

SWP

**discussion
bulletin**

Published by the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Vol. 24, No. 16

May 1963

Contents

PREPARING FOR THE NEXT WAVE OF
RADICALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(P.C. Draft Resolution)

30¢

Amendment to P.C. Draft Resolution:

'Preparing for the Next Wave of Radicalism in the United States'

--by Shane Mage, James Robertson and Geoffrey White for the Minority

substitute the following for the entirety of paragraph 41:

41. A) Our mass work, linked with a general propaganda offensive, is an indispensable part of our preparation for the next wave of radicalism in the United States. Our aim is to prepare for the successful transition from propagandistic modes of work today to the building of a mass revolutionary party and to vying for leadership in the class struggle in the following period. Of pivotal importance is the ability of the party to solidify its general gains from current work by laying down and strengthening its roots in the mass movement.

B) In the Negro movement, North and South, there are today real opportunities. In the North our spearhead should be based on a combined approach. We aim to work with organizations selected on the basis of their militancy in particular localities and regions; we are also involved in supporting the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD). This kind of activity should be coupled with such direct involvement as sustained mass sales of appropriate issues of the press in the Negro ghettos and making vigorous and sharply directed campaigns during elections. We will then ourselves be in a position to become involved in and grow from new stages and turns in the struggle. An example of such a turn is that promised by the Philadelphia mass picket line for Negro jobs at construction sites. As regards the South today, we are witnessing from afar a great mass struggle for equality. Our separation from this arena is intolerable. The party should be prepared to expend significant material resources in overcoming our isolation from Southern struggles. In helping to build a revolutionary movement in the South, our forces should work directly with and through the developing left-wing formations in the movement there. A successful outcome to our action would lead to an historic breakthrough for the Trotskyist movement. Expressed organizationally, it would mean the creation of several party branches in the South for the first time--for example, in Atlanta, Birmingham or New Orleans.

C) In maintaining its orientation to the working class as a whole, the party must steadily seek to make or find opportunities to recreate Trade Union fractions at selected spots across the country in industries important to the class struggle. Moreover, every party branch should develop contact with the most important unions and factories in its area; for example, through regular, long-term press sales, and accompanied, where possible, by direct electoral campaign approaches.

D) Unless the party is able to create and develop nuclei in the broader layers of the working class movement in this preparatory period, it will be condemned to sterile isolation or an accelerating political degeneration in the face of the certain upsurges ahead in the class struggle. Thus the party's taking hold today in the mass movement is a necessary pre-condition for going forward on the morrow in the historic mission of leading the working class to power. These primary considerations must be kept in mind in deciding the division of labor between mass work and general party activity.

June 12, 1963

PREPARING FOR THE NEXT WAVE OF RADICALISM

IN THE UNITED STATES

(P.C. Draft Resolution.)

1. Today the Socialist Workers Party is in a situation where its prolonged isolation is drawing to a close but is not yet over and where any breakthrough into the mass movement has barely begun. This stage of transition presents difficult problems of adjustment and activity to our cadres. It demands a clear understanding of the course and aims of our movement from its origins and a firm grasp of its irreplaceable role in reenergizing, educating and leading the vanguard forces of socialism in the United States.

2. From its inception in the Left Opposition of the Twenties that rebelled against Stalinization of the Communist Party, the SWP has worked to build a revolutionary working class party in this country. We seek to break through all forms of class collaboration and lead the workers in struggle against capitalist rule, with the aim of taking power under the democratic rule of the workers themselves. In domestic policy we advocate nationalization of the means of production under workers control, as the fundamental starting point from which to assure economic prosperity, social betterment and equal rights for all. We call for an end to the capitalist war policy intended to perpetuate imperialist exploitation of peoples in other lands. Our country's full power must be mobilized in support of the quickening advance toward an international system of planned economy as the basis for a world socialist society of peace, prosperity, freedom and equality.

We hold that war dangers, economic insecurity, restrictions of democracy, and racial discrimination will continue until the workers of the United States take the socialist road.

3. Throughout our 35-year history adverse objective conditions have kept us in a minority position within American radicalism. Only today does the situation show promise of a change for the better. Until recent times both the Stalinist and social democratic tendencies considerably outweighed us in the mass movement. Although politically motivated by subordination to wholly different power centers in Moscow and Washington, both of these tendencies follow reformist policies. The cost to mankind has been great. The resurgent labor movement of the Thirties was prevented from passing beyond simple unionism to the formation of an independent working class party. A class collaborationist bureaucracy was able to impose its dictatorial rule over the unions. The workers were kept tied to support of capitalist foreign policy at increasing expense to their own class interests.

