

For Members Only

INTERNAL BULLETIN

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PRICE
10¢

TRADE UNION POLICY

By Raymond Rice

N.C. - S.W.P.:

Detroit, June 26, 1942

Dear Comrades,

I submit for your consideration and for the party pre-convention discussion my objections to the false and conservative trade union policy advocated by Comrade Dobbs in his letter to all party branches, dated June 2, 1942. I protest as well against the misleading account of my union work and the exaggerated dangers with which he alarms the party.

The Dobbs letter is designed to influence the party comrades against making any serious defense of the workers' standards. It invents an ultra-left danger in our union work. The letter ignores completely the real danger which lies in the opportunist tendencies developing throughout the party. Comrade Dobbs wrote:

Conditions clearly indicate that the masses are not in motion. . . . When the workers are not on the offensive the top union officials are bolder than ever in their moves to crush every opposition tendency. . . . We do not have to rise up against every incorrect proposal that is made. We should in general take only such steps in this direction as are necessary to show that we do not support measures which are against the best interests of the workers. Even in this case, we must do only what can be done without jeopardizing our positions in the union. . . .

How can Comrade Dobbs say, "the masses are not in motion," in the face of a wave of strikes throughout the country? True, the biggest industrial establishments are not involved in great offensive actions. From the limited reports available the strikes occur over resistance to speed-up, firing of union militants, refusals of bosses to deal with union committees, and in many cases over wage increases. Many of the strikes and stoppages of these last few months have resulted in clear-cut victories for the workers: for example the southern Indiana miners stayed out four weeks to win 40¢ a day increase. Some cases were referred to the government agencies for settlement; the decisions rendered will be part of the political education of the working class. The majority of the strikes were defensive in character and were caused by attacks of the bosses; they occurred in spite of the pressure and intervention of the bureaucrats. We may rest assured that the capitalist class will continue its attacks on the workers who will continue to fight back. In this country as in France we may expect the ruling class and its lackeys, the Stalinists and labor fakers of all kinds to label the struggling workers, "Trotskyites."

Our experience has clearly shown that the party gains in prestige and membership because of participation in the class struggle. In the fight against Jim Crowism our comrades in different parts of the country have had occasion to support the fight of our Negro union brothers, and were able to defeat the conservative and reactionary elements. As a result the party recruited some good fighting Negro workers. The party must continue this policy wherever our comrades are in a position to undertake the struggle. We must not deceive ourselves: in the fight against Jim Crowism our people will be exposed to the attacks of the reactionaries. It is a certainty that we will not have the support of the labor fakers. It must also be recognized that we cannot participate in this fight "without jeopardizing our positions in the unions."

Some of our comrades have been influential in the struggle against the cuts in overtime pay. As a result of this fight we have made powerful enemies, but we have made friends and found allies among the best and most militant elements. Our militant comrades did not follow the policy proposed by the Dobbs letter. Nor did they follow the advice of Comrade Warde, a new-comer to Detroit as well as to the union movement, who insists that "We must be careful not to provoke the union bureaucrats." We did in these cases follow the policy endorsed by the party trade union resolution and the branch. Perhaps it would be pertinent to point out that within the last two months 60% of our auto comrades in Detroit have been engaged in strikes, stoppages, or class struggle fights to defend the union. We also have comrades who interpret party policy along the lines of the new N.C. policy and although claiming to have their locals "in the palms of our hands" nevertheless avoid all fight on the big issues before the union. These comrades take refuge in "abstentionism" and if they don't participate in the fight against the labor agents of the bosses, at least they hold their jobs and posts. Such a policy reflects the pressure on our ranks of enemy class forces and must be condemned by the party as opportunistic through and through. Coupled with the opportunistic policy of abstention from struggle is the tendency among some of our comrades to enter into unprincipled combinationism and watering down of our union program. The party has only recently made a beginning in the fight against this old danger and we must expect opportunist manifestations to crop up in our ranks because of the greatly increased pressure of our enemies. It must be made clear to the party that in this period we will be in sharp conflict with the bosses, their state, and their labor agents. Our comrades must learn to carry on the struggle with considerable caution if we are to reduce victimization of union militants and our own people to a minimum. It behooves us to acquaint the party with the methods of struggle used in the unions a few decades back. Then the left wing elements successfully carried on their struggle under very difficult circumstances by extensive use of internal union printed discussions issued by progressive groups. Despite persecutions and victimization a genuine left wing movement developed for example in the A.F. of L. unions of the 1920's. The progressive forces of that day rallied around the Communist leadership and won dominant influence over many local and a few international unions.

The struggles of the workers will continue and involve ever larger numbers of workers despite the pressure of the bosses, their agents, and the war. We must support these struggles and must participate in them because our party is rooted in the working class. Its interests are our interests. We must expect, and cannot entirely avoid attack. In this fight we will be the best defenders of the unions; we must be. It is a pre-requisite if we are to be the center around which the genuine class' struggle militants form themselves. From participation in the struggle we will grow despite inevitable persecutions. We must avoid endorsing opportunist policies by taking the stand of "abstentionists" in the name of "preserving ourselves for the revolution." It is impermissible that now as we are entering a period of politicalization of the masses, of the real beginnings of the struggles of contending class forces, we, the political party of the working class -- withdraw from the arena.

"The struggle in the trade unions is essentially a struggle for influence over the working class. Despite the tendency towards degeneration of the trade unions and their 'growing together' with the imperialist state, our work within the trade unions becomes even more important than before. For the trade unions remain the main arena in which the revolutionist can contend with the agents of the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the working class. The agents of the bourgeoisie cannot but appear henceforth as exponents of state domination of the unions and opponents of trade union democracy. We become the banner bearers for the freedom of the unions and for workers democracy within the unions. Precisely because monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions, the labor agents of monopoly capitalism will become less and less able to maintain their influence over the great masses in the unions. That is why we shall succeed in proving our right to the leadership of the trade unions as the defenders of trade union independence and trade union democracy."

So we wrote in the last trade union resolution adopted Oct. 1941. We must not abandon that policy.

A few words about "the case of Comrade Rice." Comrade Dobbs wrote, "His resolution brought prompt counter-action. The company fired him and is prepared with a red-baiting defense of its action." From whom did Comrade Dobbs get that story? Not from me. The company fired me for the same reason any boss fires any militant union man. More, the company called the FBI which was ready to make a pinch, and the bureau investigated at least one other bargaining committee member. The reason we did not have a strike to re-instate me (although there were two stoppages demanding my re-instatement) was largely due to the attitude of the bureaucracy towards the local union and the party. The fact of the matter is that for four months

the corporation had employed a lawyer to prepare statements from company stooges charging me with interference with production. The International union organizers were approached by the company many times with proposals to get rid of me within the year preceding my discharge. The story that the company was prepared with a red-baiting campaign couldn't have been a factor; the company had already lost that battle. Company stooges had conducted a full-time two-week election campaign on one issue alone: my relationship to the Old Man in Mexico, information acquired from the press and noted by the trade union bureaucrats because they knew me. Despite the campaign I was elected chairman of the bargaining committee with the highest vote given to any candidate.

The Dobbs letter says, "Our trade union work is now in the propaganda stage," and "He introduced a resolution in the local union calling for the government to take over the plant and turn it over to the workers to operate." Comrade Dobbs, apparently, is determined to create the impression that I introduced a political resolution "in a premature outburst of militancy." Comrade Dobbs has before him a copy of the resolution or an adequate account of its contents. It covers more than the point he mentions, namely preparation for a strike because of serious violations of the contract. It calls upon the International union for aid; it states that the membership is prepared to defend its contractual rights covering wages, back pay, supervision working in violation of agreement of contract, etc. The political point served as the basis for a more extensive political discussion at the union meeting and the entire resolution was applauded and unanimously carried by the workers. That's propaganda.

