## Political Resolution of the S. W. P. Convention

### The Perspective of **United States Imperialism**

1. In common with every other great power, the course of United States imperialism is set directly toward the second world war. The entire life of the nation is being grooved into the war channel. Every political, economic and social issue is being more and more subordinated to the war preparations.

2. After six years, the New Deal, as a primarily internal program of huge governmental expenditures and subsidies, liberal demagogy and social concessions to the farmers and workers, has ended in definitive collapse. The intolerable economic crisis continues. The business cycle refuses to turn upward for more than fitful and unsatisfying periods. The impossibility of a solution on the New Deal basis, and the fatuousness of any proposed solution on the basis of old-fashioned, Chamber-of-Commerce Republicanism, have become apparent. Internal measures having failed and offering no hope, the United States bourgeoisie turns to external measures, to the war. It plans to solve its problems through acquiring a greater share in the world market, in particular by gaining monopoly control over Latin America and a major position in the Far East. Indeed, it aims at nothing short of world hegemony. In the present stage of the war preparations, Roosevelt has taken aggressive leadership. His New Deal has ended, and will not be revived except occasionally in his holiday words or in those of his agents. The New Deal has been transformed into the War Deal.

3. Because of the needs both of the war and of tottering U. S. industry; the War Deal is also a deal of social reaction. The months since Munich and the November elections have witnessed a growing reactionary wave. This has been marked above all by the sharpest and most brutal attack since 1929 on the unemployed and by the sustained drive against the democratic rights of labor. In the period ahead this attack and this drive will continue, and it is planned to climax them by the imposition of totalitarian military dictatorship on the day that war begins.

### The Struggle against War

4. The character of the present period dictates unequivocally the main task of the party: The struggle against the war. Just as the bourgeoisie subordinates every other question to preparation for the war, so must the party subordinate every question to the struggle against the war. What is required is not a temporary or episodic campaign, but a sustained, deliberate and enduring policy. The S.W.P. must aim to be and to become known to the masses as: the anti-war party.

5. In accordance with our analysis of the nature of capitalist war as an integral phase of capitalism, the struggle against the war cannot be conceived as a "special" campaign, but must, rather, infuse all of our activities: trade union work no less than our press; youth and defense and unemployed work no less than our occasional manifestoes.

6. We must recognize that our opponents within the labor movement—the social-reformists. Stalinists, and the labor bureaucracyare separated from us now not by mere ideological divergences but by their having become part of the war machine. They have joined the camp of the class enemy. Our attack against them must correspondingly increase in sharpness and intransigence. We must reveal them to the workers in their full and true light.

7. Our press and platforms must be constantly used to make clear the character of the coming war. We must continue to support the popular referendum on war declaration, as a means for reinforcing anti-war sentiment among the masses, for putting forward our own program, and for exposing the anti-democratic nature of the war-makers. Similarly, with the demand for "No Secret Diplomacy!" and with exposures of the secret maneuvers of the State Department we must show the war as a conspiracy against the people. Our unqualified opposition to all imperialist armaments, to all varieties of "national defense", must be modified in no way whatever in the face of prejudices seeking some patriotic loophole. With our slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemployed", we sum up both our analysis of bourgeois armaments and their relation to the reactionary drive against the masses.

8. The first aim of U.S. imperialism in the war is monopoly control over Latin America. and the U.S. plans also to use Latin America as a strategic base and a source of raw materials and personnel in the conduct of the war. Our struggle against the war cannot be divorced from the firmest and widest support of the Latin American masses in their own struggle against U.S. imperialism. During the past year, the Fourth International, which is the sole organization supporting on a world scale the anti-imperialist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, has made notable progress in a number of Latin American countries. The S.W.P. must in the next year vastly increase its concentration upon Latin American work, and must link this with what has been almost entirely lacking in the past: political activity among the Latin Americans resi-