4. These reformist policies could predominate for so long because of a combination of objective factors. New Deal concessions served to stem the rise of anti-capitalist sentiment among the masses in the Thirties. The stage was thus set to halt labor's upsurge at the union level and keep the workers under capitalist domination through the labor-Democratic coalition. Only a class struggle policy could have saved the workers from this political trap, but the reformist line of the Stalinists and social democrats tipped the scales toward labor subservience to the Democratic Party. These political ties have since been maintained under conditions

of relative economic stability thanks to limited capitalist concessions that have given labor the illusion it can prosper under the present social order. To help maintain acceptance of the status quo in the face of deteriorating social conditions, the capitalist rulers resort to witch hunt measures ranging from vicious attacks on opponents of their regime to continuous encroachment on the democratic rights of labor as a whole. Under these conditions all radical tendencies became seriously isolated from the mass movement and had to fight for their very survival.

5. The prolonged ebb in the class struggle since 1947, combined with the witch hunt, served to whittle down the forces and resources of the SWP. Some individual members dropped out from plain discouragement. Others broke away in groups, seeking a quick and easy way to get around the adverse objective conditions, only to abandon all the sooner their previous principles and any identification with serious revolutionary politics. Tendencies arose to make programmatic compromises in an attempt to reach broader forces. Ideas were cooked up to launch valiant actions by a handful as a substitute for mass struggle. On the opposite side the SWP had to consciously counteract the danger of adjustment to a sectarian vegetation apart from the real working class movement. Time kept taking its toll on our human material, while few young people were finding their way into our ranks. The party was put to severe trials of its capacity to retain theoretical clarity, programmatic firmness, and realism in action. Our ability to do what was necessary and possible without trying to race ahead of actual political developments was

tested along with our capacity to keep abreast of whatever opportunities opened up in the class struggle.

6. Years before the worst of our isolation set in, a new revolutionary ascent had begun elsewhere in the world. This period started during World War II with the advent of social revolution in Yugoslavia. Then came extension of the Soviet bloc into Eastern Europe and emergence of the Soviet Union itself as the second-greatest world power. The victorious revolution in China was the first of the colonial uprisings to eject and push back the imperialists, and even to checkmate their intervention in the Korean War. One result of these developments was the emergence within the Soviet bloc of a rise in mass opposition to bureaucratic dictatorship and special privilege. The 1953 workers uprising in East Germany, Khrushchev's attack on Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the 1956 struggles for workers control in Poland and Hungary marked the beginning of a crisis of Stalinism. The repercussions of this crisis inside the U.S. Communist Party gave rise to a general shakeup in the radical movement. Sincere revolutionaries who had long trusted the Kremlin bureaucrats learned they had been betrayed. Some who were already worn thin simply quit radical politics. Others solved their personal crisis by moving toward political adaptation to imperialism. Those who had become case-hardened stuck with the CP. But the sturdiest fighters in the CP ranks began to search for a new revolutionary course.

7. In an energetic search for new allies and recruits the SWP intervened in the radical shakeup with a regroupment policy. Leaving open the question of organizational forms if

a substantial regroupment should become possible, we put our stress on revolutionary principles and genuine democratic-centralism in the construction and operation of the revolutionary party. Although some new forces were won over to our revolutionary-socialist concepts, in the end we had to draw a largely negative balance sheet concerning the potential for allies or adherents within opponent radical tendencies. Experience revealed that significant reinforcements to our ranks can now come only from the mass movement, primarily from the worker, student and minority youth. It also became clear that a new relationship of forces is developing within the radical movement, giving new advantages to our revolutionary-socialist tendency as against the Stalinists and social democrats.

8. Generally speaking, the crisis of world Communism has acted as a depressant upon many one-time revolutionists. Already wearied and disillusioned, they have reacted by retreat and withdrawal from political life, reducing the effective forces of the radical movement as a whole. The main offset to that trend has come from the impact of the Cuban revolution within the United States. The Cuban developments have served as an energizing factor, attracting young reinforcements to radical politics. Cuba lays bare the class truth about imperialism. It puts all radical tendencies to the test of revolutionary principles, exposing the social democrats as political hacks for the State Department and the Stalinists as servile agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The outbreak of the Moscow-Peking dispute over policy in the struggle against imperialism has still further divided and demoralized the CP circles. With firm adherence to revolutionary principles and the necessary

tactical flexibility, the SWP can intervene in these favorable developments to increase its specific weight and attractive power within the radical movement. We can expect our prospects of expansion to be improved still further by the sharpening of social contradictions within this country.

