on Russia, advocated by those holding the principles of the Fourth International, will be represented

The Workers Party strongly condemns the omission in the Conference report ^{of} any recommendation for the unity of the forces of the Fourth International in the United States. This is not merely an organizational question of great importance for the Fourth International but at the present moment in particular an essential political task, necessary to assist the American proletariat in its attempts to raise itself to the level of the tasks imposed upon it by history.

The Workers Party welcomes the determination of the Fourth International Conference, in its own words, "to insist upon the necessity of putting this Conference on record at the very outset as having a desire to affirm the existence of the International as a World Party endowed with a centralized leadership, and to work toward this task."

May 26, 1946

J.R. Johnson,
for the Workers Party
Minority

RESOLUTION ON THE F.I. AND THE I.K.D.

The Workers Party endorses the Section of the resolution of the recent Conference of the Fourth International on the IKD which reads as follows:

"(a) It unanimously condemns the revisionist ideas, contained in the documents written since 1941 by the IKD leadership (Three Theses, "Socialism or Barbarism," Problems of the European Revolution"). The leadership of the IKD has substituted for our transitional and socialist program, which corresponds to the objective historical character of our epoch and remains fundamentally that of the socialist revolution, a national-democratic program, based on "the necessary detour of the democratic revolution" and on the perspective of the "coming great national-democratic wars of liberation of all the oppressed peoples of Europe."

The Fourth International does not minimize the importance of the slogan of self-determination for every people, or of other democratic slogans in general; but it does not separate them from the rest of its transitional and socialist program, it does not put them forward even for a limited period as ends in themselves, nor does it proclaim any intermediate stage of "democratic revolution," to be accomplished by "all the people" and distinct from the socialist proletarian revolution."

The character of the political positions of the IKD have raised the question as to whether these positions are compatible with membership in the Fourth International. This is a serious question which can be decided only by a full and complete discussion with the IKD during which all the implications of their position will be drawn and they will have the opportunity of expressing themselves upon them clearly and unambiguously.

On the question of the opposition to imperialist war, the opposition to the "democratic imperialists," the opposition to Stalinism the question of colonial independence and other fundamentals of our movement, the IKD is, to our knowledge, in complete agreement with the Fourth International. For this reason the question of the compatibility of their views with membership of the Fourth International is neither to be lightly raised nor lightly answered.

B

The Conference of the Fourth International in Section B of its resolution on the IKD invites what it designates as the "present leadership of the IKD" to regroup those elements "who base themselves upon the platform of the Fourth International and submit to the discipline of its conventions and its executive bodies, and to organize them in Germany itself as the official German section of the Fourth International." In section C of its resolution, the Conference "invites the leadership and the members of the IKD still abroad to carry out the decisions of the Conference, to submit to the discipline of the new IEC and IS, and to prepare as rapidly as possible for their return to Germany, in accordance with the instructions and directives of the International."

Such a formulation of the question is ambiguous and is open to the interpretation that the leadership and the members of the IKD abroad are, in effect, being read out of the International. The very fact that in a document of this kind, such an interpretation can be made is indication that the document is not in the best traditions of Bolshevism and calls for censure of the Conference in regard to its procedure with the IKD.

The Workers Party declares to the International Secretariat that while its taking position on the political ideas of the IKD is not only legitimate but justified, so serious a charge as revisionism demanded

a) wide and full discussion and dissemination of the opposing idea in all sections of the International.

b) all possible efforts by the IS to include the participation at the Conference discussion of qualified representatives of the authors of the IKD documents.

c) clear unambiguous statements, not only as to the political attitude but the organizational conclusions to be drawn and measures to be taken.

d) explicit provision for ultimate ratification of all decisions by a World Conference of the Fourth International.

The Workers Party (a) makes a recommendation to the International to follow the above procedure in regard to the IKD. (b) recommends to the IKD at home and abroad that they make the same proposals to the I.S.

The Workers Party demands from the incoming National Committee a clear statement in regard to the political conclusions of the IKD, particularly as expressed in Section VIII, p 340 of their document, "Capitalist Barbarism or Socialism," New International, October, 1944.

a)

This is particularly necessary because the Workers Party seeks affiliation with the F.I. which has unanimously condemned the political line of the IKD and today has as its aim unity with the SWP which supports the stand of the Fourth International.

b)

Because the Germans have expressed themselves with the utmost freedom in the party press and in the internal bulletin for nearly eighteen months without any reservation (except on the Russian question from the party leadership with the exception of Johnson. The party sharply condemns the abuse of the Fourth International by the Germans which has appeared in the New International.

a) inasmuch as the document of the IKD constitutes a unified theoretical and political thesis and

b) sections of the outgoing leadership of the party have recommended this document to the membership, (not hesitating to call it the greatest contribution to Marxism since the death of Trotsky.) The party would also welcome from the leadership participation in an educational discussion in the party on the theories and political ideas of the German comrades.

5/26/46

JRJ -Minority WF

Amendment offered by Comrade Bill Barton to the Majority Resolution on the International Question and referred to the convention, on a motion by Comrade Garrett, by the Brooklyn UAW Branch.

In their participation with the masses in their current struggles based upon their present level of consciousness and aspirations, the revolutionary socialists must at all times emphasize their internationalist program and perspectives. The solutions of immediately vital problems (food, economic rehabilitation, etc.) cannot even be meaningfully posed in any other fashion. The alternative for Europe is Socialist Internationalism or the "internationalism" of imperialist oppression.

Both the imperialist politicians and the masses are thinking and talking of a supra-national order - the need for which has been made more dramatic by the development of atomic power. The slogan of a free Union of European Socialist States is necessary to combat the fake "union" proposals of Churchill, DeGaulle (Western Bloc) and the Stalinists (Danubian Federation) as well as the pervading chauvinisms. It cannot be considered a mere propagandistic slogan, as is true of the presentation of the complete socialist answer in the U.S. today. It is an immediately relevant corollary to democratic demands, particularly national freedom. Only with this accompanying idea can the workers of England, France and Russia be interested in the end of the occupation of Germany. Only within an internationalist framework can the settlement of boundary disputes be proposed in terms of the desires of the people in the disputed territories instead of the dictates of power politics. Only thus can there be a feasible answer to the popular clamor for reparations from Germany for looted and destroyed material. Only with this central idea is it possible to campaign for the end of American imperialist domination of Europe.

May 16, 1946