dent within the United States. 8A. The outbreak of the war is certain to be followed within a comparatively short period. far shorter than in the case of the last world war, by tremendous social convulsions within all of the warring countries. The war itself will have smashed the illusions of Popular Frontism, New Dealism, reformism and Stalinism. The subsequent social convulsions will provide every premise for the revolutionary advance. at an entirely unprecedented speed and with unparalleled scope, of the masses toward the overthrow of the world system of imperialism

and the conquest of workers' power. 8B. A realistic appraisal of the present world crisis can lead to no other conclusion than that the outbreak of the war cannot be long delayed. However unlikely, it is not however absolutely excluded that the present rulers of the imperialist powers, seeing in the war their own certain downfall, may find some ation-inflation, high cost of living, scarcity of Party is far and away the greatest obstacle in

## As Adopted by the National Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, New York, July 1-5

food, vast unemployment—wth its attendant social convulsions would come about without a war. Just as in the case of the results of the war itself, this would bring about and constitute a pre-revolutionary situation. Within the non-fascist powers, the fascists could grow rapidly. But in this instance also New Dealism, Popular Frontism, reformism, Stalinism would go to pieces both in fact and in their hold on the minds of the masses. As in the case of Italy and Germany, the crisis and the growth of fascism would be accompanied by the wide and rapid radicalization of the exploited masses. Under such circumstances, as in the other variant, the prospects and perspectives for the revolutionary party and the social revolution would be in the highest degree promising.

### Democratic Rights

9. During the past eight months there has taken place a growing attack upon the democratic rights of labor, an attack required by the bourgeoisie equally as part of the war preparations and in order to aid the suffering business cycle. The illegality of sit-downs has been made explicit by the courts. The courts, State Legislatures, Congress and the police are engaged in a nation-wide drive to limit or smash the rights of picketing, boycotts, closed shop, strikes, demonstrations, and through a variety of other means strive to hamstring labor organization. This attack will not diminish but on the contrary will increase in intensity during the next period.

10. These democratic rights are indispensable to the very existence of organized labor, both in the struggle against the war and in the fight for jobs and food. The end term of the present series of attacks, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, is the total wiping out of labor's rights through a war-time military dictatorship or through outright fascism. We understand and explain the present attacks in

11. The party must, consequently, bring to the forefront during the coming period the question of defense of democratic rghts of labor. The struggle against war and reaction is intimately and acutely bound up with this question. In the defense of democratic rights, broad united fronts are both possible and desirable. In localities where it is feasible, the party should take the initiative in forming committees for the defense of democratic rights of labor. As the tactic for defending democratic rights, the party should advocate the wide use of militant methods of mass action-strikes, demonstrations, marches, etc .in place of the hopeless confinement of tactics to parliamentary and legalistic maneuvers.

### The Fight for Jobs

12. The continuance of the unparalleled economic crisis, the persistence of the army of unemployed at a level of twelve or more millions, and the drive of reaction against the unemployed, place the fight for jobs squarely and enduringly in the front rank of the problems of the working class and of the party. Short of the actual outbreak of war itself, which would temporarily absorb (under a dictatorial regime) a considerable percentage of the unemployed in either the war industries or the army, there is not the slightest prospect of a major economic upturn. Even the vast armament outlays of the pre-war Roosevelt program have a comparatively minor effect on U.S. economy as a whole. Chronic and staggering crisis for the masses of the people has become the normal condition of U.S. capital-

13. The older program of "immediate demands" and restrained and legalistic methods of fighting for them are no longer adequate to rouse the masses to struggle or to make any headway against the onslaught of social and economic reaction. We must be bold, open and resolute in advancing the broad and positive slogans of our "transitional program": a job and a decent living for every worker; the opening of idle factories under workers' control; the 30-hour week and \$30 minimum weekly wage; \$20,000,000,000 public works program; expropriation of the Sixty Families; etc.