In conclusion, the policy I pursued in the auto union was correct and subject to the approval of the party branch either before an action (where it was possible) or afterwards. There was never one single word of disagreement by any comrade with the policy in my local union; that policy established the local and raised wages 26 to 28 cents per hour. The resolution of the local presented to the CIO convention expressed the sentiments of the local membership who were acquainted with those policies through many previous discussions. Both resolutions were known to quite a number of leading party comrades (among them the control commission) not one of whom objected to raising the political issue in the specific local union. Raising the resolution had nothing to do with my being discharged. The discharge stuck because the forces opposed to the union were too strong for us to fight successfully at the time.

The only way to avoid risks is not to fight against the boss in the first place. Capitulators of all kinds operate under the delusion that they can avoid their fate. Bolsheviks fight on the basis of class program.

June 26, 1942.

REALISM IN TRADE UNION WORK

By Farrell Dobbs

The first requirement for a realistic approach to our mass work is a clear understanding of the present political conditions. The party must accurately evaluate the relation of forces with the class enemy. Only then can we properly determine our tactical steps for this period. We must know what we are up against and what forces we have at our disposal. At present the full weight of reaction bears down heavily upon the small group of revolutionary militants in the unions, throwing the scales way over to the advantage of the bourgeoisie and placing the militants in a most vulnerable position. This must be clearly understood by every comrade if we are to ward off premature tests of strength and avoid unnecessary sacrifices.

Fully conscious of the problem, the National Committee has sought to avail itself of every opportunity to acquaint the party membership with its appraisal of the situation. One of the mediums used has been the circulation of letters to the branches dealing with concrete examples based on the experiences of the comrades in the field. These letters were written not for the purpose of censuring any of the comrades involved, but to present an objective appraisal of the comrades' experiences for the benefit of the entire party membership. This has always been an important method of education in our party.

One of these circular letters, issued June 2, 1942, dealt with the experience of Comrade Rice, who was fired from his job after introducing a radical resolution in his union. Comrade Rice has sent in a discussion article, dated June 26, 1942, in which he objects to the "false and conservative" trade union tactics advocated in the above-mentioned letter and protests the "exaggerated dangers with which he (Dobbs) alarms the party."

Comrade Rice demands to know how we can say the masses are not in motion "in the face of a wave of strikes throughout the country." He lists some of the issues involved in the strikes which have occurred recently and anchors this point to the strike of the southern Indiana miners as an example of the victories. Where the settlement has been referred to a government agency, he points out, it will be part of the political education of the workers. Most of the strikes, he adds, occurred in spite of the pressure and intervention of the union bureaucrats. All he has proven here is that there have been some strikes, a fact which no one will dispute. It can be shown that Comrade Rice is merely painting into this picture the mistaken idea that there are masses now in motion.

There has been an increase in the number of strikes each month during the first half of 1942. However, they continue to occur as isolated flareups with a relatively small number of workers involved. Most of these strikes have been short-lived, with the

government and the union officialdom moving in quickly to get them called off. It is true that a few were fought out and won. It is also a fact that several were broken (the Budd strike of the UAW in Philadelphia, for example). These isolated actions, increasing in number, clearly indicate that the workers are not content with things as they are -- and we know that conditions will grow worse for them. Nevertheless, it would be wishful thinking, and a dangerous premise on which to base our tactics, if we were to mistake this symptom, healthy as it is, for the real thing. Mass action on a scale sufficient to shift the present unfavorable relation of forces is not yet here.

The workers are still quite securely fettered in the trade unions. They are bound hand and foot by their support of the war and their acceptance of Roosevelt's leadership. The union officials are helping to draw these chains tighter. Strike control continues to remain quite firmly in the hands of Roosevelt and his lackeys in the union hierarchy. It is not philanthropy which has led the War Labor Board to include the so-called union security clauses in its decisions. Roosevelt feels safer with the workers inside the unions, as they are now constituted, than he would if the workers were outside the unions and therefore less regimented by the traitors in their own ranks.

The recent WLB decision in Little Steel and its acceptance by the policy committee of the United Steel Workers has further strengthened Roosevelt's hand. The wage issue in steel could have marked a turning point toward a collision of strong union forces with the government. Instead the workers were betrayed once again by their leadership. The apprehension and the uneasiness seems to be growing in the union ranks, but the general attitude is still one of watchful waiting. The masses are not yet in motion.

"True, the biggest industrial establishments are not involved in great offensive actions," Comrade Rice admits. But this does not daunt him -- he has a handy substitute! "The capitalist class," he writes, "will continue its attacks on the workers who will continue to fight back. . . . The struggles of the workers will continue and involve ever larger numbers of workers despite the pressure of the bosses, their agents and the war." What he is attempting here is to substitute the future for the inadequacies of the present. Surely we all have sufficient revolutionary confidence in the working class to agree that sooner or later the masses will fight, and we are Marxists enough to know that the capitalist class will continue its attacks on the workers. But the question before us is this: What is the situation right now and what can we do about it?

Comrade Rice says we must support these struggles. He reminds us that it is impermissible for our party to "withdraw from the arena." We won't withdraw. Neither do we intend to push our individual militants in the unions into premature actions which would enable the bosses and the labor bureaucrats to get rid of them before things have really begun to move. We will support the mass actions of the workers. But we won't delude ourselves into seeing rising revolt in every sporadic outburst of small scale struggle.

"Ride to the sound of the guns!" This audacious military tactic laid down by Murat is a parallel to the directive Comrade Rice would issue to the party. However, Napoleon's famous marshal referred to the cannonade of mass battle. He did not wear down his forces by rushing them headlong into every skirmish that broke out during the preliminary stages of the conflict. Any general who is worth his salt knows that if the best troops are sacrificed in the first brushes with the enemy the situation will be extremely difficult when the main action begins.

"It must be made clear to the party," says Comrade Rice, "that in this period we will be in sharp conflict with the bosses, their state and their labor agents." He demands that we guarantee this "sharp conflict" by rushing into action wherever we see a group of workers momentarily in motion. "We must expect, and cannot entirely avoid attack," we are told. Therefore, it seems, we must precipitate the battle regardless of the present relation of forces. The whole tenor of Comrade Rice's policy is to substitute the action of the party, leading at most only isolated groups of workers, for the action of the masses.

We do go ahead of the masses with thoughts, ideas and propaganda. This is what we do in our press. This is what the comrades do in their individual discussions with contacts. We don't adapt ourselves to the status-quo and the backwardness and the prejudices. We seek to recruit new members into the party and to raise the general level of political understanding in the party as a whole. This is how we build up our Trotskyist cadres and prepare them for the great battles ahead.

But we don't act without the masses. We don't substitute for them. Nor do we try to push them when they are not ready. We are confronted by powerful enemies. They would be only too glad for a chance to cut us off from the masses. If we were to act like Blanquist adventurers that is what would happen. We propagandize. We agitate. But we wait for the masses.

Comrade Rice tries to find confirmation for his policy in the role of our comrades in the fight against Jim Crowism and the resistance to cuts in overtime pay. "Our militant comrades," he says, "did not follow the policy proposed by the Dobbs letter." This is pure formalism. Both of these cases are exceptions to the general situation and even then they have limitations as opportunities for struggle.

The Negro masses are in motion in the fight against racial discrimination. The trade union movement, especially the CIO, gives at least formal support to the principle of racial equality. The Roosevelt administration cannot suppress this struggle by the same methods it uses against the trade union workers generally. These circumstances present opportunities for our comrades to participate in and sometimes lead the struggles of the Negro workers. A complicating factor is the anti-Negro prejudice still quite prevalent among the white workers, which is constantly played upon by the forces of reaction. This is not a determining factor in

developing our tactics on this question, but it dictates certain practical considerations which we shall not attempt to examine here.