9. The impact of the ascending world revolution of our time steadily worsens the situation of capitalism and sends shock waves into the imperialist strongholds. The overturn of capitalist property relations in the expanding bloc of workers states has produced a corresponding shrinkage in the number of countries remaining open to imperialist exploitation. Intensification of independence struggles within the exploited countries leads toward curtailment of imperialist profits and nationalization of capitalist holdings. This drives the imperialist powers to stiffen their competition on a contracting world market and look for ways to edge into one another's internal markets. These general trends combine to intensify class contradictions within the imperialist countries and undermine the social equilibrium needed to safeguard capitalist rule.

10. Pushed back toward their own borders by the advanced of revolutionary forces abroad and threatened by social unrest internally, the imperialists prepare and keep in reserve the ultimate and catastrophic solution of all-out war. Their immediate aim is to stem the revolutionary tide in the hope of rolling it back and extending capitalist exploitation once again throughout the world. But their strategic aims are blocked by powerful forces. Since the Soviet Union possesses a nuclear arsenal no less deadly than that of the United States, global war would mean the virtual extermination of humanity.

Mass consciousness of this grim prospect tends to restrain the imperialists from shaping a direct course toward general war as the central feature of their foreign policy. Instead they proceed from the initial premise of "limited" non-nuclear wars, using the pretext of a "deterrent" against general war as the excuse for continuing to stockpile nuclear weapons. Military interventions occur repeatedly and on an ascending scale in an effort to snuff out anti-capitalist revolts (South Vietnam). These imperialist interventions often run up against one or another form of counteraction by the Soviet bloc. When that happens the imperialists do not shrink from going right to the brink of nuclear war in the showdown, as did Kennedy, most recently and most recklessly, in the Cuban crisis.

11. The basic alternative is clearly posed: either the workers revolution in the industrially-advanced countries will disarm capitalism, or the world will continue to risk nuclear destruction. Above all American imperialism must be disarmed by the people of the United States. That iron fact must be central to the consciousness of revolutionists in this country. In fighting to replace capitalist rule, the Marxists must proceed from a realistic appraisal of developing class struggle trends in this country.

12. American imperialism has passed the apex of its world power and today stands subject to a process of decline. Compelled to sustain crippled allies in the fight against ever-stronger revolutionary forces abroad, its foundations become undermined by all the weaknesses of world capitalism. Its worsening world position tends to become converted into a domestic crisis, which in its further unfolding can arouse the greatest power of all within the United States, the working class. The capitalist rulers confront the following contradiction: They need relative class peace at home in order to carry out their foreign policy. Yet their increasingly severe

problems abroad impel them toward austerity measures at home. They must stiffen their resistance to mass demands for social and economic concessions and move toward stronger repressive measures to curb mass opposition to their policies. As a consequence the equilibrium of class forces is becoming undermined.

13. During the Cuban crisis the people of the United States were put through the wringer as never before. Nuclear death seemed imminent unless one man, the same Kennedy who had precipitated the danger, backed off from playing chicken with hydrogen bombs. Most poignant was the plight of the young. Children in grade school asked one another, "What are you going to be if you grow up?" People are told to have faith in a government repeatedly caught lying; a government that cynically asserts it will continue to withhold vital facts; a government that takes witch hunt reprisals against those who openly disagree with its foreign policy.

14. Worsening social conditions blights the lives of millions. Children in the city slums have no place to play, and except for brutal police control they get little attention from the government. The nation's school system has become a disgrace. Decent housing at relatively low rentals is in short supply. Old-age pensions fall short of minimum needs; many retired citizens get no pension at all. Millions hunger while the government stockpiles surplus food. Even among those able to eat and live reasonably well there is a growing sense of economic insecurity.