14. We must take care not to permit the transitional program to become a mere literary exercise. It is not intended as a finished document valid as a whole and just as it stands for all times and occasions. In the first place, it must be lifted out of the pages of our press and thrust into the midst of the unions and other mass organizations. In the second place, it must be understood as a method for linking the party with the actual struggles of the masses. The conception of the transition program must be used to give depth and extension to issues which arise naturally out of the living experience of the masses. The popular movement for a referendum on war is a prominent example of such an issue. Another, extremely important at present, is the drive for a 30-hour week begun by the electrical workers and the plumbers and, in a somewhat different form, by the auto workers. This 30hour week movement is a concretization of the transition demand for a "sliding scale of hours", and should receive the full and active support of the party.

### The Communist Party

15. The Communist Party must occupy a central place in the propaganda and general activities of the party in the coming period. The total of all other opponent organizations-Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party. Lovestoneites, etc.-does not add up to a small fraction of the importance of the Commeans of postponing general hostilities for a munist Party. Insufficient attention to the few years. But in this case there is sure to Communist Party, almost equal attention to result the most terrible economic crisis, ag- other opponent groups, have been one of the gravated unbearably by the weight of the col- most serious weaknesses in the work of the ossal armament expenditures. A postwar situ- party during the past year. The Communist

this country to the building of the revolutionary movement.

16. It is necessary to dispel certain illusions,

shared to one or another extent by our own membership, with respect to the Communist Party. It is false that the Communist Party consists only of bureaucrats and hopeless petty bourgeois. In its ranks and especially in its sympathizing circles it includes many genuine and militant workers, as its influence in the trade unions proves. It is deceptive to consider that the C.P. is characterized through an through and in every respect by an iron monolithism. The framework of the party is wholly monolithic. But in the heart of that monolithic framework there have grown in the present period profound conflicts and paradoxes, springing from the conflicting and paradoxical social and political situation of international Stalinism. These internal conflicts are the compelling sources of splits and defections from the Stalinist movement. It is even false to believe that splits have not taken place in the Stalinist movement. Especially in recent times, after the Third Moscow Trial, after Munich, after the fall of Barcelona, what might be described as slow and passive-but very extensive splits have occurred. But these splits have led the dissident Stalinists, with a few exceptions, only to complete retirement from political activity or to bourgeois politics.

17. The basis for influencing the Communist Party, for recruiting its members and sympathizers and for hastening its dissolution as an obstacle to the growth of the revolutionary movement, is present. What is required for success is a conscious, deliberate and sustained policy on our part. We must root out all traces of a defeatist or passive attitude toward Stalinism, and orient boldly on the perspective of major and fruitful work in that arena.

### The Struggle against Fascism

18. In the months since Munich and especially since the fall of Barcelona, and with the failure of the 1938 upturn in business to extend into 1939--thus signalizing the definitive collapse of the New Deal's policies, the fascist and semi-fascist movements in this country have been growing rapidly in numbers and boldness. The nationwide notoriety achieved by Hague through his use of fascist and semifascist methods symbolizes this development. The nationwide series of meetings and mobilizations by the Nazi Bund provided a kind of dress rehearsal for native movements. The Silver Shirts have been especially active in small towns and villages. It is reported that there are now more than 800 fascist and nearfascist organizations in the United States. At the present time the most successful and advancing of these is the Coughlin movement, which, since Coughlin's reappearance on the scene after two years of quiet, has taken on a more and more openly fascist character. Though it is doubtful that a movement led by a Catholic priest can be the authentic fascist movement in this country, Coughlin's followers are being prepared in ideology and methods for fusion into the definitive fascist movement of the not too distant future.

19. It is absolutely inadmissable to neglect or minimize the importance of the current growth of U.S. fascism. Fascism in this country is capable of spreading like wildfire, of strangling the labor movement before it is aware what is happening. The great army of disillusioned unemployed and the disinherited youth are particularly and immediately vulnerable. Europe has taught that in order to defeat fascism the labor movement must never let fascism get a step in advance, that it must anticipate and prepare for the fascist developments before they take place.