The second example cited is the fight in the UAW against giving up overtime pay. The auto union is the most democratic of the big CIO unions. The officialdom cannot run things in the customary manner of the union bureaucrat. There are more frequent opportunities for opposition to the policies of the top leadership. This situation manifested itself on the overtime question in the fight of a small minority against the capitulation at the UAW Detroit conference and the subsequent resistance of a few local unions to the sacrifice of the overtime pay. But these events do not prove that the mass of the auto workers are in motion. In fact, the great mass of the auto workers remained inactive and made no fight on the issue. If the comrades forget this fact and attempt to carry the overtime fight too far it may lead to serious consequences for them.

Comrade Rice does not seem to understand that the examples he has used represent exceptions to the general state of the mass movement. He links them to his mistaken conception of the significance of the recent strikes and concludes that the party must go all-out for action. This is our bounden duty, he tells us, because "our party is rooted in the working class." Once again -- formalism! We are rooted in the working class ideologically through our program. But physically we have only a very small toe-hold. The big job of getting a mass base in the ranks of the workers is yet before us. We are a small minority party, equipped with a well trained basic cadre, but seriously lacking in numbers. We cannot afford either foolishly to disregard the present strength of our enemies or needlessly to help them cut us off from the masses. We must be on guard against adventurist tactics which can ultimately lead only to isolation from the masses or adaptation to the war program. That is why we have been sending out the branch circulars on trade union work, including the criticism of the conduct of Comrade Rice to which he has taken exception.

He contends we have given a misleading account of his union work. The essential facts we presented are confirmed by him, but he takes issue with us on the interpretation of the process which led to his discharge. Let us take up Comrade Rice's review and analysis: A previous red-baiting campaign had been conducted against him. The company had many times asked the International Union to get rid of him and had employed a lawyer to prepare charges that he was interfering with production. The resolution he introduced in the union under these conditions called for the government to take over the plant and turn it over to the workers to operate. The resolution, Comrade Rice emphasizes, covered more than this point -- "namely, preparation for a strike." The resolution was applauded and unanimously carried by the workers after a political discussion at the union meeting. "That's propaganda," we are told. "Raising the resolution had nothing to do with my being discharged," he writes. "The discharge stuck because the forces opposed to the union were too strong for us to fight

successfully at the time." We can agree that it was not the resolution alone which led to his discharge. He was already under heavy attack and when he introduced the resolution he simply gave his opponents the opportunity they had been seeking. The discharge stuck because the forces opposing the union were too strong. This attempt to refute our criticism succeeds only in doubly confirming everything we said.

Fresh from this experience, out of which he apparently learned nothing, Comrade Rice attacks the "new N.C. policy" as one of "absentionism." The National Committee is not advocating a "new" policy. We are merely seeking to adjust our tactics in mass work to the requirements of the present situation. This is the method our party has always followed, and the extent of our mass contacts viewed in proportion to the size of the party testifies to the correctness of the method. This is not a policy of "abstentionism." It is simply one of caution and preparation to make our action, when we take it, really effective. We are trying to avoid suicidal individual acts which could only isolate the comrades from the masses under the given conditions.

The National Committee is closely supervising and calling for caution, but no one must get the idea we want to hold back from real action or suspend activity. Nor must it be thought that this represents conservatism on the part of the leadership. We don't countenance any kind of opportunist adaptation to the war program. We are even more against this than we are against precipitate action. The latter can be corrected but adaptation to the war sentiment is something far more serious. The one is a mistake in tactics, the other a mistake in principle.

Right now we ask the comrades to just be patient. When the time comes that the masses are ready to move, the leadership of the party won't be in their way. We will be calling on the fractions to get busy, to take all the necessary personal risks and to be out in front leading the fight. We are just trying to prevent the comrades from wasting themselves now when it is not the time for action. Otherwise it would be impossible to function when the real opportunity comes.

We don't promise to avoid casualties. That is impossible. We are trying to reduce them to a minimum, especially in the early stages. We hope to have no capitulations either, but there may be a few here and there. The party leaders will not set that kind of an example. Nor will they leave the comrades without advice. All possible assistance will be given to the comrades in their complicated situations.

A question which disturbs many comrades is: How can we keep the record clear if we don't take a position in the union on every important question, especially those directly connected with the union? The answer is: It is unnecessary and impossible for each individual member to be a walking political party. We make a division of labor between the party and the party press on the one hand and the party member in the union on the other. The

individual member in the union lacks the freedom of the party because of his economic position. If he makes some untactful expression or move, he can be thrown out of the factory and the union in a minute. The party is not under such restraint. Therefore, we work out a division of labor. The party speaks for the individual union member. The party says what he leaves unsaid. He doesn't make a complete record himself, and he doesn't need to because the party makes it for him. The individual member need not worry if he leaves much unsaid. Thereby he is only protecting himself, and with the full consent and approval of the party. When the tide turns he can raise his voice. He can claim full credit for the party for having told the truth from the beginning.

It is worthwhile to repeat: While we go ahead of the masses in thoughts, ideas and propaganda, we don't act without the masses. The comrades must constantly bear this in mind. The main vehicle for our propaganda work is the party press. This is supplemented by individual contact work which facilitates recruiting. The political education, not only of the new recruits but also the entire party membership, is one of our major tasks. We must prepare the best possible forces for the events ahead.

In our work in the unions we must not try to jump ahead of the masses. We must also do what we can to prevent isolated groups of militant workers from getting out too far ahead where they can be too easily cut down. The comrades must not permit themselves to become intoxicated by small successes. Learn how to distinguish the actual relation of forces. Be sensitive to events and always remember to take time to think before you act. If we follow this course we shall be best situated for real action when the tide turns.

The tide will turn and the time will come when the masses will be surging forward into action. The surest guarantee that our party will be there to lead them will be our cadres planted in the unions in this difficult period.

CALL FOR THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
-- TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISTS --

July 24, 1942

To all Locals, Branches and Members
of the Socialist Workers Party:

Dear Comrades:

Pursuant to the provisions of the party constitution, the National Committee hereby calls the Fifth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party -- the Tenth National Convention of the American Trotskyists -- to convene in New York City on Friday, October 2d, and continue for three days (Friday, Saturday and Sunday, October 2d, 3d and 4th.)

AGENDA

The National Committee proposes the following agenda for the convention:

- (1) Political report.
- (2) Trade Union and Organizational Report
(Practical party work in the present political situation).
- (3) International Report.
- (4) Election of the National Committee.

The political resolution of the National Committee is now being mimeographed and will be ready for distribution in a few days.

PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

The party pre-convention discussion is formally opened with the publication of this call. The Internal Bulletin is open for all party members on the subjects listed in the agenda or others which they may wish to present for the consideration of the party. Branch and membership meetings shall be arranged for discussion of the various subjects on the agenda. Our traditional provisions and safeguards for the adequate and free presentation of all points of view shall govern all discussions.

CONVENTION ASSESSMENT

As authorized by the party constitution, a convention assessment of two dollars per member is hereby levied, the payment of which is obligatory for every employed member.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

- (1) Representation from branches shall be as follows:
One delegate for the first 15 members or less,
and one additional delegate for each 15 additional
members or major fraction thereof.
- (2) Each branch having five or more members is entitled
to a voting delegate.
- (3) Delegates are to be elected by branches in accord-
ance with the actual number of members in good
standing who have been admitted to the party prior
to July 24, 1942 (the date of the Convention Call)
and who have paid their convention assessment, as
certified by the branch executive committee on the
day of voting.
- (4) Branches organized after the date of this conven-
tion call are entitled to send fraternal delegates
as provided by the party constitution.
- (5) Members admitted to the party after the date of
this convention call are entitled to voice in the
party discussion but no vote on resolutions or in
the selection of delegates.
- (6) Absentee votes on political resolutions and in
the election of delegates shall not be permitted
except in clearly established cases of occupational
necessity (for example, sailors on ships, regular
night workers, etc.) In all such cases the votes
must be submitted in writing and recognized by
motion at the branch meeting at the time of the
branch voting.
- (7) Members transferring from one branch to another
within the same locality subsequent to July 24,
1942 must vote in the branch from which they
transferred.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

- (1) In case of political differences defined by con-
flicting resolutions, the election of delegates in the branches
is to be on the basis of proportional representation. Delo-
gates shall be elected on the basis of the vote on resolution
or resolutions voted on at the meeting at which the delegates

are elected. Members voting for a given resolution are entitled to designate the delegate or delegates to which they are entitled on the basis of proportional representation laid down in this call, the designations to be ratified by the branch. Abstentions in no case count as votes.

- (a) If a branch is entitled to one delegate, the delegate goes to the majority of those present and voting at the time of the election.
- (b) If two delegates, a minority with 40% gets one.
- (c) If three delegates, a minority with 33% gets one, the majority getting the others.
- (d) If four delegates, a minority with 25% gets one delegate, but a minority with 40% gets half the delegates.
- (e) If five delegates, a minority with 20% gets one.
- (f) If six delegates, a minority with 16-2/3% gets one delegate but a minority with 40% gets half the delegates, etc.

CONVENTION ATTENDANCE

The National Committee proposes that all party members in good standing who present proofs of membership may attend the convention as visitors.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY


National Secretary

JPC:SC

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Submitted by the National Committee)

1. The basic position of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party on the imperialist war and the tasks of the proletarian world revolution have been set forth in a series of documents published during the past eight years. Beginning with the fundamental theses on War and the Fourth International (1934), they include the resolutions of the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International (1938); the S.W.P. convention resolution on the Soviet Union (1939); the S.W.P. Conference resolution on Proletarian Military Policy (1940); the Manifesto of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International on The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution (1940); the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the fall of France (1940) and in defense of the Soviet Union (1941); the S.W.P. Manifesto on the Soviet-Nazi war (1941); the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on American intervention and our defense of China (1941); the statement by J.P. Cannon on the entry of the United States into the war (1942); and the statement of Grace Carlson as a candidate of the party in the St. Paul elections of this year.

2. All these documents contain a consistent line of principle which guides all our activities. We are equipped with a tested program of revolutionary struggle thought out and fought out over a period of many years. Our task today is to hold fast to these principles as the guiding line for all our activities and to apply the program based upon them to events and problems as they arise in the course of the class struggle.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE WAR

3. This, in Lenin's words, is the epoch of imperialist wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings. The second world war is a continuation of the first on the part of all the imperialist powers on both sides. By 1914 world capitalism had already outlived its progressive stage. Its wars had become utterly reactionary, an expression of the impasse, stagnation and decay of monopoly capital. Since then, imperialism has assumed an even more reactionary, violent and oppressive character. This is true of both the fascist and "democratic" imperialisms. To support the wars of imperialist powers is to defend the fettering of the productive forces by the outlived frameworks of private property and national states. The claim that this is a war of democracy against fascism is a fraud. Like the first world war, the second is being fought for seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material and spheres of influence, except that this time the stakes are even greater, encompassing the entire world. This objective historical meaning of the war, and not the

propaganda of the governments, determines our stand.

4. All these considerations apply in full force to the United States. Long before its advent we warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war and stated that such a war could only be an imperialist war. The actual entry of the United States into the conflict has not altered our position, but confirmed it. We do not and cannot give any support to this reactionary war undertaken on behalf of America's monopolists to ensure their world domination of markets, foreign concessions, sources of war materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war, not ours.

5. Our struggle is the Leninist struggle against the war. We reject all forms of pacifism, including conscientious objection and draft dodging. The death agony of capitalism brings with it a period of uninterrupted wars and universal militarism when all great questions must be solved by military means. A "peace" concluded by imperialists could only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against the imperialism which breeds such wars can secure a real peace. Our task is to win the majority of the American workers and farmers to the program of socialist revolution. That is the only program of peace and progress.

6. That this is the epoch not only of imperialist wars but also of proletarian revolutions was confirmed in 1917 when the Soviets became the state power in Russia, abolished private property and nationalized the means of production, including the land. It then became a class duty for every worker to defend the Soviet Union. That remains our duty today. We remain today as we have been from its birth unconditional defenders and devoted partisans of the Soviet Union. The war of the Soviet Union is our war, the war of the workers everywhere. The Soviet Union remains a workers' state, although degenerated by the rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. Only traitors to the working class can deny support to the workers' state in its war against imperialism, regardless of whether the immediate enemy be a fascist or bourgeois democratic government, and regardless of what temporary military alliances the Soviet Union may make with rival imperialist powers. In war, as in peace, there remains a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its temporary military allies. We are Soviet patriots in war as in peace; we remain irreconcilable opponents of all the imperialists. All Trotskyists are united in this stand. The convention records the fact that Soviet defensism, as against the treacherous policy of "Soviet defeatism", recommended by the Burnham-Shachtman group at the last convention of the party, has prevailed throughout the Fourth International. Thereby the world movement of Trotskyism has demonstrated that it takes its revolutionary program seriously.

7. The war of China for national independence against the Japanese imperialists must likewise be ardently supported by every honest worker, above all by the workers of China whose fate is bound up with the struggle for the independence of the country. That China is compelled by practical considerations to enter into alliances with imperialist allies can present grave dangers for the future but does not alter the fundamental character of China's struggle today. The designs of Anglo-American imperialism to subordinate great China to their own predatory struggle are a long way from realization. In fact, the first results of the war in the Pacific have been to strengthen, not to weaken the independent position of China vis-a-vis her imperialist allies. A victory for China would be a tremendous blow against all imperialism, inspiring all colonial peoples to throw off the imperialist yoke. The bourgeois regime of Chiang Kai-shek, subservient to the "democracies" and oppressing and restraining the Chinese masses, has hampered China's ability to conduct a bold war for independence; but that does not alter the essential fact that China is an oppressed nation fighting against an imperialist oppressor. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national unification and national independence is doubly progressive because, on the one side this prepares more favorable conditions for their own economic development while, on the other side, this deals blows against imperialism as a world system. The Fourth Internationalists of China, understanding this, are fighting in the front ranks against Japanese imperialism while maintaining their political independence and their irreconcilable opposition to the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Thus they assure their great future at the head of the Chinese proletariat. Any other course would doom them to political annihilation.

8. The only correct program in this war is the Marxist program which combines revolutionary opposition to all the imperialists with the defense of the Soviet Union and China. Those petty-bourgeois and sectarian phrasemongers who "simplify" matters by renouncing support of the Soviet Union and China are in reality deserting the proletarian world revolution, the furtherance of which is integrally connected to support of the Soviet Union and China, as well as to opposition to all the imperialists in this war.

9. Events have fully confirmed the correctness of the program of the Fourth International. This can be verified by drawing the balance-sheet of the most important developments of the war.

10. Four world-shaking events have taken place since the Manifesto on The Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution was issued by the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940. A month later Germany crushed France and with it bourgeois democracy on the European continent. The Third Republic collapsed, giving way to the Bonapartist dictatorship of the senile Petain and servile Laval. A year after France fell, Hitler unleashed his assault upon the Soviet Union. In December

1941 Japan, in answer to Roosevelt's ultimatum, smashed at Pearl Harbor and gave Roosevelt the looked-for occasion to enter the war. By January 1942 all the imperialist powers and all peoples had been drawn into the war arena. In the First World War the countries were divided between actual participants and spectators. Today the whole of humanity has become directly involved in the slaughter. There are no innocent or unaffected bystanders in the Second World War. This applies with full force to the Asiatic colonial peoples who played a relatively passive and insignificant role in the last war. Now they stand in the very center of the conflict and will have a decisive part in determining its course and outcome. This upsurge of national self-confidence of the colonial people of Asia is the fourth great event of the present period.

THE EVENTS IN EUROPE

11. The fall of France not only testified to Germany's economic and military superiority on the European continent; it exposed the rottenness of French bourgeois democracy as well as the inability of the French bourgeoisie to defend their own nation against the fascist invaders. After crushing the workers' bid for power in 1936, the capitalist politicians and their Stalinist, Socialist and Syndicalist lieutenants in the labor movement called upon the French workers to fight for the capitalist fatherland in order to defend democracy and national independence. Duped by the bourgeoisie and betrayed by their leaders, the French workers suffered the loss of their democratic rights and their class organizations together with national unity and independence. The main section of French capitalism has entered into collaboration with the fascist conquerors; another group has gone over into the Anglo-American camp.

12. The fate of France contains a great political lesson for the workers of the whole world. It has again demonstrated that the bourgeoisie puts its profits and privileges above either national independence or democracy. Whenever their social and economic interests and their political predominance are imperiled by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie will give up national independence, destroy democracy, substitute their naked class dictatorship and collaborate with the oppressors. For the sake of preserving private property, privileges and profits, or even in the hope of preserving some of them, the bourgeoisie will turn against their own people. Official patriotism serves simply as a mask to conceal the class interests of the exploiters. The subsequent capitulations of the French bourgeoisie to Hitler have proved this to the hilt.

13. The aspiration of the masses of France and the other occupied countries for national liberation has profound revolutionary implications. But, like the sentiment of anti-fascism, it can be perverted to the uses of imperialism. Such a perversion of the movement is inevitable if it proceeds under the slogans and leadership of bourgeois nationalism. The "democratic" imperialist gangsters are interested only in recovering the property which has been taken away from them by the fascist gangsters.

This is what they mean by national liberation. The interests of the masses are profoundly different. The task of the workers of the occupied countries is to put themselves at the head of the insurgent movement of the people and direct it toward the struggle for the socialist reorganization of Europe. Their allies in this struggle are not the Anglo-American imperialists and their satellites among the native bourgeoisie, but the workers of Germany. Peace, security and prosperity can be assured for the people of Europe only by its economic unification based on the socialist collaboration of the free nations. Only with this perspective is national liberation worth talking about, still less fighting and dying for. The central unifying slogan of the revolutionary fight is "The Socialist United States of Europe" and to it all other slogans must be subordinated.

14. The German proletariat made a revolution in 1918, only to be robbed of its fruits by the bourgeois-Social-Democratic coalition. For fifteen years thereafter the proletariat remained loyal to the parties avowing workers' socialism. A revolutionary situation in 1923 was lost by the incapacity of the German Communist Party leadership disoriented by the Comintern, already then in the first stages of its Stalinist degeneration. In the last regular election (1932) the workers' parties polled 13,000,000 votes. Hitler came to power only by the help of the rottenness, incapacity and treachery of Social Democracy and Stalinism. Betrayed by their own parties the German workers were crushed by Nazism. It may be assumed that Hitler's diplomatic and military victories created a certain amount of chauvinist intoxication among the masses for a time. Now, however, they gaze on the ruin of Europe -- and the ruin of Germany. They mourn millions of dead and wounded, the masses grow hungry as in 1916-18, and the end is far away. Chauvinist intoxication must begin to give way before the grim realities. The fear of a new and worse Versailles is the most potent weapon in Hitler's hands. But that weapon will fall from his hands with the first serious revolutionary developments in the "democracies" or in the occupied countries. The mighty German proletariat will say the most decisive word in the socialist revolution of Europe.

15. The workers of Britain are being impelled toward proletarian revolution by the collapse of the British Empire. The reformism of the British Labor Party and the trade unions was based on the crumbs thrown to a privileged section of the workers by a sated imperialist power; that reformism is losing its foundations. Therewith the road is being cleared for the stormy development of a revolutionary party of the Fourth International. Only the Socialist United States of Europe offers the British proletariat a perspective for hope. All the objective pre-requisites for proletarian revolution are now present in the British Isles. The British Trotskyists stand before their great historic task of organizing and leading the British workers to their revolutionary destiny.

THE SOVIET UNION AT WAR

16. The events affecting the Soviet Union during the last year, as well as previously, are incomprehensible except to those who are guided by the Trotskyist analysis of the character of the Soviet Union. We alone have accurately explained the course of the USSR, we alone do not have to conceal what we said yesterday. While Stalin boasted of the "irrevocable victory" of socialism achieved in the Soviet Union, we warned that Germany had become the spearhead of imperialist assault against the workers' state, and that only successful proletarian revolutions in one or more advanced countries could safeguard the Soviet Union. When the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union and the entire "democratic" world cheered on Mannerheim's Finnish Army against the Soviet Union, petty-bourgeois deserters turned their backs on the USSR which they suddenly termed "imperialist", but we remained firm defensists of the workers' state, partisans of its victory over the Finnish outpost of world imperialism. We explained that by the seizures of the Finnish, Polish and Baltic territories the Kremlin bureaucracy was not pursuing imperialist aims but was in its own bureaucratic and reactionary way seeking to safeguard the defenses of the Soviet Union. We condemned the Stalinist bureaucracy for these land seizures precisely because the strategic advantages secured by the seizures were far outweighed by the discredit they brought upon the workers' state in the eyes of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants who considered them joint operations of the Nazi and Red Armies.

17. Stalin sought to avoid involvement in this war, first by an alliance with France and England against Germany, and then by an alliance with Germany and Japan against France and England. Neither maneuver succeeded in accomplishing its aim of keeping the Soviet Union out of the war. Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers, and all the deceitful propaganda and treacherous actions flowing from them, served only to disorient the workers in capitalist countries, to alienate them from the USSR, and to leave them unprepared for Hitler's inevitable assault upon the USSR. Stalin's foreign and domestic policies did not strengthen the USSR, but weakened it immeasurably.

18. While Stalin was swearing undying friendship with Hitler, whitewashing the Nazis' crimes, and camouflaging their imperialist aims, Trotsky issued his prophetic warning: "Hitler's war in the West is only a preparation for a gigantic move toward the East -- against the Soviet Union." When that move came on June 22, 1941, the workers under Stalinist influence were caught completely off guard. On the eve of the attack, TASS, the official Stalinist news agency, issued a statement from Moscow, denouncing reports of the impending invasion as false rumors inspired by the Anglo-American war mongers. Thus, after shielding Hitler's crimes from the start of the war, Stalin helped to hide from the working class Hitler's preparations for assaulting the USSR. While the Trotskyists warned the workers in advance of the inevitable attack of German imperialism, the "all-seeing" Stalin led them blindfold to the edge of the abyss.

19. To Hitler's initial advantage of surprise was added the damage to the Red Army wrought by Stalin's purges which had decimated the general staff and officers' corps. The plans and fortifications of Tukhachevsky and his staff had to be put to use by new people. Surprise may have accounted for the first month's German victories. But the German victories of the next months, when both sides were relatively equal in material and manpower, and the Soviet troops superior in morale, can be accounted for primarily by the inferior staff work of the Red Army due to the purges. Hence the loss of the Ukraine, the Dnieper basin, the German advance to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad and the new German drive toward the Caucasus.

20. But the Kremlin bureaucracy is not the Soviet Union, any more than Murray, Green and Company are the CIO and the AFL. The vast moral and material resources created by the nationalized property established by the October revolution poured into the breach. The Red Army and war production were free from the fetters which private property imposes upon "national defense" even in wartime; no profiteers existed to limit war orders to monopoly corporations. The "scorched earth" policy could be applied by a land without private property with a determination and planfulness which are impossible to capitalist countries. The moving of industrial plants from endangered areas to places deep in the interior, the building of a second railroad across Siberia -- such gigantic economic actions in wartime were made possible only by the system of nationalized property. Bureaucratic mismanagement could dissipate much of the superior resources provided by the nationalized property, but the decisive superiority of this property system was proved in war, as it had already proven itself in peace by the increase in productivity.

21. Above all, the system of nationalized property provided the basis for the unprecedented morale of the Soviet workers and peasants. The Soviet masses have something to fight for. They fight for their factories, their land, their collective economy. They fight to preserve the remaining conquests of the October revolution against the imperialists who would reestablish private property. After five months of terrible defeats, workers from the factories joined the heroic Red Army warriors at the gates of Leningrad and Moscow and helped recover Rostov in the dark days of last winter, in an outburst of proletarian revolutionary endeavor. There is nothing like this in the imperialist countries. Those who deny that the Soviet Union is a workers' state cannot explain the unprecedented morale of the Soviet workers and peasants. But great sections of the workers throughout the world have grasped the fact that, unlike the people of the imperialist countries and colonies, the Soviet masses are fighting for their own conquests achieved by the October revolution. Soviet resistance has given the workers everywhere renewed strength and hope and has helped restore confidence in their own capacities as a class. These expressions of the strangled and desecrated Russian revolution, fighting for its life under treacherous leaders and the most adverse conditions, indicate what miracles the coming international revolution will achieve once it unfolds its

real program and exhibits its full power.

22. The tremendous advantages of the Soviet Union are not, however, sufficient in themselves to assure victory against the powerful imperialist adversary. The fact remains that the economy at the disposal of Hitler is greater in production than that of the Soviet Union, for despite Stalin's boasts the nationalized production, built on the backward economy inherited from Czarist Russia, could not in its isolation outstrip the imperialist world in efficiency and technique. What the Soviet Union requires to assure victory is the political arsenal by which Lenin and Trotsky saved the young Soviet republic from world capitalist intervention in 1918-1921. It requires the revival of the Soviets, the organs which mobilized the masses in all spheres and made possible the victory in the Civil War. It requires the release from the jails and concentration camps of the tens of thousands of pro-Soviet political prisoners, restoring them to their rightful place in industry and the Red Army. Workers' democracy in the trade unions! And, as part of the restoration of workers' democracy in the USSR, the legalization of all pro-Soviet political parties and their right to present their programs to the masses. These internal steps would guarantee the maximum mobilization of the energies of the masses for the struggles ahead. Instead, however, the Stalinist bureaucracy is attempting to tighten the hold of its totalitarian apparatus, suppressing the initiative of the masses and striving to restrict their struggles within completely bureaucratic channels.

23. Stalin's foreign policy is an extension of his reactionary domestic policy. Just as he stifles the revolutionary spirit of the aroused masses at home, so he fears to evoke revolutionary action of the workers in capitalist countries. Yesterday he leaned upon Hitler; today Stalin relies upon the aid and goodwill of Roosevelt and Churchill. Instead of summoning the workers, above all, the German workers, to a joint struggle against their common enemy, world imperialism, Stalin entrusts the defense of the USSR abroad to the Anglo-American section of the imperialist bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie are deadly enemies of the working class, concerned with aiding Stalin only insofar as and so long as such aid coincides with their own national aims and class interests. They fear a decisive victory of the Red Army over Hitler far more than Hitler's triumph over the USSR.

24. In his Order of the Day issued on May first, 1942, Stalin represented the struggle of the Soviet people as a purely nationalist war for the maintenance of national independence and the recovery of the conquered territory. This is a falsification. The present war of the Soviet peoples is an integral part of the international struggle of the working class and the oppressed nations against world imperialism, of which Hitler is only the most vicious representative. In deference to his Anglo-American imperialist allies, Stalin depicts Hitler's aggressions, not as an action undertaken on behalf of German and world capitalism, but as a medieval reversion. "The German Fascists", he states, "are feudalists and the German army is an army of serfs." He lies

on both counts. The German Fascists are capitalist imperialists, and their army is composed of conscripted workers and peasants.

25. Stalin's falsehoods help undermine the defense of the USSR. The Soviet Union cannot be effectively defended unless its real allies and its true enemies are known, recognized and distinguished from one another. The Nazis must be overthrown from within as well as combatted from without. How can Hitler's forces be disintegrated and won over? By arousing the German workers and peasants inside the army and on the home front against Nazism, by calling upon them to struggle in fraternity with their Soviet comrades against the fascist enslavers for their own Soviet Republic. Only the truth, and not Stalinist lies, only a revolutionary program and not a blind dependence upon Anglo-American imperialism can inspire the German workers to overthrow Hitler and, together with the Russian workers and soldiers, go forward to create the Socialist United States of Europe.

26. The Stalinist bureaucracy will not and cannot carry out this revolutionary program. The overthrow of this thoroughly degenerated gang has become more urgent than ever. While fighting in the vanguard against the fascists and doing everything possible to strengthen the military front, the Fourth Internationalists in the USSR maintain their irreconcilable hostility to the Stalinist bureaucracy, wage an unceasing struggle against it, and aim at its overthrow by means of a political revolution. The Fourth Internationalists throughout the world stand in full solidarity with their Soviet comrades in this combined struggle.

27. The beleaguered Soviet workers cannot hold out indefinitely under attack unless the workers of other countries come to their rescue. Unless the revolution rises and conquers in the capitalist world, the Soviet Union will inevitably be crushed, either by the Nazi invaders, or by the present imperialist "allies" who remain irreconcilably hostile to the first workers' state, or by a combination of the two. Lenin and Trotsky's program of world revolution and international Socialism which gave birth to the Soviet power and safeguarded the young Soviet Republic against the interventionists on 21 fronts in its first four years, is the sole means of saving the USSR for the Socialist future. We Trotskyists remain faithful to that program; we alone propagate its ideas, and work toward its realization. That is why we are today the best defenders of the Soviet Union.

THE UPSURGE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF ASIA

28. The collapse of the British and French Empires in the Far East and the continuing conflict of the rival powers in the Pacific have destroyed the myth of imperialist invincibility and awakened the colonial peoples of Asia to new hopes of national freedom. A new note of national self-confidence is heard in China and India, the decisive countries of the Far East. While the imperialist vultures claw at each other, their prey seeks to escape from their clutches. The Chinese people are fighting against Japan to avoid the fate of India under Great Britain.

The Indian people are seeking their liberation from Great Britain.

29. What do the colonial peoples of Asia want? They seek national independence. The peasants want land and an end to the usury which grinds them into the dust. The workers in the factories and on the docks, on the plantations and in the oil fields, want living wages and tolerable working conditions. They want the right to organize their trade unions and their political parties. They want to have a say about their own destiny. They want the right to live, to work, to better their lives, and provide a brighter future for their children. They want the elementary rights of every people, of every individual.

30. But the imperialist slaveholders are waging the war to hold colonies or to seize them. They cannot afford to free their colonial slaves, satisfy their demands or needs, or even to make any substantial concessions to them. They prefer to suffer a temporary loss of their colonies rather than arm the native population, hoping to recover their lost possessions with a new turn of events, or else to conclude a deal with the new possessors after the war. So the Dutch calculated in Java; so the British in Malaya, Burma and India. All the imperialists are trying, each in its own way, to dam the rising tide of colonial revolt or to sluice it into their own channels. England, while holding down India, tries to stir up revolt against Japan in Korea. Japan, while holding down Korea and occupied China, seeks to provoke uprisings in Burma and India. Each side has willing agents amongst the native bourgeoisie, landlords and princes.

31. But neither the imperialists nor their native tools will be able to stem the flood of national revolution which keeps rising to higher levels as the war unfolds. The leaders of the native bourgeoisie, despite their inherent tendency to compromise with the imperialists, are compelled to take a more aggressive position in order to avoid isolation from the insurgent masses. Thus the growing resistance and independence of the masses is manifested in the Indian Congress rejection of Cripps' proposals and in the repeated declarations from Chungking that there can be no reversion after the war to extra-territorial rights and privileges.

32. The major portion of humanity lives in Asia, two-fifths in China and India. Their struggle for national freedom and social liberation is one of the most revolutionary factors in the present world situation. Theirs is a genuine fight for freedom, for democracy, for progress. We unconditionally defend the Chinese and Indian peoples in their fight for emancipation against their imperialist enslavers. Their revolutions can finally triumph only under the leadership and through the revolutionary program of the youthful proletariat who will lead their peasant allies toward a Soviet China and a Soviet India, keystones in a Socialist United States of Asia.

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

33. Long before its advent the Fourth Internationalists warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war. As long ago as 1933 Trotsky wrote: "The superiority of the United States must find its expression in new forms, the way to which can be opened only by war. American capitalism is up against the same problems which pushed Germany on the path of war in 1914. The world is divided amongst the great powers. It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must organize the world. . . History thus brings humanity face to face with the volcanic eruptions of American imperialism."

34. This volcanic eruption, predicted in 1933, has now begun. United States entry into the war was hastened by the failure to overcome the crisis of American capitalism by the "New Deal." Roosevelt's October 5, 1937 "collective security" speech marks the open turn from the New Deal to the War Program. The object of the War Program is to attain political mastery and economic monopoly of the globe. Nothing less will satisfy the aims and ambitions of American Big Business.

35. The outbreak of war between Japan and the United States came as a surprise to no informed person. The contest for supremacy in the Pacific has been brewing since these allied rivals crossed swords in Siberia at the close of the first world war. Presented with an ultimatum to get out of China, the Japanese imperialists refused to yield to threats alone. Like the Nazis they operate with the boldness and desperation of those who have nothing to lose.

36. American capitalism faces the gravest difficulties in undertaking to crush its rivals and conquer the world by military means. The United States can achieve its imperialist objectives only at the cost of millions of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars and only after an indefinitely prolonged struggle. Were it to achieve such a victory it then would have to shoulder all the tasks involved in Secretary of War Knox's declaration that "the United States must police the world for the next hundred years."

37. The internal problems of American capitalism present equally great difficulties. The war is dislocating the national economic structure, twisting it into grotesque militarized forms. Already more than half of the national income is devoured by the war, and this proportion is bound to increase. Scarcity and rationing of goods on the one hand and soaring prices on the other are symptoms of the contractions of American consumption, of the collapse of normal capitalist economy. Unlike the last war, when American economy grew plump and powerful, American economy is today becoming disorganized and distorted. Even the strongest and richest of the capitalist nations is sliding into the abyss of bankruptcy.

38. As the war places stresses and strains on the economy the forces of the market are no longer sufficient to assure the working of the system. The government steps in more than ever before as an arbiter, regulator and economic dictator. The government becomes the chief market, it becomes an important factor in fixing of prices to avoid inflation, it assigns productive capacity and raw material, it fixes wages and regulates conditions of work. The government in its expanded functions operates, as before, as a tool of Big Business, directed first of all against the labor movement, as well as against weaker sections of the capitalist class.

39. Capitalist apologists have ridiculed the Marxist contention that capitalism must inevitably ruin the middle classes. They asserted that under American capitalism, the middle classes must bloom. Now the Marxist prediction is being realized at an accelerated pace under the war economy. Entire segments of the middle classes are being wiped out, not individually as in peace time, but in wholesale lots. Small merchants, filling station proprietors, small manufacturers, grocers, along with owners and operators in innumerable other occupations, are economically annihilated by a single decree from Washington.

40. The war economy enormously accelerates the concentration of capital. The government gives the handful of great corporations over 80% of all war orders, guaranteeing them markets and profits for the duration of the war. The government buys or builds huge new plants for them, allots them priorities in raw materials and transportation. In 1941, many corporations earned higher profits than in 1929. The war is not only being waged to save the markets and sources of raw materials of the American monopolists throughout the world; the war itself is likewise an extremely profitable enterprise for them. The preparations for the war revived their flagging, heavy industry; throughout the conflict they fill their treasuries and strengthen their competitive positions.

41. The recent revelations concerning cartel arrangements and patent agreements between the international monopolies and the Nazis have exposed the sham contention of Big Business and its political agents that they are waging this war to destroy fascism. Rockefellers' Standard Oil, Mellon's Aluminum Trust, DuPont's arms and chemical trust, Morgan's General Electric and the other monopolies did business with the Nazis before the war; they set aside royalties and profits for them during the war. While demanding that the workers sacrifice wages and hours for the war effort, Big Business always places profits before patriotism.

42. It would be foolish to expect that the government or any Congressional Committee will make the punishment of the monopolists fit their crimes. They have been forced to divulge information about the Nazi-Big Business tie-ups because they were hampering the prosecution of the war and imperiling the basic interests of the entire capitalist class and because of the wrathful pressure of the little business men who are being crushed out of the war economy. The same men who head the monopolies infest

the government and head the War Production Boards as dollar-a-year men. A few corporations caught red-handed are being let off with light fines. High administration figures have intervened openly to forestall anti-trust prosecutions of the big monopolies. It is already generally understood that there will be no prosecution of the big trusts during the war. The government and its supporters bow before the monopolists whose interests they serve.

43. The working people of this country cannot entrust the struggle against fascism at home or abroad to Big Business or any of its political agents. The workers need a program and leadership of their own to clear the field for a fight to the death against fascism. As the first step in this direction, they should demand the expropriation of the war industries, and their operation under workers' control!

44. Roosevelt's war economic policy strikes terrible blows at the workers and their families. The steeply mounting cost of living has already caused great suffering. Wage controls and compulsory bond buying are designed to cut the workers' living standards. More consumers goods are to be rationed or withdrawn entirely from the market. Taxes, especially hidden taxes, will slash more and more deeply into the workers' income. Working hours will be increased. There will be no effective control over speculators, who will inevitably take advantage of the price-fixing provisions to fleece the people more mercilessly.

45. The administration has imposed its policy in the name of a fraudulent equality of sacrifice. But whatever formal restrictions are placed upon them, the corporations will pile up profits and hide them by depreciation reserves and other financial devices. The rich will buy what they want, if not on the open market, then on the black market. The workers and their families, however, will feel the pinch from all sides. They will be able to buy less and less with steadily diminishing earnings. Roosevelt's slogan of equality of sacrifice is a fraud. It is a cover for the program whereby the rich make the poor pay for their war.

46. Big Business is using the war as a cover for an all-out offensive against organized labor. The National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce have openly demanded that Congress reestablish the open shop by law. The anti-labor drive instigated by Big Business, promoted by the administration and Congress, and supported by the capitalist press, is endangering the very existence of the trade unions. As yet the trade unions have only been crippled, but the bosses will not be satisfied until they are completely wiped out. The main immediate task before the American workers today is to fight for the independence of their trade unions, for the right to strike, for the right of collective bargaining free of governmental interference.

47. In the face of the attack upon the trade unions, the official leaders of the AFL and CIO are retreating step by step. Under pressure from the administration, they have given up one

position after another to the employers without a struggle. They have sworn away the strike weapon, they have given up double time pay, and they are ready to surrender much more -- if the workers permit them to get away with it.

48. The worst offenders among the sell-out artists are the Stalinists. Under the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country, the revolutionary interests of the world working class have long been subordinated to the state diplomacy of the Kremlin. This criminal policy has led to a long series of working class defeats on the international arena and has disoriented a great section of the proletarian vanguard. For the sake of maintaining the Kremlin's present alliance with Washington, the Stalinists are now executing their greatest betrayal of the elementary interests of American labor. They call upon the workers to support the war, unite with the bosses and sacrifice to the limit, deluding them with the assertion that this will aid the Soviet Union, defend democracy and crush fascism. Their arguments are all false to the core. The stronger the American labor movement is, the more independent and class-conscious it becomes, the better will it be able to defend the Soviet Union against present or potential enemies. Those who weaken the working class and its organizations in any way directly undermine the defense of the USSR. The weakening of the labor movement opens the door for the entrance of domestic fascism.

49. The fight for democracy begins at home in the fight to preserve the existence of independent and democratic trade unions. The labor lieutenants of the capitalists are coupling their program of capitulation to the bosses with a campaign to stifle free expression within the trade unions. While they demand support for the war for the sake of democracy, they try to stifle democracy within the trade unions themselves. The Stalinists in particular are acting as bloodhounds for the bosses. Full democracy is necessary for the effective functioning of the unions and is the best guarantee for the preservation of democratic rights within the country at large.

50. Against collaboration with the bosses! For the independence of the trade unions from governmental interference or control! For the maintenance and extension of democracy in the trade unions! No surrender of the right to strike! Against wage-freezing! For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living! Smash the anti-labor and union busting offensive of the bosses by the militant action of united labor! This is the kind of program the workers need.

51. The bosses' anti-labor campaign is being waged not only in civilian life but also in the army. By lying stories about fabulous wages in the war industries, blaming the workers for the lag in war production, brass-hat lectures about labor's "unwillingness to sacrifice," etc. the draftees are being incited against their fellow-workers. Unfortunately this vile campaign is meeting with some success, particularly because the trade unions have failed to take up the cudgels on behalf of the needs of the

worker-soldiers. The unions must come forward for union wages for draftees, their right to hold meetings and to elect their own officers, a moratorium on all debts owed by draftees, training camps financed by the government but under control of the trade unions, including special camps to train worker-officers. Therefore we raise the slogan: For the democratic rights of the men in the armed forces! For military training camps under control of trade unions!

52. Labor with a white skin cannot be free so long as labor with a black skin is branded. The great contribution of the Negro workers to the growth of unionism -- in Ford's and other auto plants, in the packing house plants, in the coal mines, in steel, etc. -- is but the beginning of what can be done if the workers of all races firmly unite. All workers must speak out: Against all forms of Jim Crowism! Equal rights for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries!

53. The rights of free speech, free press and free assembly must be vigilantly guarded by the labor movement in war time. The sentencing in Minneapolis, on the day war was declared, of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO, first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, can be the forerunner of similar prosecutions against other labor militants. The Minneapolis convictions must be reversed in the appeal to the higher courts and the defendants freed, if a dangerous precedent is not to hover over the entire labor movement. Defend the Bill of Rights and free all class war prisoners!

54. The steps taken by Attorney General Biddle against Coughlin's Social Justice and other native fascist publications may lead unwary workers to believe that the Roosevelt administration is determined to clean out the fascists. The "democratic" government of Italy, Germany and Austria that preceded Hitler, Mussolini and Dolfuss, also took similar steps. But that did not prevent the crushing of the labor movement by the Fascist gangs. No capitalist government can be depended upon to destroy the Fascists. Only through the workers' own independent action, only by organizing their own Defense Guards, can the workers smash the Fascist gangs and get rid of the anti-labor, anti-Semitic vermin.

55. The most elementary economic problems facing the workers today are political problems. The questions of food, rent, the price of clothing and other necessities, the owning and operating of automobiles are controlled directly by political authorities and agents. Wages and hours of labor and working conditions are routed through War Production and Labor Boards, etc. Wage-freezing is a major political threat. All these issues, affecting millions of workers, requires their united struggle by all the toilers, including the unorganized and white-collar workers, against the government of Big Business. Yet organized labor lacks the elementary instrument to carry on such a political struggle. While Congress is the sounding board for the anti-labor drive, American labor has not a single representative of its own in Congress. What a mockery of democracy it is in

which over twelve million organized workers and their families are without one elected voice in the government! It is time the workers ended company unionism on the political field and proceeded to organize an Independent Labor Party based upon the trade unions.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE WAR

56. The war has hurled everybody and everything into the crucible. The oldest empires are collapsing; long-established states and governments are being overthrown; economic structures are being shattered and reshaped; workers' parties and Internationals are being sunk without a trace. Everything is being submitted to the test of fire.

57. The imperialist rulers of both camps are fighting tenaciously to maintain the existing system which has brought about the prevailing slaughter, misery, chaos and hopelessness. The rival monopolist cliques want to reconstruct the world for their selfish ends. They have not the slightest concern for the welfare of their own peoples or the oppressed in other lands. Each strives to conquer the world or a larger share of it for their own enrichment and power. Both imperialist blocs have the same predatory aims, although they employ different terms and slogans to justify their role in the war. Hitler's "New Order" is simply German capitalism's reedition of the old capitalist anarchy and oppression. The Anglo-American combine has no more radiant prospect to offer than a new and more monstrous Versailles treaty that can only lay the groundwork for a Third World War.

58. Imperialism holds out the perspectives of interminable war, deepening reaction, impoverishment and misery for the masses at home, enslavement for the conquered and colonial peoples. The capitalist system has become so decadent, so bankrupt, so retrogressive that it can no longer give the most meagre reforms or improvements. This malignant tumor must be removed before it completely ravages and destroys humanity.

THE REVOLUTIONARY OUTLOOK

59. Only the direct intervention of the masses themselves can accomplish this imperative task. Reactionary to its core, the imperialist war, despite itself, is uprooting the old order and speeding up the processes of revolutionary renewal. The Second World War, preceded by a protracted period of reaction is today preparing the conditions for a new revolutionary wave. The coming revolution will be far more profound than the pre-war political reaction and as universal as the present war. The imperialist world war will inevitably turn into its own opposite: the proletarian world revolution.

60. At present workers the world over are on the defensive before international imperialism. But this is only a passing phase of the war. Just as the earth turns on its axis, so does our society rotate around the class-struggle between capital and labor.

There are alternating periods of light and darkness for the workers in the course of this struggle. The present encircling darkness will not endure. Already the first rays of revolution in the East herald the approach of a new dawn.

61. We Trotskyists are the heralds of that new day. We summon it; we await it; we prepare ourselves and the working class for it. Before the outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917 there were the dark days of 1914 and the even darker days of 1915-16. We must do today what Liebknecht and Luxemburg, what Lenin and Trotsky did then. We alone propagate their ideas and carry on their traditions of struggle against imperialist war and for international socialism.

62. We Trotskyists base our program, our perspectives, our strategy upon the optimistic revolutionary perspective. We have far more confidence in the power of the workers to create a new society than the capitalists themselves have in their ability to maintain their outlived system. We are sure that out of the present inferno will emerge liberating movements of the masses on the model of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The workers and the colonial peoples will rise up against imperialism; conquer political power; make a Socialist peace; reorganize industry and the war-torn economies on a rational basis. The coming revolution will usher in the Socialist society of peace, security, human solidarity and unlimited progress.

63. We American Trotskyists have every reason to place confidence in the power and prospects of the American working class. The workers who built the strongest and most militant union movement in the capitalist world during the past decade, in unremitting struggle against the bosses and their agents, are only at the beginning of their creative career. They will build even greater economic and political organizations. They will move forward to the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government as the keystone of the Socialist United States of North and South America. They will conquer the power and the means for these achievements through the program and under the guidance of our Trotskyist Party, the banner-bearer of international socialism.

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