15. A capitalist crisis of overproduction has gradually been developing. At present there is a gap of \$50 billion between consumer demand and productive capacity, according to government estimates. There is a serious lag in capital investment for plant and equipment, as indicated by the sluggish annual rate of industrial growth. Loss of boom incentive from this key source portends a new recession. To make matters worse, the United States faces stiffer international competition

on a contracting world market. These difficulties, together with related factors, are preparing a critical economic situation.

16. Thus far government intervention has delayed and modified the economic troubles inherent in the capitalist cycle. Massive expenditures for war, hiked to unprecedented billions by Kennedy, have been pumped into the economy with some stimulating effect. Capitalists have received lucrative war orders at a handsome profit, along with subsidies and tax write-offs. The economy has paid a price for this shoring up of the profit system. The national debt has soared, weakening the dollar. Inflation has been further accelerated by the unfavorable balance in international payments and the consequent gold drain. For the people generally government economic policy has meant stiff taxes and rising prices. Waning consumer purchasing power has been sustained because they have turned to heavier installment buying, mortgaging tomorrow's income in order to acquire comforts today.

17. Government pump-priming has not brought uninterrupted prosperity. It has achieved relative economic stability within the framework of a series of boom-recession fluctuations. Now several factors indicate a downturn within the cyclical pattern. Each boom becomes more sluggish, more short lived. The time gap between recessions narrows. Every oscillation leaves in its wake a larger residue of chronic unemployment. Meanwhile under-employment and inadequate purchasing power intensifies the search for jobs, giving rise to the national pastime known as moonlighting. Stated generally the economic trend is one of a turn from relative prosperity, through a process of developing stagnation, to a pattern of more precipitous decline.

18. Concerned about the dangers to capitalist stability and earnings, the Kennedy administration has advanced a program of corporate tax cuts, intended to stimulate capital

investment. The masses are promised a slight drop in individual income taxes, but for them the main result will be newly-inflated prices caused by further government borrowing. Kennedy's basic aim is to counteract the declining rate of profit by inducing capital investment for automation, general technological change and overall cuts in production costs. That means intensified exploitation of labor with the prospect of even fewer jobs at a time when prosperity is already by-passing millions.

19. Nothing more graphically expresses the bankruptcy of our economic system than the rise in chronic unemployment. According to Department of Labor figures, which notoriously understate reality, the average rate of unemployment for 1962 stood at 5.6 percent. For unskilled and older workers, youth, Negroes and other minorities the rate was at least double this national average. Government figures show that creation of new jobs through general economic growth has slowed down to about one-half million a year. On the other hand at least a million workers are displaced annually through technological change, while another million young people are entering the labor market. The result is a built-in yearly rise of around one and one-half million in chronic unemployment apart from the victims of slumps in production. These cold statistics spell economic catastrophe for the millions of people affected, doubly so when half of them are denied jobless benefits.

20. Hardest hit are the minority peoples who suffer discrimination not only in employment but also in housing, education, medical care, social welfare and all other spheres of ordinary life. They have no stake in the foreign policy of a government that offers them little more than empty promises and the discipline of a cop's club. Nor do they have any reason to subordinate the struggle for their democratic rights to the capitalist-defined "national interest." Drawing that conclusion for themselves, the Negro people stand

in the vanguard of the battle to win equal rights for all minority peoples. With increasing militancy and on an ever-broader scale, they are rejecting policies of gradual reform and fighting for freedom now, not at some vague future time. They are breaking the old patterns of white domination over their movement and asserting their right to have decisive leadership in their struggle for emancipation.

21. This radicalization of the Negro people constitutes the most important single political development within the country. It can be expected to have more profound repercussions throughout the population, generating new militancy among all whose basic interests are violated under capitalist rule. First to be aroused are the youth. The vanguard role of Negro students in the civil rights struggle is paralleled to a certain extent by the increased participation of students in the fight against the war danger. Still to be heard from are the young workers, although their worsening situation goads them toward action against the bosses and the capitalist government.

22. Growing campus support to Negro freedom fighters gives evidence of revulsion against the status quo. Student unrest is building around the war issue. Many listen with an open mind to socialist views in the struggle for peace. Currents of sympathy with the Cuban revolution flow through the schools. Some students are coming to identify themselves with the aims of the socialist movement. Although the bulk of the student body has yet to become politically active, those who are turning rebel show youth's normal impulse to want to do something about a situation they consider intolerable.