20. It is the immediate duty of the party to prepare educational and propaganda material in its press and in cheap pamphlets dealing with the native fascist and near fascist movements. This material should be put in the most popular and simple form, directed especially toward the youth and the unemployed, and must aim at mass circulation to combat the fascist ideas directly on the ground where they chiefly germinate.

21. The struggle against fascism at home, however, cannot even now be confined to propaganda and agitation. It is necessary to fight the fascist movements in action from the very beginning. Our slogan "For Workers Defense Guards against Fascism" cannot any longer be confined to agitation, but must be put into concrete effect. A beginning has been made in a few localities. But the party must now attempt in every section of the country where it has branches to begin the actual organization of at least skeleton defense units, which will work indefatigably to broaden their base, especially through union support. Ideally these should be based on and built through the unions, as in Minneapolis. But where this is not possible, the party must nevertheless lead the way and itself take the initiative in forming, together with sympathizers and non-party workers now ready to participate, initiating nuclei of the anti-fascist defense guard, functioning as independent, organized, disciplined and active institutions.

### The Labor Party

22. During the past year, the sentiment among the workers for a Labor Party has remained inert, held back by Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Any extended general campaign on our part around the labor party slogan would have been on the whole academic, and our agitation on this issue has been largely, and correctly, confined to specific and local situations where it was relevant. Nevertheless, the organized intervention of labor in politics has continued and in some respects increased during this same year. The collapse of the New Deal and its transformation into the War Deal, the wave of social reaction, the more openly reactionary precisely the party of these slogans, and of not allowed to continue. Four character of the Roosevelt administration, the extending all of our activities, especially re- or five police squad cars, reapproach of the 1940 elections, are all raising cruitment, through these campaigns.

or beginning to raise once more in the minds of the workers questions about political action. So untenable is worn-out New Dealism becoming that even Lewis and the Stalinists have in the recent weeks been compelled to make certain criticisms of Roosevelt. It is hardly conceivable that the disillusionment of the workers with Roosevelt can in the main take the form of a swing back to Republicanism; and in any case it would be disastrous if this were permitted to happen. The slogan for a labor party, properly developed in connection with the other aspects of our program, can play a significant role in directing the disillusionment with Roosevelt and the dead New Deal into the sole progressive direction-toward independent political activity by the working class. We must be ready to utilize every concrete situation as it arises for propaganda and action in slogans we raise in our press; this direction.

23. The slogan for the labor party, as we in the art of agitation and conceive it, is in no way incompatible with mingling among workers. direct entry of the party, under its own name, in elections. On the contrary, experience has amply proved the great value of the party name and party candidates appearing on the ballot, with the wide opportunities for revolutionary education which this opens up. In all localities where this is practically feasible, and where it will not conflict with the development of genuine independent working class political action on a broader scale, the party must in the next period try to enter elections

### The Prospects for the Party

24. The defeats of the working class on an international scale, the lack of organized resistance to the approach of the war, and the in the unit should wear one of apparent passivity of the working class in this the newsboy aprons that each your Appeal Squad." as in other countries, above all since the fall of Barcelona, have not been without adverse effect in some quarters of the radical labor movement. In some cases this takes the form S.W.P. MEETING | CONSTRUCTION of the entirely erroneous opinion that our perspective for the next period must be one merely of consolidating a tight and firm cadre and of excluding the possibility of important numerical growth.