23. Student rebels and aroused women who mean business in the fight against war have been entering the peace movement in substantial numbers. They come as critical-minded people looking for a way to achieve their aims. Many are uncommitted to any program or affiliation. Their entry is changing the

general features of the peace movement. Not having a class struggle orientation, their outlook has overtones of pacifism and reformism. But they are neither professional pacifists nor typical reformists. Even less are they conscious radicals, though they keep pushing beyond the bounds set by pacifist and reformist leaders. What they want is an effective program of action and the strongest possible force from which nobody who fights against war should be excluded. They don't trust the foreign policy of the capitalist government and they want to do something about it. Seeing no other place to turn many put their hopes in the United Nations. Young people do not look instinctively to the labor movement for help, because all their lives the trade unions have appeared conservative and ineffective where major social issues are involved.

24. The capitalist-minded bureaucrats who dominate the unions give unqualified support to the imperialist foreign policy. In return they hope to secure voluntary economic and social concessions from the bosses, or at least from the government. Within industry they side with the bosses against union militants. Through support to the Democratic Party, they keep the workers captive to capitalist political rule. Under this bureaucratic control labor has lost virtually all its capacity to influence national policy, job conditions have steadily worsened, union growth has failed utterly to keep pace with the expanding labor force. In short, trade unionism has fallen into stagnation through adaptation to the capitalist status quo.

25. Saddled with a conservative union bureaucracy, the workers now face a capitalist drive to solve the economic difficulties at labor's expense. The bosses have launched a three-pronged offensive: on the job, in contact negotiations and through the government. Through technological change and intensified speedup they are whittling down available jobs. They oppose union demands for reduced hours with no cut in pay.

They are determined to hold the line on wages and demand wage cuts if they think there is any chance of getting away with these. To cripple union resistance capitalist politicians call for stiffer anti-labor laws, including a ban on industry-wide bargaining, further curbs on the right to strike and use of anti-trust laws against the unions. Kennedy openly wields his presidential authority on the side of the bosses. The mounting attacks on the unions are revealing to an increased extent the basic conflict of interests between labor and capital.

26. Unemployment has become the major problem confronting labor. As concern for their job security becomes aggravated by boss provocations, more and more workers grow angry and militant. Skilled workers, not being exempt from job attrition and boss attacks, share this changing class mood. Conditions become increasingly favorable for a fighting leadership to forge a high degree of class solidarity, reducing the danger of the bosses using one or another strata of the workers to split their ranks as a class. So strong are the pressures that the bureaucrats find themselves forced to do something. At the lower levels of the bureaucracy, among those closest to the ranks, some capacity is shown to give the bosses a fight. At the summit Meany, Reuther and Co. have asked the government to legislate a shorter work week, and after Kennedy had vetoed the idea, even repeated politely that it still ought to be done. The union ranks are not so timid. In several places they have struck for a shorter work week and in resistance to the boss attacks on their conditions. Wage demands have usually represented an attempt to offset rising prices rather than an effort to raise living standards. When a strike achieves even a very modest victory on the work-week issue, other workers take new courage to do battle in their industry. This trend can rise sharply with

contract negotiations coming up this year in several basic industries.

27. Every partial union action poses larger issues confronting the workers. The need for a change in leadership grows more acute. Splits in the bureaucracy, such as occurred when the AFL-CIO threw the Teamsters Union to the Kennedy wolves, weaken its monolithic control. Teamster officials, fighting for their union lives, have gone so far as to propose a labor march on Washington to protest the union-busting drive, an action unthinkable to Meany, Reuther and Co. Rifts in bureaucratic solidarity can help open the way for the ranks to assert their views on policy issues and fight for more democratic control over union affairs. These changing trends open new possibilities to promote consciousness of the need for a left wing founded on a class struggle program.

28. Labor on corporation farms has little or no union protection. Worst off are the migratory workers, composed mainly of sharecroppers and small farmers uprooted by growth of monopoly on the land, or Latin Americans brought in temporarily at times of peak employment. Whole families live as nomads, seeking work by moving from region to region according to seasonal variations in agriculture. Parents and children toil in the fields at starvation wages, living from hand to mouth even when there is work. During slack periods they get no jobless pay nor do they receive other social security benefits. For them daily life is grinding poverty, the future under capitalism a bleak one. Theirs is a burning need to have a labor government.

29. Working farmers are being hard hit by the chronic crisis of overproduction in agriculture. Operating small units and having little investment capital, they are unable to compete successfully with the big corporation farms. Caught between rising production costs and falling prices on farm produce, they are driven toward bankruptcy. Those who go

under have little choice but to seek work as agricultural laborers or enter the rat race for jobs in the cities. Excluded by corporate interests from any control over old-line farm organizations, the working farmers are getting together on their own. An outstanding example is the National Farmers Organization founded in 1955. At the outset the NFO tried to compete with the corporations in exerting political pressure on the capitalist government. Failing to get anywhere with that policy, it turned to withholding produce from the market in a demand for better prices. In conducting these strikes the NFO has tended to study union methods of struggle and welcome fraternal relations with the labor movement. Today many working farmers, disenchanted with Big Business policies, would be ready for an anti-capitalist political alliance with the trade unions.

30. At present only the Negro struggle shows a consistent rise in militancy. Upsurges among other sections of the masses remain much more limited in scope and are usually followed by ebbs of some duration. Union struggles run up against government interference on behalf of the bosses. Attempts to influence foreign policy through protest actions, as in the recent Cuban crisis, fail to get any response from the government. A sense of frustration develops, bringing a temporary decline in militancy. But the worsening situation compels a return to action and deepens the search for more effective means of struggle. Each clash with the capitalist class brings into sharper focus the need for a basic change in the power structure and generates new motion toward a break with capitalist politics.

31. Pronounced shifts in political outlook are developing within the Negro movement. Significant forces nationally are beginning to call for independent Negro candidacies in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans. The stiffening battle for Negro voting rights in the South infers motion in

the same direction, even though Southern Negroes can also be expected to intervene as a voting bloc within the two-party system. As the trend toward independent Negro political action gains momentum it will cut across the labor-Democratic coalition and stimulate labor party sentiment in the unions.

32. A potential for anti-capitalist political action is building up within the peace movement. Militants want to run people for office who will really fight for peace, even though their limited grasp of the class issues involved leaves them subject to political deception. They tend to ask only for a bare assertion of peace aims and take at face value the pretensions of middle class intellectuals who offer themselves as candidates. These liberal practitioners of reformism and pacifism then present the peace issue as though it were an abstract question, divorced from and standing above the class struggle for power in decision-making. As a result the peace fighters are held back from a break with capitalist politics. Parallel misleadership in the unions helps to disorient them so that labor loses the support of potential political allies within the peace movement.

33. Basic weaknesses plaguing the unions stem primarily from the labor-Democratic coalition. Subordination to capitalist political rule undermines labor's ability to influence national policy and correspondingly strengthens anti-labor tendencies. Eisenhower's election in 1952 marked a definitive end to any significant expression of working class interests through factional intervention in capitalist politics. Kennedy's later defeat of Nixon raised false hopes of a return to the New Deal, but meaningful concessions to the unions are no longer in the cards. The relative economic stability on which the labor-Democratic coalition has rested has begun to disintegrate. To ease its own difficulties the capitalist class is moving to intensify its exploitation of labor; the Democratic administration dutifully obeys its

master's command. The inevitable result of such a trend will be clashes between capital and labor, occurring in new political forms and reaching new degrees of intensity.

34. As the struggle sharpens, class collaborationist policies become less and less tenable. Relations between the unions and the government grow strained. Breaks in the customary patterns of the workers' lives produce changes in their political thought. They will begin to reappraise the whole question of support to the Democrats. Limitations in union power, manifested at the industrial level under conditions of economic decline, will tend to steer the energies of frustrated workers onto the political arena in new and higher forms. Class battles that start in traditional union fashion will lead in the direction of open clashes with the government. Conditions will ripen for a leap from simple unionism to formation of an independent labor party. Once in being, a labor party would experience rapid growth, drawing to its support unorganized, retired and unemployed workers, minority peoples, students, peace fighters, farmers and sections of the urban middle class. Although a labor party can be expected to start with a reformist leadership and outlook, its radicalization would be speeded up by reactionary counter-attacks from the capitalist class. The repercussions would tend to pose point blank the need for labor to take complete power and proceed to a basic reorganization of society.

35. Capitalist reaction to a potential labor radicalization is previewed by existing trends on the right. Since the McCarthy period incipient fascist cadres have been crystallizing as a reflex to the deepening capitalist crisis. The latest manifestation of this process is the rise of the Birchites. Rightist groups are beginning to enter candidates in primary elections and put up their own tickets in general elections, seeking to build conservative blocs within the two-party system. Labor's political default helps them gain

unwarranted support among potential allies of the working class. However, the ultra-right remains a minority force which receives only limited capitalist support. With labor tied to their political setup, most capitalists favor continuance of the political status quo which enables them to rule over the country and implement an aggressive foreign policy to promote their own interests.

36. Thanks to the misleaders of labor, liberalism still serves as a bellwether to lead the masses into the capitalist political fold. The workers are told that, if only they will help to elect more liberal Democrats, their interests can be protected through reforms under capitalism. But official liberalism headed by the Kennedy administration is moving steadily to the right, shaving down its promises of reform and exposing its political impotence. Instead of reacting sympathetically to union struggles in defense of the workers interests, liberals deplore "immoderate" demands and "stubborn" strikes as they help prepare the way for new anti-labor laws.

37. Despite these cold political facts, the union bureaucrats cling harder than ever to the liberals as they try to maintain the outlived labor-Democratic coalition. Communist Party leaders urge the masses to unite with the liberals against an alleged rival power center outside the White House, which means in effect to support the Kennedy Democrats. The Norman Thomas socialists call for a realignment within the two-party system in order to concentrate the liberals with labor under the Democratic Party banner. In the name of defending liberalism against reaction, Negroes are tied to a Jim Crow party, peace fighters to a war party and labor to a capitalist party.

38. The common line advanced by all these misleaders of labor is twice-dangerous because of the devious arguments they present. They succeed in tricking people who want a political change but don't know how to achieve it, putting them at the mercy of the same old policies dressed up in new words.

These deceived rebels can develop into conscious political opponents of capitalism with the necessary help. Their problem is to understand that the social difficulties plaguing them, no matter what precise forms they may take, all stem from one fundamental cause, the bankruptcy of the capitalist society in which we live. They need political analysis, education and leadership capable of mobilizing the full power of the working class and its allies in all-out struggle against capitalist rule. As the first step in that direction they need help to make a clean break with capitalist politics and form an independent labor party.

39. Fulfillment of the political needs of such newly radicalized people becomes central to our activity as a revolutionary vanguard party. Our main task is to develop a propaganda offensive around the key issues of the day, with all party activities related directly to the general campaign perspectives. This means application of the appropriate slogans and demands from our transition program (sliding scale of wages and hours, labor party, etc.) which are becoming more pertinent every day. Our political analysis and proposals for action should be focused on the fight for peace, civil rights, economic security, social welfare and civil liberties. New militancy developing around these issues will in turn help to promote class struggle policies in the mass movement and demonstrate the need for an independent labor party. Our polemics against reformist ideas should be addressed primarily to politically inexperienced people who are interested in explanations rather than denunciations. Our press should serve as the spearhead and main organizer of the propaganda offensive, with its key functions reinforced through circulation of our general literature. Propagation of our views should be intensified through forums, public debates and other available means.

40. At the present stage, our work on the electoral arena remains concentrated primarily on running party candidates

where possible for public office. While continuing our present efforts to enter party candidates in local elections wherever practical, we must also prepare to run our own presidential ticket in the 1964 elections, viewing the presidential campaign as our foremost propaganda action.

41. Our mass work must be linked with the general propaganda offensive. So far as we have party militants functioning in mass organizations they will find new opportunities to participate in spontaneous actions and to advance our class struggle policies. But whether or not we have anyone in a given situation, the party's general propaganda efforts will gradually extend our influence among the masses. Where comrades are engaged in mass work the broad ideological offensive will be vital to their functions, since their own activity remains essentially propagandistic. Looked at in larger terms, the overall party campaign serves to generalize, coordinate and impart a central focus to the various forms of work in mass organizations. It also enables us to step up recruitment, which helps to reinforce party cadres where they now function in the mass movement and to develop fresh nuclei elsewhere through new people won over to our program. These primary considerations must be kept in mind in deciding the division of labor between mass work and general party activity.

42. Party growth may be accomplished in two ways. One is patient, persistent recruitment of individuals. Though this process is never out of season, it should not blind us to any realistic opportunities through the second form of growth. We must remain alert for signs of any trend toward our programmatic positions that might develop among other radical groups or within larger formations. Should such a trend arise, we would reach out toward those coming our way, seeking to win them over completely to our program. But we do not water down our program and adapt ourselves to the political views of others in eagerness to gain numerical strength.

Such a course would only disorient our cadres and compromise the party. We proceed always on the premise that only the program can create the party. To act on any other basis would lead to political ruin.

43. There are small groups now functioning on their own after having broken away from Communist Party control but none of them measure up to our programmatic criteria for a radical regroupment. They tend either to cling to Democratic Party politics or to give little more than lip service to independent socialist and labor political action. They show pronounced tendencies to substitute a small band of radicals for the necessary mass force in impatient efforts to speed up the class conflict. They also incline to resort to factional exploitation of actual mass struggles where they are able to intervene, doing injury to the struggle itself and thereby compromising the whole radical movement. We must frankly express our criticisms of these false policies and explain our counter-views. Political firmness toward these opponent tendencies does not prevent us from maintaining fraternal relations with them or with dissidents in the SP. We are ready to cooperate with all other radicals in opposition to the witch hunt, in counter-rallies against the ultra right, in peace demonstrations, in defense of the Cuban revolution, in support to civil rights and trade union struggles. But in no case will we go along with reckless attempts to substitute a radical vanguard for the masses.

44. Our paramount task is to reach out for people now becoming radicalized. Major attention must be given to work in support of Negroes and other minority peoples fighting for their civil rights. In addition to doing all we can to support the general battle for full equality, we have a special role to play. If the Negro minority is to achieve its objectives, it must split the white majority and win one section over to its side. Such a division among the whites can develop only

along class lines. Our special task is to help win white workers over to active support of the Negro freedom fighters and in the process promote an anti-capitalist alliance of the labor and Negro movements. We begin this attempt by pressing for union support of the civil rights struggle and by backing demands of Negro workers for democratic rights on the job and in the unions. These actions help weaken the union bureaucracy and strengthen rank and file action to win internal democracy. They also serve to intensify demands for effective struggle in defense of the workers interests and to speed the fusion of Negro and white militants into a left wing union force. The general process leads toward a leap from simple union action to formation of a labor party and in doing so improves our chances of recruiting both Negro and white workers into the SWP.

45. Full backing must be given to political work among student youth through close fraternal collaboration between the party and youth organizations. In addition to contact established in campus activity, students and other militants can be reached by way of the peace movement. An effective approach to these elements requires a combination of political firmness and tactical flexibility. We support all demands, limited though they may be, that bring the peace fighters into conflict with Washington's war policy and help generate anti-capitalist sentiments. We support united actions around these demands and oppose efforts to exclude any tendency from the movement. At the same time we combat the efforts of liberals, reformists and pacifists to disorient the peace fighters politically. We undertake to advance our views in a way that will bring the most sympathetic hearing, presenting our program in a patient, reasoned, educational manner. We follow a similar policy in the case of the Cuban defense movement where comparable forces are involved. Ad hoc formations of the kind that arise in a movement of this

nature are necessarily limited in capacity. Their struggle potential is of an intermittent character, depending on the degrees of intensity in the imperialist attack on Cuba. Ability to maintain consistent propaganda activity, and to develop it in sufficient depth, is restricted by the heterogeneous political composition of such ad hoc formations. In view of these limitations our support must be realistically attuned to their actual capacity to meet the needs of the day.

46. If we are to build a revolutionary working class party there can be no temporizing where basic class interests are involved, nor can there be any needless tolerance of obstacles to the propagation of our program. Militants moving toward revolutionary positions are already disoriented enough through lack of union intervention on their side in struggles around major social issues. Our role is to serve as a bridge in historic consciousness of the basic vitality and revolutionary power of the working class. We need to explain over and over again how revolutionary leaderships are built by linking together workers with class struggle experience and middle class individuals capable of fully identifying themselves with the workers' cause. Young intellectuals who manifest that capacity are coming toward and already entering our party. If they recognize the revolutionary capacities of workers in the party, and if the workers understand the worth of intellectuals dedicated to the revolutionary struggle, then the party will be capable of creating valuable new cadres of leadership quality. To help both the young workers and intellectuals in their political development, internal party education should be systematically related to external activity in basic terms of our theory, program, strategy and tactics.

47. For the coming period the SWP will still have to swim against the stream, contending with an unfavorable

environment. The principal tasks in this period of transition are to hold firm to our principles and outlook and prepare those points of support which will enable the party to move forward most swiftly and effectively as soon as the anticipated openings in the next stage of the class struggle emerge.

-- April 29, 1963.