25. While the factors that have led to this feeling cannot be denied, the inference drawn is by no means necessarily correct, and other equally important national and international conditions point to a contrary conclusion. The war is approaching, but the masses, in the United States as in most other nations, are not in favor of the war, and have not succumbed to a blatant war chauvinism. They are on the whole against the war, however incompletely they understand the implications of their opposition. As the only party which fights the war, there is every objective foundation for the growth, even the rapid growth, of the party as the organization concretely embodying the anti-war sentiments of the masses. the heart of New York's Lower out of work an additional 3,100 Again, the masses want to fight fascism and East Side, and seriously in- unskilled laborers. Of the elevits growth at home; and only our party has pro- jured a comrade and a young, en sewer projects, which emsequently every serious feeling or thought girl, a sympathizer. directed against the present order of war and Growing success of the is in operation. The big gaping tyranny and starvation can find genuine outlet S.W.P. among the workers of holes in many parts of the city ony in the ranks and actions of our party, the Lower East Side has made stand today as a powerful re-Again, the masses wat to fight fascism and its the Stalinists desperate. Their minder of an effective WPA growth at home; and only our party has pro- constant heckling and disrup- strike. posed or attempted to carry out a serious fight tion has failed to stop our against fascism. Finally, the end of the New meetings, which far exceed in Deal once again poses sharply before the size and interest the meetings F.D.R. Responsible workers the problems of political action; and of the C.P. here also our party alone gives an answer.

26. It is entirely possible that the coming period will be one of rapid growth for the would not be enough. The voice party. It is certain that if we do not have this of our party speaking to the as our perspective, if we decide in advance workers and exposing the Fasthat growth is impossible, then stagnation is assured. But our problem and aim is not to the Roosevelt Administration, retreat, but to advance and to gain. The party was making a deep impression has never taken recruiting seriously; it has on the audience. At the quesalways allowed new members to drop like ripe fruit into the ranks of the party, after suitable and lengthy fertilizing by our ideas and theories. To assure the success of the party in the next months we must radically alter this attitude: we must become crusaders and recruiting agents, not at all satisfied with a tense of asking a question, proformally correct program, but resolved that ceeded to make a speech to this program will become the program of the crowd, urging them to masses of workers. Habit and routine dictate break up the meeting. A young caution and reserve. The future of the party girl who tried to remonstrate and the needs of the American revolution de- and restore order was immedimand audacity and a bold offensive.

### A Campaign Party

27. The serious advance of the party in the Stalinist thugs went into acmass movement depends upon its adoption of tion. First they rushed the ment of Colored People reviewthe campaign principle in its activity. As in platform and knocked it over ed the whole case, from the the case of a military campaign, a political right on top of a girl comrade. campaign means the concentration and coor- During the rush, another girl, dination of all available forces in advancing a sympathizer, was surrounded toward and achieving a concrete and definite by a group of these sadistic for life. objective or set of objectives. For the party, C.P. thugs and brutally beaten it means gearing in the entire national organ-lover the head and across the ization and every aspect of its activities- stomach with a strong cane. press, pamphlets, leaflets, meetings, tours, The girl, small and slight, who three or four days was rushed demonstrations, petitions, fund-raising, mo- had recently recovered from to completion within less than tions in unions and other mass organizations, an illness, was knocked unconstreet meetings-as a single unit revolving scious and fell to the ground. around the specific axis of the campaign. Cam- Luckily, she was rescued by both the President and Attorpaigns cannot be properly conducted loosely or workers in the crowd and taken ney General Murphy had been haphazardly, nor for vague or "general" pro- to a place of safety. grammatic aims. They require systematic organization, and by their very nature have simplified and limited aims.

28. For the next immediate period, the beaten over the head a numparty will concentrate its activities on the fol- ber of times, resulting in lacerlowing three campaigns: (1) Against the War; (2) Jobs; (3) Anti-Fascist, in particular Anti-Coughlin. These campaigns, in turn, shall be still further limited and concretized around the following slogans:

(1) Against the War: Let the People Vote on War!

All War Funds to the Unemployed! (2) Jobs: Thirty-Thirty! Expropriate the Sixty Families!

Open the Idle Factories, and Operate Them under Workers' Control! (3) Anti-Fascist:

Build Workers' Defense Guards!

29. It shall be the task of the incoming Naof the party for the coming period around new recruits right after the coming world slaughter. YOU tional Committee to organize the entire work these campaigns, with the aim of penetrating meeting, young workers who WILL NOT STOP US!" with these central slogans deeper into the had been wavering between us mass movement than ever before in our his- and the C.P. tory, of becoming known to the workers as However, the meeting was

MASS STREET SALES:

peal circulation.)

\* \* \* Mass street sales are the WHERE TO CONDUCT most important Appeal activity MASS SALES:

that our branches can conduct. Mass street sales are not corners. only a method of selling many papers, but also a type of demonstration having many purposes. It gets our paper out into the streets among the workers and people of the community; it offers splendid opportunities for popularizing the and it helps train our comrades should be mobilized for this at

### PLANNING MASS STREET SALES:

Mass Street sales must be

plenty of Appeals to sell, small sales activity. change. At least one comrade

branch possesses. The com-(Second in the series of ar- rades who are to do the selling ticles on how to build mass Ap- are then to be assigned to a busy corner, intersection, workers' meeting, union hall, etc.

(a) At busy, central street

(b) At subway, trolley or bus exits and entrances. (c) At union meetings, head-

quarters, etc. (d) Near newsstands that

carry the Appeal. (e) In working class neighborhoods near the branch headquarters. The entire branch least once every two weeks.

We urge mobilization of the entire branch as often as is posplanned well in advance by the sible-not less than once every local Branch Executive Com- 2 weeks!-for mass street mittee. All assignments, divi- sales. If clear and simple insion of branch into units, provi- structions are issued beforesion of protection for salesmen, hand on how to cover the best etc., must be given in advance. concentration points, then Each salesman should be every branch should easily be equipped with an attractive able to fulfill its quota in the poster which can be obtained Anti-War Campaign. Send in from the Appeal Poster Shop, reports on your mass street

Next week: "How to build up

### Injure Two Workers, Topple Platform at East Side Meeting

Stalinist thugs on Friday, available. July 28th, broke up a street | The walkout, for example, of meeting of the S.W.P. on Riv- 200 union plumbers from water ington and Clinton Streets, in pipe inspection projects threw

This time, however, they determined that heckling alone cist Coughlin, the war plans of tion period the Stalinists decided to swing into direct ac-

### Topple Platform

A C.P. woman, on the preately physically attacked. A number of our comrades went House in signing the commisto her aid and immediately the sion as "shocking," the Nation-

Another male comrade was also surrounded later, thrown to the ground and severely ing to this membership were ations of the scalp.

### Workers Disgusted

In spite of the vicious attack. cur comrades succeeded in raising the platform and continued the meeting. Many workers expressed sympathy with us and remained to listen to our speakers. One worker say, "Act like Fascists and was heard to say "I've heard you will be treated like Fasa lot about the disruption of cists! We will defend our meetthe Stalinists before this, but ings against your hooligans this is the first time I've really with all our strength! WE seen it, and am I disgusted! have a duty to perform to the From now on I'm with you fel- workers; to show the road out lows!" The Y.P.S.L. got two of misery and hunger and the

# PROJECTS SHUT HOOLIGANS TIGHT IN CHI.

(Continued from Page 1) 3,000. What is more, every WPA construction project in the city is closed down completely. Even shovels and wheelbarrows are stored up in rows because the essential skilled labor is not

ployed 10,000 laborers, not one

## For Ku Klux Klan Appointment

NEW YORK, July 21.-Responsibility for the speed and trickery in jamming through the confirmation of Elmer D. Davies, admitted ex-member of the Ku Klux Klan, as federal judge in the middle Tennessee district, rests squarely upon the shoulders of "our national legislative and executive leadership." President Roosevelt was told today.

In a letter which described the action of the Senate in taking up the Davies matter out of turn and the speed of the White al Association for the Advancetime Davies was mentioned for the post up to the time Mr. Roosevelt made him a judge

"A process," said the letter, "which in its normal course would not be completed within twenty-four hours."

The letter cited the fact that warned as early as April 11 and 13 that Mr. Davies was reputed to have been a member forwarded to the White House and to the Department of Justice three months before Davies' name came up in the Senate, the letter said.

the Stalinists, appeared and broke up the meeting.

To the Communist Party, we

At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP