

political affairs

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*14th National
Convention of
the Communist
Party, U.S.A.*

"If, in this decisive year of 1948, we are to avoid vacillation, sectarianism, and opportunist mistakes, we—all of us—must live and breathe the science of Marxism."

—EUGENE DENNIS

Ready in September

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SEPTEMBER, 1948

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Elected
at the
14th National
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of the
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POLITICAL AFFAIRS

*A magazine devoted
to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism*

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SEPTEMBER, 1948

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THE 1948 ELECTIONS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE*

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE ALL-DECISIVE ISSUE in the national elections is that of peace or war. The world is shocked at the grave tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Reactionaries blame all this on the Soviet Union. But it is absurd to assert that that Socialist, war-ravaged country wants war. The real culprits are the economic royalists in this country who have long exploited labor. They are trying to extend their domination over the world, even at the cost of a frightful war. The fate of the world depends upon the American people grasping this basic fact of world politics.

The Trumans, Dulleses, Hoovers, Marshalls, Vandenberg and other men of the trusts who are running our government could readily secure a democratic agreement with the U.S.S.R., as Roosevelt did. But they don't want it. They are fighting for Wall Street's world control.

Their steady rejection of peace was dramatized afresh by their cynical refusal to negotiate with the Soviets on the basis of the Smith-Molotov and Stalin-Wallace correspondence.

* The keynote address at the opening session of the Convention, held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, August 2, 1948.

They want world tension and crisis, so that they can increase their fabulous profits and frighten the American people into accepting the militarization and fascist regime that they find necessary for the aggressive war they are preparing.

But let these warmongers beware! The American people will have a last word on this matter—one that will wreck the war plans of Wall Street.

* * *

In placing full responsibility upon Wall Street for the war danger, we Communists are acting in the highest interest of the American people. It would be a crime to be silent while Big Business, in its lust for profit and power, leads our nation to slaughter.

The expansionist drive of American imperialism not only threatens an eventual war disaster to the American nation; it is already bringing upon our people many evils. Thus, a decisive factor in the soaring cost of living is the Government's squandering of 25 billions per year in building up a war economy in the United States and Europe. The people are already paying through the

nose for Wall Street's insane imperialistic adventures.

The bipartisan war policy is also breeding fascism in the United States. Every democratic citizen is alarmed at the growth of anti-Negroism and anti-Semitism, the loyalty oath for Government employees, the Taft-Hartley Law, the Mundt police state bill, the deportation of progressive workers, the drive to outlaw the Communist Party, and the outrageous activities of the House Un-American Committee. Hitler needed fascism for his program of world conquest and so does Wall Street.

And these assaults upon American living standards and civil liberties, which have already reached alarming proportions, would become catastrophic if the warmakers should succeed in launching their projected anti-Soviet war. As the more intelligent capitalist-minded military experts and political commentators are warning us, such a war would be a long drawn out, hopeless struggle costing hundreds of millions of lives, which could not be won by the United States.

The American people must not allow the tycoons of Wall Street to inflict this tragedy upon us and the world.

* * *

Hard-boiled American big businessmen believe that if they can break down Russian resistance their path to world mastery will be easy. Hence their bipartisan get-tough-with-Russia policy. But their atom-bomb threats

and their Truman Doctrine of active, armed intervention in the life of various countries—France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Israel, China and Indonesia—are not succeeding. The peoples who defeated Hitler refuse to put on the yoke of Wall Street.

So Big Business is trying to buttress its failing atom-bomb diplomacy and Truman Doctrine with the Marshall Plan. By squandering tens of billions of dollars, Wall Street seeks to establish American economic control over Europe, re-arm that continent, especially Germany, and combine the capitalist countries into an active military alliance against the Soviet Union.

But the Marshall Plan, which has split the world into two hostile camps, is also not securing American world domination. True, the United States has tightened its control over the shaky capitalist countries of Western Europe and Latin America, but it has not succeeded in cowing the Soviet Union, nor in crushing the great democratic movements in Europe and the vast liberation struggles in the colonial world. Nor will it succeed.

American imperialism cannot intimidate the peoples of the world, nor can it buy them with the Marshall Plan.

* * *

In growing desperation the Wall Street monopolists are now preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. They

hope to secure by military action the world domination which they could not get through diplomatic, financial and political pressures. This is the meaning of the Government's present great war budget, its feverish expansion of the armed forces, its air bases all over the world, its peacetime draft law, its cultivation of fascist groupings here and abroad, and its truculent foreign policies. The American people had better wake up before the Wall Street jingoes plunge our country into the nameless horrors of a third world war.

To stop the war drive of Wall Street imperialism is the major task of the world's democratic forces. In this the American people bear the heaviest responsibility. Especially is this true of the labor movement. Those trade union leaders who are supporting the Marshall Plan and the aggressive foreign policy of American imperialism are violating the most sacred interests of the working class and the American people, both at home and abroad.

As for the Democratic and Republican Parties, they are both dominated by Wall Street, their candidates and platforms were dictated by Big Business, and both are committed to American imperialism's policy of world conquest.

A vote for either Truman or Dewey means a vote for eventual fascism and war.

The new Progressive Party offers the opportunity for the forces fight-

ing for peace and against inflation and fascism, to organize and express their strength. Its national ticket, Wallace and Taylor, will rally hosts of workers, Negroes, farmers, veterans, women, youth, intellectuals and other patriotic Americans who are determined that our people shall not be butchered for the profit and glory of Wall Street.

* * *

The new party is shattering the deadly two-party system which for generations has politically paralyzed the working class.

The worth of the new party is proved by the ferocity with which the warmongers and Red-baiters are attacking it. They are brazen liars who charge that the Communist Party is trying to dominate the new party or to claim the credit for its formation. The Progressive Party is the result of 100 years of struggle by the progressive forces for a great mass party of the people. It was created by millions of workers and other toilers, disillusioned by the two old parties and in bitter need for a mass political weapon against the warmongers.

The Progressive Party is in no sense a Communist Party. While supporting its program of people's demands, we Communists have many points of difference with it and we do not hesitate to express them. The most important of these points of difference is that while many leaders

in the Progressive Party believe that the badly crippled world capitalist system can be saved and transformed into "progressive capitalism," we Marxist-Leninists do not. Capitalism historically is on its way off the world stage.

The central meaning of the times in which we live is that the capitalist system is hopelessly breaking down. The world's peoples are on the march to socialism, and all the gold and bayonets of Wall Street cannot stop them.

* * *

In these crucial days all the defenders of world peace and the people's living standards and civil liberties must stand together, regardless of differences on long-range social objectives. It is either such a broad peace unity or surrender to the warmongers. And the people of America and the world will never surrender.

The present wholesale arrest of Communists is an attack upon the broad peace movement, especially the new party. The bipartisan Government wants to silence the strong clear peace voice of the Communists. It wants to outlaw our Party so that it may then terrorize every progressive movement, so that it may proceed more rapidly to fascism and war, as Hitler did in Germany.

The defense of the rights of the Communists is the fight to maintain world peace, to keep our country out of the deadly swamp of fascism. The people defeated the infamous Mundt

Bill. They will also smash this attempt to shatter the Bill of Rights by outlawing the Communist Party.

The world awaits anxiously the outcome of our national elections. For the fate of humanity will be at stake. The peace forces have the power to deal the bipartisan warmongers a smashing blow, if they will but unite and vote together. This election must be a great victory for peace and democracy.

* * *

Let me say in conclusion that the 14th National Convention of the Communist Party meets in full realization of the critical situation of the world as a result of the drive of American imperialism for world domination. It knows that the forces of world democracy are far stronger than any possible combination of world reaction that Wall Street can organize and that they will fight resolutely against the fascism and war that Wall Street is coldbloodedly planning.

And above all, our Party knows that if American imperialism, despite the resistance of the peace forces, should succeed in launching a new world war, this crime would seal the doom of world capitalism. For the outraged peace-loving masses would then put an end to the obsolete capitalist system and speed on faster than ever to their inevitable goal of socialism.

This election will mark a great turning point for our country and

the world. We must not allow ourselves to be blinded by jingoistic slogans, nor permit ourselves to be intimidated by the threats of the reactionaries.

All those who are for peace and democracy and against inflation must boldly stand up and be counted. And

in order to vote intelligently, the great fact they must understand is that the ruthless bipartisan expansionist policy of American imperialism, by threatening the peace of the world, deeply violates the most profound national interests of the American people.

THE FASCIST DANGER AND HOW TO COMBAT IT*

By EUGENE DENNIS

I

THE FASCIST DANGER

COMRADES:

In my report I wish to concentrate on one central question of the post-war struggle of the people for peace and democracy, namely, the growing danger of fascism and how to combat it.

Three years have passed since the end of the anti-Axis war and the military defeat of Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan.

Fascism has been destroyed in the newly established democracies of Eastern Europe where the foundations are being laid for the transition to socialism.

In Eastern Germany the process of democratization and demilitarization is well advanced. In great parts of China and in Northern Korea the victorious liberation movements have smashed the old feudal-militarist regimes and are bringing new anti-imperialist peoples' governments into being.

But in Western Germany, Anglo-American imperialism is building up monopoly capitalism, and the car-

telists are again doing business, under the new management of Wall Street. In U.S.-occupied Japan, the monarchy, feudalism and the trusts remain. The Wall Street cartelists are converting Western Germany and Japan into spheres for American capital investment and control, as well as into springboards for predatory military adventures against the U.S.S.R. and the anti-imperialist governments of Eastern Europe and Asia.

In France and Italy, the decisive majority of the working class and their Communist Parties fight for peace, national independence, democracy and progress. The United States is trying to enslave these countries. It promotes the rise of clerical fascism in Italy. It seeks to prepare a fascist *coup d'etat* in France, making use of the Blum Socialists to pave the way for the fascist De Gaullists. Similarly, American imperialism aids and tries to bolster the fascists in Greece, Spain and Latin America.

This sharpening postwar world offensive of American imperialism, which combines the most reactionary intervention in the internal affairs of other nations with gigantic and aggressive war preparations, is accompanied by the growth of fascism in our country. *The development of*

* The complete text of the main political report to the Convention, August 3, 1948.

fascism in the United States now appears as a serious and threatening menace. The process of fascization, most directly engendered by monopoly's war drive, itself in turn serves as a key internal instrument to facilitate and accelerate Wall Street's preparations for World War III.

The United States is not Spain, nor is it Japan. It is not even Germany. As the center of world monopoly capitalism, it has become in the postwar period the chief center of world reaction. Obviously, therefore, if fascism were victorious in the U.S., it would subject the American people to a savage regime of unparalleled terror, oppression and exploitation. It would plunge the whole world into a new global war of unprecedented violence, horror and death.

* * *

Only those who have eyes but will not see can be blind to the increased danger of fascism in America. Yet in some quarters the danger is denied, while in others it is not understood.

Naturally, the architects and engineers of fascism and war—the monopolists and their apologists—try to conceal the process of fascization taking place under their direction.

To obscure their purposes, they try to portray the United States as the citadel of democracy. They proclaim that private enterprise and the two-party system are the hallmarks of liberty. They profess that they are championing human rights—by preserving corporate and states rights. They self-righteously “justify” every act of aggression abroad and of re-

pression at home, asserting that they safeguard democracy by “combating Communism.”

In essence, the reactionary Social Democrats and the trade union reformists subscribe to this thesis. They defend Wall Street's reactionary drive toward fascism and war—“because” they are “opposed to totalitarianism.” They explain that the reactionary measures of the bipartisans in both foreign and domestic affairs are necessary “because” there is no other way to prevent the “infiltration and spread of Communism” abroad and within the nation. They extol the virtues of “the American way of life,” and consider any form of American bourgeois political reaction a “lesser evil” with respect to socialism.

These Right-wing socialist and reformist labor flunkys of the economic royalists serve their masters well by denying the real source of the fascist danger and minimizing its gravity. They divert attention from the organizing center of native fascism to its lunatic fringe. They attribute the reactionary and pro-fascist acts of the government and Congress to “bad individuals”—and not to the system of monopoly capitalism that breeds war and fascism.

There is another school of thought, embracing millions of honest but confused workers and progressives who can't see the woods for the trees. They readily admit that the men of the American trusts have launched a reactionary postwar offensive. But they cannot distinguish between the varied forms through which bour-

geois reaction rules and manifests itself. To them this postwar offensive of monopoly appears identical with that which followed World War I.

They point to the Palmer raids, injunctions and "race riots" of 1919-1923, as well as to the Dawes Plan, and think that today history is merely repeating itself. They cite the current elections, the formal legal existence of the Communist Party and the trade unions, as evidence that things aren't really so bad here, after all. And so they prophesy that the present reactionary offensive of big capital will quickly run its course, that the "pendulum will inevitably swing" back and automatically assure the victory of the democratic camp. These well-meaning but misled people believe that the democratic sentiments and traditions of the American people are so strong that "it can't happen here." They see the fascist drive of the monopolies only as a temporary aberration, a passing "phase," and shut their eyes to the reality of its danger.

But those who are seriously determined to win the fight against war and fascism cannot put their reliance in the tactics and weapons that sufficed for earlier struggles, nor can they allow themselves to become prisoners of a Maginot line political psychology. They must uncover the *new features* in this postwar offensive of American monopoly, and estimate correctly how and to what extent the danger is increasing.

* * *

To this end, it is necessary first to

know clearly what fascism is, to understand its class nature and to generalize the universal features of its development.

As the history of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy tragically demonstrates, fascism in power is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital.

Fascism is the power of finance capital, its organized vengeance against the working class and all militant progressives. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its crudest form.

The establishment of fascism does not substitute the rule of one class for the rule of another. But neither is its advent an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another. Fascism is bourgeois rule by open, terrorist dictatorship, replacing the old form of capitalist domination, bourgeois democracy.

Fascism advances toward power where the working class and the popular forces generally are weak and divided. But its advance also reflects the weaknesses and instability of capitalism, which is unable to rule in the old way, or to pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

History tells us that the development of fascism and the establishment of fascist dictatorship does not follow an identical pattern in all countries. The forms and methods of fascist rule also differ from country to country, determined by differences in the relation of class forces,

national traditions and the economic position of monopoly.

But despite the specific features that mark the development of fascism in this or that country, there are certain general features which it displays always and everywhere.

Thus, while the way fascism has come to power differs in this or that country, in *every* country the drive toward fascism and its victory have been accompanied by extensive preparations for imperialist war, especially for an anti-Soviet crusade. Thus, too, while the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in certain countries has been preceded by the development of fascist mass movements, in *every* country it has been preceded by the growth of capitalist reaction and by the adoption of a system of reactionary measures to cripple and smash the trade unions, to outlaw the Communist Party and ruthlessly to oppress all national minorities.

And, while the establishment of fascism has been accompanied by the abolition of bourgeois-parliamentary government only in certain countries, and in others has maintained the forms of a sham parliamentarism—yet in *all* countries fascism has savagely wiped out all democratic liberties for the masses.

No matter how fascism develops, or by what means it comes to power, fascism everywhere, as Dimitrov pointed out in 1935, has these characteristics in common:

“Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;

“Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war;

“Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

“Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!

* * *

Why does the danger of fascism increase in the United States at this particular time? What factors impel monopoly capital, spearheaded by its most extreme and bellicose sections, to move toward fascism?

The first and most decisive factor is the special position of U.S. capitalism in the postwar period, in which the general crisis of world capitalism has become deeper and more acute. The United States emerged from the war stronger militarily and, in certain respects, economically. (The productive capacity of the U.S. increased 50 per cent during the war, etc.)

At the same time, world capitalism was much weakened in the course of the war. Fascist imperialism was shattered in Germany, Japan and Italy. Britain and France were reduced to second-rate powers. New People's Democracies arose in Eastern Europe. Despite its great human and material losses, the Soviet Union came out of the war with its socialist system strengthened and its international influence tremendously enhanced.

The U.S. monopolies, with their swollen profits and increased productive capacity, face a relatively restricted home market and a shrink-

ing capitalist sector of the world. Their "solution" is to embark on an aggressive program of imperialist expansion and intervention. They seek to bolster and restore capitalism in Europe and Asia, under U.S. hegemony. They prepare for a new world war to attain world domination.

Such an ultra-reactionary foreign policy cannot be carried through without complementary domestic measures. Therefore, the monopolists strive to militarize the country, curb labor, illegalize the Communist Party, and smash the anti-war, anti-imperialist people's coalition and opposition. That is why monopoly reaction turns to fascism.

The second factor is connected with the first. American monopoly is haunted by the specter of the coming economic crisis, by the rapid maturing of the first postwar cyclical crisis of overproduction.

In an effort to avert or postpone the outbreak of the crisis, and to cushion its effects in the interests of Big Business, monopoly is organizing a war preparations economy, an economy of the Goering type, governed by the principle of "guns instead of butter." It resorts to a colossal twenty billion dollar armaments program. It uses the Marshall Plan to promote government export subsidies and protection for U.S. monopoly's foreign economic penetration, as well as to further the political enslavement of nations. It is introducing the Nazi system of "voluntary" cartel arrangements, whereby the

large corporations controlling basic materials and production are permitted to work out priorities and the allocation of these materials to the domestic and foreign monopoly firms financially allied with the suppliers. All these measures are being integrated with the state power in the fashion of Hitler Germany. Thus, there is also taking place an accelerated growth of state monopoly capitalism.

These measures of monopoly to delay or circumvent the approaching cyclical economic crisis assure gigantic monopoly profits. But for the masses these measures mean that they are already experiencing some of the hardships and ravaging effects which are usually connected with a severe economic crisis.

Despite the present relative high levels of employment, nearly eight million workers now work part-time. Despite currently higher nominal wages, the real wages and the living standards of the working people have been reduced through run-away monetary inflation, intensified speed-up and regimentation, as well as heavier taxes. While the production of weapons of destruction increases, there is a steady decline in the production of means of production for peacetime purposes, as well as a critical shortage of many consumers' goods.

This program of monopoly therefore leads currently to greater mass impoverishment, exploitation and suffering, and will make the oncoming crisis more devastating and pro-

tracted in character. But it is also a program which, unless checked by the mass struggle for peace, will transform the war preparations economy into a full-blown war economy in an unjust and disastrous war.

Confronted with the growing resistance of the masses to this reactionary program and its logical consequences, the American monopolies are turning toward fascist methods of rule.

Thirdly, and related to the above factors, the postwar drive of American capitalism toward fascism shows itself in the unprecedented concentration and centralization of capital which developed at an unparalleled pace during and after World War II. The intensity of capitalist exploitation of labor has been increasing. Not only labor, but the masses of toiling farmers, as well as small business, have been drawn ever deeper into the clutches of monopoly domination and oppression.

Consequently, the internal contradictions of U.S. monopoly capitalism have sharpened tremendously. These have reached the point where the domination of the trusts in the economy and politics of the nation has not only become incompatible with peace, with the liberty and economic security of the American people, but has also become unacceptable to a growing section of the labor-progressive camp.

Fearful of the rising might of the new people's anti-monopoly party and coalition, the increased role of working-class leadership in it and

the growing influence of the Communists, American monopoly capital is losing faith in the possibility of governing effectively by bourgeois-democratic methods. Therefore, the most reactionary monopolies are turning ever more rapidly toward the introduction of fascist methods of rule and repression.

* * *

That is the *why* of the fascist danger in our country. How does this danger manifest itself? What are its symptoms and trends?

In the classic fashion set by Hitler, the postwar offensive of the American trusts shows its fascist colors by flying the flag of anti-Communism. Like Hitlerism, Wall Street reaction prepares for war under the guise of "preserving" world peace and democracy from "Soviet imperialist aggression."

Nazi Germany, presenting itself as a "have-not" nation, professed to seek only "room to live in" as justification of its expansionist course. American imperialism, boasting that the United States neither needs nor seeks new territory, justifies its expansionism and aggressive military program as self-defense and benevolent protection of the small nations. Under this guise a vast military program for aggression to the tune of over 20 billion dollars, the largest peacetime military budget in world history, has been adopted.

Hitler proclaimed that Nazi imperialism could not live in the same world with the socialist system of

the U.S.S.R. American imperialism, playing on the anti-fascist sentiments of the American people, declares that socialism is "Red fascism," and that the Soviet Union refuses to live at peace with the capitalist states. Under this guise the U.S. and its satellites have violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, vitiated and bypassed the U.N., organized an anti-Soviet economic blockade and embarked on a series of anti-Soviet acts and provocations.

Wherever fascism has come to power, it has incorporated the most reactionary, warmongering and imperialist elements of finance capital into the government, and elevated the military to positions of power over all aspects of civilian life. That process is far advanced in our country today. Wall Street's men have attained positions of decisive importance in both old parties, Republican and Democratic. They have secured control of the House of Representatives, where the extreme reactionaries, like Halleck, Martin, Parnell Thomas and Rankin, rule the roost. Extreme pro-fascists and war-mongers like Forrestal and Royall are appointed to high public office, or, like Dulles, shape policy in a semi-official capacity.

From these controlling heights, the bipartisan pro-fascists and warmongers advance their military, economic and political preparations for expansionist adventures and an anti-Soviet war. This is true not only in matters of foreign policy but also in the efforts of the U.S. monopolists to use

their control of the government to subvert and nullify the Bill of Rights and to transform the peacetime economy of the country to a pro-fascist war economy.

Wall Street is subverting the Bill of Rights, as well as using the Constitution and the organs of Government to promote its reactionary and fascist aims. With the "loyalty" order and the "subversive lists," the pro-fascist monopolies have begun to practice the Nazi-like rule by decree. The House Un-American Committee, never a legislative body, has passed from dangerous fascist propaganda to illegal, punitive measures against the Communists, trade unionists and other militant progressives.

On the legislative front, the pro-fascists have succeeded in enacting the evil Taft-Hartley Law, which is seriously crippling and undermining the trade unions and their capacity, not only for economic struggle, but for struggle against war and fascism as well. The introduction of the sinister Mundt-Nixon Bill, and its passage by the House, as well as the projected re-introduction of this Nazi-like legislation in the early days of the 81st Congress, signalize a further advance of the fascist drive to outlaw the Communist Party, to regulate the unions and the new Progressive Party, and to curb or destroy these and other progressive organizations. Should such a bill become law, it would signify a most advanced stage in the fascist drive.

In the various states, also, a series of repressive measures have been

passed to pave the way for the advance of fascism: examples of this are the Callahan Act in Michigan, and the activities of the Canwell Committee in the state of Washington.

There is no ground for any lingering illusion that the courts, particularly the Supreme Court, can be relied on to "check and balance" the drive toward fascism. The courts are major instruments of government by injunction and coercion. The lower courts have upheld, and the Supreme Court has refused to review, the infamous persecutions of the Un-American Committee. "Leaks" from the Justice Department violate Grand Jury secrecy, and, with the help of the most reactionary sections of the press, prejudice Grand Jury proceedings. They result in such monstrous fascist-like frame-ups as the current indictment of the National Board of the C.P.U.S.A., under charges of violating the infamous Smith Act. Trial juries, particularly in the District of Columbia, are directly intimidated by the "loyalty" order, so that verdicts of "guilty" have become a foregone conclusion in any case involving anti-fascists.

Militarization of the country goes hand in hand with the process of fascistization. Not only has the peacetime draft been enacted in the face of broad popular opposition, but the military are increasingly intervening in the sciences, universities, industries and other aspects of civilian life, and placing them on the "alert," on a wartime basis.

All these measures to prepare the way for fascism are meeting with growing resistance. In the labor-progressive camp they arouse increasing uneasiness and mass opposition, even though their full significance is not everywhere adequately grasped.

* * *

While this and more is going on, the open advocates of fascism are trying to supplement government repression with a reactionary mass movement. They are instigating a campaign of terror and violence against the working class, the trade unions and the Communist Party.

The organization of violent, extra-parliamentary actions has a special significance today. Whether undertaken by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Ku Klux Klan or chauvinist elements among the nationality groups, this activity is designed to provide American fascism with a mass base.

At the same time, the most extreme fascist elements in the country are waging a mass political-ideological offensive to bring labor, farm, church and nationality group organizations under fascist influence. Shouting the battle cry of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, these forces are propagating chauvinist, white-supremacist, anti-labor, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro views.

What does all this add up to? Are these just straws in the usual reactionary wind that blows "after every war"? If we put these jig-saw pieces

together, do we see nothing more than the ordinary reactionary offensive of monopoly?

Clearly, the answer is no. These are moves designed to pave the way for fascism. They are the organic parts of the fascist offensive of American monopoly capital and its preparations for a new world war.

Yet it would be profoundly wrong in analysis and highly dangerous in policy to assume that this drive of Wall Street toward war and fascism has already reached its goal. Nor should it be assumed that the outbreak of war is necessarily and inevitably contingent upon the establishment of fascism, or that the ushering in of fascism is necessarily and inevitably contingent upon the outbreak of war. The reactionary and warmongering policies and measures of the trusts and their bipartisan political agents are facilitating and promoting the drive toward world war and the internal process of militarization and fascization now under way. This is a fact. But fascism has not yet triumphed! Nor is World War III and the victory of fascism in the United States inevitable. These, too, are facts of great importance.

* * *

We have considered some of the main factors impelling American monopoly capitalism toward war and fascism, and the manifestations and gravity of the fascist danger. Now we must ask why, in the postwar period, the monopolies have made such alarming advances in their drive

toward fascism, and hence toward war.

After the defeat of the Axis powers, the anti-imperialist camp advanced on a world scale, and its socialist sector has been strengthened. In our country, the fighting spirit of the American workers and progressives has been demonstrated in the development of the new people's party, in the unfolding of powerful economic struggles, in the reconstitution of the Communist Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and in an upsurge in the national liberation movement of the Negro people. Why, then, has the reactionary offensive of Big Business made headway, and why has the danger of fascism become so threatening?

For one thing, the reactionary postwar drive of American capital, which coincided with the death of Roosevelt, brought the breakup of the old Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition. The majority of organized labor, which followed and was dependent on Roosevelt and the Democratic Party, was unprepared—in the first phase of the postwar period—to come forward as an independent class force. As a result largely of social-democratic influences, and partly because of the harmful consequences of our former revisionist policies, as well as because of the limited base and influence of our Party in the labor movement, labor in the early postwar period was not yet ready ideologically, or mobilized politically, to forge a new people's anti-imperialist coalition under working-class leadership.

The mass of the workers, who learn the hard way in the school of experience, were, at first, reluctant to break with Truman and the Democrats. It took them quite a while to realize that Truman and the Democrats had already broken with labor, and with the progressive features of Roosevelt's policies.

It is true that after we repudiated Browderism and reconstituted our Party as a Marxist vanguard party, we reoriented with relative promptness to the realities of the postwar situation. We steered a course of uncompromising struggle against American imperialism and its political spokesmen, even though we did not in the first postwar months draw all the practical political conclusions from our correct estimate of the new situation and the need to forge a new people's coalition of which the working class would be the backbone and eventual leader. Because of this we were able to influence only a minority in the C.I.O.—albeit a sizable and influential minority—and only very negligible forces in the A. F. of L. However, we did succeed in reaching and influencing a more substantial section of the Negro people and key sections of the intellectuals and professionals. Nonetheless, this delay in the regrouping of the labor, democratic and anti-imperialist forces enabled monopoly reaction to gain considerable ground in its turn toward war and fascism.

Secondly, the forces of fascism advanced on many fronts because they were able to break through on the

ideological front. Wall Street's gargantuan anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda war made some inroads among certain sections of labor and the middle classes. Masses of people who want peace have been deluded into believing that the cold war will avert a shooting war, and that the atom bomb, plus a huge armaments program, are defensive weapons which will assure peace by discouraging "potential aggressors."

Millions who fear mass unemployment and the impending crisis have been sold on the Marshall Plan, as a measure to ensure American prosperity and European recovery. Large sections of the population have been duped by the foul lie that Communism is "totalitarianism" of the Left, and so they have fallen victim to all kinds of anti-Communist poison. The temporary successes of its psychological warfare have also enabled pro-fascist reaction to advance.

Most importantly, this postwar drive of monopoly reaction toward fascism and war has been aided and abetted by the reformist and social-democratic lieutenants of monopoly. These agents of the class enemy have succeeded up to now in maintaining and deepening the split in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the trade union movement. Consequently, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. remain divided. The C.I.O. national leadership is engaged in bitter warfare against the C.I.O. Left Wing. And political divisions in the ranks of labor, fomented largely by the social-reformists and Social-Demo-

crats, manifest themselves in a particularly dangerous manner in this year's national elections.

Clearly, the danger of fascism has been heightened by the class collaboration policies pursued by the official national leadership of the trade union movement, by the national leaders of most farm organizations and of most of the mass youth, women's and fraternal organizations. This class collaboration policy expresses itself in support for the Marshall Plan and the armaments program, adherence to the two-party system of Big Business, Red-baiting and anti-Soviet activity. It shows itself in the Murray-Tobin counsel to adopt a no-strike policy. It leads to the spectacle of trade union leaders who are against wage increases if the corporations are against them. It results in capitulation to the Taft-Hartley Act and passive acceptance of injunctions. It means holding the trade unions back from active opposition to the various reactionary measures through which big capital, its government and Congress pave the way to fascism. It leads to the betrayal of international working-class solidarity in the struggle for peace and democracy.

Thus, even where leaders like Murray and Green formally oppose such pro-fascist steps as the Taft-Hartley Law and the Mundt Bill, their opposition is purely formal and perfunctory. They discourage and head off militant mass actions by the workers and their allies. They prohibit united front mass actions

locally and nationally. They compete with the pro-fascists in Red-baiting the Communists and other anti-monopoly progressives.

While, of course, the reactionary leaders in the labor movement bear the responsibility for facilitating the war drive and fascization policy of the monopolies, the working class, to the extent that it tolerates such leaders and their policies, participates in the responsibility for this betrayal of the cause of labor and the nation.

Finally, the Left Wing of the labor movement, including certain Communist leaders, also bears a share of responsibility for the fact that the fascist offensive has not yet met with the necessary rebuff. Some of the advanced workers have, at times, underestimated the fighting spirit of the working people. They have consequently failed to give adequately bold and militant leadership and to develop a broad united front from below on such issues as the fight for peace, against Taft-Hartleyism, for the rights of the Negro people and of the Communists, etc.

Other sections of the Left Wing, while developing a militant wage and strike policy, have manifested strong tendencies toward economism. In particular, they have failed to exercise the necessary leadership in promoting and guiding the building of the new people's party, and in developing a fighting alliance between labor and its popular allies, the Negro people and the mass of

the working farmers and city middle classes.

* * *

Division, confusion and backwardness still exist in labor and progressive movements. We cannot gloss over these factors which enable the most aggressive and reactionary monopolies to press forward and advance the drive to fascism and war. But neither can we underestimate the favorable aspects of the international situation, especially the great and growing power of the world anti-imperialist camp. Nor can we fail to appreciate fully the new trends in, and the great strength and potential fighting capacity of, the American working class and the entire anti-fascist and anti-imperialist camp. We must not fail to take into account the growing alertness of our own Party to its vanguard role and tasks. This new understanding of the indispensable vanguard role of our Party to assure the establishment of working-class leadership in the people's coalition and struggles is bound to bring untold strength to the camp of peace and democracy.

II

THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

Is it possible to beat back the offensive of Big Business, to check and defeat Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism?

Yes, this is possible—if labor adopts an independent class position and comes forward as the staunch-

est defender of the nation, as the most stalwart champion of peace, democracy and social progress.

In this connection it is important to note certain marked and basic differences between the prewar and the postwar aspects of the struggle against fascism.

° Prior to World War II, the chief instigators of world fascism and imperialist war were Nazi Germany and militarist Japan and their supporters among the pro-fascist monopolies in the U.S. Today the principal center of world reaction, and thus the main instigator of fascism and war, is American imperialism, is Wall Street.

Prior to World War II and especially during the anti-Axis war, sections of the American bourgeoisie, those which supported and worked through the Roosevelt Administration, sought to curb or eliminate their imperialist rivals—fascist Germany and Japan. At that time the main fire of the anti-fascist and democratic coalition within the U.S. was directed primarily against the anti-Comintern Axis abroad, and, on the home front, against the most reactionary economic royalists, the appeasers of fascism, who opposed Roosevelt, the New Deal and its labor supporters.

Today the anti-fascist and anti-war coalition is directed not only against the Munichite, pro-Axis opponents of Roosevelt—the Hearsts and Du Ponts; it is directed equally against *all* monopolists. For, today, after the military defeat of Germany and

Japan, all sections of monopoly capital—despite their partisan, vested interests and tactical differences—have common imperialist objectives, and toward that end pursue a bipartisan war program for world domination.

A paramount tactical conclusion to be drawn from this reality, in the struggle to defeat the postwar dangers of war and fascism, is the need, as our Party has emphasized since 1945, to forge both the widest militant united front of struggle of the working class and the broadest democratic, anti-monopoly people's coalition under labor's leadership.

In place of the old Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition, led by the anti-Axis section of the bourgeoisie, it is essential to develop further and reinforce a new type of progressive, people's coalition such as is now arising. This coalition must be not merely anti-fascist, but anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly. Within it, the working class, instead of tail-ending, as in the New Deal period, must assume the position of the leading social force. Therefore, the leadership cannot be of the type that headed the previous loose, democratic coalition which was led by Roosevelt and the New Deal Democrats. *To halt the drive toward fascism and war, the new people's coalition must be led by the working class and its most class-conscious sector.*

And here it should be noted, while certain sections of the bourgeoisie consider that American capitalism may still advance its imperialist policies by methods of bourgeois democ-

ocracy within the country, and therefore may express doubts about, or even vote against, a Mundt Bill—they cannot be relied upon to lead or wage effective opposition to the pro-fascist drive of the most reactionary forces. These bourgeois elements favor and support the Truman-Marshall-Dulles bipartisan foreign policy. Hence, they vacillate, temporize and in the end go along with the domestic program of extreme reaction.

At times the differences and conflicts between these bourgeois elements and the most aggressive circles of monopoly may assume considerable importance and may be used by the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist camp. *But this can be done only if labor pursues an independent working-class policy* and relies on its own strength and that of its natural allies.

Is it possible for the American working class to measure up to its historic postwar responsibilities and to lead the great majority of America's working people in united mass struggle to avert the growing menace of war and fascism? Is it possible to do this when labor's ranks are so sharply divided and confused and when sections of the labor movement are infected with the virus of class collaboration and chauvinism?

Yes, this is possible—if the Communists and other progressive workers imbue the working class and its popular allies with confidence in their own strength, leadership and fighting capacity. This is possible if they utilize labor's experience with

the Taft-Hartley injunctions, with the bipartisan armament and tax program and with the Truman-Marshall doctrines, to cultivate the class consciousness of the working class and systematically forge militant united labor action and a more powerful people's anti-monopoly coalition led by the progressive labor movement. This is possible if they defend and help build their Marxist, vanguard party, the Communist Party.

There is good ground for such confidence. The workers and common people of America don't want fascism or war. Their strong democratic and revolutionary traditions have implanted in them both the desire for peace and progress and the will to struggle for the attainment of their aims.

The organized trade unions have immense potential strength. They have a great capacity for militant class struggles, as shown in the three postwar rounds of wage fights.

The progressive workers and the entire anti-imperialist camp will gain in self-confidence to the extent that they recognize and rely on that which is new and rising in the labor movement and the political life of the country.

There is a new tide of independent political action rising in the ranks of labor. The Progressive Party is developing as a mass people's party and comes increasingly under labor's influence. And in this situation it is of no small consequence that our Communist Party shows a new po-

litical maturity and a growing capacity to fight and to influence events.

Powerful allies are moving in a new way toward the working class and its Communist vanguard. Among these are the Negro people, carried toward united action by the upsurge of their liberation movement and by the increased activity of the labor-progressive camp in behalf of Negro rights. Among these are millions of working farmers, moved by their anger against the trusts and their desire for peace. Among these are the many intellectuals and professionals who see fascism as the deadly enemy of science and culture. Among these, too, are the anti-imperialist masses of the youth, women and of the national groups, especially of the American Slav and Jewish people.

These popular forces constitute the labor-progressive camp. United under labor's leadership, pursuing a fighting policy, and aligned with the anti-imperialist forces of all nations, they can block the establishment of a fascist dictatorship and help prevent a third world war.

Favorable conditions do not, however, in themselves guarantee a favorable outcome. It is the human beings, and in the first place the class-conscious workers, who must guarantee that what can be done, is done.

Therefore, the American working class, and especially its Communist vanguard, must show itself in action as the champion of the nation's interests and of peace, as the best

fighter for the social welfare and progress of the immense majority of the American people. It must unite its own ranks in militant struggle and gather around itself all patriotic and democratic elements. It must reinforce the democratic anti-monopoly and anti-war coalition now emerging, and give it fighting working-class leadership.

This is the path of unity of action, of *class struggle*. The path of class collaboration does not lead to united front action against fascism. It leads only to traitorous complicity in Wall Street's drive to war and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

Clearly, we cannot speak seriously of defeating fascism without determining how the disastrous policy of class collaboration can be routed. Unfortunately, this evil cannot be eradicated at one fell swoop by adopting a resolution reading it out of the labor movement.

On the contrary, labor and its allies—and especially its Communist vanguard—must come to grips with the policy of class collaboration whenever and wherever it shows itself. The key to its exposure and defeat lies not only in a sustained and effective political-ideological struggle, essential as this is, but above all in the adoption of a policy of class struggle and the organization of mass resistance to each and every reactionary measure advanced by monopoly and its government.

A united class struggle policy means combating every pro-fascist

and warmongering assault, means not letting the monopolists get away with anything. It means a fight against every piece of reactionary legislation that bobs up in Congress, or in the states and municipalities. It means a fight against every threatened wage cut; against every attack on and discrimination against the Negro people and the Jewish people; against every penny rise in the price of milk, or nickel rise in fare.

It means a fight against every move to militarize the country or undermine civil liberties. It means a resolute struggle against the pro-fascist Mundt-Ferguson Bill to register and outlaw our Party and all so-called "Communist front" organizations. It requires a determined struggle against the monstrous frame-up of the Communist Party under the anti-labor Smith Act. It means a fight against every betrayal of peace by the advocates of the jingoist, imperialist, bipartisan foreign policy.

And it means that the labor movement as a whole must engage in united action whenever one of its component parts is under attack. A most dangerous and hidden form of class collaboration consists in permitting the monopolies to concentrate their forces against the Communist Party, or against this or that trade union or mass organization and decimate them one at a time while their labor and progressive allies do nothing, or confine themselves to cheering from the sideline.

To defeat the policy of class collaboration means to rally the whole

labor movement and its allies in defense of the packinghouse workers, the miners, the typographical workers, the maritime workers, when they are menaced by Taft-Hartley decrees, injunctions or elections. It means to reject and cast aside the program of company unionism in labor's politics as well as in its wage struggles. It means to combat and eradicate from the labor movement all anti-Communist policies and practices—the Typhoid Marys planted in labor's ranks by its enemies, by the reactionaries and pro-fascists. It requires that every section of the labor-progressive camp get into the fight against *all* the victims of Clark's subversive lists, the loyalty purges, the House Un-American Committee, and the Smith Act or a Mundt bill.

Labor and the American people have some tried and trusty slogans that must now again be carried into battle. Now more than ever, "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Now, as always, "In union there is strength!"

It is no easy matter to break through the barriers of trade union bureaucracy and reformism, and the political and craft differences which stand between the masses of the workers and a correct, fighting policy. But it can be done. What it takes is a bold and systematic application of the tactic of the united front of struggle from below, combined with a resolute effort to enlist in common action every leader, group and mass organization op-

posed to war and fascism, irrespective of all other differences.

In other words, the Communists and other progressives must rely on the rank-and file, go to them with the issues, explain what is what, and organize them. This requires organization and leadership and plenty of leg work. *It especially requires initiative and steadfastness in fighting for the most urgent economic and political demands of the workers and common people.*

In this connection, and precisely to reinforce and extend the struggle for peace and democracy, the Left Wing in the labor-progressive movement must devote far more attention to developing mass actions for the economic needs of the masses, especially for the demands of the most exploited sections of the working people: the Negro, Mexican-Americans, youth, and women workers, and white-collar workers in industry, the professions and government. And how can labor win sorely needed allies for its fight against Taft-Hartleyism and speed-up, for wage and salary increases? How can it strengthen the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly people's coalition and enhance its leadership within it? To achieve this, labor must come forward decisively and organize a nation-wide people's campaign in behalf of genuine price and rent controls, lower taxes and an adequate and non-discriminatory federal and state housing, veterans, education, health and social security program.

The united front from below is not the easiest tactic to apply but it can be organized—and it certainly pays big political dividends. In the Chrysler strike it thwarted the G.M. cost-of-living wage pattern for robbing all the auto workers, and, together with the heroic struggle of the packinghouse workers, it broke the wage freeze in industry. It saved the life of Mrs. Ingram and her sons and advanced the whole struggle for Negro rights. It promoted a grass roots mass movement which helped initiate the new people's peace party, over the heads of the social-democratic leaders and trade union reformists and against their class collaboration policies.

Moreover, this was the tactic that upset reaction's time-table for outlawing our Communist Party by temporarily defeating the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

Here we can profitably compare two tactics, two policies—that employed in the struggle against the N.A.M.'s Taft-Hartley Bill, and that which won the first round in the struggle against the pro-fascist Mundt Bill.

In the Taft-Hartley fight, the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and Railway Brotherhoods voiced their official opposition, while the Communists were active in trying to launch an effective mass movement. Labor's top leadership organized a legislative lobby and launched a public relations' campaign.

But the officialdom of labor rejected every proposal for militant,

united front, mass action. Both major trade union centers relied on the Democrats in Congress to vote against the Taft-Hartley Bill and on Truman to veto it. Both preferred parallel activity to joint action and cooperation with labor's allies.

In the fight against the Mundt Bill, the Communist Party displayed a maximum of political and organizing initiative. So did a number of other progressive groups, particularly the Wallace forces. This initiative and leadership succeeded in developing a broad united front campaign embracing a wide variety of labor and non-labor groups which differed from one another on many other questions. This campaign involved the Communist Party, the N.A.A.C.P., many A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, the Progressive Party, the American Youth for Democracy and the American Veterans Committee, many nationality and fraternal organizations, as well as many conservative public officials, church groups and even the Americans for Democratic Action. Unquestionably, these united actions stimulated much more widespread parallel action than would otherwise have developed against the Mundt Bill.

Not only was there extensive legislative and lobbying activity, but there was also broad demonstrative mass action. This was organized in many states. Nationally, it reached its high points in the Negro people's Non-Partisan March on Washington on June 2, and in the subsequent mass veterans' lobby on housing.

Two tactics and policies: two results. In the first, a policy of reliance upon a capitalist party and business-as-usual tactics, with the usual Red-baiting, jurisdictional back-biting and timidity. Result: the Taft-Hartley Bill became law.

But in the second instance, the pursuance of a militant, all-inclusive united front tactic and policy. Result: the temporary defeat of the Mundt Bill.

It is plain which policy, which tactic, the working class and its allies must pursue and develop, especially as the pro-fascists will again seek to enact the Mundt-Ferguson Bill.

It is clear, too, that the organization and leadership of the united front of struggle from below, which is of decisive importance, is not an end in itself. It must be pursued with the aim of drawing the widest masses, their organizations and sections of their leaders into joint struggle against the attacks of capital, against the drive toward fascism and war. It must be directed to influence the policies of the trade unions and other mass organizations, no less than to influence the foreign and domestic policy of the government and Congress.

* * *

But militant self-defense is not all that is required for the working class to mobilize and unite its ranks and to achieve decisive leadership in the people's coalition of struggle against fascism and war. It is equally necessary that the Communists and other advanced workers search out the

ways and means to counter-attack and to go over to the counter-offensive.

Attack is still the best defense, in politics as well as in war. And the masses will more readily respond to the call to struggle when they see that it involves *not only preserving what they have won, but making new gains as well.*

Therefore, for example, it is not enough to call for the defense of the Bill of Rights. The Negro people especially demand that it be enforced and extended. They demand guarantees that their right to vote in all primaries and elections will be respected now, this year. To defend the rights of the Negro people, to strengthen the unity of Negro and white workers and progressives, and hence the people's coalition—it is necessary for labor carefully to prepare and initiate mass demonstrations, political mass strikes and other state and nationwide campaigns that will demand and secure full suffrage for the Negro people, prosecution of all lynchers, an end to Jim Crow in the army and civilian life, and the enactment of federal measures to aid and provide land to all tenant farmers and sharecroppers, especially to the Negroes in the South.

Surely, neither we Communists nor the other anti-fascist victims of the Department of Justice and the Un-American Committee can content ourselves with defensive action in the courts or Congress. What is needed here is an all-out mass campaign that will prevent not only the

adoption of a Mundt-Ferguson Bill, but will also secure the dismissal of the Grand Jury indictments against our Party, repeal the "loyalty order" and the Smith Act, impeach Tom Clark, abolish the Un-American Committee, and bring about the criminal indictment and prosecution of the warmongers, the lynchers and the anti-Semites.

Of course it is essential that the trade unions, for their self-preservation, refuse to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act and work for its repeal. But that is far from enough to save the labor movement from strangulation and slow death. Shop, industry and national work stoppages must be organized on a mass scale and other suitable mass actions must be adopted to resist and defeat all Taft-Hartley injunctions, raids and rigged elections.

Pro-labor Democrats say they are for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. But what is to replace it? Labor must now set in motion a grass roots movement to secure the enactment and enforcement of a more progressive Wagner Labor Relations Act, and to guarantee by united mass action that there will be no political, trade union, racial or religious discrimination in public or private employment.

It is not enough to expose and condemn the monopolies, and resist their many-sided offensive, vital as this exposure is. The anti-monopoly people's coalition must hit the trusts where they are most vulnerable, must hit them often and hit them

hard. Millions must be rallied to fight for a people's tax program and a ceiling on corporate profits. They must be called to struggle for lower freight and passenger rates and for the abolition of all monopoly patents, grain and commodity speculation, restrictive financial controls and restraints of trade. They must be enlisted now in a mass movement to end all cartel agreements and practices, and to curb drastically the powers of monopoly.

How does one wage a serious struggle against the "cold war," Wall Street's armament program and its Marshall Plan? Of course; it is essential resolutely to oppose every step and manifestation of the bipartisan war policy. Without this it would be impossible to wage an effective struggle against war and fascism. But more is required. Labor and the people's coalition must now militantly crusade for an affirmative program of struggle for peace.

Such a program exists, and has wide support. It includes as its cornerstone the restoration of American-Soviet cooperation through friendly negotiations based on the fulfillment of the Potsdam and Yalta agreements; the reinstatement of the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers; and a speedy Four Power peace settlement with Germany and Japan, on the basis of guaranteeing the complete democratization and demilitarization of these countries. This positive peace program also includes putting an end to U.S. by-passing and undermining of the

U.N., especially to its military intervention in China and Greece. It includes achieving agreement on universal disarmament; prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of atomic weapons; and carrying out the U.N. decisions to curb the warmongers and defend the independence and national sovereignty of Israel.

Yes, the people have a peace program. But now it is necessary, as Comrade Foster has repeatedly stressed, for labor, especially the trade unions, to fight for this program by organizing on all levels and everywhere a powerful, united front mass movement that will voice the popular demand for peace through petitions, mass conferences, meetings and demonstrations. It is necessary to create a broader peace front that can draw into struggle new millions of workers, youths, veterans, women and churchmen, that can secure the active support of millions of people, regardless of whether they are Republicans or Democrats, Progressives or Communists.

Furthermore, the fight for these specific anti-war proposals will be immeasurably strengthened if the peace forces bring forward a positive program of concrete demands for benefits of which the war economy is robbing the American people. Thus, the over-all fight for peace should and can be buttressed by a mass movement determined drastically to reduce the armaments program and to secure a 15 billion dol-

lar, three-year federal low-cost housing program.

These and other points of an immediate program of action, which are supported by the Progressive Party, many labor, Negro and other people's organizations—as well as by the Communist Party—furnish a wide area for common agreement and action by the labor-progressive camp. The struggle for these demands will bolster the resistance of labor and the anti-monopoly coalition and will enable it to counter-attack and go over to the counter-offensive.

Yet, side by side with this, we Communists and other class-conscious workers should advance additional points of a positive, fighting, working-class and people's united front program. *We should bring forward a program that will give the working class and its popular allies a clear perspective and policy for drastically curbing the power of monopoly capital, and achieving governmental power for the people's coalition, and thus for effectively undermining the social and economic basis of fascism and extending democracy.*

At the heart of such a program are the proposals to nationalize the banks and insurance companies, and the steel, railroad and mining industries, as well as to institute basic land reforms, especially in the South. Such proposals voice a widespread popular demand. But if they are not to breed illusions and play into the hands of demagogues and social-re-

formists—or even assist in the process of fascization of the country—they must be advanced as an organic part of the struggle for a government based on the developing people's anti-monopoly coalition and led by the working class.

Demands for nationalization which are advanced irrespective of time, place and struggle, and regardless of governmental power, democratic controls and the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively and strike—serve today to promote only the interests of the monopolies, including the accelerated growth of state monopoly capitalism, as symbolized by the present reactionary government monopoly control and operation of atomic energy development.

Contrariwise, the struggle for nationalization of the basic industries and the banks, when integrated with the struggle of the working class and its allies for a democratic people's government, can reinforce the people's mass movement to curb the monopolies, pro-fascists and warmongers today. It can advance the struggle of labor and the people to higher levels and in the direction of socialism.

* * *

Finally, if the working class is to come forward as the most reliable leader in the struggle against fascism and war, it must initiate and sustain a great political-ideological counter-offensive against the chauvinist propaganda and psychological warfare carried on by the forces of reaction,

fascism and war under the banner of anti-Communism.

Unless the labor and anti-imperialist camp—from independents and progressives to Communists—really unmasks and counteracts the white-supremacist and Red-baiting program of the monopolies; unless it shows the Nazi-like course and aims of Wall Street's anti-Communist crusade; unless it steadfastly promotes the unity of action of non-Communist progressives and Communists—unless this is done the pro-fascists and warmongers will continue to make headway. Unless this is done the reactionaries will continue to employ and take advantage of Hitler's secret weapon—the virus of anti-Communism—so as to perpetuate and create prejudices, confusion and division in labor's ranks and among the people as a whole, so that they may press forward to monopoly's "American Century" of imperialist expansion, war and fascism.

Here, we Communists, clearly, have a special responsibility to help equip labor and its allies with the ideological weapons for waging this counter-offensive, a responsibility which in turn requires the strengthening and building of the Communist Party, including a radical improvement of our theoretical and ideological activity so as to enable the people's coalition to win the battle of ideas in the struggle against the monopolies, war and fascism.

At this point, I would like to pass on to a consideration of a most crucial political battle now being

waged in the people's struggle against war and fascism.

III

THE 1948 ELECTIONS

One of the big postwar battles between reaction and progress is being fought out in this year's national election. The election outcome will directly affect the tempo of monopoly's drive toward war and fascism. The election campaign, and its results, will influence the course of coming events and the progress of political re-alignment. This electoral struggle will determine whether or not key sections of the American working class and people are now ready to break away from capital's two-party system, and move toward an independent position under labor's leadership.

In this election there are three main political parties, but only two sides. On one side there are the two main parties of monopoly, the Democrats and Republicans. These are the chief parties of imperialist reaction and war, the parties of the bipartisan "get tough" policy — get tough with Russia and get tough with labor. These are the parties which, under the banner of anti-Communism, are paving the way toward fascism and World War III.

In this camp the Dewey-Warren ticket represents a G.O.P. internal compromise. These bipartisan war candidates were selected because they are less discredited than their rivals of the Taft-Martin-Hoover ilk. But

Dewey and Warren are supported by the Chase National Bank, the Rockefellers, the N.A.M., Hearst and Ford.

They cannot disclaim the miserable 80th Congress. They are the men of the party of Taft-Hartleyism, the Mundt-Nixon Bill, the draft, Knutson's Big Business tax program, the Bulwinkle Bill giving new powers to the railroads to fleece the people, and all bipartisan war measures, including the Marshall Plan.

In its bid for the Presidency, the G.O.P. is counting on the voters to decide that now it really is time for a change. Its main reliance for mass support is on rural and city middle-class support, on a sizable vote from the Negro people, veterans, unorganized workers and some major nationality groups.

Truman and Barkley, the unwanted men, are the candidates of the Democratic Party. Partisan compromise, within the framework of commitment to the bipartisan war policy, labored and brought forth mediocrity.

The Democratic Party is the party of Dillon-Read and certain other Morgan interests, of the clerical fascists and a majority of the Southern Bourbons. It was the G.O.P.'s partner in the crimes of the 80th Congress, and shares equal responsibility for all bipartisan warmongering. This is the party of strike-breaking in the railroad and mining industries. It is the party of "thought control" and the "loyalty order." It, together with the G.O.P., is the party of betrayal

of Israel and the Jewish people.

The Democrats count on popular resentment against the 80th Congress and the high cost of living, and on the magic of the F.D.R. tradition which they desecrate. They count on support from most of the South, the Catholic voters and big sections of organized labor, the young voters and the Jewish people.

What other groups and forces are at present lined up with one or the other party in this single camp?

The leadership of the major veterans and farm organizations, and of many nationality groups, for the most part support the G.O.P., while a minority support the Democrats. Of the trade union bureaucracy, both C.I.O. and A. F. of L., a majority supports the Democrats, a minority the G.O.P. The A.D.A. and the Liberal Party, while plumping for a rejuvenated Democratic Party or a new "liberal" party under social-democratic influence after the elections, presently support the Truman-Barkley ticket. The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas acts as an auxiliary for the Democrats, supporting the Marshall Plan and centering its campaign against Wallace. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyites formally oppose both major parties, but like the Socialists, they concentrate their main fire against Wallace and the new party, as well as against the Communists.

On the other side, there is the new Progressive Party, which is becoming a mass people's party, and already embraces the most active and

politically conscious sections of the new labor and people's coalition which is arising in the postwar period.

The new party has a progressive, anti-war and anti-monopoly program which expresses the immediate demands of the immense majority of the people. It also has a record. It crystallized in, and has advanced, Wallace's crusade for peace, for American-Soviet friendship. It has put up a stubborn fight for civil liberties, and Negro rights. It is beginning to associate itself with labor's economic struggles, as in the auto and packinghouse industries.

The new people's party is supported by the Left Wing and the other consistent progressives in the ranks of labor, by substantial sectors of the Negro people, by the Communist Party, as well as by some of the main forces in the Farmers' Union, the A.V.C., and the Slav and Jewish groups. It also has the support of large numbers of youth, veterans and women.

* * *

A sharp and vital political-electoral struggle has begun to unfold. The fight between the G.O.P. and the Democrats, despite its heat and oratorical bitterness, is based on secondary partisan and vested interests and on minor tactical differences. But this struggle between the two old parties within a single camp is not decisive. For both contestants underwrite the bipartisan war policy. Both pursue the same fundamental

anti-labor and anti-Communist objectives, and both facilitate and promote the rise of fascism.

In this election, the main political fight develops as a struggle between the camp of the people and the camp of the monopolies, between the new people's party and the two old parties of Big Business.

This is so because the new Progressive Party and its supporters challenge the two-party system itself, as well as monopoly's war program. Thereby they promote a new political re-alignment in the country, under the leadership of the progressive labor movement.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the very emergence of the new anti-monopoly people's party is an expression of the developing crisis within bourgeois democracy and monopoly's two-party system. This crisis manifests itself most profoundly within the Democratic Party, though it begins to find a certain reflection within the G.O.P.

The Democratic Party, whose sixteen years in office as the party of government depended in the first place upon labor's support, is most immediately affected by the breakup of the former Roosevelt-labor coalition—which was facilitated by Truman's betrayal of the people's mandate of 1944—and above all by the new trend toward genuine independent labor political action. Furthermore, the Democratic Party, which has always relied on a solid Democratic South, is now torn and affected by the upsurge and re-align-

ments taking place among the Negro people, as well as among many progressive white Southerners.

Together with the formation of the new people's party, the sharpening crisis in the Democratic Party, and above all in the two-party system, is being reflected in the so-called anti-Truman "revolt" of the Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina Democratic Party delegates. But the "revolt" of the Bourbon extremists manifests itself first of all because the Negro national liberation movement in the South has entered a new phase and because the growth of Negro-white working-class unity and independent political action is growing both in the North and the South.

The most reactionary Southern Bourbons are opposed to allowing the national Democratic Party to give even lip service to Negro rights. They feel that Truman's demagogy on this score is too dangerous. They dread the possibilities of the organizing drive of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in the South, and particularly they are fearful of the growth of the Progressive Party. While most of the Southern Democratic "rebels" will end up supporting Truman and Barkley, they are now bending every effort to bring pressure on the Democratic Party so as to avoid even the formal pretense of election promises for a civil rights program to which the masses respond and for which they will fight. At the same time the most reactionary Bourbons are using their parliamentary "revolt" and campaign for states rights as a pre-

text for conspiring against the Bill of Rights and for launching a campaign of terror and vengeance against the Negro people and their white allies.

Another expression of the current crisis within the Democratic Party and the two-party system was the short-lived Eisenhower boom, which united Southern Bourbons, Northern machine-Democrats, the A.D.A. crowd, and various C.I.O. leaders in a desperate search for a winning candidate.

Evidently, big capital is saving Eisenhower for a more acute national emergency, where he can appear in the guise of a non-partisan candidate and play the Cincinnatus role of national savior.

Nonetheless, Big Business seeks to make sure that the crisis in the Democratic Party does not develop into a death crisis for the two-party system. Therefore, while placing its money on the G.O.P. to win, it is doctoring up the Donkey to keep it in the race and to make the Democrats a formidable "loyal opposition" after November. And this, too, explains why the monopolists encourage their social-reformist and social-democratic lackeys to support Truman.

Finally, the developing crisis in the major parties is reflected in the embittered struggle against the new people's party being waged by the bipartisans and their lieutenants, by most of the trade union officials and the Social-Democrats.

The Left-wing and popular forces

can expect and must prepare to meet an avalanche of intensified political opposition to the new party and its adherents. No holds will be barred. Intimidations and pressures, from within the labor movement, as well as large-scale provocations, are in the cards, such as those attempted in the indictment of the National Board of the Communist Party and in the current "spy" scare.

In this connection, it is obvious that the government and its bipartisan colleagues, bent on saving the two-party system at all costs, may, during the election campaign, resort to additional measures to curtail democratic rights generally, and the rights of the Progressives and Communists in particular.

* * *

What are some of the key problems which the new people's party and the labor-progressive camp confront in these vital elections?

In general, the electoral tasks coincide with the main political responsibilities which the people face in order to halt the bipartisan drive toward war and fascism. The Progressive Party and its labor-democratic supporters, organizing a bold and systematic fight on issues, can best serve these ends by developing the people's resistance to every reactionary, pro-fascist and war measure, and, basing itself on the central points of its own progressive program, thus advance the people's fight for a democratic, anti-monopoly domestic and foreign program.

Inevitably, such a policy will rally support from all democratic and peace-minded sections of the population. Especially it will draw into the over-all struggle new sections of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and the veterans, who can be moved into united mass action on specific issues.

It is necessary of course to *crusade* on issues. It is essential, obviously, to bend every effort to achieve the *maximum number of votes* for Wallace and Taylor and all Progressive Congressional and local candidates. *It is also essential that everything be done to build the new party organizationally, as a grass roots movement, as a mighty shield and bulwark for the people.*

To accomplish this, three things are necessary.

First: Now, on the heels of the main party conventions, a new initiative is necessary on the part of the advanced workers to widen the Progressive Party's trade union base and to heighten labor's political leadership and influence within the new party.

There is no reason to doubt that this can be done. Recent polls show that nearly two million A. F. of L. and C.I.O. workers already are prepared to support Wallace and the new party. At present, the "lesser evil" theory and passivity in labor's ranks stand as serious obstacles to augmenting this figure. But if a sustained and vigorous campaign is undertaken to organize mass activity around the Progressive Party plat-

form, and to bury once and for all the false and disastrous concept of the "lesser evil" theory in which the jingoist and anti-labor Truman is being palmed off by the trade union bureaucracy as the re-incarnation of Roosevelt, then it will be possible to win additional working-class millions for independent political action, for the new people's party.

In line with this, maximum support is necessary to organize united front Wallace-for-President trade union committees in *every* shop, mine and mill, based on active mass support for the program of the Progressive Party.

Moreover, the Left-wing trade unionists need to put an end to all tendencies toward economism, as well as overcome the harmful practices of giving support to the new party in the same way as labor supported Roosevelt. So far the progressive labor movement confines its support for the new party to recommending points of a program for its platform, working to place it on the ballot, raising money and urging its members to vote for Wallace and Taylor.

Today, labor must not only endorse and give general support to the Progressive Party. It must participate in and build the new party from the precinct level on up. It must not only recommend policy in an advisory capacity, but must help formulate and execute policy through trade union members and leaders of all the organizations and committees of the new party. Hence, the progressive

labor movement should not only officially support the new party; it should actively participate in it, grow with it, and lead it.

Second: It is necessary to consolidate and extend the mass base and influence of the Progressive Party among the Negro people. The ratio of independent voters is higher among the Negro people than among any other group, as is the ratio of its direct support for Wallace. But the Negro vote cannot be taken for granted, not even by the Progressive Party.

Determined efforts are necessary to expose Truman and his demagogic civil rights program, as well as the betrayal of the Negro people by all who settle for this or who try to sell the G.O.P. demagogy on the civil rights issue as a "lesser evil." The new party, as a matter of principle, is duty bound to develop its election platform as a program of action to advance the struggle for Negro rights, as well as to bring forward a larger number of Negro candidates and leaders. If this is done it will be possible for the new party to secure a wider and firmer mass base and following among the Negro people, and to strengthen the Negro liberation movement and the people's coalition as a whole.

Third: It is vital for the advanced and progressive workers to help the new party secure a solid base and mass support among the working farmers. The establishment of a firm alliance between workers and farmers, under labor's leadership, is in-

dispensable if the Progressive Party is to acquire mass strength and effect a major political alignment; if it is to effect a serious change in Congress and the government; and if it is to counteract and combat the new dangers of war and fascism. As at no time in its history, the progressive labor movement must find the ways and means to reach and decisively influence broad sections of America's farmers. It can do this to the extent that it actively supports the progressive demands of the farmers, draws them into the struggle for peace, takes an independent class position and ensures its political leadership in the Progressive Party.

Fourth: It is imperative that the Communists and other progressive workers exert their maximum efforts to influence the youth to participate in these elections on the side of the people's camp. It is as possible as it is necessary to achieve this vital objective, especially in view of the strong pro-Wallace currents already in evidence among the campus youth and large sections of the veterans and working youth. This undertaking is made doubly necessary by the fact that wherever the Left Wing in the trade unions has suffered setbacks in the recent period, as in the auto, maritime, and packinghouse industries, this has been due in no small measure to the neglect of a concrete approach on the part of the progressives to the new workers in these industries, the largest percentage of whom are youth.

Suffice it to say that progress in

the '48 elections, as well as in mobilizing for the people's victory over the fascists and warmongers, requires that the Communists and other anti-fascists redouble their efforts to reach and influence the youth, to draw them fully into the new party and people's coalition, as well as to establish a solid Marxist core and base among the young people.

Likewise, major attention should be paid to winning the masses of the national groups, especially of the American-Slav, -Mexican, -Jewish, -Italian, and -German masses—of whom large numbers are attracted to the new party's struggle for peace and equality, and can be won to support the Progressive Party and its candidates.

In carrying on such activity among the national groups, it is important to pay heed to the varying situations and special problems that demand a concrete and realistic approach. Thus, as regards the Jewish people: Among the Jewish workers and lower middle classes and professional people, the exposure of Truman and the Democratic Party is the main task. Among the upper middle classes and professional circles, the main task is to expose the Republican Party. In any event, both old parties must be exposed for their insincerity and bipartisan betrayals of the Jewish people in general and of Israel in particular.

* * *

Today, as never before, the Progressive Party and its advanced and militant supporters can best promote

their electoral and political objectives if they pursue a bolder united front policy and strive to break through the existing political line-ups in the trade unions and other mass organizations, which certain progressives tend to view as frozen, but which in reality are quite fluid. This makes necessary joint action between the supporters of the third party and other progressives around issues, and the development of the broadest democratic coalition to support scores of pro-labor and anti-war Congressional and state legislative candidates, irrespective of party affiliation. In this connection, the proponents of the new party will undoubtedly make new united front approaches to the pro-Roosevelt Democrats among the electorate. Many of these, including certain candidates, will now be more ready to arrive at agreements with the new party because they are more skeptical of their political position, and of the outcome of the elections, than was the case before the Democratic convention.

* * *

Every step taken by the Progressive Party to advance its program and build its organization during the campaign and after the elections will be countered by the most extreme Red-baiting and other efforts to divide the new party. Experience shows that only if the Progressive Party reinforces its policy of rejecting Red-baiting can it develop as an all-inclusive people's mass party and coalition.

In this connection, it is appropriate to comment on the remarks of a leading new party spokesman to the effect that if we Communists really wanted to help the new party, we would run a Communist Presidential ticket. Here the argument was advanced that such a step would lose the new party 100,000 votes, and gain it 3,000,000.

Granting that this spokesman is most sincere in his motive, his prognostication is at best wishful thinking. It also unwittingly reflects the pressures of the anti-Communists.

One of the chief sources of the mass strength and growth of the Progressive Party is its rejection of Red-baiting, and its advocacy and development of a united peace front, inclusive of Communists. The pro-fascists and warmongers slander and attack the new party not merely because the Communists support it, but because the Progressive Party champions a progressive anti-war and anti-monopoly program which promises to enlist the militant support of millions of anti-imperialists, non-Communists as well as Communists.

Insofar as the Communist Party is concerned, it gives or withholds its support to mass movements for principled reasons. It supports all progressive movements, to the extent that these are effective instruments for helping defeat reaction, fascism and war. It has additional reason to support the Progressive Party, because the new people's party creates conditions favorable to labor's historic struggle to lead the democratic move-

ments of the people and to advance its independent class position.

The Communist Party's support of the progressive policies and mass campaigns of the new people's party does not alter the fact that we have fundamental and some tactical differences with Wallace and related third party forces.

We are the party of socialism, and repudiate all notions of a "progressive capitalism." We foresee that in the future, at certain moments in the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly struggle, these ideas could become most dangerous.

As the most ardent defenders of the welfare and national security of our people and the cause of world peace, we are the most consistent opponents of imperialism and the staunchest champions of American-Soviet friendship. Consequently, we cannot accept the viewpoint of those who find both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. responsible for the increased war danger. We maintain, as a matter of record and fact, that the Wall Street interventionists and bipartisan warmongers alone are to blame for the real and growing danger of a new world war.

Desirous of helping to promote a people's anti-war and anti-imperialist coalition, under labor leadership, capable of checking and defeating the fascists and warmakers, we Communists will support the peace and anti-monopoly program of the Progressive Party and will help build the new party as a non-Communist, people's

united front mass organization and movement.

But we Communists have no desire to "take over" the new party, nor could we if we would. We are also determined to launch the most extensive Communist election campaign in our Party's history. Even though we have no Communist Presidential ticket and even though we are putting forward only a limited number of Communist Congressional candidates, we intend to wage our most extensive Communist political-election campaign. We intend to and will advance our immediate program which coincides in many respects with that of the new party and with that of certain C.I.O. unions and other progressive groups. At the same time, we will popularize, advance and win support for our socialist objectives. We will energetically build our Party and its press, and everywhere forge united labor-progressive action to defeat the candidates and parties of war and fascism.

This determination is not dictated by partisan considerations. It is based on our political-theoretical understanding that never does a working class so need a strong, organized, Marxist detachment at its head as when it is entering into an anti-fascist and anti-war people's coalition and party, into an alliance with other classes and their political representatives.

* * *

Comrades, a large vote for Wallace, the election of a bloc of pro-labor and anti-war Congressmen, and the

consolidation and strengthening of the new Progressive Party under working-class leadership can change the political situation in favor of the labor-progressive camp. It can give a fitting rebuff to the proponents of war and fascism.

It can help convert the new people's party into a mass anti-monopoly party and deliver a shattering blow to the Democratic Party and the two-party system. It can facilitate the united front from below and a new progressive re-alignment generally, and within the trade union movement in particular. It can upset the plans of the Social-Democrats and reformists to reorganize the Democratic Party under pseudo-liberal influence or to create a new mass "liberal" party.

Therefore, everything must be done to rally the full strength and resources of the labor, Communist and progressive movements to realize these immediate and feasible objectives. Everything must be done to mobilize this strength and these resources for the people's anti-war and anti-monopoly camp, to enable the working class and its allies in these elections effectively to prepare the way forward and make advances in the new and stormy political and economic mass struggles which lie ahead.

IV

FOR THE MASTERY OF MARXISM

Fascism can be defeated, and World War III is not inevitable.

Now, and in the coming period, struggle will decide everything.

We have met here to assure that our Communist Party will make its maximum contribution to the momentous struggle in which the future of our country and the world is at stake.

Can our Party, which is the Marxist vanguard of the American working class, but which is still numerically small, measure up to the great responsibilities that history has thrust upon it?

The answer is and must be, Yes!

It is now three years since our Emergency National Convention. As all Communists and workers may now judge, and as the latest indictments of our National Board by the government unwittingly acknowledge, this was a historic convention. For at our 1945 Convention we broke with and decisively rejected Browder's revisionism.

We reconstituted our Party, in the South and nationally, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, as the fighting vanguard Party of the working class, with a program based on advancing the immediate and fundamental interests of the American working class and people.

Since our last convention we have gone forward in struggle and have met a number of big tests, even though we have erred and made serious mistakes on a number of questions.

It is true, of course, that we have not succeeded in developing a sustained and broad enough mass move-

ment against rapacious American imperialism and its bipartisan war policy. Yet it is a fact that our Party correctly estimated, unmasked and opposed the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan from their inception. And we have succeeded in helping organize mass opposition to Wall Street's provocative anti-Soviet policies and its interventionist program in China, Greece and Israel. We must now heighten and expand our anti-war and anti-imperialist activities, develop a mighty crusade for peace based on the friendly co-operation of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and demonstrate that the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security are one and indivisible.

Our Party and its leadership muffed a number of political opportunities since 1945, particularly in Party building, and in the fields of trade union, Negro, youth, women's and veterans' activity. But it must also be recorded that we did not miss the most decisive political opportunity of this period—even though in the first phase of the postwar period we made both Right and "Left" mistakes in carrying out the political tasks which we set ourselves on the basis of our correct estimate of the postwar situation.

In the main, our national leadership did not lag behind or run ahead of the political regroupings of this period. We helped to forge and shape the new progressive political alignment and people's coalition which is now unfolding.

Now we must help broaden this

coalition, strengthen at all costs the political influence and base of the working class in this movement and guarantee that our Party displays the greatest political and organizing initiative and does not submerge itself in, or become the tail of, this anti-monopoly people's coalition and party. It is now a task of major importance to fight for and ensure the vanguard role and position of our Party in the labor movement and in the people's coalition.

Our Party has committed many mistakes in its trade union work, especially in respect to its slowness in forging the united front from below. During the period of Left-Center coalition (1945-1947) which was correct at that time, we often failed to strengthen the independent role and positions of the Left Wing, including the Communists, especially its working relations with broader masses of workers in the shops, mills and factories.

We did not wage a firm enough struggle in the trade unions as a whole and even in the unions under progressive leadership, against opportunism in practice, especially against the strong tendencies of economism, reformism and bureaucracy, as well as against the sectarian concepts of union separatism, isolationism and adventurism. Nor did we pay sufficient attention to the problems of reaching, influencing, and winning the A. F. of L. membership, as well as the new and generally more backward sections of workers who have entered the ranks of organized labor

during and since the war, especially among the youth (auto, maritime) and the women workers (textile, garment). We did not fight hard enough for building the authority of the Party among the masses in the trade unions and shops.

But even these grave errors and weaknesses cannot obscure the fact that, despite certain desertions and waverings (transport, mine-mill, office, etc.), the majority of Communist trade union leaders have adopted and pursued a militant anti-imperialist and class struggle policy, and are coming forward as the foremost leaders of the people's mass movement.

Nor can our shortcomings and deficiencies obscure the fact that we Communists have displayed considerable political and organizing initiative in some of the most important postwar economic struggles, as in the auto, packing, farm equipment and electrical industries.

What is necessary now is to establish an unbreakable solidarity and the closest co-ordination of the Communist and other Left-wing trade unionists, on all levels. The tactic of the united front from below must be resolutely pressed in the shops and plants and in the union locals. A radical turn must be made to carry on in our mass work within the A. F. of L., no less than within the C.I.O., bearing in mind that the A. F. of L. embraces the largest number of organized workers and that the winds of progress are blowing in both federations, and that the conditions for working in the A. F. of L.

are not one whit more difficult than for working within the C.I.O. Finally, *the key link which the progressives in the trade union movement must now seize upon is the struggle for independent labor political action, especially for ensuring labor's full participation and leading role in the people's Progressive Party.* Together with this, full use must be made of labor's bitter experience and disillusionment with Taft-Hartleyism and the Marshall Plan in order to safeguard and strengthen the trade unions as militant mass organizations, and systematically to raise labor's class consciousness.

* * *

In the postwar period our Party has not always and everywhere given adequate leadership to the struggle for Negro rights. We have been remiss in developing a sustained struggle against white chauvinism.

Yet it is a fact that during the past three years our Party established a clear perspective; advanced the struggle for national self-determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt; and initiated a number of effective local and national mass campaigns, as in defense of the Ingrams and the Columbia, Tennessee, victims. We have been second to none in fighting for jobs and equal rights for the Negro people, and in helping launch such vital nation-wide actions as the struggle against the Un-American Committee, for enforcement of the 14th Amendment, and for the June 2 non-partisan march on Washington.

What is required now is that our

entire Party give a bolder and more determined lead to help end Jim Crow and segregation in the Army and government services, even before November 2; that we vigorously aid the Progressive Party to implement its planks for Negro rights, especially to guarantee the rights of the Negro people to vote in 1948 everywhere in the nation; that we take up the cudgels against every open and covert expression of white chauvinism in our Party, in the trade unions and all other mass organizations; and that we cultivate a new understanding in the labor-progressive camp of the cardinal importance of Negro-white unity, of the Negro question as a national question and the development of the Negro liberation mass movement as one of the major and indispensable sectors of the Progressive Party and the new people's coalition.

* * *

Since our emergency convention three years ago, our Party has not always exercised the necessary vigilance against the class enemy and its agents within our ranks. At times, certain Party leaders and committees have adopted a rotten liberal attitude toward the concealed Browderites and the semi-Trotskyite anti-Party grouplets led by Harrison George, Vern Smith, Sam Darcy, Bill Dunne and Francis Franklin. Not a few Party leaders and organizations have failed to discern the hand of the enemy in so-called "honest," but in reality negative, destructive and one-sided criticism.

Nonetheless, it is a fact that our Party and its national leadership were able to live up to their responsibilities and emerge stronger as a result of the relentless struggle against Browderism and Leftist sectarianism and adventurism. We combated the remnants of revisionism as well as Right opportunism; likewise we cast aside the varieties of Browderism that assumed a Leftist disguise.

What is needed today is a merciless struggle on two fronts, to eradicate completely the consequences of Browder revisionism and to put an end to all irresponsible and semi-Trotskyite "Left" deviations and practices. What is needed is the sternest struggle against Right opportunism, which now prevails in the labor movement and finds expression within the Party, as well as against "Left" sectarianism which continually arises and obstructs the winning of the masses for our main line.

* * *

In the past three years, our Party has not been able to use every event, incident and opportunity to reinforce adequately the democratic rights of the people and promote fully the Party's freedom and legal existence. We have not yet been able to convince some within our own Party to act upon the understanding that the "defense of the rights of the Communists is the first-line defense of all democratic rights" (Wallace).

But whatever our shortcomings in mass work or in Party building, and these are many, our Party has been

in the forefront of the fight to stop the fascists and warmongers. It has been among the first to safeguard both its democratic rights and all democratic liberties.

Whether in the mass fight in 1947 to defeat the Schwellenbach and Un-American Committee proposals to outlaw our Party, or in the mass struggle in the last session of Congress to defeat the iniquitous Mundt-Nixon Bill, our Party has not been found wanting in foresight, policy and fighting capacity.

Today our Party spurns all efforts and tendencies to isolate it and follows a resolute policy of militant united labor and people's mass action. We renounce and castigate all legalistic and constitutional illusions. At the same time we must ensure that labor and its vanguard fight consistently for every inch of civil liberties, for the preservation and extension of the democratic rights of the people, making full use of these rights to promote the leading role of the American working class and its vanguard in the nation.

* * *

During the past three years, our Party has weathered a number of storms. We have begun to meet our heavy postwar responsibilities.

We are well aware that our resourcefulness, courage and steadfastness will be more severely tried in the months and years ahead. Fortunately, the American working class from which we come has endowed us with its fighting spirit. Many of our brother Communist parties have

passed through the fires of fascist trial, and their heroism imbues us with determination to prove equally worthy in the face of whatever trials may be ahead.

But we know from the German experience that more than heroism is demanded of a working-class vanguard that would guarantee the defeat of the forces of war and fascism. Only a Communist Party which fully performs its vanguard tasks can swing the decisive sections of the working class and its allies into effective united action. Only a Communist Party which has mastered the science of Marxism-Leninism can lead the labor-progressive camp forward in broad, united front mass struggle to victory over monopoly reaction.

That is why this convention must turn our whole Party toward the fullest mastery of Marxist theory and practice, as Comrade Foster so vigorously emphasizes. This is the indispensable condition for the discharge of our obligation to the American workers and people.

Nineteen hundred and forty-eight, the year of our most severe test, coincides with the 100th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto. Happily, the science of Marxism in which we place our reliance, has itself come through triumphantly in many tests. The twice-told nursery tales of the specter of Communism are being told again, with embellishments. But Communism is no specter. Its solid reality now confronts not only old

Europe, but the whole capitalist world.

History has abundantly confirmed the central theses set forth in the Communist Manifesto, namely, that the struggle of classes is the motive force of history and that ". . . the proletariat . . . must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation." And this Marxist teaching has been enriched and developed further by Lenin and Stalin out of a century of working-class experience.

Lenin wrote that "the chief thing in the teaching of Marx is the explanation of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society." That was in 1913, when it still remained to be proved in practice that a socialist society could be created. Now the chief thing in the teaching of Marx is no longer only a scientific theory. A socialist society exists in the Soviet Union. Its creator was the Russian proletariat, led by the great Bolshevik Party. Now new transitional forms toward socialism are being created by the working class in the people's democracies of Eastern and Central Europe and in the liberated areas of China.

Confirming the validity of Marxism, history has cut the ground from under its reactionary foes who today pick up Hitler's anti-Communist banner and wave it as they drive toward fascism and war.

The Manifesto declared that "The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the

immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." Stalin and the Bolsheviks, wielding the weapon of Leninism in battle against capitalist reaction, imperialism and fascism, brought home this truth to millions and hundreds of millions throughout the world.

Nor was the Soviet Union's leadership of the national liberation and anti-Axis war coalition an accidental and fleeting phenomenon, as the American imperialists declare. Defending the socialist state in which it has come to power, the Soviet working class and its Communist vanguard always and inevitably defend equally the peace, national independence and social progress of the immense majority of the world's people.

That is why all who base themselves on enmity to the Soviet Union inevitably are hostile to their own people and become enemies of the immense majority, enemies of peace, national independence and progress.

That is why not only we Communists but millions of other progressive and patriotic Americans will not have any part of Wall Street's anti-Soviet crusade or war—hot or cold. We Communists always have served, and we always will serve, the interests of the immense majority of the American people. Come what may, we will never betray, in peace or in war, the interests of America's working millions to those of the un-American sixty families.

We Americans will oppose any unjust, imperialist war against *any* other

nation, as Lincoln, in his time, opposed the unjust, annexationist war against Mexico.

We proudly associate ourselves with the patriotism of Carl Schurz, who corrected Decatur's slogan, "My country, right or wrong," by adding, "When right, to be kept right. When wrong, to be put right."

We call on the American workers and people to consider that slogan in the light of the German tragedy. If the German people had put their country right, in time, Hitler would never have come to power. Nor would the Nazi war criminals have succeeded in betraying the interests of the immense majority of the German masses by wreaking their fascist vengeance on the immense majority of the peoples of the world.

We Communists are not utopians. We do not believe that it is possible to bring social order out of capitalist chaos. But we strive by every means in our power to save the American working class and people from a disastrous war and from being devoured by monopoly's greed and crushed by its impending crisis. We keep before the American working class the perspective of an ordered world, free from crisis, fascism and war—the perspective of a socialist society. And we carry on the fight for peace, democracy and international working-class solidarity in such a way as to help prevent the victory of fascism and the unleashing of World War III, and to prepare the working class for its historic mission of socialist liberation.

The concept of international working-class solidarity is implicit in the recognition of the world-historical role of the working class. In the capitalist countries today, the working class leads the people's struggle against fascism and war, for peace, national independence, freedom and progress. In this life-and-death struggle, it inevitably relies on and allies itself with the anti-imperialist masses of all lands, and especially with the workers of those lands where a socialist society has been created or is in process of being created. In the eyes of the Wall Street cartelists and bankers, international working-class solidarity is the crime of crimes—it is "treason"!

But the spirit of working-class internationalism is bred in the bones of the American working class. One of the earliest labor papers in the United States in 1834 expressed the hope that "it will not be long before the working classes of every part of the civilized world will be united by an indissoluble bond."

Today when the imperialist warmongers and fascists are fanning the flames of chauvinism and bourgeois-nationalism, when they are inciting worker against worker, white against Negro, gentile against Jew, native-born against foreign-born, non-Communist against Communist — we Communists and all class-conscious workers must instill in the American working class the principle and practice of proletarian internationalism.

This Marxist teaching, embodied in the slogan of action of the Mani-

festos: "Workers of all countries, Unite!", embodies the basic unity of interests of the workers of all lands, as against the designs and efforts of their exploiters to corral them for imperialist wars against other nations and peoples. In this imperishable slogan in the Manifesto there is inherent the lesson which Marx later enunciated explicitly to the working class. This lesson is that the labor movement must view as one of its major tasks active concern with foreign policy, that it cannot wage an effective struggle against the trusts on the domestic front without simultaneously uniting with the workers everywhere and waging a joint struggle against the predatory policy of the same exploiters on the international front.

Concretely, today, when U.S. imperialism, seeking to establish its hegemony over the world, is more and more encroaching on the freedom and national sovereignty of peoples, we Communists must rouse the working class and all anti-imperialists to come forward much more resolutely in active solidarity with the democratic and national-freedom aspirations and struggles of the peoples of China and Greece, of Israel, of Spain, of Puerto Rico and all of Latin America. And, today, when war-thirsting U.S. imperialism tries with every foul means of defamation and slander to inflame the American people against the Soviet Union, we must resolutely work to strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation between the American and Soviet

peoples as the key to world peace.

Finally, at this time, when the reactionary top leaders, Social-Democrats and other bourgeois agents in our labor movement are seeking to prevent the consolidation of a solid world labor front, it is the task of us Communists to spur the strengthening and extension of American labor's participation in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

* * *

We Communists are now falsely accused by monopoly and its government of "advocating" force and violence, of "conspiring" forcibly to overthrow the government.

But we are Marxists, not adventurers, conspirators or putschists. As Marxists we condemn and reject the policy and practice of terror, assassination and *coup d'etat*.

Precisely because we are the vanguard Party of the working class we are the party of mass struggle, mass action, which today seeks to unite American labor and the common people as a whole to halt the drive of imperialist reaction toward war and fascism. Precisely because we are the Party of socialism, we believe that social change can take place not alone when the historical, objective conditions exist for such change, but also and *only* when a decisive majority of the most exploited class in society is convinced that this change is necessary and is prepared to act unitedly to enforce its democratic will and aims in the interests of the immense

majority of the people against the small minority of exploiters.

In this connection, we proclaim and shall repeat again and again a cardinal principle of Marxism as enunciated by Lenin:

The rule of capitalism could not be brought to an end if the whole economic development of capitalist countries were not leading to this. . . . No power on earth could destroy capitalism if it were not being washed away and undermined by history. . . . We do not want to 'usurp' power, for the whole experience of revolution teaches that only a power that is backed by the majority of the people can be durable. Consequently, 'usurpation' of power would be merely an adventure; and our Party would not agree to anything of the kind.

As the vanguard Party of the American working class, we condemn and oppose the force and violence of capitalism, of imperialism. We oppose its system, its philosophy and its practice of political reaction, exploitation and oppression. We work for the socialist re-organization of society, when the majority of the American working class and people will be the ruling class and end forever the exploitation of man by man, and crises, wars, reaction and fascism.

Today when the advocates and practitioners of forcible imperialist expansion and atomic war, of lynching and police violence, maliciously charge us with conspiring to overthrow the government, we strongly second the observations of Federick

Engels made half a century ago when Bismarck inaugurated the infamous "anti-socialist" and "anti-revolt" laws of that time:

The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, the 'revolutionaries,' the 'rebels'—we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and revolt. The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: *la légalité nous tue*—legality is the death of us; while we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life. . . .

* * *

The Communist Manifesto, in its brilliant reflection of all class struggles prior to 1848, is more than a mirror reflecting the image of class struggle in our country. The Manifesto is itself a weapon of struggle, a mighty weapon, even in this age of the atom bomb. It does far more than prophesy the role of the working class as the creator of socialist society. It indicates the leading role of labor as the staunchest defender of the people and all democratic mass movements. Its principles provide a guide to action for the performance of that role. Above all, it calls on the working class to forge the *special instrument* which alone can enable it to shape its destiny.

Comrades, that instrument is the Communist Party. Anyone who, in theory or in practice, belittles the role of our Party in effect negates the chief thing in the teaching of Marx-

ism, namely, the world-historical role of the working class. And this is the cardinal sin and crime of Browder revisionism.

Only after Lenin had shown the way to build this Party of a new type did the working class develop its capacity to create a socialist society. In our country there are some progressives, honest trade unionists and anti-fascists, who think that the building of the American Communist Party can wait until some distant time when the American working class is ready to take the road to socialism. They do not join with the fascist forces that want to outlaw and destroy our Party; but they would like us to shrink in size, make ourselves as unobtrusive as possible, and go about our work anonymously. Some of these people even argue that this is the way best to promote working class leadership in the anti-war, anti-monopoly people's coalition and the new people's party.

We must convince them that they are dead wrong. And we must take sharp issue with and rout out any such ideas that may be smuggled into our own ranks.

The enemy, at least, knows better. It is precisely in order to keep labor from assuming leadership, and to weaken and disrupt the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist coalition, that the most extreme reactionaries seek to isolate, discredit and destroy our Party.

No, we do not have to convince the enemy that a strong Communist Party is a major stumbling block to

Wall Street's fascist and expansionist ambitions. But we still have to convince many of our friends. We must explain to them why now more than ever, and above all to assure labor's leadership in the struggle against fascism and war, America needs a mass Communist Party. We must explain why we Communists strive constantly to strengthen our internal discipline, democracy and unity, tighten and extend our mass ties, enhance our vanguard role and deepen our grasp of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

We must find the ways and means to educate ever-wider sections of the American labor-progressive camp in that theoretical understanding of the role of our Party which is summed up by Stalin in *Foundations of Leninism*.

As for ourselves, comrades, we also have need to refresh and deepen our theoretical understanding of the role of the Party. This is but one of the many theoretical tasks we must turn to with new determination during and following this Convention.

Here I have singled out the question of the role of the Party, not only because developments in our country have placed it very much on the order of the day, but also because events in Yugoslavia have elevated it to new importance.

There are many lessons to be learned from the experience of the Yugoslav Party, whose present leaders deserted the path and betrayed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and dissolved the Communist Party

in the People's Front. As a consequence they betrayed the true interests of the Yugoslav workers and people and the cause of peace, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

I do not propose to spell out those lessons now. I wish rather to say a few words on the question of why we American Communists, in guarding the organizational and ideological integrity of our Party, learn not only from our own experiences, but also from those of our brother Communist parties. Also, once again to lay the ghost of that oft-repeated slander that we "take orders from Moscow," I wish particularly to explain why we study and profit from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Not long ago, the *New York Times* Sunday Magazine carried an article on "The Infallible Men." The stale sarcasm of the title had reference to the Politburo of the C.P.S.U.

Is it because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has proved itself infallible that we can learn so much from its experience? No, we leave infallibility to the Roman Catholic Church; its Popes need the shield of myth. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has led its working class to victory and to the position of ruling class, is not only wise in the supreme achievements of working-class victories; it is also a party which has shown how to avoid mistakes, and

how to overcome mistakes and correct them in time.

That is one of the many reasons why we consider its history so worthy of study. That is why we should ill serve the American working class if we did not learn from the generalized experience of the world working class what we would otherwise have to learn through costly experience. That, too, is why we must vigilantly and consistently use the Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism so as to enable our Party and its cadres to adopt and pursue a sound strategy and tactics, and to prevent or to overcome in time errors and mistakes.

* * *

Without trespassing on Comrade Winston's report, I want to say a few final words on one aspect of the *chief* thing in the teaching of Marx, with which Comrade Winston will deal at length. That is, the burning need vastly to extend and strengthen our Party's working-class base, particularly in the basic industries, and to reinforce our leadership with loyal and capable working-class cadres, Negro and white, youth and women, who have the closest ties with the masses and are tested and skilled in organizing and leading mass struggles.

We have made some small progress in this direction in the past three years. Browderism negated the chief thing in the teaching of Marx and assigned to the bourgeoisie the role of creating a world of peace and

progress. We have made a clean break with Browderism. But, as a consequence of Browderism, our Party's industrial growth still lags far behind what the times require.

I cannot believe that the shortcomings in our practice in this regard are wholly unrelated to a theoretical underestimation of the role of the working class in general, and of its vanguard Party in particular. We cannot say we have fully mastered the chief thing in the teaching of Marxism, until we have found the way to root our Party more deeply in the working class and extend its influence, base and ties with the most militant workers in the basic industries, among the workers in the A. F. of L. and Railway Brotherhoods, as well as in the C.I.O.

* * *

Comrades, we are heading into some big storms. Here in the citadel of world reaction, the forces of monopoly capital are ruthless and powerful. The American working class and its allies are bound to suffer some defeats and setbacks as they march forward in struggle. But the presence of a strong and influential Communist Party, grounded in Marxism-Leninism and closely rooted in, tied to and relying upon the working class, will create the guarantees that setbacks will be reduced to a minimum and that defeats will be turned into starting points for new struggles and new advances. We will build our Party on this basis regardless of the outcome of the present

fight for our democratic rights and legal existence.

The American trusts are like those extinct monsters of the animal kingdom, whose giant size spelled their doom. The gargantuan American bourgeoisie is producing its own grave-diggers on a mass production scale. It turns to war and fascism because it is sick and dying. It is not invincible; for only that is invincible which is new, progressive and developing.

We do not delude ourselves that the old will die peaceably, or that the new will be born without great travail. But we are confident that the American working class and people will rise to the responsibilities of this historic battle against the forces of imperialist reaction, fascism and war. And we are determined that our Communist Party shall perform with honor its vanguard role in the ever-sharpening struggles for democracy, peace and social progress.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AT THE CONVENTION

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

COMRADES:

As our Convention comes to a close, it seems to me that our judgment of it must be that it is the best Convention in the history of our Party. It is a sure sign that our Party is growing and is forging ahead.

There are a number of especially high points in the Convention that should be signalized.

HIGH POINTS

First, and most important of all, is the high political level of the Convention. This was shown by our Draft Resolution, by Comrade Dennis' splendid report, by the election platform, and by the other fine reports, the Panel discussions, and the delegates' speeches. The work of the Convention can be summed up, in the spirit of Communist modesty, by the generalization that, in the main, our Party understands the basic problems that confront the American people, and that we have the practical policies and the determination to meet these problems. Hence, if we put into life the various documents, reports, and resolutions we have adopted, our Party can undoubtedly play a very important role in the coming period and should ex-

perience a real growth in numbers and mass influence.

A second high point of the Convention is the strong unity that our Party has displayed. So far as our political deliberations are concerned—and I think everybody will agree that we have had a free political discussion and have exercised Communist democracy in this Convention—the sum and substance of the line expressed in our various speeches, documents, etc., is a unified one. There has been no factional disunity to mar our political solidarity. This political and organizational unity is no small achievement, comrades. It is doubly important because our Party is now under such fierce attack. All the ideological forces of American imperialism, together with much of its repressive powers, are directed against us in a head-on assault. Reaction is attempting to confuse our Party, to scatter its forces, to drive it underground. Besides this direct attack from the capitalists, we have been experiencing attacks from the Right-opportunist Browderite grouplet and from various "Leftist" renegades. But our Party has withstood all these assaults, has shunted them off, has de-

feated them, has worked out its line unitedly, and here we are in our Convention, a unified Communist Party, courageously facing up to the hard tasks that stand ahead of us. No wonder that our Convention has been so spirited and enthusiastic!

A third marked feature of our Convention is the fine fighting spirit it has evidenced. This is characteristic of the spirit of our Party generally. Obviously, our Party is not terrified by the fierce attacks that are being directed against us by the government, by the capitalists, and by their labor leader stooges. So far as I know, throughout American history no political party has ever been subjected to such ferocious attacks as our Party has been experiencing since the end of the war. But the response of our Party to these attacks—and that has been well emphasized here in our Convention—has been, and is, a rising, fighting spirit. Our Party knows that it is fighting on the side of progress, with the democratic and socialist forces here and of the world that are on the way to victory.

It is not untimely to compare the present splendid fighting mood of our Party with the dull spirit that prevailed in the Party during the Browder regime. At that time, undoubtedly, our Party had become afflicted with a stodginess, a lackadaisical spirit, and even a petty-bourgeois respectability. But this we are sloughing off in the course of the sharpening class struggle. That our Party is showing itself to be a splen-

did fighting organization was well exemplified in the recent fight against the Mundt Bill. In fact, comrades, the very holding of this Convention is a testimonial to our Party's fighting spirit and to the successful struggle carried on by our Party against attempts to legalize it.

One of the things that struck me during the Convention was that when Nick Migas rose to speak he was greeted with a spontaneous burst of applause from all sides. This was because Nick, with his bold stand in the face of the goon squads at the steel workers' convention, symbolized the fighting spirit of our Party. The indomitable spirit of Nick Migas is the kind we have to cultivate throughout our Party. It is the kind of Communist spirit that will carry our Party far.

Together with the high political level, the unity, and the fighting spirit of the Convention, another thing struck me in listening to the discussions and reports. This was the intense Party consciousness exhibited by practically everybody. A deep conception of the vanguard role of our Party has run all through the Convention proceedings. There has been a keen realization that our Party is a decisive factor in the struggle of the workers and the nation and that without a strong Party we can do nothing. Since this is our first Convention since 1945, it is well, perhaps, to contrast this fine Party spirit with the liquidationist attitude that prevailed in the Browder years. In this Convention we are consciously

and determinedly studying how we can strengthen the Party and its political role, whereas in those years the conception, cultivated by Browder, was that our Party was an obstacle in the way of the progress of the American working class and had to be dissolved. This new Party consciousness of ours, this more acute realization of the tremendous vanguard role of our Party, is a mark of the progress that we have made during the past three years.

* * *

When I say that this Convention has exhibited all these very fine qualities, I do not mean that we should overlook certain weaknesses that were present in our deliberations. That would be a great mistake on our part.

I would say that the main weakness displayed by the Convention was that there was not enough discussion of the war danger and the struggle for peace. We seemed to take this problem for granted. This was a very serious shortcoming. We have to realize that the central task of our Party in the present great struggle is precisely to fight against the war danger. In this general respect we must not put the question of fascism in such a way as to make the possibility of war seem to be dependent upon the establishment of fascism in this country. The reality is that there is a grave danger of war right now, even under the present political regime. We have to focus our main attention upon the

central question of the war danger. Everything else is secondary, all other issues are subordinate, to the fight for peace.

Another weakness that, it seemed to me, stood out in the Convention, was the inadequate treatment given to the question of the veterans. We all know the tremendous role that the veterans are now playing in the national political life, and we also realize that they are going to play a greatly increased role as the years go by. Nevertheless, I do not think we have paid enough attention to the veterans' problems. This weakness must be corrected in our future work.

A further question which received inadequate attention in the Convention, it appears to me, was the farm question. This is a chronic weakness of our Party of late years, which shows itself in practically every district. It is a very costly shortcoming on our part. There may be some comrades who feel that this weakness is unavoidable, like the sun coming up or the rain falling; but this is not so. The time was, not so many years ago, when our Party was strong among the farmers, particularly in the Middle West. Ignoring the farmers cannot be justified on the basis that these people represent an impregnable force whom we cannot influence. We must reach them, comrades, and in a much more energetic spirit than we have indicated in our Convention here.

Another thing that struck me in our Convention was the unsatisfac-

tory way the *Daily Worker* was handled. This neglect I thought rather shocking. The *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* cannot live by themselves. They cannot just be taken for granted. The building of our press now is of overwhelming importance, and this question should have run through the whole Convention and been part of its very fiber, which it certainly was not.

One could single out many other weaknesses. After all, we are confronted by a world of problems, and it is not surprising to find that we have neglected to put sufficient stress upon some of them. In spite of all its weaknesses, however, the Convention unquestionably was, as I said at the outset, a very fine one, in my opinion the best that our Party has ever held.

A SOUND POLITICAL LINE

During the course of the discussions, the various reports, etc., it has stood out unmistakably that our Party has a sound political line. At this Convention we have not changed our basic line; what we have done has been to sharpen it up, and to discuss it in all its implications. We have been generally examining the problems of applying a fundamentally correct line. More than this, our Party has had, and the discussion and the documents go to show it, a correct line since our 1945 Emergency Convention. That convention, as you will recall, took place after the publication of the Duclos article. What Duclos did in his famous ar-

ticle was to indicate and characterize primarily two major aspects of Browder's revisionism, namely, his liquidation of the Party and his perspective of class collaboration in the postwar period. To these basic points in the Duclos article our 1945 convention made certain very important additions. The 1945 convention also made an analysis of American imperialism and showed clearly that it was conducting a drive for the domination of the world. The convention indicated further that growing out of this drive was a fresh danger of war and of fascism.

By indicating the world drive of American imperialism, with its implications of fascism and war, as we did very definitely and clearly in our 1945 resolution, it appears to me that we did some international pioneering. In fact, our Party was among the first, if not the very first Party, to speak out clearly upon the world drive of American imperialism and its accompanying dangers. Early in 1947 I attended the London Conference of the Communist Parties of the British Empire, as well as the Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain. At these gatherings, I listened to the reports of delegates from thirty-four Communist parties and very few of them indicated any sense of real danger of war and fascism from American imperialism. It was only later, especially after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine regarding Greece, that these parties, which had undoubtedly previously underestimated the role

of American imperialism, brought themselves up to date on this vital question.

It was because our Party, in its 1945 convention, thus established a fundamentally correct analysis of the role of American imperialism, with the danger of war and fascism implicit in it, in addition to re-establishing again our Party as a Party and giving it a class struggle program, that we were able, during these past three years, to conduct a basically correct political struggle. This explains why we were able so quickly to recognize where the Truman Administration was going with its violation of the Roosevelt policies. It was the underlying reason, too, why we were able clearly, promptly, and correctly to analyze the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, and to understand the significance of the growth of the third-party movement.

Our sound analysis in 1945 of the predatory role of American imperialism was the key to all our work since then and it still remains the basis of our general political line.

Utterly false is the story that the Darcy and other "Leftist" renegade groups have been circulating to the effect that in our 1945 Emergency Convention we arrived at a Centrist solution of the crisis, of our Party regarding Browder's revisionism. Likewise false is the allegation of Browder himself that we worked out a sectarian solution of that crisis. On the contrary, we achieved a basically sound Communist solution to the crisis of revisionism that we faced

at that convention, or rather just before it, in 1945. The events since then have proved the correctness of the course we then took. It is not true, as these renegades say, that the decisions of the Nine-Party Conference in Poland last September caused us fundamentally to change our Party line. Quite the reverse, the decisions arrived at by the Nine-Party Conference affirmed the correctness of our line, especially on the all-important question of the role of American imperialism and the danger of war and fascism connected with it. Of course, there was much for us to learn from the Nine-Party Conference. I may add that we would have learned these lessons faster had we not taken a rather self-complacent attitude toward the conference precisely because we saw that our general line agreed with that of the conference.

The weaknesses our Party has shown in its work in the past three years have therefore been, as Comrade Dennis pointed out in his report, failures and shortcomings in carrying out a fundamentally correct line. Too often we did not draw all the implications of that line, nor did we always apply it energetically and correctly. The errors that we committed were of both a Right-opportunist and a Left-sectarian character. During these three years our Party has had to conduct a fight on two fronts. That we have had Leftist moods in the Party to combat has been made all too evident by the long struggle that had to be con-

ducted in numerous districts, New York, California, and elsewhere, against the Leftist renegade groups that have cropped up. Nevertheless, it seems to me that in spite of Leftist-sectarian weaknesses of this past period, the main weaknesses and mistakes that we had to contend with were of a Right-opportunist character.

[At this point Comrade Foster continued with a detailed analysis of numerous Right and Leftist-sectarian errors made by the Party during the past three years, particularly in the field of trade-union work. Some of the more important of these shortcomings may be briefly summarized as follows:

[Right-opportunist tendencies to maintain the formerly correct Left-Center combination in the C.I.O. after it had lost its political validity, with the result that such errors were made as the adoption of the joint resolution which lent itself to distortion by Phil Murray as alleged support of the Marshall Plan, at the Boston, 1947, Convention of the C.I.O. and also the resolution adopted that same year in the New York State C.I.O. Industrial Council, for restricting the exercise of the veto in the U.N.

[Failure over a long period of the Left and progressive forces in the C.I.O. to differentiate their progressive line from the increasingly reactionary, pro-war line of the Murray forces, with the result that the Lefts and progressives failed to make the masses realize their constructive contributions to C.I.O. policy and also

had to assume a measure of undue responsibility for the increasingly jingoistic policies of the C.I.O. leadership.

[Sectarian tendencies to accept the isolation that the capitalists and their labor leader henchmen are trying to force upon us, among others, by inadequate resistance to Murray's attempt to cultivate raids and splits in C.I.O. unions.

[Inadequate co-operation among the Left-led unions against the concerted drive against them by the Right-wing forces in the C.I.O. and the employers.

[Inadequate appreciation of the tremendous political significance to the American people of the new third-party movement and a failure to mobilize all possible forces in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. to give it maximum trade-union support.

[Failure of the Left forces in the National Maritime Union to assert a sufficiently aggressive policy against the junta of Curran and renegades from Communism, when the Lefts had a majority in the National Council.

[Long-continued sectarian support of the National Negro Congress, which tended seriously to isolate some of our leading forces from important mass movements of the Negro people.]

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Now, I would like to say a few words about the question of self-criticism. As we have learned from

Lenin and verified by our own practical experience, the question of self-criticism is of the most vital importance. Without self-criticism our Party would stagnate. It is my opinion that in this Convention we have had much very valuable and very frank self-criticism. This is one of the healthy signs in the Party's development. During the Browder regime, as we all know to our cost, self-criticism was reduced practically to zero in our Party.

Let us remember, however, that self-criticism is a kind of two-edged sword. It is a sharp Leninist weapon that must be used skillfully. We have to understand what we mean by self-criticism. There are some comrades in the Party who seem to think that self-criticism simply means getting up and intemperately denouncing the Party for errors, or imaginary errors, that have been made.

Such reckless criticism is both wrong and injurious. When we embark upon an evaluation of the Party's work in any given situation we have to bear in mind the welfare of our Party and speak in a responsible way. We must speak, not only in a responsible way, but in a political way, as well. In criticizing the political line, or the work of the Party, therefore, we have to take into consideration several major propositions. We must determine, first the character of the objective situation in which the given struggle or movement takes place; secondly, what are the available forces of the Party; and, thirdly, what are the accomplish-

ments, if any, of the Party in the given situation. After we have given consideration to these facts, we shall be in a position correctly to evaluate the mistakes and failures of the Party. We must not simply single out the mistakes that have been made and fire into the Party and its leadership, without regard to other factors, as some comrades have fallen into the habit of doing in recent years.

It is fundamentally necessary to criticize the mistakes and failures of the Party, and the more incisive the criticism the better the results for the Party. But in making such criticism, one cannot ignore the successes of the Party. Those comrades who indulge in such criticism should realize its harmful effect on the workers. For what working class will ever accept as its leader a Party that is given the appearance of only making mistakes? And, then, have we not many outstanding achievements to our credit?

It appears to me, for example, that our anti-war agitation, our fight against American imperialism over the past three years, is of national and international importance. In this respect, our Party has undoubtedly exerted an influence nationally on the thinking of the American people, and has certainly made large sections of them realize the deadly significance of American imperialist policy. Or, take the Marcantonio election fight of a couple of years ago here in New York. I dare say that never in the history of the United States was

such a hard fight waged against a progressive Congressman by the combined forces of reaction as the battle against Marcantonio to prevent his re-election, and we can be proud of our part in his great victory. Likewise, we played an honorable role in the recent election of Congressman Isacson on the A.L.P. ticket. This was another major people's victory, one which had not only national, but worldwide repercussions. We also had a decisive part in saving the Ingrams from the executioner. And we all know the big and successful fight our Party, along with other progressives, put up against the infamous Mundt police state bill. Nor have we been without very considerable influence in the workers' hard fight for higher wages and the general struggle against the high cost of living.

Another outstanding achievement of the democratic forces in which our Party actively participated, was the securing of half a million signatures in California to put the new party on the ballot. Comrades, that was a major achievement of the people. Reactionaries and timid liberals had argued for many years that it was impossible to get a third party on the ballot, and they especially pointed to California to prove that it could not be done. You know that a new party has to have 375,000 signatures to get on the ballot in that state, a most difficult requirement indeed. But the Left and progressive forces, including our Party, went out and did get those signa-

tures, to the amazement of the whole country.

Therefore, when we sum up the work of our Party we cannot ignore all these things. We have to give the Party credit for its achievements, such as they are, and, on the basis of these, make our frank criticisms of the shortcomings of the Party.

We also must learn to evaluate the objective situation within which the Party is working. Many comrades forget to do this in making their criticisms. This is wrong. While we must not seek to excuse ourselves for the setbacks that we have suffered recently in the trade unions on the ground of the difficult objective situation, nevertheless we cannot ignore the fundamental importance of this factor. It is no sign of a good Marxist to push aside consideration of the objective situation and blame everything on the Party when there is a lack of success. For a Marxist the starting point is precisely an evaluation of the objective situation. If, in a given situation, the objective conditions are difficult and worsening and we pay no attention to them, they can lead to an adventurist policy, to our Party separating itself from the masses, to our suffering serious defeats. On the other hand, if there is an improving objective situation and we fail to evaluate it correctly, our Party, as a result, is bound to tail along after the masses, unable to play a constructive role in the developing struggles.

My opinion is that the setbacks that Left-wingers and progressives

have suffered in the trade unions, especially in the U.A.W. and the N.M.U., to a very considerable extent resulted from effects of the drive of American imperialism. This drive has corrupted large sections of the trade-union leadership, brought about the split between the Center and Left forces, and, undoubtedly, has poisoned the minds of many workers with imperialist illusions. We would simply be blind to fail to take these things into consideration. Whether these particular defeats could have been completely avoided is problematical. However, one thing is clear, that with improved work, the Left and other progressives could have made a far better showing than they did. The lesson that has to be drawn from this situation, particularly in the face of the big drive of American imperialism, is that the Left must improve its work, sharpen up its activities in every direction, and practice a higher level of work in general.

THE POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Now, a few words as to the general political perspective that is facing our Party.

This perspective unquestionably points toward sharpened struggle on every front. The general crisis of capitalism is deepening, the world capitalist system is in a very shaky condition and is highly unstable; the relations between the capitalist world and the socialist world, as we know, are in a very tense condition. Conse-

quently, there will be no stabilization following this war, not even a temporary stabilization. We face the perspective of an acute war danger and the practical certainty in the near future of an American economic crisis that will shake the capitalist world. The implication of this is that there will be a sharpening mass struggle all along the line. The workers will fight; the people will fight. Our Party must realize this fact and be ready for these struggles. The guiding principle for our Party, it seems to me, in the perspective of sharpening class struggle that stands before us, was the one laid down at the Nine-Party Conference, namely, that the greatest mistake we could make would be to overestimate the forces of the enemy and to underestimate our own.

We in the United States face the most powerful capitalist class in the world, a capitalist class that is ruthlessly on the offensive in an insane drive to conquer the world. Our Party is relatively weak as compared with the great mass Communist parties of Europe; but we must realize, as I have indicated earlier, that in the stormy period ahead of us the masses will fight militantly and on a large scale, and we can play an important role in that fight. We must not concede victory on any front to the capitalists.

War is not inevitable! The peace-loving people of this country can defeat the warmongers, and it is the supreme task of our Party to help mobilize the masses for this purpose.

Under no circumstances, neither openly nor by subtle implication, should we condone any idea that war must break out. That great issue remains to be settled, and our Party should go down the line fighting to help preserve world peace.

Fascism also is not inevitable! Again, we must fight against all fatalistic ideas or implications that fascism cannot be avoided. Despite all the power of American imperialism and all its reactionary domestic trends, the people have the power to defeat fascism. It is by no means a settled issue. The masses have yet to be heard from on this question, and our Party must fight against fascism in a resolute spirit of confidence.

The outlawing of our Party is also not inevitable! The big reactionaries want to outlaw our Party. They know the vanguard of the proletariat when they meet up with it, even if many so-called labor leaders don't. There must be no fatalism about the outlawing of our Party. We don't concede anything on this question either. The reactionaries have been trying hard for two years to illegalize our Party, but it's not going to be a simple task for them, as they have already learned. The people licked the Schwollenbach proposal to drive our Party underground, and they also licked the Mundt police state bill, which had the same objective. The American people are more than suspicious about proposals to outlaw our Party. They saw what happened to democracy after Hitler outlawed

the Communist Party of Germany. This is why the proponents of the Mundt Bill had to deny publicly that its purpose was to drive our Party underground. So let us tolerate in our midst no negative attitude toward the fight for the legality of our Party. This issue is not settled, and before the reactionaries get done, they will know they have had a real fight on the question of outlawing our Party.

The conviction of our arrested leaders is likewise not inevitable! We know we have to contend with a frame-up by the Government. Every contemptible liar and provocateur will be used against us. All Communists understand that. Nevertheless, we are not accepting the proposition that we are going to be jailed. We will fight up one side of the street and down the other against this frame-up. Under no circumstances should we allow any defeatism to develop on this issue. We will arouse the masses against this frame-up, and we will go in and fight for victory in court. There are tremendous powers arrayed against us—the Government, the press, the trade-union bureaucratic leadership, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the courts, and all the rest of the machinery of capitalism. But we have one great force on our side—the great masses of American people, with their love of freedom and fair play. In this case, we will give the Red-baiters and warmongers a fight that they didn't expect. Let our Party prepare resolutely for this fight.

FOR A FIGHTING COMMUNIST PARTY

America needs a fighting Communist Party. That is the spirit with which we want to infuse our Party, and that is the spirit shown by this Convention. In the stormy period ahead of us our Party will have to conduct, as Comrade Dennis said, a war on two fronts against weaknesses and deviations from our correct political line. There must be no acceptance on our part of Leftist, isolation moods. We must not Red-bait ourselves; we must not engage in desperation tactics or in short-cut policies that the masses will not support. We must boldly establish our contacts with the people's coalition forces and refuse to be forced into isolation. While we must stand guard against any Leftist moods, nevertheless, in the immediate future, I am sure, the main danger we shall confront will be the Right-opportunist danger. At bottom this danger is the tendency to overestimate the power of American imperialism and an effort to try to accommodate to it, resulting in surrender moods and in defeatist tactics.

Especially, under the head of the Right danger, we must be on guard against any tendencies to liquidate our Party during the developing election struggle. Don't think this is a small danger! We could tend to liquidate our own Party by failing to build it during the coming months and by neglecting to make the vanguard role of our Party stand out

clearly, so that the workers in general and our members in particular can understand why there must be a Communist Party. Consequently, all through the great election struggle that we are entering we must keep sharply in mind the necessity of building our own Party and of developing its line. And especially, in this respect, as Comrade Dennis in his report, as our Platform, and the various other Convention documents and speeches emphasize, we must take up the question of socialism in a new way. We must make a truly powerful argument for socialism and demonstrate clearly how it would improve the living conditions and freedom of the American people.

OUR MASS WORK

I would like to say a few words on three general points regarding our mass work.

First, on the question of the fight on the ideological front. Obviously, as has been pointed out, we confront a very complicated ideological struggle. Decaying capitalism is making a desperate effort to retain its hold upon the people's minds. One of the main tasks we have in improving our activity on the ideological front is to improve our Marxist theoretical work. As capitalism goes into decay it throws up a host of theoretical problems. Very many of them our Party has tackled either not at all or only sketchily, with the result, naturally, that our policy suffers. It is significant that all over the world Communist parties are displaying

a new intensity in engaging themselves in pioneer theoretical work. We must keep in step with this vital trend.

One of the things we have done lately in this general respect has been to set up a theoretical commission in the Party. This is the first time in the history of our Party that we have had such a commission. This commission developed out of the studies of Keynesism we have been carrying on for the past months. The commission has organized several sub-commissions, with the object of clearing up various specific theoretical problems.

One of these sub-commissions has the job of preparing an outline history of our Party. We hope to have it ready by next year, in time for our 30th Anniversary. Comrade Bittelman is the head of the sub-commission. We consider this work, of course, to be deeply theoretical as well as very practical. It is high time that we had an outline of our Party's history, so that our members may know something about its experiences and struggle.

I shall mention only one more of our theoretical sub-commissions. This is the commission on women's work. Undoubtedly, as regards theory, our Party is weak on this question. It is a very complex matter and for us presents many unsolved problems. The sub-commission is going to tackle some of them, especially the illusions of male superiority. Undoubtedly our Party, in spite of our position for full equality of women

with men in every field of activity, is afflicted with false and harmful concepts. Of course, the general population is literally saturated with them. The commission on women's work will try to throw some light on this important question, and the men in our Party are going to have a going-over on this matter in the near future.

In our Party we have comrades who are well developed theoretically: the trouble is, however, that our theoretical work has never been organized. On theoretical questions we have worked planlessly, on a hit or miss basis. One of the characteristics of the Browder regime was the tendency to squelch our budding theoreticians and arrogantly to assume that all Marxist expression was centered in one person, with very sad consequences. But now the Party is systematically cultivating its Marxist forces. This is a most important step forward. Every district should pay attention to this development and act accordingly. I would be lax in these remarks if I did not say a word of congratulation to the California district, which has done outstanding work in this respect, especially Celeste Strack and the comrades associated with her.

The second point on our mass work that I want to speak on is in connection with the coming trials of our indicted leaders. We must resolve to develop these trials into a great political-ideological struggle. As Comrade Dennis said, we have got to put capitalism on the defen-

sive. The great model as to how we must fight, of course, is the historic fight made by Comrade Dimitrov against the fascists in the Reichstag fire trial.

In the courtroom we must shatter the lie that our Party advocates force and violence; we must shatter the charges of espionage made against us; we must shatter the slanders that we are foreign agents. We must expose completely American imperialism and its reactionary program. We must make clear the role of the Communist Party as the best defender of the interests of the American people and the working class. We must reveal the basis for socialism in American conditions. In and out of the courtroom, in our publicity and in our rallies, we must give the American people the best educational course in Communism they have ever had. I have no doubt that our comrades on trial can lick the cleverest ideologists of American capitalism.

But, comrades, this trial must not be considered as simply the fight of the twelve defendants. It must be taken by the Party to the masses of the American people. We must understand it as a great mass struggle. The whole American people must be told what is going on and what is being said in that courtroom. They must be shown the tremendous political danger represented by the outlawing of the Communist Party. They must be organized to support our fight. And it seems to me that while this trial is going on, we ought to add a few thousand members to

our Party. I cannot conceive of any more fitting time to do it.

Now, the third and last question of mass work that I want to say a few words on, is that of the elections. Comrade Dennis correctly said, in his general report, that we must make this election fight the biggest election struggle in the history of our Party. Everything that we are doing—the fight against war, the fight against fascism, the fight for the rights of the Negro people, the fight against the high cost of living—all these issues must be centered in this election struggle. We must concentrate everything we have in this big fight. Comrades, despite the relatively small size of our Party, we can be a vital force in this election. We must utilize every avenue of expression open to us and organize our forces as they have never been organized before. The correctness of our cause must lend power and confidence to our Party.

The line of our Party is clear for this vital election struggle. We can do much to awaken the masses increasingly to the dangers of war and fascism as this political struggle sharpens. We must not miss the great opportunity that this election gives us. Above all, comrades, as we go into the struggle we must remember to build our Party. We do not want a Party of just a few handfuls of militants. We want a strong mass Party. We must enlist the thousands of active, fighting workers who are now on the fringes of our Party. We must make the line of the

Party stand out in the election. In our Election Platform we have a fine document around which to conduct our struggle. So, comrades, let us go into this election with a fighting spirit and make it truly, as Comrade Dennis said, the biggest election fight in our history.

CONCLUSION

Now just a few words in conclusion. It has been wisely said that the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist Parties that will be called upon to play a decisive role in the development of the world revolutionary movement. This is profoundly true. The capitalists understand this fact very well. That is the secret of their sharpening attacks upon our Party. And not only do the capitalists un-

derstand it, but so do the reactionary trade-union leaders and other capitalist flunkies. That is why they are fighting us so hard. But what is even more important, the Communist parties of other countries understand the vital role that our Party has to play. This is the significance of the greetings that have been pouring into this Convention from Communist parties all over the world. So, comrades, let us, too, be fully conscious of the vital importance of our Party, situated as it is here in the heart of American imperialism, the center of world reaction.

Our Party line is correct; we have a good fighting spirit, we stand solidly united, and we can make our forces count. In this sense let us, therefore, conclude our Convention and go forth into the historically important struggles that confront us.

FOR A FIGHTING PARTY ROOTED AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS!*

By HENRY WINSTON

THREE YEARS HAVE PASSED since the Emergency National Convention. Looking back on that Convention from the vantage point of 1948, the entire Party can more easily grasp the full historic significance of its decisions. The Emergency Convention rejected Browder's non-existent "progressive imperialism" and utopia of "class peace"; restored to the Party its Marxist-Leninist science, the priceless heritage of working-class theory and practice; and armed it for the struggles of the real postwar world.

The fight for the reconstitution of the Party as the Marxist vanguard of the American working class was carried through under the most difficult conditions.

The most ferocious attacks against our Party have spearheaded Wall Street's offensive against the economic and political rights of labor and the people and its drive toward war and fascism. Here as everywhere anti-Communism is the hallmark of reaction and fascism. In our country, as formerly in Hitler-Germany, anti-Communism seeks to screen the imperialist and pro-fascist aims of reaction from the people.

In these past three years the Party has been forced to defend itself on many fronts. It has been threatened by a multitude of repressive measures, in the state legislatures and city councils, as well as in Congress. Communist leaders have been subjected to persecution, court prosecution, threats of imprisonment, and imprisonment.

Truman's "loyalty order" bars Communists from Federal employment—and this infamous blacklist is being extended to private industry, the schools and colleges.

The anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law handicap not only the work of Communist trade unionists but that of all progressive unionists, thereby weakening all organized labor.

Foreign-born workers, Communist and non-Communist, have been harassed, denied the right to citizenship, arrested, and threatened with deportation. Already five members of our outgoing National Committee are faced with the threat of deportation, Comrades Williamson, Stachel, Bitelman, Jones and Potash.

The House Un-American Committee, which has fomented the most vicious anti-Communist hysteria, has become one of the major instrumen-

* The report to the Convention on the organizational and ideological tasks of the C.P.U.S.A.

talities in the attempt of reaction to impose a fascist, militarist state upon our country.

The monopoly-controlled press, radio, and movies constantly bombard the American people with anti-Communist venom. Day in and day out, they lie and slander, deliberately, when they label Communists as "red-fascists, Communazis, spies, saboteurs, and foreign agents." They deliberately lie and slander when they charge that Communists are "advocates of force and violence to overthrow the government of the United States."

Our Party has confronted many obstacles in its efforts to counteract these Hitlerite lies with the truth. The commercial channels of communication are being denied our Party. Storm-troop violence is increasingly being unleashed against our members, our public meetings and the canvassers of our press.

We do not minimize the extent to which anti-Communist prejudices have penetrated sections of the labor movement and the American people. But we also see that the American working class and people are resisting the unprecedented effort to stampede them into the surrender of their gains and rights in this atmosphere of anti-Communist hysteria. Our Party can take pride in the tireless work of our membership and leadership to arouse the working people in the fight to block these plans of reaction.

The appearance of Comrade Dennis before the House Un-American Committee in March, 1947, despite

the Committee's refusal to hear his testimony, did much to inspire the Party and arouse the people for action against the Sheppard-Rankin Bill.

The earlier testimony of Comrades William Z. Foster and Ben Davis before the Un-American Committee transformed the hearing into a counter-attack against the un-Americans. Comrade Davis appeared before the Committee again in February, 1948, to expose the trickery of the "registration" proposals through which the Thomas-Rankin group is seeking to outlaw the Party and nullify the Bill of Rights.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE OUTLAWING OF OUR PARTY

A high point of Party activity was reached in the Spring of 1947, at the time when the late Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, proposed the outlawing of the Party. In answer to this attack our Party raised a fighting fund of \$250,000 in less than 25 days. In fact, more than \$1,000,000 was actually raised by the Districts. In the months of March and April the Party reached 10,000,000 Americans through numerous advertisements in national newspapers, including trade-union, Negro and national group papers, as well as the big metropolitan press and liberal weeklies.

At the same time, despite many refusals, the Party reached the radio audience through 110 broadcasts—most of them organized locally. Comrades Foster and Dennis spoke

on national hook-ups, and recordings of their speeches were made available for re-broadcast in the Districts. Literally millions of leaflets were issued by clubs, sections, counties, and districts. As a result of this activity, broad sections of the people rallied to the Party's defense, and numerous individuals and organizations issued public statements. The popular response to the Party's call in defense of the Bill of Rights killed the Schwellenbach proposal and upset reaction's time-table.

The Mundt-Nixon Bill, sponsored by the House un-Americans in 1948, had wider support in Congress, in Administration circles, and in various organizations. This offered a more serious threat to the democratic rights of our Party, to the labor movement, and other progressive organizations.

There were some people in trade-union and liberal circles who, overwhelmed with a sense of defeatism, felt that the fight was over and that "nothing could be done." But the sounding of the alarm by our Party and its appeal to labor and to all democratic-minded Americans, irrespective of their stand on Communism, to enlist in an all-out fight to defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill, evoked a wide response. This appeal, issued by Comrades Foster and Dennis, was sent to every international union and national people's organization and was circulated locally to civic, fraternal, political, and religious groups. Despite the denial of press and radio to our Party's statements,

we were able to rally popular opposition which assumed wide proportions.

The appearance of Comrades Foster and Gates at the Senate Committee hearing resulted in the exposure of the true nature of the Bill through a brilliant defense of the position of our Party. The fight for radio time resulted in the Foster-Mundt debate which reached millions.

Our Party again appealed for a \$500,000 fund to fight the Mundt Bill, and the membership responded, even though it had just carried through the Party-Press Fighting Fund Drive. This activity broke through the attempted conspiracy of silence. Local after local, as well as central trades councils, in the A. F. of L.; city C.I.O. bodies; Railroad Brotherhood unions; and many international unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., came out in opposition to the Bill. Even William Green and Philip Murray sent private letters to the Committee protesting the unconstitutionality of the Bill. Church groups, such as Northern and Southern Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists, and even isolated Catholic voices, joined the anti-Mundt Bill fight. And Washington saw an inspiring demonstration of more than 6,000 representative men and women converge upon it to defend the Bill of Rights. The call of our clubs—"Every man at his post"—witnessed the greatest activity of our membership in many a year. As is known, at the regular session of Congress, the Mundt-Nixon Bill was buried in the

Senate Judiciary Committee. Reaction's time-table was again upset.

During this entire period, locally and nationally, the Party has been involved in numerous court cases requiring legal defense of the Party leaders and members. The case of Comrade Dennis, whose conviction for contempt of the Un-American Committee and one year jail sentence is now being appealed, presents a basic challenge to the constitutionality of the House Un-American Committee. The Party takes pride in the fact that Comrade Dennis, in defending his personal liberty and the democratic rights of the Party, also converted his case into a weapon for striking a blow against the national oppression of the Negro people. His firm stand that John Rankin sits in Congress in violation of the 14th Amendment has won wide support among all sections of the Negro people.

A significant victory was won in the fight for release on bail of the five hunger strikers, held in Tom Clark's Ellis Island concentration camp. The Party expresses special pride in the political initiative of Comrades John Williamson and Irving Potash, members of the outgoing National Board, and of the staunch German Communist leader, Gerhart Eisler.

The attacks on our Party have not ceased. Having failed so far, the enemy now resorts to new plots in its frenzy to outlaw the Communist Party. The "Special Grand Jury" which labored nearly a year and a

half to prove a non-existent "foreign agent conspiracy" gave birth to the present monstrous frame-up indictments of the twelve members of the outgoing National Board. This is the most serious attempt yet to outlaw the Communist Party. Should the enemy succeed in this frame-up, it will mean more than the imprisonment of the members of the National Board. For, involved in this indictment is the democratic right to membership in, and the legal existence of, the Communist Party. With every ounce of energy we must guarantee that the monopolists shall not have their way.

Our Party has shown a capacity to fight relentlessly and has proved that it can defend the rights of the American workers and people. However, we should note and correct certain shortcomings in our defense work up to now.

It was correct to guard against submerging the Party in defense work. It was not correct to neglect, as was the case at times, the defense of the Party and to fail to give this defense a mass character. Thus, for example, the successful mass struggle around the hunger strike must be contrasted to the failure of the Party to develop a sustained mass campaign in the Dennis and Josephson cases, or around the deportation cases involving numerous other members.

It was correct to call for the defense of the democratic rights of Communists on the broad issue of civil liberties; but it was not correct to gloss over, as was sometimes done,

the vanguard role of the Party and to fail to explain to the masses why our Party is a special target for reaction in its drive toward war and fascism. We must convince the American people that it is precisely the Communists who must be defended — because the Communists are the best fighters for the immediate interests of the workers and all the common people, precisely because we are the Party of socialism.

It is correct to put up the best legal defense of the Party and its leadership. But it is also necessary to combat legalistic illusions which still exist. We must never allow legal defense to become a substitute for mass activity.

THE NEED OF A POLICY OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

In spite of many hardships and difficulties since the Emergency Convention, we were able to make some important advances in the strengthening and building of our Party.

Under Browder the entire Party was organized primarily in 800 community clubs. Now we have approximately 3,000 clubs. In addition to 1,700 community clubs we have 300 shop, 425 industrial clubs as well as 200 professional and 200 student and youth clubs.

Our Party has 300 sections organized in 32 districts, 8 of which are new. The Party is organized in 600 cities, towns, and rural communities. During the three-year period since the Emergency Convention, our

Party has grown from a membership of 52,824 to over 60,000. We now have a Party in seven Southern states. Of all the Party Districts, New York, California and Connecticut have shown the most consistent growth.

We all realize that this growth is inadequate. Not only inadequate in general, but above all in the light of the big tasks and responsibilities that our Party faces. This is why we have to examine critically all our work, determine what are the weaknesses and how to overcome them. Central to this task is the thorough examination of the results of our industrial concentration policy in order to draw the necessary lessons from this phase of our work. In this connection we can make the following section of the Main Resolution the starting point for this analysis.

For the American working class to advance to leadership of the developing people's democratic coalition, and for the coalition itself to become a power for victory, there must be a growing and influential Communist Party.

Only a Communist Party of mass strength and influence, and functioning as an organized and inseparable part of the people's coalition, can effectively promote the struggle for working-class leadership in the nation. Without such a Communist Party, this struggle cannot be won. In the course of daily and resolute struggle for working-class leadership in the progressive movements of the American people for peace and progress, for the defense of their vital

interests, a mass Communist Party of great strength and influence must and will become a reality in the United States.

We must build our Party along these lines—politically, ideologically, and organizationally. It must be built daily in the realization of the Party's vanguard role in the working class and among the people as a whole. It must be built, in the first place, among the basic industrial workers by a consistent, unflagging policy of concentration. The Party must be built in the struggle for its Marxist-Leninist principles and policies.

In examining the composition of our Party, the following factors must be noted: In the last three years, the industrial composition of our Party has increased only slightly. At present 51 per cent of our members are industrial workers, and of these, 11 per cent are at present unemployed.

At the same time, our trade-union membership in the last three years shows a decline from 46 per cent to 44 per cent; 28 per cent belong to various C.I.O. unions; 13½ per cent are in the A. F. of L. and 2½ per cent in independent unions. Approximately 7 per cent of our industrial workers are not members of any unions.

We get the following picture insofar as the basic industries are concerned: Of our employed membership, 18½ per cent are to be found in basic industry. Over the past three years the numerical growth of our Party in basic industry has shown no fundamental change. In the main

our Party membership has remained static in such industries as steel, auto, rubber, and maritime. In some industries we have shown a slight growth, even though in some cases it is unstable, as in electrical, coal mining, packing, longshore, and the building trades. In certain industries we have suffered a serious loss. In some cases this was due to a decline in production, as in shipbuilding. However, this was not the reason for the decline in the railroad and textile industries.

We must take note at this Convention that in the main industrial concentration states, with the exception of Ohio, we show a decline in membership. This is true of Illinois, Michigan, and Western Pennsylvania.

The mere presentation of this brief picture poses two questions: What is the cause of this situation, and how shall we proceed quickly to overcome it? To avoid repetition, we shall try to answer both questions simultaneously.

The central task before the Party is the fight for shifting the main base of our Party to the working class. *This cannot be done unless we turn the face of the entire Party to the workers in the factories.* There is already a new awareness in our entire Party of this urgent task. Every single state convention, and scores of comrades in the pre-Convention discussion, have given major attention to this question. We must transform this new awareness into deeds.

HOW TO APPLY THE CONCENTRATION POLICY

What is the essence of a concentration policy?

First of all, it requires a fundamental understanding of the role of the workers in the basic industries, in relation to the working class and the life of the country as a whole. It is precisely these workers employed in the huge plants by the tens of thousands who, as Lenin pointed out, become educated to understand the need for unity, collective action and solidarity by the very process of large-scale production itself. One cannot conceive of successfully building the Progressive Party, of organizing an effective fight against the Draft, or in defense of civil liberties, a successful fight against war and fascism, unless this section of the working class is fully mobilized. And, of course, one cannot speak of winning the American workers for Socialism without winning the majority of this section of the working class. It is necessary to permeate the entire Party with this consciousness.

Secondly, such a policy requires the selection of the points of concentration where a base must be secured, if we are to set in motion the entire labor movement. This means knowing which districts must be given major national attention, which industries are key and what plants are decisive. Concretely, while we must strengthen our base in all industrial states, we must above all shift our

main emphasis to such states as Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan and to Western Pennsylvania. While we must strengthen the Party in all basic industries, we must particularly select for major concentration such industries as steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical and railroad. Within these industries we must pursue a policy of concentration in key industrial towns and key plants and departments—with special consideration to the most underpaid sections of the workers, the unskilled and semi-skilled. In some districts additional industries may be selected, as for instance textile in the South and New England; in Ohio rubber, in addition to steel and mining, etc.

Thirdly, the full mobilization of the Party is required to achieve the objectives of our concentration policy. Concretely, this means that all Party clubs must have a share in the responsibility for work at the concentration points. Communists in the mass organizations, trade unions, etc., should try to convince these organizations similarly to pursue a concentration policy.

Fourthly, beginning with the national and state leaderships, the entire Party must be involved in planning, guiding, and assuming systematic control and check-up of concentration objectives. All political and organizational problems must be discussed and reviewed from the standpoint of how to realize them in concentration industries. Systematic discussion of the problems in concentration industries must be or-

ganized in the top political bodies of the Party. Our leadership must be unsparing in the allocation of capable forces, finances, literature, and other material assistance.

Have we said some of these things before? We have. In fact, at our Emergency Convention three years ago the need for applying a consistent concentration policy was placed as a central objective. Why is it that we did not realize all of the objectives set for ourselves nationally and in the states?

It is not due to the fact that we did not select the key states, industries, shops and towns. In fact, some of our most capable comrades were assigned to these key districts, national coordinators were assigned to key industries, and many leading returned veterans were sent into a number of industrial towns.

We must frankly say that the failure to secure adequate results in our concentration work in the last three years is due, in the main, to an underestimation in practice of the vanguard role of the Party. In practice we concerned ourselves much more with specific policy and tactical questions of the unions, of relationship to top bodies, rather than to questions of building a base below to insure correct policies and tactics. What was incorrect? The separation of the building of the Party from the solution of questions of policy! What must not be forgotten is that it is not enough to have a correct policy in the industries, but in addition the organized strength of the Party must

be thrown into the key points of concentration. From now on a drastic change must be made. Questions of policy and tactical line must always be related to the forces required to carry out the policy. This will demand a systematic and constant political check-up of our strength in the concentration areas: first, by the political bodies of the Party; and, secondly, through greater coordination of all departments and, most important, a fusion of the work of trade-union and organizational personnel.

The realization of the objectives of our concentration policy demands:

1. Developing and testing in life a correct policy for each industry.
2. Developing the united front from below to insure the carrying through of such a policy.
3. Drawing constant lessons from the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles, thus helping to develop their class consciousness.
4. Systematically building the Party, by bringing into its ranks the most militant and advanced workers.

In the period immediately after this Convention the national and state leadership of our Party must work out the specific tasks of concentration which are to be carried out between now and the end of the year, and which should be checked at regular intervals by leading political bodies—a procedure which

must be regularized and made a permanent feature of our work. Among these tasks, in addition to those mentioned, should be the following:

1. To review and allocate additional forces to provide leadership to work in the concentration industries.
2. To convince a selected number of comrades now employed in light industries, and from among white-collar and professional workers, veterans, and students—men and women—to secure work in basic industry.
3. To seek to influence key national groups, whose members are employed in concentration points, to direct their main emphasis to these industries.
4. To ensure the more effective utilization of the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* in the concentration industries. In this connection, we must guarantee that the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* secure and print material reflecting problems in these industries, and that the most consistent effort be made to increase their circulation.
5. To improve the mass propaganda work of the Party in these industries through the medium of leaflets, pamphlets, and shop gate meetings. Especially important is the use of our numerous pamphlets for mass sale and distribution.
6. To institute a consistent policy of training and developing

forces at the concentration points through political discussions, lectures, study groups, and schools.

THE PARTY CLUB AND CONCENTRATION

If we are to achieve these objectives, our attention has to be turned first of all to the Party clubs, and particularly to the shop and industrial clubs.

These clubs constitute the link between the Party and the basic industrial workers. It is through them that we shall be able to mobilize the workers to resist the drive of monopoly capitalism against their living standards and their trade unions, to resist the drive toward war and fascism. This means that a correct policy of concentration requires that the entire leadership concern itself with the problem of improving qualitatively the work of the shop and industrial clubs in general, and of the individual members in particular.

If these clubs are to be able to play their rightful role, the entire level of our theoretical and political work has to be raised. If these clubs are to reflect in the shops and industries the vanguard role of the Party, we must assist them to become the policy-making bodies within the shops and industries, firmly grounded in the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. It is only in the struggle to realize such an objective that the clubs and individual members will be able to play the leading role in the development of the united front on a de-

partmental, shop and industry level. Through such methods these clubs will be able to work with, and give leadership to, broad sections of the workers in the struggle for the defense of their economic needs and to spur the workers to independent political action and class consciousness. More and more workers will thus come to realize the class nature and role of the state, the crisis in the two-party system, the harmful role of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade-union bureaucrats, the need for becoming fully involved in the development of the Progressive Party, etc.

Our Party must take full advantage of every opportunity in the day-to-day struggles to champion and advance the fundamental interests of our class, thus demonstrating that:

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. (*Communist Manifesto*.)

Current developments in the labor movement indicate the readiness of the workers for political as well as economic struggle. For example, there is the recent gathering of 500 activists, including presidents and members of Executive Boards of U.A.W. locals, which endorsed Wallace and the Progressive Party. Despite the position of the John L. Lewis leadership, important groups

of the miners are rallying to Wallace. In the steel industry significant changes are already taking place as the steel workers help to put the new party on the ballot. In Gary, thousands of steel workers turned out to hear Wallace.

Our Party must help to develop further this new initiative, and boldly promote united struggles to speed all positive developments which can bring about a new relationship of forces among the workers; we must build our Party as a force that can help bring about this change in the shortest time.

While we must struggle for this Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the Party shop club, unfortunately only 25 per cent of our industrial members are in shop and industrial clubs. While we have successfully established shop clubs in many of the large plants, there are still too many decisive plants where we have no shop clubs. Even in some of the large plants where we have established shop clubs, we find that in some of the key departments we are still isolated from the workers. The industrial clubs, which were established in most places to serve as a form of organization transitional to the establishment of shop clubs, have instead become a frozen form of organization. There is a reluctance in too many places to release comrades who are now attached to community clubs, but who rightfully belong in shop branches, the argument being given that this would weaken the community club. While we appreci-

ate the needs of, and the problems faced by, our community clubs, once our basic concentration policy becomes clear, we should overcome all hesitations to shifting every comrade who should be in it to a shop club. At the same time, *we must find the methods whereby the comrades in the shop clubs can play an important role in the struggles of the communities in which they live.*

Unfortunately, due to unclarity on the role of the shop clubs and inadequate attention to them, we find that many have a tendency to concern themselves almost exclusively with trade union questions—and this, on a trade-union level—failing to grasp their role of vanguard political organization. Under such conditions, harmful tendencies develop; expressed in a reliance on the spontaneity of the workers, a failure to promote the class consciousness of the workers, and an inadequate building of our press. All this results in a situation in which our Party in many instances tail-ends behind the workers.

AN EXAMPLE OF CORRECT WORK

Let me give an example of the correct work of an individual Communist and his club, whose very fruitful experiences are worthy of study by this Convention:

I want to relate the experiences of Nick Migas, a steel worker from Indiana Harbor, a member of the National Committee of our Party.

Nick works in a plant employing

10,000 workers. Because of his role and leadership in the fight for the defense of the workers' needs in his department, he was elected as the Department Grievance Committee man, in spite of the most vicious Red-baiting threats, and intimidation by the leadership of this Right-wing union.

Comrade Nick accepted the challenge in true Communist fashion. He attends his Party club meetings, he discusses his problems at the club meetings, and the entire club works out collectively how he and other members can conduct a more effective struggle in the interests of the workers. Through his effort, together with that of other progressives in his local union, and despite many obstacles and difficulties, thirteen out of fifteen progressives, including Nick, were elected to the local's Executive Committee. Nick and other progressives while defending the economic interests of the workers, helped also to create a Wallace Committee which hundreds of workers from the plant joined.

During the recent round of wage struggles the international leadership of the steelworkers' union said that it was impossible to obtain wage increases in 1948. But Nick Migas, by applying a correct policy of the united front from below, raised this issue in his local and was elected with other progressives to his international union convention. You all know what happened at that convention and of the brave and honorable role that Nick played. After the conven-

tion, the workers in basic steel were granted wage increases. In all modesty we can say that Nick and his colleagues played no small role in winning an increase in wages of \$450,000 a day for the workers in basic steel. This means an annual increase of \$135,000,000. No wonder that the big trusts hate the Communists! Just imagine what it would mean for the American working class and our Party if in one hundred key plants in the country, we could train our shop clubs and individual members to become Nick Migases. This can be done! It must be done! Therefore, we must undertake in all seriousness to strengthen existing shop clubs and build new ones in the light of this example. There are undoubtedly other examples, and I hope that the comrades will relate them in the discussion.

THE COMMUNITY CLUB

I am sure that our entire Party will greet this emphasis on developing a concentration policy for the building up of our shop and industrial clubs. This in no way detracts from the urgent need to strengthen and build our community clubs. The objectives we set in concentration can be realized only if we successfully assist the community clubs in orienting their work toward the shops. The vital role of the community clubs is not lessened but becomes of even greater importance in the light of the industrial concentration approach we are attempting to establish.

We have innumerable examples of the splendid mass work of our clubs in developing struggles around such issues as high prices and rents, Negro discrimination, in defense of Israel, to repeal the draft, and a score of other local and national issues. These clubs in the main have been the builders of our press and distributors of our literature. These types of activity must be strengthened in every way. But now it must be pointed in the first place to the big shops and working-class communities.

The example of these clubs could be multiplied manifold. Other comrades will give other examples. But what is missing is the fact that such splendid activity is not directed toward united action with workers in the plants and shops. The fight to solve this problem is the fight for a policy of working-class leadership of the entire people.

From the point of view of improving the content and quality of our concentration work, the group system deserves major attention. The groups must become a basic link in our work among the masses. The groups provide a medium which not only gives us greater mobility but a form through which we can give greater attention to the individual problems of our members—their education and personal development, their adjustment to Party life, so that they may grow as Communists and enhance their contribution. Sometimes we overlook the shy and retiring members and take little interest in their personal problems—and the

result is that many become inactive. The group, in addition to its educational and political mass work, must become the creator of warmth, understanding, and comradeship among our members. Such an approach will help increase attendance and establish closer ties with our members, increase dues payments, increase the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker*, bring higher sales of our literature, and involve more of our members in Party activities.

WHAT KIND OF PARTY ARE WE BUILDING?

In the coming days we shall witness an increase in the enemy attacks against our Party, but we shall also witness an ascending wave of mass struggles. Our Party must take all the necessary steps to strengthen itself speedily in order to be able to help lead these struggles. We should therefore, while taking a realistic view of the situation, act with the firm conviction that we can win this fight.

Some comrades conclude that under conditions of monopoly's offensive and the defensive battles of the working class "we must retrench" and "wait for more favorable times" for Party building, or that "we need to limit the Party membership to the most militant activists within the vanguard Party." In the light of the tasks facing us as Communists, can we accept this "theory"? Obviously not! Those who advance this "theory" fail to see that the "more favorable times" of tomorrow are being de-

termined, and can be determined only by what we do in today's struggles. In a period of reactionary offensive, favorable opportunities cannot be created by a "wait and see" policy, by "retrenchment" or by "limiting the Party membership to the most militant activists."

The concept of "retrenchment" is not a line of struggle; it is a retreat. This concept flows from a one-sided estimate of the situation in the country. Comrades who defend such concepts fail to see the emerging struggles and the militant cadres they will bring to the fore. The place of many of these cadres should be in the Communist Party. Our day-to-day struggles must be designed to reach and win them and the Leftward moving masses.

Their one-sided estimate of the situation leads these comrades to overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the fighting moods of the masses, as well as the ability of our Party to influence the course of the developing struggles. This "theory" denies the vanguard role of our Party and is in essence a form of liquidationism. The present offensive of monopoly is not an argument against, but an argument for building the Communist Party. We must reject all counsels of retreat and retrenchment.

Other comrades conclude that the best way to meet reaction's offensive is by submerging the Party in the mass movement. In practice this concept would lead to a state of affairs in which the Party becomes identical

with the trade union or mass organization. These comrades see the need for work among the masses, but they do not clearly see the need for the vanguard Party of the working class. In reverse form they express a certain timidity and a fear of the masses. Moreover, their conception tends to create a tailist policy, and not a policy of leadership which aims to instill class consciousness, pride in, and direction to, the working-class and people's movement. Instead of following a conscious and consistent policy of leadership, these comrades tend to rely on spontaneity. Here again we have an overestimation of the strength of the enemy and an underestimation of the ability of the masses to fight back effectively under the leadership of the Party. This conception likewise denies the vanguard role of the Party.

Nor is the problem resolved by establishing two types of Communists—one doing "mass" work and submerging the Party among the masses, and the other doing "Communist" work and moving independently of the masses. This division is fundamentally wrong and solves nothing. This combination of Leftist-sectarianism and Right opportunism stands in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party organization. Comrades given to such thinking fail to see that the starting point of all Communist work is mass work, that the Party can be built only through such activity.

Nor will the "go it alone" "theory," which draws sectarian conclusions

from the independent role of the Party, solve anything. Clearly, strengthening the Party to play its vanguard role in the working-class and people's movement requires a clear understanding of what we mean by its vanguard role. The vanguard Party is not separated from the masses. It is integrally linked with them, leading and helping them to move forward. We ourselves have the task of making clear to the masses our Party's oneness with them. We must show them that the Party is the most advanced section of the most progressive and advanced class. We cannot convince the people of our vanguard role just by talking about it. We can convince them only by helping to increase the fighting capacity of the people at all levels of struggle. This we can do only by increasing our own fighting capacity, and by improving the quality of leadership we give to the mass movement on the basis of our scientific understanding. Our task is to grasp all opportunities to help build the united front of struggle in the shops, in the working-class neighborhoods, to build the Progressive Party and every democratic movement, and thus to fight to build our Party as *the indispensable instrument* for beating back the offensive of reaction, fascism and war.

In the further building of our Party, we must also pay considerable attention to the need of substantially lowering the age level of the Party by recruiting large numbers of young people. Here it is worth noting that in the past several years we have

made some progress in this direction. We have more than doubled our membership among World War II veterans. We have established a foothold among students on 95 campuses. We have recruited young people generally through the existing youth clubs. But we cannot be satisfied with these results. In fact, we must state that we are seriously lagging on this front.

There is a great stirring among the youth, who are the first to be hit by Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism. Reaction is leaving no stone unturned to win the youth for its reactionary program. There are numerous instances indicating that reactionary forces have been able to misdirect the youth (as, for instance, in some unions, in inspiring hoodlum acts, etc.), because of the absence of decisive leadership in the fight for the youth. Hence, our Party must not only considerably intensify its activity among the youth, particularly among the young workers in industry and among the youth in the Negro communities, but we must place as a central task the recruiting of substantial numbers of young Americans into our ranks in the coming months.

OUR PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

In challenging monopoly oppression, the working class finds a powerful ally in the Negro people who, by the very nature of their position in American life, are rallying to the banners of the struggle against Wall

Street. Success in the struggle against monopoly requires the forging of the alliance of labor and the Negro people, the building of the Negro people's unity and the building of our Party, the consistent champion of the Negro people's struggle. For without our Party such an alliance cannot grow and permanently exist. In this connection, we should take note of the following passage from the Draft Resolution:

The intensified attacks upon the Negro people demonstrate clearly the growth of imperialist reaction and national oppression in the United States. The Negro people are experiencing the most extreme, the most brutal manifestations of the growing fascist danger, especially in the South.

It would be a most fatal error on the part of labor if it failed to see that this attack is an attempt to tear asunder the growing alliance of the workers and the Negro people, and thus to destroy the labor movement itself. Participation in the fight for the equal rights of the Negro people is an indispensable duty for the American working class, and essential to the maintenance and extension of democracy. Hence the necessity for unfolding an energetic struggle for the equal rights of the Negro people; for the outlawing of Jim Crow and the passage of the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation for the abolition of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people in army and civilian life; for democratic agrarian reforms in the

South, satisfying the needs of the Negro people for land, freedom, and equality; for the right to self-determination of the Negro people in the Black Belt.

The Draft Resolution calls upon the Party to make the demand for full economic, political and social equality, a demand which corresponds to the class interests of the workers, a demand which should become the battle cry of the entire labor movement.

Thus, our Party must keep in view the aim of making a radical turn in the direction of unleashing the full potential of the Negro liberation movement and building our Party as the proven leader of the Negro workers and the Negro people. This is an undertaking that we accept with honor.

Our Party since the Emergency Convention has conducted many significant struggles for Negro rights: anti-lynch, anti-poll tax, for F.E.P.C. legislation, against restrictive covenants, against discrimination in the armed services, in defense of the Ingrams, etc. Nevertheless, these struggles have developed unevenly, and in many cases sporadically.

The basic weakness in the fight for the rights of the Negro people is the failure to tackle the basic problem of which the other issues are but a reflection. I have in mind the fight on the job against discriminatory firings and layoffs of Negro workers, against the refusal of many companies, including many in the basic industries, to hire Negro workers; and

against the refusal of many plants to upgrade Negro workers, and of unions to promote them as shop stewards, committeemen and leaders. Only here and there can we record notable exceptions.

While we re-established our Party in the South, we do not yet have an operative policy of attacking the very basis of Negro oppression on the land. What does this mean? It means that while we must continue to strengthen and further develop in every way the struggles already begun, we must likewise direct our attention to the solution of the fundamental economic and social problems which will give basic substance to the fight of our class, and real equality to the Negro people.

The failure of the labor movement to conduct a consistent struggle for the vital interests of the Negro people is due to the fact that it still lacks an understanding of the Negro question. This means at the same time that, in failing to forge an effective labor-Negro alliance, the working class is failing to defend its own class interests. In such a situation, enormous obligations are placed upon the working-class vanguard.

The Negro workers in the trade-union movement are in revolt against the Social-Democratic do-nothing policy on the issue of job inequality. But the majority of the white workers, due to the influence of bourgeois ideology in the labor movement, have not yet come forward in solidarity with the Negro workers on this vital issue. In many cases, even among

progressives in the trade unions, there is a negative approach to this burning issue of Negro job inequality. The result is that the white workers are not helped to understand what this revolt means to labor as a whole. Neither are the Negro workers helped to appreciate more fully the need for class solidarity.

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie asserts itself as never before, trying to head off class solidarity and win the Negro workers to its banners. The monopolists make full use of Social-Democratic labor leaders, as well as of some Negro leaders who spread the slogan: "Neither Jim Crow nor Communism." Left-progressive unionists will unwittingly help those who seek to weaken and undermine the unions, unless they overcome existing weaknesses in their fight for full equality.

It is important for us to understand that, as the offensive of the monopolists increases against labor, the class-collaborationist moves away from the defense of labor's interests in general and those of the Negro workers in particular.

The problem of discrimination against Negro people in the basic industries is not limited to Negro industrial workers. One of the worst forms of discrimination is to be found in the general offices. The general offices of the steel, auto, mining, maritime, electrical, railroad, public utilities and a host of other trusts, refuse to hire Negro men and women. These offices remain "lily white." Clearly, we cannot ignore this situation any longer. It is another example

of the attempt to split the working class from the Negro people and create divisions also within the Negro people themselves.

We must recognize the fact that weaknesses on this front of struggle are due to the existence of white chauvinism, expressed in policy and practice. The phrase, "We're all equal," equates formalistically the problems of Negro workers with those of all exploited and oppressed. Supporting F.E.P.C. by resolution alone is a means of avoiding the concrete fight against inequality in the departments, shops and plants. This we all know. The failure effectively to combat this kind of hidden white chauvinism, expresses a lack of faith in the white workers. The white workers will rally, if convinced that their own interests are at stake in the fight for Negro rights.

The Party must unfold an energetic struggle against white chauvinism, not only in the realm of ideology, but also in a practical fight for equality on every level. The result will be that greater numbers of white workers will enlist in the fight and Negro workers will become more active participants and builders of the union. In addition, they will become a leading force in the Negro communities, and our Party will grow more rapidly among Negro and white workers.

I do not propose to deal with the problems of the South, since they will be dealt with in a special report before this Convention. I want, however, to deal briefly with several prob-

lems of the Negro community itself.

The Negro communities are highly organized and progressive and have, in the last decade or so, always been found in their majority in the progressive column on all the basic issues. However, one of the major weaknesses from which the Negro communities still suffer is to be found in the totally inadequate position of leadership that the Negro workers have won and assumed within the Negro community. Until basic progress is made in this respect, the Negro community cannot play its full role in the struggle for the interests of the Negro people and within the general people's coalition for peace, democracy, and progress. But progress in the solution of this question is to a large degree dependent on the unfolding of the struggle for full and equal rights of the Negro workers in each factory, in each industry, and in each trade union. Thus, the fight by our Party forces, and by the progressive forces in general within the labor movement, for equality for the Negro workers is the key to the solution of almost all questions within the Negro community.

Undoubtedly, our Party generally enjoys greater influence and support among the Negro people than among any other group. This has been shown on innumerable occasions when the Negro workers rallied to the support, not only of Negro Communist leaders but of our Party as a whole. But it is also true that there exists a very wide gap between

this general support and influence and the numerical growth and stability of our Party in the Negro community. Why is this so? To answer this question we must take note of some of the basic weaknesses in the work of our Party, which contribute to this situation.

In the first place, we quite often raise slogans and develop movements on such issues as the fight against high prices, for rent control, more adequate recreational, health and hospital facilities, against police brutality, and against discrimination and inequality in whatever forms they are expressed. The Negro people readily join with us in this fight. But it is also true that we do not always carry on a consistent and sustained fight on these issues and that we allow various reformist and Social-Democratic groups to take advantage of this inconsistency and thus take over leadership of such movements. Such a situation is also made possible by the fact that we do not always expose those petty-bourgeois and reformist leaders who are out to mislead and behead the Negro people's movement and because we do not give sufficient attention to showing the Negro people in practice, through struggle and through consistent education, the difference between a reformist class-collaboration policy and a policy of struggle. In a certain sense it might almost be said that, because of the readiness of the Negro people to struggle and the ease with which they can be led into struggle, we

often, instead of utilizing these very positive factors, tend to rely on spontaneity and thus tend to lag behind the masses. Here again, the assumption by the Negro workers of leadership in the Negro community is essential to overcome this weakness and to guarantee a consistent and persistent development of the struggle.

Finally, we must say that any weakening of the fight against white-chauvinist tendencies within the ranks of the Party, whether manifested in the Negro community, in the Party as a whole, or in the labor and people's movement generally, is one of the greatest obstacles to the steady advancement and consolidation of the Negro people's movement within the Negro community and to the building of our Party into a mass Party in the Negro community. The very influence and respect that the Party has won among the Negro people makes them most sensitive to any failures on our part. They rightly demand of us more than of anyone else. They use a different yardstick in measuring us than in measuring anyone else.

By fighting for equal rights for the Negro workers within the labor movement, by a consistent policy of struggle for the rights of the Negro people in the community, by advancing resolutely the leadership of the Negro workers in the Negro community, by an effective exposure of the reformist and Social-Democratic misleaders, by an uncompromising struggle against every mani-

festation of white chauvinism, our Party can quickly overcome the gap between its general influence and its organizational weaknesses and establish itself as a major force among the Negro people.

FOR A CONSISTENT CADRE POLICY

We Communists are fully conscious of our tasks; and, in all modesty recognize that on us devolves the political leadership to the working class for shaping the future of our country. Our Party needs men and women from the ranks of the working class capable of accomplishing great tasks. For, as Stalin says: "Once the political line has been established, cadres decide everything." To reach our objectives, we need to develop a consistent cadre policy. This means, not only the training and development of cadres as full-time functionaries, but, in the first place, a wide corps of non-full time activists with daily ties among the masses in the shops and working-class communities. Such a Communist cadre policy should strive to develop workers with indigenous ties, whether in the shop, plant, community, or mass organizations. This guide applies to clubs, sections and counties, as well as to the districts. In the present political situation, the qualities of our cadres will in great part decide the issue of the struggle. An undertaking of such importance cannot be solved by any particular department. It must become the task of the entire Party.

The essence of a correct cadre policy is the training and development of men and women who have faith and confidence in their class, have love for, and pride in, their class; are militant fighters, enjoying the confidence of the workers and our membership, and unreservedly accept the policies and principles of our Marxist-Leninist program.

They must be men and women who are not only known inside the Party but who have live contact with non-Party masses. They must be men and women who, having fullest confidence in our Party's policies, fight for their realization among the masses in general and the workers in particular.

What kind of cadres does the vanguard party need and how should we select cadres? Comrade Dimitroff gives the answer in his celebrated report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, in 1935:

First, *absolute devotion* to the cause of the working class, *loyalty to the Party*, tested in face of the enemy—in battle, in prison, in court.

Second, the closest possible *contact with the masses*. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organization should be based, first of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders, and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders, and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.

Third, *ability independently to find*

one's bearings and not to be afraid of *assuming responsibility in making decisions*. He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: "I will do only what I'm told" is not a Bolshevik. Only he is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lose his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.

Fourth, *discipline* and *Bolshevik hardening* in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Bolshevik line.

As can be seen, the ability to speak well and write well, while important elements in the struggle, are not the main criteria for the selection and bold promotion of working-class cadres in the Communist Party.

In fighting for such a cadre policy, our Party, in working out the solution to this decisive question, must take into account the fact that our cadres entered the Party at different periods—some, during the unemployed struggles; others, during the period of the democratic front; many, during the revisionist period; while many are joining today. In many cases the imprint of the period in which they joined remains with them. What does this mean? This means that our cadre policy must be designed to educate and re-educate our membership to understand the

policies of our Party in the past, its history, but really to master our present-day policies and tactics.

On the other hand, the fight for a correct cadre policy also means that we take into account the fact that a few comrades who were outstanding Party leaders in the past now feel that the intensity of the struggle is too great, that they can take a back seat. There are a few who strive to move away from their proletarian base and origin and seek satisfaction in business outlets. There are some who balk at leaving the "comfort" of the big metropolitan cities for work among the masses in other industrial towns. There are some who have lost perspective under conditions of monopoly's offensive, lack faith in the working class and consequently in the ability of the Party to rally the masses for a successful struggle. There are a few comrades in this category who also sit on the sidelines. They are waiting for the leadership to make mistakes. They do not contribute to the struggle. But in all such cases history passes such comrades by. Is it not clear that such comrades cannot inspire confidence among the masses? Is it not clear that these comrades must either change their outlook or become sympathizers of the working-class struggles? It is equally clear that what the working class needs is more than sympathizers in those to whom it has a right to look for leadership. To the extent that our Party tackles this question, to that extent will it more rapidly embrace in its ranks such militant Communist leaders. This

approach will enable us to put up an effective fight for the political line of our Party.

We must know our people, their qualities, difficulties and weaknesses, attitudes and tastes. Such knowledge will come from the course of the struggle itself; for struggles form and mold cadres. Schools and classes, which are also a form of struggle for cadres, constitute a basic auxiliary to the realization of the full potential of every individual. I repeat, we must pursue a bold policy of promotion of leading and active workers in every phase of activity.

We must be ever vigilant to the attempts of the class enemy to penetrate our ranks. This requires opening up a constant and consistent struggle against enemy influences and practices. In one district a stoolpigeon was a member of the District Committee for several years and was discovered only by accident. Is it not worth pondering over the question that too few of the enemy elements have been exposed in recent years?

Our Party has made the beginnings since the Emergency Convention in raising the theoretical level of the membership—through schools and classes, lectures and study circles, and an increase in the publication of the classics of our movement. Comrade Foster is leading the fight on this front. But what has been done is far from adequate in the light of the tasks we face. Thus, the all-around improvement of all our theoretical work is indispensable in the training and development of cadres. The importance of this entire ques-

tion can be fully appreciated if we look at the composition of our leadership in the districts, counties and sections. The weaknesses that exist in terms of boldly promoting workers to operative leadership are due in the main to the fact that we are not fully conscious in our everyday work of the imperative need of tackling this problem. There exists in too many places a certain lack of patience in developing workers who are not so articulate. We promote them only when they are the full-fledged, finished product. This is obviously wrong. Our Party, to realize its aims, needs forces for basic industrial towns. America is a big country—and between Chicago and California there exists practically virgin territory for our Party's work. We must build our Party here.

But in the quest for forces to solve this problem, the answer is often given that we have no forces. To this I give the reply of Lenin who in a similar situation replied:

There are plenty of people, and yet we are short of people—this contradictory formula has long defined the contradictions in the organizational life and organizational requirements of Social-Democracy. And now this contradiction stands out with particular force; from all sides we often hear passionate appeals for new forces, complaints of the shortage of people in the organizations, and equally often and everywhere we have enormous offers of service, a growth of young forces, particularly in the working class. The practical organizer who complains of a shortage of people under such circum-

stances becomes the victim of the illusion from which Madame Roland suffered, during the period of the highest stage of development of the Great French Revolution, when she said in 1793: there are no men in France, we are surrounded by pigmies. Those who talk like this fail to see the wood for the trees; they confess that they are blinded by events; that it is not they, the revolutionaries, who control events in mind and activity, but that events control them and have overwhelmed them. Such organizers had better *retire* and leave the field clear for younger forces whose zeal may often compensate for lack of experience.

There is no doubt that we will tackle this problem in the spirit that is required. Our Party is capable of accomplishing great things. We can do this because our Party's policies are based on the science of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party will accomplish its objectives because in the fight to realize its line among the masses it will develop as a system in its work the Bolshevik weapon of criticism and self-criticism. And if we are able to lay bare our major weaknesses for discussion, it is due to the fact that we have every confidence that we can overcome them and strengthen every positive aspect in our Party's work. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism is the sign of strength of a growing and maturing Communist Party under conditions of the sharpening monopoly offensive. We can look back with pride to our Emergency Convention's action in rejecting Browder's revisionism, which action restored to the Party

at the same time the Leninist concept of democratic centralism. This Leninist principle of democratic centralism combines two concepts, which enables us to verify our policies and tactics among the masses and to strengthen the authority of Party leadership which resolutely defends the interests of the working class.

It was the application of this principle which enabled our Party to cleanse itself of such anti-Party and anti-working class elements as Browder, Darcy, Harrison George, Dunne, Vern Smith, and Franklin. The continued and energetic application of the principle is indispensable to a Communist Party fighting resolutely against bourgeois influences and practices which are alien to the spirit of working-class struggles. But to achieve this means to root out all petty-bourgeois concepts regarding Party democracy. We should once again return to the classics and refresh our understanding of democratic centralism, its need in the creation of a unified, monolithic Party which is so vital to our class today.

I should like to conclude with the closing section of the Draft Resolution:

We live in stirring times, fraught with the most terrible dangers, but pregnant with unprecedented opportunities to advance toward the realization of mankind's highest aspirations.

As the vanguard Party of the American working class, we Communists have a heavy responsibility to our own people and to all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Only if our Party fulfills its vanguard obligations will the American working class succeed in leading the American people's struggle to repel the dangers of war and fascism, and realize the objectives of peace, democracy, and social progress.

We have confidence that our Communist Party will build itself, bigger and stronger, to measure up to the needs of our class and our country. We have confidence that the very fury of the coming storms will convince the best of the American workers to struggle with us, in our ranks.

We will fight unflinchingly for the legality and constitutional rights of our Party. We do not shrink from the hammer blows of reaction. Under them we will steel our Party in Communist discipline, loyalty, and unity, develop its Marxist-Leninist understanding, and temper our cadres and leadership. Sharing the hardships and struggles of America's working people, we will root our Party ever deeper in the American working-class soil from which it sprang.

As the vanguard Party of the American working class we take our place in the front line of battle, conscious of our responsibility to all Americans who struggle for peace, democracy, economic security, and social progress. We hold aloft the banner of our conviction that the American working people have the capacity, means, and allies to curb and defeat the fascists and warmongers, and, eventually, to advance toward the Socialist reorganization of society, which will forever end the dangers of fascism, crises, and war—the misery of exploitation and oppression. We face the oncoming struggles with confidence in our people, our class, and our Party.

ONLY MILITANT, UNITED ACTION CAN DEFEAT THE DRIVE AGAINST THE UNIONS!*

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

THE PROFIT-MAD AMERICAN monopolists, bent on imperialist domination of the world—even if that means war—have let loose an unprecedented attack on the working class and the trade unions. Through their bipartisan control of Congress, and aided by the Truman Administration, the employers have placed a series of vicious anti-labor bills on the state and federal statute books. Most infamous of these is the Taft-Hartley Act, which legally destroys the closed shop and union hiring hall, undertakes to deny trade-union members a free choice in the election of officers, and restores the hated rule of court injunctions.

THE ATTACK ON THE UNIONS

The employers, aided by all the instruments of their class, are striving to establish unprecedented speed-up, destroy union grievance machinery, refuse wage increases, and return to the open shop.

Other forms of this attack include court fines, pressure to sign so-called loyalty oaths, the firing of Left and alleged Left trade unionists, contempt proceedings by Congressional

sub-committees, and attempted deportation of foreign-born Left-wing trade-union leaders.

These attacks take place against the background of inflation, with its unprecedented rise in living costs and accompanying decline of living standards. There is a considerable amount of part-time employment, despite the ballyhoo of 60 million jobs. Attacks on all civil rights grow sharper and, above all, there is the ever-present threat of atomic war.

The reasons for these attacks have been explained in detail in the general report of Comrade Dennis.

While it must be recognized that the working class and its trade unions are today on the defensive, the employers and their reactionary politicians are not having an easy time of it. Undoubtedly, the intensified war drive has created considerable confusion and division in trade union ranks. Nevertheless, a growing section of the workers is fighting back. In fact, the outstanding feature of the present situation is the readiness of workers to struggle if issues are made clear and proper leadership given. The trade-union Panel of this Convention brought forward many examples of this

* The report to the Convention on the Labor Panel.

disposition, most vivid of which was a story from Dayton, which dramatized this discrepancy between the readiness of the workers to struggle and the constant hesitancy, wavering, and impermissible compromises of some union leaders.

It is clear that in this present post-war period, the trade unions have succeeded in preventing the kind of defeats suffered after the First World War. The monopolies have not been able to defeat the trade unions in head-on struggle on the economic front, although the trade unions have suffered some set-backs on the legislative front. These set-backs have occurred because: (1) the trade unions, despite relatively successful efforts in the several rounds of wage struggles, did not develop equally aggressive struggles against anti-labor bills in Congress; (2) labor did not understand the indispensability of gaining allies from among the farmers, urban middle classes, and the Negro people; and (3) the Murray forces in the C.I.O. openly joined with the Social-Democrats and the A.C.T.U. to center their main fire, not against the trusts, but against the Left-progressives.

Today, because of the militant strikes of packinghouse and Chrysler workers and the initiative of some Left-wing-led trade unions, the majority of the important unions have won some wage increases for their members. These gains were made despite the capitulatory policies of most of the trade-union leaders,

best symbolized by Murray's action in the steel contract negotiations; by Tobin's advice to the teamsters that "no matter how difficult, the road may be, keep your men at work and stop strikes"; and by Reuther, who first opposed wage increases and then tied the General Motors workers to the wage-freezing, union-weakening escalator wage clause. The attitude of these labor leaders is an inevitable result of their support of the Marshall Plan.

However, these wage increases have been offset by another sharp inflationary rise in prices, for which the monopolists unjustly try to blame the workers. Actually, profits are soaring to new astronomical heights and the bourgeoisie is profit-dizzy.

The monopolists, who are to blame for the present high prices, try to place the blame at labor's door in order to widen further the chasm between the workers and the other victims of monopoly profiteering. Without bridging this chasm—without unity and common struggle between labor and other sections of the population—labor can never hope to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. In fact, the danger is that the reactionaries will try to strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act, since they are not yet satisfied with its results. They cannot stand a situation in which, for instance, 98 per cent of the Ford Motor workers in Detroit voted for the U.A.W. even in a Taft-Hartley Board-supervised election.

Therefore, labor must take the

initiative in joining hands with the city middle classes, the farmers, and the Negro people in common political struggle for price control, adequate housing, civil rights for the Negro people, and aid to the small farmers. This should not be a fight merely of trade-union legislative representatives; it should be a grass-roots mass movement. This type of coalition approach will, in return, make possible the defeat of existing and proposed anti-labor laws. In this connection, decisive lessons can be drawn from the fight to defeat the Mundt Bill, decisive features of which were our Party's public declaration that we were ready to join with anyone, irrespective of differences on other issues, to defeat the Mundt Bill, and, further, the merging of the struggle against the Mundt Bill with the fight for the civil rights of the Negro people.

On the basis of our analysis of the over-all political situation as expressed in the Resolution and in the main political reports, and our estimate of the present situation in the trade unions, let us now direct our attention to the central tasks that confront the trade unionists of our country today.

THE NECESSITY FOR A FIGHTING POLICY

Without hesitation, I would say that Task Number One in this regard is the need to develop confidence in the ability and willingness of the workers to fight back.

We are not surprised when Right-wing trade-union leaders give up even a semblance of struggle for the demands of the workers and against the attacks of reaction. Nor are we astonished when the average non-Left-wing progressive leader expresses all kinds of hesitation as a result both of pressure and of confusion on the burning issues of the day.

It is a different matter, however, when even some Left trade-union leaders become infected with the concept that "this is not the time to fight." True, the main responsibility for the lack of a united wage policy lies at the door of the Right-wing trade-union leaders. Nevertheless, Left trade-union leaders did not fight energetically enough for a policy of a united wage strategy, nor did they realize such a policy among the Left-progressive-led trade unions. This hesitancy stemmed from a lack of confidence in the willingness of workers to struggle and from a fear that they had been confused by newspaper propaganda that increased wages necessarily result in increased prices. It is true that this propaganda had some effect. But the fact is that the workers, seeing their unions under attack, refused to surrender all the gains realized through trade-union organization, and fought back. The example of the workers in the packing-house, coal, communications, and printing industries, the Chrysler workers in the auto industry, as well as some U.E.R.M.W.A. locals, indicated the willingness of workers to

engage in militant strike struggle and, in a number of cases, their ability to win their demands.

This lack of confidence in the willingness of the workers to struggle, plus a continuation of the old theory that the steel workers' union would set the pattern—this, despite the new political role of Murray after he had come out in support of the Marshall Plan—resulted in Left-progressive-led trade unions being slow to develop their wage fight. It resulted, in some instances, in widely divergent wage settlements by different Left-led trade unions although the workers were in adjacent shops. In a few cases there was even an expressed willingness by Left-led unions to accept wage cuts or worsened conditions, on the "theory" that the trade unions would be lucky to hold on to what they have. There was also an uncritical acceptance of the escalator wage clause in the G.M.-electrical workers' agreement and hesitation to take a firm stand against it in other sections of the industry.

At the present moment labor is being attacked by Taft-Hartley injunctions, and powerful trade unions have capitulated to them—some meekly and others after verbal protest. Of course, to engage in a major challenge against these boss-dictated injunctions it is necessary to involve the majority of union members in a united militant struggle. But what must concern us here is the tendency that found expression in some Left and progressive trade-union

circles to "live" with these injunctions. Such capitulatory tendencies also reflect a lack of confidence in the willingness of the workers to struggle, as well as the effects of a softening of some trade-union leaders, who had become so used to wartime practices that they hesitated to go back to the forms of mass struggle. The first objective of every trade union should be to make injunctions inoperative or, where that is not fully possible, never to capitulate—always to fight. The American trade-union movement has a rich history of anti-injunction struggles, whose lessons must be put to use today.

While there was much complaining by all trade unions about the Taft-Hartley Act, the failure of the entire trade-union movement to adopt a fighting policy backed up with united ranks, allowed the measure to be enacted in the first place, and, secondly, allowed its non-Communist affidavit sections to divide and weaken the entire trade-union movement. After the recent experience in defeating the Mundt-Nixon Bill, it should be crystal clear to all that if the trade-union movement, with its sixteen million members, had adopted such a fighting policy a year ago, there would be no Taft-Hartley Act on the statute books. Instead of such a policy, the limited effort initiated by the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. of Los Angeles—to have a nationwide anti-Taft-Hartley Caravan convene on Washington,

D. C.—was repudiated by both Green and Murray and received only Left-wing support.

In fact, some reactionary trade-union leaders do not want the Taft-Hartley Act repealed, since it has proven itself a useful weapon for them against Left-inclined union members.

Since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, there have developed three distinct approaches toward it within the top trade-union leadership. There were those, unfortunately a majority, who, despite their verbal opposition, decided to accommodate themselves to it. There were others, typified by Murray and the International Typographical Union, who, while continuing their opposition to signing the non-Communist affidavits, developed little Taft-Hartley anti-Communist crusades in their own unions. Lastly, were those Left-progressives who have consistently refused to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits and have developed a fighting spirit among their members, not only against the Taft-Hartley Act, but in defense of their unions and the workers' demands.

Which of these approaches worked out best as far as the workers and their trade unions are concerned? Clearly, the Left-progressive non-compliance approach. Wage increases and new contracts were secured in the great majority of cases by rallying the workers, without weakening the fighting caliber or the leadership of the union through signing Taft-Hartley affidavits. Where

reaction was able to use the Taft-Hartley compliance issue to divide the union internally, it was because the Left-progressive leaders had not met the issue clearly and had not, through proper explanations and development of activity, been able to carry their members along with them.

Every effort should be made to continue the existing front of non-complying unions, Left as well as Right. It is a matter of concern that a few Left-wing union leaders have had illusions as to the benefits that could be gained by signing. Such leaders are certainly living in a fool's paradise, and this "adjustment" may well lead them to make further concessions on questions of principle.

The specific issue on which efforts should be made to influence the trade unions to develop their counter-offensive is the struggle against Taft-Hartleyism. I advisedly emphasize *Taft-Hartleyism*, instead of merely limiting the fight to the compliance issue or to the general slogan of "Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act." Already, in June of this year, I wrote in *Political Affairs*:

... The real issue is not a rediscussion of compliance or non-compliance with non-Communist affidavits. Furthermore, if and when this question is pushed to a point that threatens the life of the majority of a union, the issue can best be settled by taking it to a referendum vote of the rank and file, with a bold fight being made to convince the membership against signing the Taft-Hartley yellow-dog affidavits.

The real issue is for the entire trade union movement to adopt a fighting policy reinforced by a common wage-strike strategy and united action.

What I wrote then is still essentially correct and we continue to be of the opinion that the maintenance of the front of non-compliance unions is of paramount importance.

The reason we do not limit our orientation merely to the slogan of "Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act" is that everyone agrees, in words, with this slogan, but the Right-wing sections of the trade-union leadership are accommodating themselves in deeds to the Taft-Hartley Act. The way really to realize the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act is to battle Taft-Hartleyism, and then the workers will see who is who.

It seems to us that the following are some of the slogans around which a nationwide trade union struggle against Taft-Hartleyism can be developed:

1) Defend *every* trade union under Taft-Hartley attack, by united action of all unions.

2) Stop company interference in the affairs of trade unions through Taft-Hartley court injunction. Restore the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

3) Restore the right of trade unions to the closed shop and preferential hiring hall, as well as their right to elect officers without signing affidavits.

4) Make election day in November a holiday for every worker to go

to the polls and vote against all supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act.

A campaign around such slogans should be developed on a mass scale in every city, with its base in the shops and local unions, and it should unite C.I.O., A. F. of L., and unaffiliated unions. It should unite all workers, irrespective of political affiliation and inner-union groupings. Its ultimate national success will depend precisely on this all-inclusive character of rank-and-file participation. Varied forms of mass action will quickly be worked out by the participating workers and unions. The decisive thing is to develop such a strong base for this movement that no top officials can succeed in calling it off.

The key lesson to be drawn from what we have outlined above is that even when the working class is on the defensive, only a fighting policy can defend what it already has won and thus make possible new gains.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The second central task facing labor is the need to work in such a way that the workers and trade unions become the backbone of the developing people's anti-monopoly, peace coalition and its organized political expression—the Progressive Party, a point repeatedly emphasized in our Draft Resolution.

The trade unionists should obviously be the majority force in the membership, leadership and activity

of this new party. From all available public information, as well as from our observations in the communities, this does not appear to be the case.

The over-all work in this field of political action seems to be spotty. In some unions, shops, and localities, good progress has been made. In others, it has hardly started. While fine conferences of shop stewards and union officers have been held in New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles, these in themselves do not guarantee real activity unless they are followed up. Nationally, there is still lacking a network of tens of thousands of Wallace Committees in shops and in unions, whether A. F. of L. or C.I.O. The best work seems to have been in the auto industry, where over 200 Wallace shop committees are in existence, led by a broad national committee with over a score of local union presidents among its members.

The situation in many of the Left-progressive trade unions is especially disappointing, precisely because one expects greater results from them, since, in one form or another, they have given support to the Progressive Party and contributed to placing it on the ballot in a number of states. Available public reports indicate that until recently the best all-round work was being done in the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, International Longshoremen and Warehouse Workers Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union and United Office and Professional

Workers of America. Reports we receive from the field indicate that, recently, efforts have been made to improve radically the situation in the C.I.O. electrical workers union and in the fur and leather workers union, and to place these unions in the front ranks of the Progressive Party. But the pro-Wallace forces in certain unions, such as the C.I.O. packinghouse workers union, the National Maritime Union and the Transport Workers Union, have allowed themselves to be completely disoriented by internal union developments. In many industries there appears to be no integration of everyday trade-union activity with efforts to win the workers for the Progressive Party. There is also prevalent a false theory that support by top committees of such pro-Wallace trade unions automatically wins the support of their members for the new party and involves them in its work, without organizing hundreds of Wallace shop committees that directly involve the rank and file.

Although serious problems of this character undoubtedly confront the Progressive Party, this does not mean that labor is indifferent to the new party. The Greens, Harvey Browns, Phil Murrays, and Reuthers have not been able to engender in the rank and file of labor enthusiastic support for Truman.

What, then, is the reason for the still unsatisfactory status of trade-union participation in the activity, membership, and leadership of the Progressive Party? Clearly, it reflects

an underestimation by the trade unionists themselves of the role of the working class in the building of the new party. The workers must be convinced in substantial numbers that the building of the Progressive Party is in their interest as workers, that without a political instrument of this type their trade unions cannot struggle effectively against the monopolists.

In my opinion, a major weakness of the Progressive Party is precisely the overwhelmingly non-labor character of its leadership. This new party cannot fulfill its historic role and become stronger after 1948, if it is led primarily by liberals and middle-class people, regardless of their sincerity. Labor and the trade-union leaders must be in the very center of its leadership on all levels.

But this criticism also applies to the Communist trade unionists, even more than to others. It is merely phrase-mongering to "agree" with the statement in our Draft Resolution that the new party "marks the beginning of the end of the two-party system," if the Communist trade unionists themselves are guilty of neglect in strengthening the role of the trade unions in the new party.

Other reasons for the unsatisfactory status of trade-union participation in the Progressive Party include the following:

1) The fact is that the "lesser evil" theory has not yet been fully laid to rest among the workers.

2) Progressive Party activity is, in the main, confined to mass meet-

ings at which its candidates speak. Important as these meetings are, we know from our own Party experience that they can be only one phase of the new party's over-all activity. Other decisive activities must include the organizing of campaigns around the key issues of peace and civil rights, as well as such specific issues of concern to labor as repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, prohibition of injunctions in labor struggles, and rescinding of the government weekly pay cut in the form of the withholding tax.

3) A tendency seems to exist to confine the Progressive Party merely to those already committed to it. Nothing could be more harmful than this. It is equally harmful to view the Progressive Party as necessarily reflecting the existing Right-Left alignments in trade unions. Successes can be achieved among all workers, irrespective of their inner union lineup, wherever a real effort is made to win support for Wallace on issues. In the U.A.W., for example, substantial numbers of Reuther supporters are in the Wallace shop committees.

4) A wrong theory exists, which even permeates Left circles, that the Progressive Party reached its high point during or before its Philadelphia convention. This theory must be challenged head on. As a matter of fact, with the two old parties presenting Dewey and Truman as alternatives, it is possible for the Wallace ticket and Progressive Party to make a big new ad-

vance, providing they are able to overcome some of the weaknesses mentioned.

It is also necessary to make clear the role of the industry and shop committee for Wallace. As we see it, they are united front forms of support for Wallace. They have their own special tasks—to popularize the program of the Progressive Party, to develop discussions among the workers at lunchtime, to distribute literature, and to conduct a registration campaign to organize the workers to vote for Wallace in November. These committees are not in themselves structural parts of the Progressive Party. Therefore, the Progressive Party members within these Wallace shop and industry committees should also try to enlist the most active workers directly into membership in the new party.

The Progressive Party can also play an important role in cementing the alliance of labor and the Negro people, the other major constituent of the Wallace movement. While the Negro people are responding to the new party in proportionately greater numbers than labor, it would be wrong to take their active participation for granted. To the extent that the Progressive Party, in its development as a mass people's party, champions the interests and rights of the Negro people, it will become the political center of the organized coalition of labor and the Negro liberation movement.

To the extent that the working class as a whole comes to recognize

the Negro people as a reliable and indispensable ally, seeing the vital role of the Negro workers as the leader in the Negro people's movement, will this process be accelerated. Today, only the more advanced workers follow a course based on this recognition. It is the responsibility of the labor movement to complete the organization of all Negro workers into trade unions and to win the white trade unionists in turn to wage a consistent fight for their Negro fellow-members—for equal rights, opening of skilled jobs, preferential seniority, and election to operative leadership posts in the unions. Such a course of action will strengthen the trade unions generally; it will strengthen and advance the alliance of labor and the Negro people. It will thereby specifically strengthen the role and influence of the working class in the Progressive Party. This, in turn, will give still greater strength to the Negro liberation movement.

It is the role and responsibility of the Negro workers to assume leadership in the Negro liberation movement, thereby preventing it from vacillating or being misdirected. While the Negro workers may not always be as articulate as some of the non-labor sections of the Negro people, they are nevertheless the most consistent fighters against monopoly capital and its policies and have the greatest organizing experience.

Of particular importance in this respect is the fulfillment of the various tasks I raised at the Party Con-

ference on Negro work last September.* It is also necessary to influence Left-progressive trade unionists to continue their organization work in the South, which is generally at a low ebb. Lastly, it is essential to put an end to the present neglect of organizational work among the members of the Randolph and Townsend-led unions of Negro workers.

CO-ORDINATION OF ACTIVITY OF LEFT-PROGRESSIVE UNIONS

The third central task before the trade-union movement at this moment is the need for the Left-progressive-led unions to unite their strength and co-ordinate their activities. This is necessary in order to defeat the organized efforts now being made to weaken, divide, and if possible, smash them or turn them over to some A. F. of L. union. These efforts are being made by Right-wing union leaders with the full support of the A.C.T.U., the Social-Democrats, and renegades from the Left-Wing, such as Quill, Curran and Eckart. The employers look on this activity benevolently, counting in advance the increase in profits to be reaped from the "dumping" of the Reds.

Absence of such co-ordination of the Left-progressive-led unions was dramatically seen in the strikes of the packinghouse workers, the New York cable workers, and of the farm equipment workers in Peoria. It was

also reflected in the indifference of some trade unions to the scheduled national maritime strike. The tendency of every Left-progressive union to think only of its own treasury was also seen in the very inadequate support given to the packinghouse workers' strike fund—even though the outcome of that strike would affect every other union.

The leaders of the Left-progressive unions have a major responsibility to defeat the current inter-union raids organized by the reactionary splitters on top. After twelve years of united effort in building the C.I.O., it is a very sorry sight to see one C.I.O. union raiding another. At first, jurisdictional justification was attempted. Now the raiding is done blatantly, with top C.I.O. leaders letting it be known that it can be stopped if the particular union leaders "get in line," which, in the Murray-Haywood-Carey language of today, means—drop all opposition to the Marshall Plan, stop support to Wallace, institute Red-baiting and adopt anti-Communist constitutional clauses and a class-collaborationist policy.

The whole labor movement must be made to realize that if the Left-led trade unions were destroyed, the employers would deliver still greater blows to *all* unions and drastically worsen the conditions of *all* workers.

The rebuffing of these attacks demands a hundred times closer contact with the rank and file in each local union and the fullest involve-

* See John Williamson, "The Trade Unions and the Negro Workers," *Political Affairs*, Nov., 1947.

ment of its membership in hammering out all policies. It demands the development of joint action with the rank and file of all other trade unions. It demands united action and an end to the too prevalent one-at-a-time practice. Smaller unions should not be left at the mercy of employers, the government, or Right-Wing raiders. The over-all interests of the trade union movement demand that the Left-Progressive unions also join with any other trade union in united struggle in support of the every-day vital issues confronting all of labor.

There is a place for a journal sponsored by progressive forces, through which experiences and opinions on the role and relationship of the trade unions to the people and the nation could be exchanged.

WORK IN RIGHT-LED UNIONS

The fourth central task confronting the labor movement today is to reverse the present trend toward enlargement of the Right-led bloc of trade unions. It is fatal on our part to limit our activity or attention merely to the so-called Left-led trade unions. While this was always true, it is more so today, and failure to recognize it years ago has made our struggles harder today.

The bloc of Right-led trade unions no longer merely includes A. F. of L. unions. It now also includes a majority of the unions of the C.I.O. I refer to such principal C.I.O. unions as those in the steel, auto, men's clothing, textile, rubber and oil industries, and now, the

N.M.U. That possibilities exist for effective work among the rank and file of these unions is indicated by the splendid activity developed on the issues of wages and inner union democracy in a number of local unions of the United Steel Workers of America. Even the Kiplinger Letter of July 3, felt obliged to say that it was current speculation that a raise of not less than 12¢ an hour would have to be granted in the steel industry; that Murray's prestige was endangered, since the Communists in the steel workers union were making "trouble" for him, and, hence, to maintain his control of the union, it was an absolute necessity for him to obtain a sizeable increase in pay for the workers.

No small part of the credit in dramatizing the steel workers' wage demands belongs to the fighting policy of our Comrade Nick Migas. Another example of the possibilities which exist for work in Right-led unions was in the auto industry, where a widespread movement below for Wallace developed, and where sections of the workers refused to accept the General Motors escalator wage pattern of Reuther.

The A. F. of L. is, of course, the largest trade union center. It is not based solely on the aristocracy of labor. Today a majority of its members are semiskilled and unskilled workers. Experiences, though small in number, show that the situation in the A. F. of L. is also favorable for winning the rank and file for progressive action. This is seen in A. F. of L. rank-and-file participa-

tion in the Wallace movement in a few states; in the support of advancing Negro trade unionists into leadership in New York, Texas, and California; in the numerous local union wage struggles, the nationally-known I.T.U. strike, and the splendid victory of the progressives in Local 6 of the New York Hotel and Restaurant Workers.

The very decisive railroad, coal mining, and machinist unions, also fall into the category of Right-led unions in which the rank and file can be won for progressive action.

Activity among the members of the Right-led trade unions must be elevated to first place in our overall work. Comrades in the A. F. of L. might well ask whether this is not merely another good paper decision, for while we have in the past raised this question sharply at plenums and in articles, only two districts, California and New York, have really done anything about it, while most others have neglected it callously.

Why have we this situation? If it happened only once or twice, it could be explained away as simply neglect. I propose, however, we reject such an explanation and brand it for what it is—an expression of a non-Marxist, Leftist-sectarian attitude which results in neglect of seven million A. F. of L. members, of nearly half of the organized workers. Whether conscious or not, this neglect expresses an underestimation of the role of the working class in the struggle against war and

fascism—and we must determine to root it out.

THE UNITED FRONT

In discussing the four central tasks before labor today, we have repeatedly emphasized the need to develop struggles on the basis of the maximum unity of labor and the need, in the course of such struggles, to raise the class consciousness of the workers to higher levels.

When we emphasize the need of helping the workers to think and act as a class, we must not confine our thinking solely to those already started along this road—whether they be those already committed to the new Progressive Party or already prepared to fight against the Marshall Plan. Rather, we must have in the center of our thinking the need to influence that great majority of workers who are still backward in their thinking on key class issues.

To teach and influence them we must center attention on issues that will arouse them and move them to action. These issues may be either economic or political. Clearly, they include the problems of wages, defense of trade unions, prices, housing, etc. It would be wrong, of course, to pose economic issues against political issues. We know that the economic demands of the workers cannot, especially today, be won in isolation from the broad political struggle challenging the forces of reaction.

We Communists must therefore

utilize this Convention to reaffirm the fact that we are the consistent champions of the unity of the working class and of united labor action—locally, nationally, and internationally.

Our Party hailed the establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) and the Confederation of Latin-American Workers (C.T.A.L.). We exposed and combated the boycott of these organizations by the A. F. of L. and the Social-Democrats. Our Party at all times sought to raise the American workers' understanding of their international obligations, and was critical of the failure of the trade unions, including some under Left-progressive leadership, to support adequately their struggling brothers of other lands. The attack on the W.F.T.U. by the Greens, Wolls, and Dubinskys is now joined by many C.I.O. leaders who support Wall Street's Marshall Plan.

Precisely because the American working class is menaced by fascist reaction, and while we center our fight for unity among the rank and file and among local union leaders, we emphasize again and again that the Communist Party will fight for united labor action. This will not deter us from a constant challenging of incorrect and opportunist policies promoted by trade union leaders.

Comrade Foster gave our Party the slogan of "United Labor Action—or Else!" Today that slogan is more compelling than when first issued over a year ago. We know the

many serious differences we have with the majority of the trade union leaders on vital domestic and world policies. However, we declare that these differences must be fought out within the ranks of the labor movement and must not be allowed to divide the workers' ranks in the face of the common danger which threatens all of labor. The Communists in the trade unions are therefore ready and anxious to join with all trade unionists—irrespective of differences on major political issues—in common struggle on a minimum program of action that will defend and advance the interests of American labor.

It is well always to keep in mind that the united front tactic presumes agreement on some questions and disagreement on others. Furthermore, it should always be remembered that participation in a united front never means that the Communists agree not to express their disagreement or, if necessary, to criticize their allies. Equally, it cannot mean that the other forces in the united front must agree with us on points above and beyond the minimum program of action. There are two ways of liquidating the united front and its purposes: one way is to allow ourselves to become submerged in it (as happened too often in the Left-Center C.I.O. coalition); the other is to separate ourselves from the non-Party masses by saying that we will enter into united front relationships only with those who agree with us on all ques-

tions of major policy. We must avoid both these errors.

Irrespective of the particular forms the united front may take, the defense of the interests of the workers from the attacks of the monopolists and their reactionary political stooges is the starting point and main content of the united front tactic.

Some comrades look for a special organizational form of the united front from below which will be suitable for every situation. Such a form does not exist; for the form of the united front will vary according to different circumstances. But whatever its form, it should always be based on struggle to realize a particular objective or partial program that represents the common interests, at the given moment, of all the workers concerned, whether they are Communists or non-Communists.

The form of united front from below will vary. In a strike it can take the form of a united strike committee and apparatus representing all main groupings in the particular union. In the fight against Taft-Hartleyism it can take the form of committees in every department and shop, later to be united within the local unions, with industry or area-wide conferences of representatives of these committees. In the election campaign the Progressive Party is itself a very broad form of united front from below. Still broader are the Wallace labor and shop committees and especially the united labor committees supporting particular

Congressional candidates. In the struggle for a progressive program in Right-led trade unions, unity of the workers may be effected through rank-and-file committees, or better still, by bringing the issues into the established shop committees.

The main lesson to learn in fighting for the united front from below is that the Communists and those they influence directly, must center their work among the workers at the point of production. For the great majority of *our* members the Department or Shop *is* the main arena of struggle and the Union Committeeman an important official post to be elected to.

One comrade in the Panel on trade union work very correctly said: "What Nick Migas did at a convention only a few have an opportunity to do. However, what Migas does every day in his mill as a Department Grievance man, every Communist can do."

THE NEED FOR PERSPECTIVE

Since our 1945 Emergency Convention, our Party's trade union work has been extended and strengthened. Especially in the last two years, much closer and systematic contact has been maintained in the principal industries. Work has been co-ordinated to a higher degree than previously and extensive consultations and conferences have been held.

However desirable, time makes it impossible to give even a brief presentation of the policies and activity, of the successes and setbacks, and

above all, the experiences of our trade union work. I can only refer you to the numerous reports made available, the articles written, and to the self-critical estimate in the Draft Resolution.

I would now like to single out three or four questions which I think are decisive for the improvement of our trade union work.

I should first like to stress the need to influence all Communist trade unionists, especially Communist trade-union leaders, to stop working on an issue-to-issue or day-to-day basis. When that is the pattern of work, events dictate the actions of these leaders, instead of these leaders helping to determine events. It is necessary to gear all thinking and work to certain decisive over-all aims in the trade union movement. Only in this way will the good work and leadership of Communist trade-union leaders differ qualitatively from that of others, and their work always be aimed at speeding up the forward march of the workers as a class.

Our Party in its trade-union work—and Communist trade-union leaders in particular—must put the main emphasis on furthering the major aspects of the general political line set forth in the Draft Resolution. This means adopting proper policies and tactics that will equip us, when we join with others, speedily to realize such major aims as the organization of the Progressive Party as a permanent party of millions led by labor; the realization, on all levels, of joint working-class action to unite

the badly divided and weakened trade-union movement on a progressive basis; the establishment of Left-progressive co-ordination in the C.I.O. as the only means of avoiding being chopped to pieces individually; and the elevation of work among the membership of all Right-led trade unions to a high plane.

Once these key aims are understood and agreed on, activity will be geared to speeding up their realization.

OUR SETBACKS AND THEIR CAUSES

Another important question is the following: We know that in the recent period all unions with Left-progressive leadership have been under fierce attack from without and within the trade-union movement. While some have succeeded in weathering this onslaught—with some casualties—in others, some serious setbacks were received. I refer to the developments in the U.A.W., the Chemical Workers Union, the New York painters' union, a number of locals of other important Internationals, and most recently, the N.M.U. These setbacks and defeats are a serious blow to the entire working class and to our Party. We cannot gloss over these defeats. Neither, however, can we allow them to make us panicky and lose our balance.

In determining why these setbacks occurred, it is necessary to examine frankly whether the reason was a basically wrong trade-union policy. It is true that, in certain instances,

there was slowness in adjusting to new situations and that tactical errors occurred, for which the National Committee and, specifically, the Trade-Union Department are responsible. Nevertheless, we emphatically reject the charge that these setbacks arose from a basically wrong policy. The Party has only one basic estimate of the relation of forces in the postwar situation of today, with all of its policies predicated on that estimate. If our basic policy were wrong in such a decisive field as trade-union work, it would also be expressed in many other phases of our work. The fact is that in some fields of trade-union work there have been no setbacks and the general achievements of our Party have already been outlined to this Convention.

How then can we explain the setbacks in some aspects of our trade-union work? The main reasons were a number of objective factors. These are:

1) The impact of the general offensive of American imperialism, with its war drive and unparalleled Red-baiting. This resulted in a development of national chauvinism among a considerable number of workers and a certain intimidation of others.

2) The efforts to illegalize the Communist Party and the utilization of this design to develop a Red-baiting, splitting drive in every union.

3) The role of the majority of top trade-union leaders in supporting the imperialist policies and war drive of

American imperialism. Especially important in this connection is the new role of the former Center forces in the C.I.O., who broke the Left-Center coalition and moved over to a common position with the reactionary Social-Democratic and A.C.T.U. forces.

4) The capitulation to the concerted attack of reaction, by a number of former progressive allies like Addes, R. J. Thomas, Curran, Adelman, and the betrayal by a few Left-wingers such as Quill, Eckart, Stone and Merrill.

5) The increase in the number of workers—especially of young workers—and the corresponding changes in the composition of the working class in certain industries, with a resulting temporary watering down of union consciousness.

Also contributing to these setbacks were a number of subjective factors, proper handling of which could have reduced, and in some cases completely negated, the effects of these objective factors.

THE ERROR ON THE QUESTION OF MURRAY

I refer, for example, to our slowness in recognizing the new role of the C.I.O. leaders of the Murray type. Already at the February Plenum we self-critically recognized this error and corrected ourselves. I pointed out then that the Left-progressive forces:

. . . were sometimes too slow in recognizing the effects on the American

labor movement of the new world situation and American imperialism's new role. In day-to-day work the thinking of the past weighed too heavily on the practices of the Left-Progressives, including the Communists. The fear of endangering relations with the Murray forces persisted too long in a period when the area of agreement was fast narrowing. The compromise resolutions continued in a period when a bold position should have been asserted.

Why did we make this error?

1) We had correctly analyzed the postwar aggressive role of American imperialism intent on world domination. But we often tended to see the political struggle in the previous emphasis, predominantly as the alignment of anti-fascism versus fascism, not fully recognizing that very struggle as a phase of the deeper-going and dominant postwar world alignment of anti-imperialism versus imperialism.

We continued to estimate people on the basis of old standards and not on the basis of differentiating between those who support an aggressive, imperialist war-making policy and those who support a policy of anti-imperialism, peace, and democracy. Viewed from such a standpoint, it is clear that Murray's role began to change, not at the Boston C.I.O. Convention in 1947, but already at the Atlantic City Convention in 1946.

The National Committee and its Trade-Union Department are responsible in the first place for this slowness in re-orientation.

2) A second reason was our one-

sided application of the united front tactic. Too often we were satisfied with developing united front relations on top (which in themselves are not wrong) but without developing a corresponding united front base among the rank and file and local leaders. This resulted in inadequate initiative and lack of independent action by the Left-progressive forces and the making of compromises that were contrary to the interests of the workers in certain unions and industries.

3) A third reason was a wrong estimate of the strength of the Left-progressive support in a number of trade unions. This estimate was based upon the period of the Roosevelt-democratic-labor coalition and the war against fascism. We were swimming with, and helping to influence the course of, the general anti-fascist stream. The alliances between the Left-progressive forces and other forces in the trade-union movement who were fundamentally pro-capitalist in ideology but were following an anti-fascist coalition policy, were too exclusively alliances at the top, and were based upon minimum agreements on the Roosevelt New Deal program. With the ending of the Roosevelt period and the beginning of the postwar role of American imperialism, these alliances fell apart.

Some comrades, from a Leftist-sectarian approach, question the entire policy of the Left-Center coalition. Clearly, however, they make a false estimate of our own independent strength and underestimate the

need of realizing maximum striking power through united front action on a given program over a period of time or on any specific issue of struggle within that period.

Furthermore, these same comrades confuse ideology with political role. They claim that since Murray was always ideologically pro-capitalist, it was impossible for him to play a progressive role. One comrade took exception to a statement written about "Murray being a bundle of contradictions," as though this was all we said. However, that same article* stated, "At heart [Murray is] a bourgeois reformist believing in free enterprise [and having] ties with capitalist ideology. . . ." Clearly, we never had a wrong estimate of Murray ideologically. Was his ideological position, however, a barrier to his playing a progressive role under certain conditions? Certainly not. Another example that might be cited is John L. Lewis. Is it not a fact that he, like Murray, is ideologically connected with the capitalist system? Nevertheless, under one set of circumstances and relationships he played a progressive role, while, under another, a reactionary role.

We must not confuse ideology and political role. However, to avoid making the labor movement the victim of the rapid shifts of such allies, the united front on top must always be rooted in a firm alliance below with the broadest sections of the rank and

file and local union leaders and be strengthened in the course of common struggle.

THE N.M.U. SITUATION

You are acquainted with the defeat of the Left-progressives in the N.M.U. The reasons for this defeat merit a close examination, for they bear lessons for all unions. I am sure Comrade Al Lannon will deal in detail with them.

Suffice it for me to emphasize that all the objective factors referred to above generally apply here in force. The war character of the maritime industry resulted in a maximum concentration of all forces, from ship-owners to the F.B.I., in an attempt to drive the Left forces out of the N.M.U. leadership. This plan was developed over a period of years. It included exploitation of the organizational division in the industry, use of the government training schools to develop a cadre of government-influenced seamen, an organized attempt to split the Communist Party in the maritime industry, and the indiscriminate use of large sums of money to support reaction during the recent election in the union.

We must also recognize that this was the first time in the history of the N.M.U. that the Left forces went it alone. On all previous occasions there had been an alliance with Curran. In this connection, there is no doubt that Curran succeeded in confusing large sections of the membership, first by the slander that the

* John Williamson, "The A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Conventions," *Political Affairs*, December, 1947, p. 1057.

Communist Party wanted to capture the N.M.U., and, secondly, by the lie that if the Left forces won, the shipowners would refuse to negotiate a contract.

Let me devote a little more time to a mere statement of some subjective factors in the N.M.U. situation, for failure to counteract which the Left is to blame. These are the following:

1) There was no real understanding, much less mastery, of the united front tasks, especially on the ships.

2) There was never a real understanding of how to broaden out the base of the Left bloc within the N.M.U.

3) It is a tribute to the Negro and Puerto Rican seamen that they were the main support of the Left. It is clear, however, that without rounded-out support from among all sections of the membership, the Left would in the end become weakened, also among the Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

4) The Left allowed itself to be gripped in a frozen factional situation, and the factional poisoning of some of our own forces prevented the hammering out of a correct united front policy with members and leadership at ship committee level.

5) The inner situation diverted the Left from developing effective activities around such key issues as the Progressive Party.

6) The tendency to hesitate on the part of some in the Left leadership, despite their integrity and good will, resulted in mistakes at crucial moments.

7) The Left did not always have an adequate strategy for their struggle. The need of the workers in this industry is industrial unionism. The Committee for Maritime Unity had the elements of a correct strategy, but once that was defeated, no satisfactory substitute was found.

We must say quite frankly that the National Committee bears a certain responsibility for some of these weaknesses, especially the insufficient clarity on the road that Curran was traveling, as well as failure to give adequate perspectives on strategy.

In estimating our errors and shortcomings, we do not fail to recognize that the Left forces worked hard and tirelessly. The Party national coordinator for the maritime industry, Al Lannon, together with the Communist leaders and activists in the union, proved devoted fighters and leaders in the cause of a progressive democratic union for the maritime workers. The Party and the Left are not isolated today in the Union. The 15,000 votes that the Left slate received, in the midst of this kind of battle, demonstrates that. However, the real test will come now in how the Left works after being defeated. The seamen will be watching. As always, the Communists in this industry must demonstrate their real concern for the interests of the seamen and the defense of their union. The place of everyone is back on the ships. By fighting side by side with all members, including the bulk of those who mistakenly voted for the Curran slate, the Left will demon-

strate that their paramount interest is the interest of all the seamen and their union. This is the road to changing the situation. There is every reason to have confidence that the N.M.U. will be returned to the ranks of the progressive camp.

OPPORTUNISM IN PRACTICE

The great majority of the Communist trade-union activists and leaders are loyal and capable comrades. We must recognize, however, that the pressure of outside ideological influences, the softening-up process of the New Deal period, and the deterioration of Marxist-Leninist study and discipline under Browder, developed certain tendencies toward pure-and-simple trade unionism and other forms of Right-opportunism.

Moreover, as I stated at the February Plenum of our National Committee:

It is clear that the roots of some of these weaknesses are a reflection of the fact that we did not searchingly enough dig out all expressions of Browderism in Party trade-union work and in the thinking and practice of some of our trade-union forces.

It was inevitable that the Browder revisionism—a belief in an enlightened and intelligent bourgeoisie, an uncritical attitude to the American bourgeoisie and its aggressive imperialist policies, the idea of a long era of class peace in the postwar period, and, above all, the liquidation of our Party—should have had a corrupting ideological influence on

our trade-union cadres. And hangovers of this influence still remain.

A critical examination of our trade-union work must therefore alert us to the need of continued struggle against opportunist trends—particularly against opportunism in practice, which is hardest to combat because it is always covered up with alleged “agreement” with the general line of the Party.

The roots of these opportunist tendencies must be recognized. They are the following:

1) The political impact of the war drive of American imperialism and the fact that it has succeeded in ideologically corrupting a certain section of workers with its American chauvinist campaign.

2) The failure of some of our trade-union leaders to recognize that we are operating today in a period of threatening imperialist war and the growth of fascism in the U.S., and that this demands different perspectives and corresponding responsibilities. Everything must be planned and prepared for, with a keen understanding that a terrific ideological struggle is taking place for control of the American workers. Failure to recognize this and to make the necessary preparations often results in some comrades trying to meet each serious situation with some form of opportunist evasion, because their fellow-workers are not adequately prepared.

3) The still existing expressions of the classical reasons in American labor history for opportunism — the

bourgeoisie's ability to bribe and influence a section of the workers; the failure to transform earlier the historical militancy of the working class into political consciousness and action as a class on the political field; the slowness to unite in a sustained way the struggles of labor and the Negro people on a nationwide basis.

4) Certain specific reasons connected directly with the history and practice of our Communist Party, including: 1) the virtual "illegalizing" of the Party within many trade unions, in which numerous individuals who helped build and lead the trade unions from their origin, have never been openly identified as Communists; 2) the inconsistent fight of the entire Party for realizing a concentration policy that would result in the overwhelming majority of Party members being workers in basic industries; 3) an underestimation of the need for Party recruiting by our trade-union members and, particularly, the neglect of recruiting by the majority of trade-union leaders; 4) the development of certain softening and bureaucratic tendencies, leading to emphasis on pure-and-simple trade unionism; and 5) the absence of proper organizational relations with the Party, failure to keep pace with current political developments, sometimes leading to improper relations with, and attitude to, Party leadership, discipline, and activity.

It is necessary to struggle against manifestations of moral degeneracy, financial looseness, and corruption which sometimes even penetrate

among a few of our trade-union cadres.

PROBLEMS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP IN TRADE- UNION WORK

From what I have just indicated, a further improvement is clearly needed in the methods of Party leadership in the economic-trade-union field. Despite the obvious difficulties, we must, in consultation with the responsible Communist trade-union leaders, find a more effective answer to this problem.

Side by side with this, it is necessary to re-establish a functioning national Party Trade-Union Department for planning, reviewing, and handling day-to-day problems.

We have already made progress in the establishment of co-ordinating committees in certain industries, which actively involve Party district leaders. This work must be improved and extended.

Even in the Left-progressive-led trade unions, the Party must not limit its political relations to only a few people in top positions. While further strengthening and improving such political relations, the Party must simultaneously bring to its own members, and the workers generally in the industry, an understanding of the policies that are in the general interest of the labor movement, and thus spur the fight for their application. Such work by the Party will be helpful to the top Left-progressive leaders and no doubt will be welcomed.

There is also a need to develop Party programs for each industry. I do not mean union programs—that is the business of the trade unions and we have not in the past intended nor do we now intend to interfere in such union affairs. Party programs, such as we have in mind, should be of a general political character that will outline perspectives and main strategic aims for the workers in particular industries.

Everywhere—and especially in the basic industrial unions of the C.I.O. and the main unions of the A. F. of L. (building trades, teamster, maritime, longshore, hotel and restaurant, garment), as well as the coalminers', machinists' and railroad workers' unions—it is necessary for the Party to speak regularly to tens of thousands of workers in each of these industries through leaflets, pamphlets, our press, and mass meetings. This is also a means of giving Party leadership in these industries.

While some progress has been made with the election of Party labor secretaries in a number of Party districts, this must be extended and strengthened. The quality of the work of such labor secretaries must be improved and all tendencies for them to become merely advisors to trade-union leaders, must be liquidated. Leadership must be expressed by mobilizing and helping Communist trade unionists in *all* trade unions, especially Right-led trade unions, to influence their membership to support major policies that will raise the class understanding of the

workers, assert the independent role of the working class, and, in ever larger numbers, develop a socialist consciousness.

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE PARTY

We have become accustomed to talk only of the independent role of the Party when we refer to its vanguard role. It would be better to emphasize the vanguard role of the Party and explain that today the most important result of fulfilling this vanguard role would be to speed up the development of the independent role of the working class. The heart of this is that the working class should be independent of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois political parties. The reaching of this stage will mean a transformation from trade-union consciousness to class consciousness. This independent role of the working class and the tasks that accompany it can be realized only if there is a Communist Party which fulfills its vanguard role, helps the workers to draw all the lessons from their struggles and experiences, and brings the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to bear upon the workers.

This vanguard role of the Party is sometimes mistakenly reduced to a question of the Party always developing activities in its own name. It is true that the Party should always speak to the workers in its own name, presenting perspectives to the workers, arousing them to struggle, helping them to learn from their ex-

periences, thus raising the level of class understanding and infusing the advanced section with socialist consciousness. However, the Party need not always and under all circumstances develop mass activities in its own name in order correctly to fulfill its vanguard role. On specific issues, where only the Party appreciates their significance and decisiveness, the Party should develop mass activity in its own name. Where the Party influence among the masses is such that mass organizations will themselves exercise such initiative, the Party can fulfill its vanguard role by helping the mass movement initiate and organize mass struggles.

Three other points should be emphasized:

1) Our Party needs a membership many times its present size in all the main industries of the country. This means that the policy of Party industrial concentration must be fought for more vigorously, and that it must be a common policy guiding all districts and all departments of Party work in our National Office.

2) The building of the Party in industry by the trade-unionists themselves is vital. This work cannot be done most effectively by the community clubs which today do most of the recruiting of trade unionists. The decline in industrial composition in most districts must sound an alarm for us. But the very struggles in which we are participating in a number of industries, actually prepare the ground for Party recruiting, and this must spur our comrades in the unions to build the Party.

3) The successful fulfillment of the tasks outlined in this report necessitates a frank recognition that we must speedily overcome a serious situation among some of our top-level cadres of Communist trade-union leaders. We must reinstate a discipline based on political understanding and Communist organizational consciousness. We must further instill a love for the Party, a sense of honor in being part of it, a Party consciousness issuing from its lofty socialist principles.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT*

By BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

"The Negro question remains, politically, the Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism; and the liberation movement of the Negro people is reaching new heights of consciousness and unity, representing a mighty anti-imperialist force."—William Z. Foster, "Specific Features of American Imperialist Expansion," *Political Affairs*, August, 1948, p. 684.

ONE OF THE MAIN FEATURES of the present drive of American imperialism toward world domination, war and fascism is the qualitative intensification of the national oppression of the Negro people.

At the very beginning of the post-war period the reactionary bipartisan offensive of the monopolies against the American people opened with a rapid increase of lynchings of Negroes. More than forty-five lynch murders of Negroes took place within the space of eighteen months after V-J day, including the mass lynchings of two Negro veterans and their wives at Monroe, Georgia. Not one real prosecution of these fascist acts has taken place even to this day.

Such was the dramatic and bloody

opening of the attempt of reaction to wipe out the limited gains that the Negro people, with their labor and white progressive allies, had chalked up during the Roosevelt era and during the anti-Axis World War.

Our Party correctly evaluated from the earliest this high-powered offensive against the Negro people, at its Emergency Convention in June, 1945, through successive plenary sessions of the National Committee, and at special conferences on Negro work. The main conclusions were drawn therefrom, and a sound program of action was charted which, notwithstanding weaknesses and shortcomings, has resulted in major accomplishments in the field of struggle for Negro rights.

THE SHARPENED ATTACK ON THE NEGRO PEOPLE

However, in the present extreme international tension and sharpened war danger, resulting from U.S. imperialism's ever more adventurous and aggressive role, at home as well as abroad, the attacks against the Negro people have been immensely expanded and accelerated. In every sphere of life—political, economic,

* Based upon the report by Comrade Davis to and the discussion in, the Negro-South Panel of the Convention.

social—where the Negro seeks to avail himself of his most elementary, constitutional rights, that sphere becomes a blazing inferno of struggle.

Lynchings in the poll-tax South—a large number of which are now underground and, therefore, “unofficial”—have been matched by a veritable rash of murderous police brutality against Negroes in the North, particularly in industrial centers like Detroit, Chicago, and New York, where the Negro workers constitute a pillar of the labor and progressive movement. The Jim-Crow ghetto is a virtual iron curtain around the lives, health, and liberties of the Negro—notwithstanding the double-talk, demagogic decision of the Supreme Court in the restrictive covenant cases. The betrayal of the F.E.P.C.—established during the Roosevelt Administration—by President Truman, with Republican connivance, opened up the floodgates of job discrimination against minority groups, and placed the Negro workers, particularly, in a position where the heaviest blows of the approaching economic crisis will be inflicted on them.

Recently, in the deep South, the terrorist Ku Klux Klan took a new lease on life, and brazenly held its open convention in Atlanta, Ga., where it pledged to “enforce white supremacy by force and violence” against Negroes seeking the right to vote—while the bipartisan Truman Administration conveniently closed its eyes to this conspiracy to subvert and overthrow the Federal Constitu-

tion. In Birmingham, Ala., a virtual company town dominated by the United States Steel Corporation, there is a police lynching of a Negro worker almost daily. The pro-fascist Dixiecrat party, whose main sustenance is derived from Wall Street, is organized fundamentally for the purpose of fomenting lynch violence against the Negro people, particularly in the Black Belt where the Negroes constitute a majority; for deepening the degradation of the poor whites; as well as for strangling the rising democratic movement which now expresses itself in the right-to-vote and Wallace-for-President upsurges.

The most dramatic example of the sharpened Jim-Crow attacks against the Negro people is the cynical way in which the Truman Administration, its cabinet members, and army brass, in joint policy with the reactionary Republicans, perpetuate the discriminatory segregation practices in the armed forces. Only Hitler and his outright American Rankin counterparts have had the gall openly and officially to proclaim white supremacy and segregation as army policy, as have Secretaries Royall and Forrestal, and General Omar Bradley. While Truman has tried to whitewash this crime by transparently demagogic Executive Orders that are not worth the paper they are written on, he shamefully keeps the segregationists in his cabinet, and himself flatly refuses to abolish army segregation. This reveals the extent to which the mili-

tary have taken complete control of the civilian policies of the government. Truman is not only an unfit president, but is scarcely president at all—the White House having been taken over by Wall Street financiers and the reactionary anti-Negro militarists.

In ruthlessly imposing upon the Negro youth a segregated status in the armed forces, the issue of segregation has thus been raised as a last bastion of the national Jim-Crow system, which the capitalist reactionaries and their hangers-on seek to maintain at all costs. Any illusions that there can be "separate but equal" rights for the Negro people in or out of the armed forces must now be thoroughly dissipated.

Unable to maneuver much longer on this issue, the Truman Administration, and its G.O.P. partners in reaction, have had either to abolish segregation or to continue it as official government and military policy. The Administration has chosen the latter course. In doing so, it has set an example for the treatment of Negroes in all other walks of life and seeks officially to freeze the status of Negro Americans as second-class citizens. This is having harmful and dangerous consequences for the Negro people in particular, and for American democracy in general.

In the same vein was the bold foray of the Dixiecrat political gangsters, who sought to put through Congress the so-called Southern Regional School Plan. This plan,

which aimed to perpetuate the Jim-Crow educational system in the deep South, would actually have taken the Negro people backward in the direction of a slave status. Under the guise of providing higher educational facilities for Negroes, the plan sought to relieve each individual state of the responsibility of providing higher education for Negroes within the state itself, transferring this responsibility to a nebulous regional inter-state set-up, which would virtually treat Negroes as wards of the state, not as citizens. This pernicious scheme lost in the U. S. Senate by a vote of only 38 to 37, with Truman Democrats and Republicans lining up with the Southern poll-taxers to cause this close tally. The danger still remains that this legislation will be re-introduced in the 81st Congress. The logic of this plan would lead to establishment of Jim-Crow reservations for Negroes in higher education and in various other fields.

Thus we see, not only a quantitative increase in the national oppression of the Negro, but also a qualitative intensification of the attack upon the formal and constitutional status of Negroes as American citizens. U. S. imperialism already has a head start in the development of fascism in the country in the form of the long existing and elaborate white supremacy system. Now it tries to create the precedent that Negroes are not really citizens at all, and are therefore not entitled to full citizenship rights.

NEW DEMAGOGIC
MANEUVERS

The stench of the intensified lynch oppression of the Negro people has now seeped to the four corners of the earth. As a result, American imperialism is on the spot as never before and faces the problem of how to conceal the contradiction between its deeds and its words. For it is in the name of "the spread of democracy" that the imperialist Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine are being imposed upon nations and peoples. It is under the camouflage of so-called "democracy" and "peace" that the big monopolies and trusts are seeking world domination and are feverishly preparing for World War III.

Consequently, the increasing use of the mailed fist against the militant struggles of the Negro people and their outstanding spokesmen has been accompanied recently by an unprecedented amount of demagoguery, especially from the Truman Administration. The most notorious example of this was the "Civil Rights" report of the President's commission, which was followed by the President's civil rights message and hypocritical Executive Orders and by equal doses of demagoguery from the imperialist lackeys in both major parties. Meanwhile, civil rights of Negroes and of Americans in general have been vanishing; and the President's civil rights report has been increasingly seen for what it is—an election campaign hoax to be-

guile the Negroes, in particular, into supporting Truman. Truman is unquestionably the biggest demagogue on the question of Negro rights that has occupied the White House since the turn of the century. The necessity of exposing and meeting this grandiose demagoguery of Truman, and of the Dewey Republicans, is a new factor in the objective situation in which the defense of Negro rights must be conducted.

The formation of the pro-fascist Dixiecrat party by poll-taxers, lynchers and white-supremacists is another new development, upon which all of Truman's demagoguery founders. The Dixiecrats personify the mortal crisis within the Democratic Party—and therefore, within the two-party system. But more immediately important is the fact that the Dixiecrats constitute an open terrorist conspiracy to drown the militant Negroes in blood, to nullify the Constitution of the United States, specifically the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and to prevent the Negroes from voting and from getting together with their poor white allies. Sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, Truman, in failing to meet this conspiracy of force and violence, ought to be impeached. The establishment of the Dixiecrat party, whose aim is the murderous oppression of the Negro, constitutes a first-rate fascist menace to American democracy. It cannot be thumbed away or dismissed by regarding it one-sidedly as a mere

expression of the acute inner contradiction within the Democratic Party.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The third new factor appearing on the scene is the beginning of the people's counter-offensive against the big monopolies and their bipartisan lackeys—namely, the launching of the Progressive Party and its presidential ticket of Wallace and Taylor, and the projection of Congressional and local candidates who will fight for peace, security, and democracy. The Progressive Party movement is the broadest channel through which the people's anti-imperialist movement can register its political strength. The struggle of the Negro people to maintain and extend their elementary rights is closely identifying itself with this movement and will become a decisive sector of the entire anti-imperialist, anti-war, anti-monopoly movement of labor and the American people.

In the democratic camp of labor and the people, the launching of the Progressive Party, which gives the masses a real alternative to Wall Street's bipartisan war program, is the most important development of the present period. Its platform, deeds, and candidates have already brought untold strength to the fight for Negro rights, and it has played the major role in forcing this issue into the political arena as one of the decisive factors of the election campaign. The haunting specter of the new Progressive Party compels both the Truman Democrats and the

Dewey Republicans frantically to throw empty gestures in the direction of the Negro people. The building of the anti-war, anti-monopoly, anti-fascist coalition—specifically, the building of the Progressive Party and its electoral strength—constitutes the biggest single people's obstacle to the pro-fascist offensive against the Negro people.

In 1856 it was the issue of slavery that brought into being the new anti-slavery Republican Party; in 1948, an entirely different period of history, it is the Negro question again, which is helping to hasten the doom of the present decadent two-party monopoly.

NEW HEIGHTS OF MILITANCY AND UNITY

Despite the brutal reactionary offensive against the Negro people, and despite the imposing bipartisan demagoguery, the Negro people are reaching new heights of militancy and unity in the struggle for their full citizenship. They are sparking the fight for democracy and against Wall Street's drive toward fascism. The high point reached by the Negro people in their anti-fascist liberation struggles is a positive factor of outstanding significance to the entire labor and democratic movements. It is, as Comrade Foster points out, a concrete manifestation of the Negro people "representing a mighty anti-imperialist force." The enormous potential of the Negro liberation movement against U.S. imperialism has yet to be fully

grasped by all sections of the broad people's coalition shaping up in the country today.

It was largely the militancy of the Negro people that wrung from the U.S. Supreme Court its tiny ambiguous concession in the restrictive covenant cases. It was the insistent demands of the Negro people for their full citizenship that compelled Truman to tip his hat to the Negro question by issuing empty Executive Orders relating to discrimination in the armed services and in Federal employment. It is the aggressive struggles of the Negro people, supported by their labor and white progressive allies, that forces both the Democrats and Republicans to try to deceive the Negro people with the most grandiloquent and lying promises ever put forward by the two major parties — and that's saying something!

The Negro people are not relying on these false promises and gestures. They are building their people's organizations, particularly the N.A.A.C.P.; they are playing an ever greater part in the trade-union movement, as in the packinghouse workers' strike; they are taking their place in the new Progressive Party and helping to shape its destiny; and they are waging against the Jim-Crow system courageous battles which are having results. Even in the deep South, as in the North, the Negro people have at times defended their lives, liberties, and homes—in the tradition of "a man's

home is his castle"—with arms in hand.

More than 300,000 Negroes in the deep South, since V-J day, have braved Klan terror to register and vote. A grass roots movement has developed in the South against the Jim-Crow educational system, a movement which has been increasingly joined by Southern white students and progressives.

One of the outstanding examples of the Negro people's fight for unity within their own ranks and with their white allies was the historic June 2 mass lobby in Washington, where the Independent Non-Partisan Committee for the Passage of Civil Rights Legislation joined with the Committee for Democratic Rights in staging the most effective demonstration of Negro and white unity in the modern history of the capital. When the Non-Partisan Committee pressed upon the reactionary Senate Judiciary Committee the passage of the anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and F.E.P.C. bills which the Committee had bottled up, it was this, perhaps more than any other factor, that broke the Committee's back and contributed to the defeat of the Hitlerite Mundt Bill.

The National Non-Partisan Committee co-chaired jointly by the majestic Paul Robeson and by Percy Greene, outstanding Negro Republican leader of Mississippi, is the concrete proof that unity can be established among the Negro people irrespective of economic and social status or political affiliation, provided

that unity is established around minimum issues and forged in the crucible of struggle against the common bipartisan enemy. At the same time, the action of June 2 was a demonstration that Negro-labor-progressive unity can be established between Negro and white, Jew and gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Communist and non-Communist. Noteworthy among the participants in the National Non-Partisan delegation were the large numbers of N.A.A.C.P. state and local officials, branches and members, as well as church and fraternal groups, among them youth and women. This event was a high point of united action by the Negro people with their labor-progressive allies.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE

In the face of the fiercest offensive that the world's most powerful imperialism has ever waged against the Negro people, the unity of the Negro people's liberation movement, based upon struggle in close alliance with the organized labor and progressive movement, is decisive. The lackeys of Wall Street who try to divide this unity with betrayals, Red-baiting and other divisive tactics, are stabbing the Negro people in the back and are weakening the whole anti-imperialist, anti-fascist coalition.

Experience shows that the central points of a minimum national program around which the unity of the Negro people and their allies can be strengthened and raised to the con-

scious anti-imperialist level are the outlawing of Jim-Crow and segregation, the passage of anti-poll tax, anti-lynch and F.E.P.C. legislation, and abolition of discrimination in the armed forces. These, together with a host of local issues, are the ones which are peculiar to the struggle for the free and equal citizenship of the Negro people. But it should be emphasized that the over-all issue facing the Negro people; as well as labor and the whole American people, is the war danger. The Negro people and their struggles for liberation are one of the most powerful forces for peace, and can be won to an active whole-hearted opposition to all aspects of the Truman Administration's bipartisan war program. At the same time, it is the fight to prevent Imperialist Bloodbath III that determines the objective conditions and the relationship of forces in the struggle for Negro rights.

Labor and other advanced forces—including the Communists—will constantly strive to assist the Negro liberation movement in reaching ever higher levels. It is vitally important that the basis for the unity of the movement within itself, and with its white allies, be on a minimum program. To base the unity of this movement on a maximum comprehensive program can only result in the weakening of the movement and the isolation of the most advanced forces. The gauge of a correct minimum program is primarily that of the main questions around which the maximum unity can be obtained

and the largest masses moved into united action. This will help to develop unity of the Negro people, North and South, and will facilitate the growth of their national consciousness as a people, an oppressed nation, fighting for their national dignity. The movement of the Negro people against Jim Crow should be built and approached with the greatest tactical breadth. At the same time, it cannot be separated from, or built without maximum attention to, the decisive organizations of the Negro people, in the first place the N.A.A.C.P.

SHORTCOMINGS IN LABOR'S STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

The very foundation of the struggle for Negro rights is the fundamental alliance between the Negro people and labor. Notwithstanding many fruitful evidences of this alliance, it must be said that the principal weakness in this connection is the failure of the trade unions to show daily and consistent initiative and sensitivity in the struggle for Negro rights. In the first place, the unions are not fighting sufficiently for the upgrading and promotion of Negro workers and for the abolition of job discrimination in industry. Secondly, Negro workers are still not integrated into all levels of leadership, due to undefeated white-chauvinist opposition. Thirdly, the unions are not consistently and resolutely fighting for the rights of the Negro people as a whole, against lynching,

restrictive covenants, army Jim Crow and other issues.

These weaknesses are already showing harmful effects and will become serious dangers unless immediately corrected. Their existence is detrimental to the Negro liberation movement and strengthens the Social-Democratic misleaders, bourgeois reformists, and imperialist lackeys, who carry Wall Street's banners of disunity within the Negro communities. The Negro people are the staunchest ally of labor, and the fight for their liberation is, as never before, in labor's own self-interest. Labor still has to elevate its activity on the Negro liberation front from the level of sporadic, inconsistent struggles to the sustained level of coping with the furious reactionary offensive against the Negro people and against labor itself. In this, the Left-progressive trade unionists should take the lead, waging sharp ideological and practical struggles within the ranks of organized labor against the penetration of the anti-labor, white chauvinist poison of Big Business.

The second major shortcoming in the movement for Negro rights is the failure to give adequate political and material assistance to the emerging democratic movement in the South. As pointed out in the excellent report of Comrade John Gates, the South is, and must become, politically and materially, the concern of the entire nation, and most assuredly, of the national labor and democratic coalition. The hub of

this question is the mobilization of the entire labor and progressive camp in support of the movement for democracy in the South now expressing itself in the growth of the Progressive Party.

The key to the democratization of the South is the defense of the Negro people from lynch terror and the fight to win their elementary citizenship rights, in particular their right to vote in the November presidential elections. Continued inadequacies of the labor and progressive movement, in respect to the South, home of the Dixiecrat fascists, invite the most serious setbacks for the whole anti-monopoly coalition in its fight against war and fascism.

The third major weakness in the development of the Negro people's unity movement is the failure of the advanced labor and progressive forces among the Negro people boldly to combat the Social-Democratic Red-baiters and splitters, the lackeys of the millionaire Wall Street "philanthropists," the bourgeois misleaders and betrayers who seek to head off and sell out the militant anti-imperialist struggles of the Negro people.

Using their status in the labor movement as a passport among the pro-labor Negro masses, such Right-wing Social-Democrats and Red-baiters as A. Philip Randolph, Willard Townsend, and George Weaver, often in association with the disreputable Trotzkyites, are seeking to channelize the indignation of the Negro people into support of the

rotten two-party system and of Truman's bipartisan war program.

In keeping with the historical role of the disruptive Social-Democrats, they use the most militant and revolutionary phrases, and, in the name of "Socialism," strive to conceal their rascally subservience to imperialism and reaction. The most brazen example of this has been A. Philip Randolph's attempt to seize the leadership of the Negro liberation movement, in behalf of the labor-imperialist David Dubinsky, through the "civil disobedience" proposal. With the irresponsible bravado typical of him, Randolph, a professional Communist-baiter and supporter of the imperialist Marshall Plan, is seeking to tie the Negro people to Wall Street's war chariot, under the guise of fighting army Jim Crow. While recognizing the deep anger of the Negro people over army discrimination, in working among those who may be influenced by Randolph's proposal, we need to expose the desperate, defeatist, divisive and pro-imperialist character of this double-dealing proposal for "civil disobedience" advocated by cynical supporters of Wall Street's war program.

Simultaneously, a correct, unifying program of struggle against Jim Crow in the armed services—around the repeal of the draft and for a presidential Executive Order really abolishing segregation—must be led and waged by the labor and progressive forces among the Negroes, supported by their allies. In the meantime, the organized Pullman

Porters are surely not unanimous in supporting the Red-baiting role of Randolph, who tries to use the union to pull the chestnuts of Social-Democracy out of the fire.

It is essential to the consistency, militancy, and anti-imperialist perspective of the Negro liberation movement, that within it the Negro workers play the dominant and leading role. While the Negro professionals, middle-class figures, and upper circles will play an increasing and special role in the broad Negro people's movement against Jim Crow, their effectiveness depends upon the degree to which they identify themselves with the interests of the Negro workers and masses against American imperialism and its war program. In this regard, it is the special responsibility of the progressive Negro trade union leaders to play a decisive part in the political leadership in the Negro communities, and to stop abandoning the community arenas to the Randolphins, Townsends, and Weavers.

Finally, strong remnants of the Leftist-sectarian tendencies, carried over from the period of the National Negro Congress, still remain among many Left-Progressive forces in the ranks of the Negro people. This shortcoming has resulted in a tendency toward self-isolation on the part of some of the most advanced Negro forces from the mainstream of Negro life. This has reflected itself most sharply in the failure to give main attention to aiding and supporting the N.A.A.C.P. This

organization is the largest, most authoritative, and most representative among the Negro people. It must be assisted and built, to strengthen its progressive character and its ties with the labor and progressive movement.

In helping to correct these weaknesses, Communists, Negro and white, bear a prime responsibility.

THE 1948 ELECTIONS

For the next two and a half months, the electoral front is the main arena of struggle for Negro rights, and for the building of the united Negro liberation movement. All of the issues of national oppression facing the Negro people, as well as the question of war and fascism confronting all Americans, are sharply focused in this election campaign. The Negro question is a major factor in determining a whole new relationship of forces in the course of the 1948 elections. It is exposing the bankruptcy and demagoguery of both major parties; and it is one of the main spearheads through which the new party, headed by Henry Wallace, is gathering strength. The Progressive Party has added something both qualitatively and quantitatively new to the Negro liberation movement. As the anti-monopoly electoral coalition of labor and the people against war and fascism, it flies the colors of Negro rights against the twin parties of reaction.

When Roosevelt died in 1945, the big Wall Street monopolies and

financial magnates tightened their hold on the government through their obedient and willing tool, Truman. Truman proceeded to betray every single one of the progressive policies of Roosevelt and smashed the Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition. He now personifies Wall Street's bipartisan offensive against world peace, and its bipartisan offensive against American democracy, labor, and the Negro people. The shameless filibuster-to-death of the anti-poll tax bill in the special session of Congress by the Southern lynch Senators, could only be accomplished through the connivance of the Republicans and the Truman Democrats, all of whom are united on stopping a mass Wallace vote in the deep South.

The Progressive Party arose out of the mass clamor of the people for an alternative to Wall Street's program of war, fascism, and monopoly-rook-ing of labor and consumers. It represents the broad political instrument through which the fundamental alliance of labor and the Negro people can effectively maintain and extend their political collaboration, in the present critical period in our country's history.

In keeping with their political maturity, the Negro people have demonstrated a deeper sentiment for Henry Wallace's candidacy than perhaps any other section of the population. At the Wallace rally in Harlem, 15,000 turned out to greet his candidacy, and similar manifestations have occurred all over the country. In the

deep South, thousands of Negroes joined Wallace and Taylor in braving lynch terror to give the white supremacy-segregation system its most meaningful defiance since the democratic Reconstruction era. Many far-sighted Negro leaders—Republican and Democratic—have broken with the two imperialist parties and have joined the Progressive Party in order to further the cause of Negro liberation. In the Negro communities, the people are demanding candidates pledged to the Wallace program. The response of the Negro rank and file to the Wallace-Taylor ticket is overwhelming, and accounts for the melodrama of demagogy from both Truman and Dewey, with Truman having the advantage of the White House as his stage. All of these gestures, of course, have no other aim than to catch the Negro vote in the twelve states where it is the balance of power.

In order to block the united ground-swell for Wallace among the Negro people, Truman, in competition with the G.O.P., has elevated Red-baiting to the level of rule by terror and intimidation. He seeks to paint a Red label on Wallace and the Progressive Party—even as Roosevelt was Red-baited—and he has attempted slanderously to outlaw the Communist Party on the Hitler big lie of "advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence." The most militant and fearless leaders of the Negro people—among them Communists—who support Wallace, are being framed, hounded, perse-

ocuted with false indictments, or cited for deportation. This is all intended to terrorize the Negro people into abandoning Wallace, Taylor, and the other candidates of the Progressive Party.

Shamelessly serving Wall Street in this regard are the imperialist-minded Negro misleaders, the reactionary Social-Democrats and liberals, the major Party machine hacks, and countless other hangers-on, who sell their own and their people's birth-right for some private gain servilely received. They are the principal troubadours of Red-baiting and disunity within the Negro people's ranks. Their main assignment is to keep the Negro people tied to the two-party system, to blunt the anti-imperialist character of the Negro liberation movement, and to channelize it into support of Wall Street's war program. Truman—or Dewey, as the case may be—they argue, is some sort of "lesser evil."

The Negro people cannot be won to register their powerful, united and progressive strength in support of the Wallace-led new Party, without the defeat of the Social-Democratic Red-baiters, splitters, and other lackeys of imperialism among the Negro people. That this can be achieved is unquestionable, especially if the Progressive Party is built among the Negro people on a grass roots basis from below, on the basis of struggle for its convention platform. The Progressive Party becomes the test between the sheep and the goat on the whole front of Negro rights.

The challenge of Wallace and Taylor to the Jim-Crow system in its Southern heartland, the historic Progressive Party founding convention in Philadelphia, the heroic battle of Taylor, Marcantonio and Isacson against the warmongering, Jim-Crow draft—these and other activities have already marked the qualitative distinction between the position of the new Progressive Party and the rotten hypocrisy of the two major parties on the Negro question.

In view of the unprecedented and many-sided offensive against Negro rights, the work of the Progressive Party on this front needs to be guided by certain basic considerations. The new party cannot afford to take the Negro people for granted because of their tremendous pro-Wallace sentiment. It has to build an organized and consolidated base among the Negro masses, which will transform this sentiment into votes. Note must be taken, of the special character of the Negro liberation movement, a fact which Truman and Dewey are acknowledging through their unbridled demagogy. The penalty of taking the Negro people for granted will be a loss of strength and votes among this decisive section of the population, and a weakening of the Progressive Party in one of its main foundations.

Among the major improvements needed are: 1) a more energetic and consistent daily struggle for Negro rights on a local as well as national scale, around such issues as police-brutality and army Jim Crow, and

particularly on the economic issues; 2) a fuller integration of Negroes on all levels of leadership, particularly Negro workers, and a broadening of the whole new party personnel and activities; 3) the institution of a big and well-planned registration campaign in Negro communities, where disillusionment with the major parties may contribute to a boycott of the polls; and 4) more attention to building the movement on a grass roots basis.

In thus improving its work, the Progressive Party can guarantee a maximum vote among the Negro people, and also establish at the same time the conditions for its becoming a durable party of Negro as well as white Americans on a long-range basis. Furthermore, the national and local tickets of the Progressive Party provide the weapon through which the offensive can be taken against the imperialists and their Social-Democratic lackeys, on the whole front of the Negro liberation struggle. Boldly and wisely used in pursuit of its first major electoral objective on November 2, this weapon can help the Progressive Party to win a resounding election victory for Negro and white Americans.

OUR PARTY'S FIGHT FOR THE CAUSE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

Our Party has long enjoyed wide respect and admiration among the Negro people; and since our 1945 Emergency convention it has made many substantial contributions to the

Negro liberation struggle. Naturally, the unparalleled campaign of Red-baiting fostered by Big Business and its lieutenants has had its effects upon the Negro people, particularly in middle- and upper-class circles. But this has not destroyed the long-merited base which Communists have earned among the Negro masses. On the contrary, the Negro people have had the sharpest reaction against the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party, beginning with the Schwellenbach and Mundt Bill proposals, down to the present indictment and framing of the Party's twelve leaders.

Themselves the prime victims of Ku Klux lynch force and violence in the country, the Negro people have been among the first to hurl this Hitler big lie back into the teeth of the bipartisan Truman Administration and its poll tax Attorney General Tom Clark. True, only a relatively small fraction of the Negroes are Communists, yet it is a sign of the Negro people's great maturity that they recognize in the attempts to outlaw the Communist Party the menace of fascism and the suppression of the most fearless fighters for Negro rights, a menace bearing grave dangers for their own people's organizations, such as the N.A.A.C.P. and other civil rights organizations.

In the fight for the passage of the anti-poll tax, anti-lynch, and F.E.P.C. legislation, and for the elimination of Jim Crow in the armed forces, our Party has made substantial con-

tributions both to the unity of the Negro people's liberation movement and to the alliance between the Negro people, labor, and white progressives. This was noted specifically in the June 2 and August 5 mass Negro and white lobbies at Washington. Our Party played a major role in helping to develop the "Crusade to Washington" in 1946, which was decisive in compelling the denial of a Senate seat to Bilbo.

In its own name, the Party on a national scale helped to develop the Columbia, Tennessee, and Ingram cases into major national issues, exposing the whole system of terror, peonage, and inhuman degradation imposed upon Negro women by the feudalistic Southern plantation system. In a number of cities and regions, as in Detroit, in the deep South, and to some extent in New York, our Party has been the public leader of the struggle against police violence and lynchings.

The most fundamental and historic contribution of our Party in the recent period was the hammering out of a Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro question at the December, 1946 Plenum, under the theoretical guidance and leadership of Comrade Foster in particular. Our position that the Negro question in the United States is basically a national question, leading toward self-determination for the Negro majority in the Black Belt of the South, is not only unique, but has for the first time in our Party's history been brought up to date and put on an absolutely sound basis. It is being confirmed

in life itself. Although much too slowly, the adoption of this Marxist-Leninist position is beginning to improve the work of our Party, the lag being due primarily to the inadequate grasp among large numbers of our white cadres of the conclusions flowing from this position.

It is also to the credit of our Party, that it alone has pointed out the decisive and interdependent relation between the struggle for Negro rights and the people's resistance to the drive of the big monopolies toward world domination, war and fascism. It is our Party which leads the ideological struggle to expose the disruptive and pro-imperialist character of reactionary Social-Democracy among the Negro people. This role of our Party is of no mean importance and will become of even greater significance in the critical battles to come.

Since 1945, the main line of our Party on the Negro question, as reflected in the Draft Resolution before us, has been correct. This is a major achievement, considering the degree to which our Party had been saturated and debilitated by the bourgeois-liberal, "humanitarian" line of Browder's revisionism.

MAIN WEAKNESSES OF OUR PARTY'S WORK

Notwithstanding this record of positive accomplishments, it is necessary to signalize certain main weaknesses which, unless corrected, will become serious dangers. Self-criticism is the beginning of the corrective weapon in our Party; and it has been

far too sparingly used in this field of work on the part of the national leadership, in particular on the part of our Negro Commission. Too much emphasis cannot be placed on improving and encouraging the use of criticism and self-criticism, and on maintaining at all times an atmosphere for its free and beneficial utilization.

At the same time, discontent alone, wholly negative "beefing," self-annihilation, and merciless belaboring of our Party, falsely ascribing to it the principal responsibility for the present unprecedented assaults upon Negro rights, is not constructive criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism must be Marxist-Leninist, calculated to correct shortcomings, and not to create greater ones by throwing out the baby with the bath water. It must, in the first place, take into consideration the objective factors, *i.e.*, the role of the imperialist class enemy—the most powerful capitalism in the world—and in the light of these factors it must aim to evaluate precisely the strong points and weaknesses of our Party and its work. Our Negro comrades as well as our white comrades, must be assisted in mastering Marxist-Leninist criticism. In contrast with the essentially sound and healthy use of criticism by our comrades, sundry renegade groups have sought to undermine and destroy our Party in the name of "criticism and self-criticism," and have sought to make factional and disruptive use of our Party's weaknesses in the field of Negro work. These rotten

elements, such as the Francis Franklins and other insects, must be exposed and their attempts to search around in our Party for factional soft spots, smashed. This is necessary for the disciplined unity and fighting efficiency of our Party.

The Right-opportunist danger has been the main danger in our Party's work in the Negro liberation movement. Particularly has this been reflected among certain white trade-union cadres, with harmful consequences. This has been due in the great majority of instances, not to any intrinsic delinquencies on the part of these comrades, but rather to a failure to estimate properly that the wave of war hysteria and national chauvinism has carried with it a great heightening of white chauvinism. The Right-opportunist danger has also fed the Leftist-sectarian danger, which expressed itself among many of our Negro cadres in a "go-it-alone" tendency toward self-isolation. Within the framework of the evaluation of the Right danger as the main one, both these harmful tendencies must be fought.

It is the special duty of our Negro comrades to wage a bold and firm ideological struggle against the petty-bourgeois reformists, imperialist lackeys, and Right Social-Democrats and liberals on the principles and tactical questions of Negro liberation. Skillfully, the tactic of the united front must be cultivated. Uppermost in establishing the vanguard role of our Party among the Negro people, is the fight for the unity of the Negro

liberation movement and for its solidarity with labor and with white progressives. Our Negro comrades, in particular, must fight against the constant spread of the scourge of anti-Semitism in Negro communities. They must fight for collective leadership in Negro work, adhering at the same time to the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the bedrock of our Party organization. We, in the National Negro Commission, must self-critically evaluate our work and take immediate steps to strengthen and stabilize it, especially along the line of collective leadership.

FOR IMPROVING OUR PARTY'S WORK

The strengthening of our Party's work in the field of the Negro people's struggle requires radical improvement in the following main respects:

1. *Consistent, militant struggles:* While our Party has made many contributions in the struggle for Negro rights, they have not been of a sustained and consistent character. Often they have been sporadic, and too dependent upon spontaneity, without the selection of the decisive issues and the careful, well-planned involvement of the entire community, of the whole labor and progressive movement around these issues. It is only through the broadest involvement of labor and the democratic masses that victories can be won. Too many issues are seized upon, pursued vigorously for a while,

and then dropped or neglected before full victory is achieved—as in the Ingram case.

The fight for the political, economic, and social equality of the Negro people is an elementary question in our Party. It must be characterized by the sharpest militancy, in the form of acute, well-planned political struggles, employing new as well as old forms of struggle. There is no doubt that the shameful Jim-Crow system which disgraces the nation's capital can be cracked, once it is undertaken in bold, militant fashion. Similar possibilities, to a greater or lesser degree, exist throughout the country. Accompanying this revitalization of the militant and crusading spirit of our Party must be a tremendous increase in our Party's sensitivity on this question, particularly in the ability of our white comrades to detect the many subtle forms of anti-Negro discrimination and to react to them quickly, without hesitation.

The disproportionately high percentage of unemployment now stalking the Negro communities indicates that the postwar economic crisis is already being keenly felt among the Negro workers and their families. The economic issues are becoming an increasingly important front of battle for Negro rights.

2. *The fight for peace:* This is the biggest single issue facing the Negro people, who represent a powerful reserve against World War III. Yet they have not been sufficiently won

to conscious, active struggle on this front. An effective fight against American imperialism on the issue of Jim Crow helps to check the plans of the war-makers. At the same time, the struggle against Jim Crow must be raised to the level of conscious struggle against Wall Street's entire war schemes, against the imperialist Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, the swollen war budget, and against other such direct preparations for war as the draft. It must be shown that no effective struggle can be conducted against the national Jim-Crow system unless it is directed against the war program of Big Business.

A question to which we must give much more attention and study is the liberation of the people of Africa from the super-exploitation of the American and European imperialist bandits. The big Wall Street monopolies, together with their British imperialist junior partners and the Marshall Plan puppet regimes of Europe, are converting Africa into a new grandiose war base for the launching of World War III. The peoples of Africa have a new imperialist master in Wall Street, which, experienced in the white-supremacy oppression of Negroes, is grinding the African people down to the lowest level of slavery. Our Party must rapidly help to develop a program of action on this question, impressing upon both the labor movement and the peace forces generally their primary responsibilities to fight for the liberation of Africa from imperialist

misery and to demand a halt to the conversion of that unhappy continent into a gigantic springboard for another bloodbath.

The Soviet Union receives a deep sympathetic response from the Negro people, and its peace policy and inspiring socialist structure must be much more widely popularized among the Negro people.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM

3. *The ideological front:* Only the Communist Party conducts a serious struggle, rooted in scientific principle, against the sinister ideological weapon of American capitalism—white chauvinism. But this struggle has not yet been raised by our Party to the fighting level necessary to combat the systematic, frenzied pumping of this poison into the American workers and masses. Above all, the struggle against the penetration of this poison even into our Party's ranks is being badly neglected. The fight against white chauvinism must be a constant and uncompromising battle by all Party leaders, and especially by our white comrades. This is a political matter and not a biological one, and no white worker should regard himself as "immunized" from its influence.

Among several important reasons for the high fluctuation of Negro membership in the Party, the basic cause is the failure to conduct an adequate and sensitive struggle against white-chauvinist practices and ideology. Many new Negro members

note these white-chauvinist expressions, and when they see no fight against them, especially by our white comrades, slacken their activities and finally drop out. The prevalence of white chauvinism also feeds petty-bourgeois nationalist and separatist tendencies among the Negro comrades.

Paramount among the ways in which white chauvinism expresses itself are: lack of sustained and vigorous struggles for Negro rights, particularly on a club and section level, among the white workers and in white communities; inattention to the development of Negro leaders in our Party and in the labor movement, particularly Negro women, youth, and industrial workers; lack of support and aid to Negro people's organizations and projects, and to the development of the unity of the Negro people's movement; lack of knowledge of important developments among the Negro people and lack of acquaintance with the relationship of forces among them, coupled with an over-simplified approach to work in Negro communities, and the decline of personal relationships between Negro and white comrades on the social level.

Some of the more subtle manifestations of white chauvinism are: a patronizing and "charitable" attitude toward Negro comrades; the mechanical equating of Negro comrades with respect to their work, together with an insufficient appreciation of Negro working-class cadres; and, finally, a hesitancy to participate

in the discussion of differences among Negro comrades with a view to resolving them collectively on a principled basis.

The struggle against white chauvinism has to begin, in the first place, with a deeper understanding of our Party's Marxist-Leninist position on this question, adopted in December, 1946, and with an ability to draw all the conclusions from this position and apply it in the Party's current activities. Under Comrade Foster's leadership, a commission on theory has been set up in the Party, whose comprehensive work in this field will profoundly contribute to the further development of our Party's basic theory of the Negro question. Our Party abounds in rich theoretical talent among our younger Negro and white cadres, who should be inspired to heights in developing in our Party a greater attention to theory.

CONCLUSION

The Negro people are today demanding deeper answers to questions and are searching for the ultimate way out of this morass of capitalist misery and barbarous racism. As never before, we must explain the goal of socialism, linking our explanations with the practical issues of the day, contrasting the bankruptcy of capitalism on given issues with the profoundly democratic solution offered by socialism. We must point out that the necessary victories on the current issues of today must prepare

the way for the new and higher socialist society.

The Communist Party is the leader and vanguard in the fight for the liberation of the Negro people. Our Party can and should have many times the Negro members it now has, and the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* hundreds of times their pres-

ent number of Negro readers. The building of a mass Communist Party among the Negro people is not only possible, but essential, to the further development of the Negro people's movement, and to the liberation of the Negro people from the horrors of war and fascism, and, finally, from capitalist oppression.

THE SOUTH—THE NATION'S PROBLEM*

By JOHN GATES

IN 1938 a national conference on economic conditions in the South met in Washington and made a survey of conditions in the South. President Roosevelt sent a message to this conference, in which he said:

It is my conviction that the South presents right now the nation's No. 1 economic problem—the nation's problem, not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the nation as a whole due to this very condition in the South. It is an unbalance that can and must be righted, for the sake of the South and of the nation.

Ten years have passed. Has the economic picture changed? We can find the answer to this question in *The Raleigh News and Observer*, prominent Southern newspaper, which published on June 20 of this year a special report on the progress of the South from 1938 to 1948. This report states:

Despite remarkable achievements in war production, it is doubtful whether Southern industry had advanced its pre-war position in the national economy, when, with 27 per cent of the nation's population and 28 per cent of the land area, it possessed 17 per cent of the country's wage earners and accounted for 14 per cent of the value of its manu-

factures. Despite the increase in industrialization during wartime, the relative position of the South in the nation's economy shows only slight improvement. During the period of peak wartime employment, Southern industry expanded almost as rapidly as the United States as a whole, but by 1945 it had again returned to the pre-war ratio.

Thus, industrialization advanced in the South, especially during the war, but it was part of war expansion in the country as a whole, and the South has not improved its relative position with respect to the nation's economy as a whole. The economic unbalance referred to by Roosevelt continues in force. The South remains the nation's No. 1 economic problem.

Nor has there been any basic change in living standards. The total income for the South was 20 per cent in 1938 (28 per cent of population) and 22 per cent in 1948 (27 per cent of population); the average per capita income in 1938, \$315, and in 1948, \$797; industrial wages, \$865 annually in 1938, and \$1798 in 1948. The soaring cost of living has wiped out these gains, and, of course, these average figures conceal the disparity between Negro and white and the fact that Negro standards are below

* The report on the South to the Negro-South Panel of the Convention.

the sub-standard general average of the South.

Health, housing, and educational standards remain frightful and barbarous. There has been no substantial improvement other than relatively higher employment today than ten years ago. When mass unemployment again develops, conditions will be far worse than they were a decade ago. Meanwhile, the gains of Negroes during the war in securing jobs in industry, in getting more skilled jobs, are being wiped out and their situation is becoming increasingly desperate. Police terror and mob violence against the Negro people is on the increase.

THE HEART OF THE UNBALANCE IN THE SOUTH

Why did Roosevelt fail to change this economic unbalance? The answer is that not even a Roosevelt could strike at the root of Southern backwardness and bring about a fundamental change. The heart of the unbalance of the South is the national oppression of the Negro people. Until the national liberation of the Negro people is achieved, until the democratic revolution is carried through in the South with the granting of land to the Negro tenant farmers and share-croppers, and until the Negro people enjoy full suffrage, self-government, and the right to national self-determination, the backward and semi-colonial status of the South will remain and continue to be our nation's No. 1 problem. The South itself cannot advance, nor can

the nation as a whole, until this basic problem is solved.

Who oppresses the Negro nation in the Black Belt and keeps the whole South, Negro and white, in semi-colonial backwardness? It is the enemies of the entire nation, the trusts and monopolies, in alliance, with the Southern white rulers in industry, government, and on the land. Two examples will serve to illustrate this fact. The first example is to be found in the fountainhead of Southern reaction, in Birmingham, Alabama. Here, United States Steel rules with an iron hand and merges completely with the most rabid Ku Kluxers in the South. The second example is Assistant Secretary of War Gray—a native of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and one of the chief personages in the Reynolds Tobacco Co.—the makers of Camel cigarettes, and one of the worst anti-union, anti-Negro corporations in the South. Is it any wonder that the War Department holds on so fiercely to segregation in the armed forces? Gray symbolizes the essential unity of Big Business, the Federal government and the Southern white-supremacists, and is a living exposure of the hypocrisy of the Truman civil rights program. The enemies of the people, of the nation, and of the South are thus one and the same.

What is the importance of the South to the nation? On the one hand, the present setup in the South is of enormous importance to reaction. The greater exploitation primarily of the Negro workers and

farmers, but also of the whites, is the source of greater than usual profits (super-profits) for the monopolies and land-owners. The denial to the people of the South of democratic rights enjoyed by the rest of the nation ensures the rule of vicious reactionaries throughout most of the South and sends an almost solid reactionary bloc to Congress from that region. The oppression of the Negro people is the source of the vilest chauvinism and helps to create a mass base for the development of fascism today. The general economic, political, and social backwardness of the South is a drag upon the democratic progress of the nation, a heavy weight on the shoulders of the working-class movement.

On the other hand, the struggle of the Negro people in the South for their liberation, for land and democracy, of Negro and whites to break through their backward status, represents an indispensable and decisive alliance to the working class and all progressive forces. This all-important fact is not yet understood by wide enough masses, not even sufficiently by the most advanced workers.

THE SOUTHERN "REVOLT"

Today the so-called Solid South is beginning to be broken up before our very eyes. This is taking shape with the birth of the Progressive Party in the South and above all with the growing struggle of the Negro people. Nothing proves the validity of this analysis more than the so-

called Southern "Revolt" in the Democratic Party. This represents the determination of the most chauvinist elements in the South, backed by Wall Street, to smash the growing democratic movement in the South by naked terror and violence. So great is their desperation that they cannot even tolerate the feeble demagoguery of Truman; for while they know he has not the slightest intention of really fighting for Negro rights, they fear the growing democratic movement will be able to take advantage of even this obvious hypocrisy.

Here it should be said that Truman's demagoguery is highly irresponsible and dangerous to the Negro people because it serves as a pretext for the Ku Kluxers to increase their terror while the Truman Administration does absolutely nothing to protect the Negro people against such attacks. It should also be noted that the present violence against the Negro people is not merely the terror customarily exercised against them, for it takes place in the context of the process of fascization and is a part of this process. The Southern "Revolt" is thus a reactionary conspiracy, and its danger both to the people of the South and to the nation should not be underestimated. The answer to it lies in the further strengthening of the very forces it is trying to smash.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN THE SOUTH

There are a number of new and

vital features in the developing democratic movement in the South. The founding of the Progressive Party in most Southern states represents the first real mass challenge to the one-party system in the South in the 20th century and takes place in a setting of rising struggles of the Negro people as well as of a growing number of whites. This is reflected in the increase of the number of Negro and white workers in trade unions and, above all, in the fact that Negro unionists are the most militant and progressive workers in the South and constitute the vanguard of the Southern working-class and Negro liberation movement. It is reflected in the fight for the right to vote by Negroes and whites. In 1940, there were 211,000 Negro voters who qualified to vote. This figure grew to 610,000 in 1947. Simultaneously with this there was an increase in the white vote, at an even faster rate. But the ratio of white to Negro voters is still overwhelming—Florida 14 to 1, Virginia 20 to 1, Louisiana 100 to 1. This growth in the Negro vote has resulted in the election of Negroes to office in Winston-Salem, N. C.; Richmond, Virginia; and San Antonio, Texas; and in the running of more Negroes as candidates.

It is likely that despite intimidation, terror, and repressive laws, one million Negroes may qualify as voters in 1948. This increase in the Negro vote has resulted in the growth in the political influence of the Negro people, as shown by appointment of Negro policemen in

several Southern cities. Of great importance are the struggle against segregation in universities, in which considerable support has come from white students, and the fight against segregated mass meetings, in which Wallace, Robeson, and Taylor have played a leading role. Also of great significance are the numerous instances in which Negroes have organized mass armed self-defense when faced with mob violence, a development which is bound to grow and which has the greatest significance for the future, and which must receive aid and assistance from the labor and progressive camp.

The Progressive Party has therefore come into being at a very favorable moment and has the historic opportunity and mission to promote the right of Negroes and whites to vote and to facilitate the whole fight of the Negro people for their liberation. It will become, not only the mass political instrument of the Negro people, but the vehicle that will unite Negro and white around a common program.

An essential part of the people's upsurge in the South is the activity of our own Party, which has contributed greatly to it, and whose role I shall deal with at length later on.

LABOR AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

The leading role in the national liberation movement of the Negro people must necessarily be played by the working class and in the first

place by the Negro workers. In this connection, the Southern organizing drive of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. is very important and requires analysis.

Very important progress was made in union organization in the South. Generally, however, the organizing drive did not fulfill its promise, despite the large sums of money and personnel poured into it. Why did it fail to realize its full potentialities and why has it now come to a dead stop? In the first place, the leaders of the drive were themselves pro-imperialist and pursued a class collaboration rather than a class struggle policy. Secondly, they Red-baited and split the workers when they had to be united, thus playing into the hands of the anti-union employers. Thirdly, and most important, they had an incorrect policy toward the Negro workers. They were either openly chauvinist, refusing to organize Negro workers at all or only on a Jim-Crow basis, or they pursued the Social-Democratic line of denial of the special oppression of the Negro people. Coming up against the widespread prejudices planted in the minds of the white workers, they capitulated to these prejudices instead of fighting them, and in the end landed in the camp of open chauvinism themselves. In such a situation and with the Taft-Hartley Law and state anti-labor laws on the books, it was an easy matter for the employers to impede the success of the organizing drive.

Despite efforts of the trade-union

bureaucracy to exclude the Left-led unions from the drive, a number of these unions made serious attempts to organize in the South, with some important results. It must be said, however, that with some notable exceptions, these unions have not understood the basic importance of organizing the South. Today a very serious situation is arising, in that several Left-led unions, faced with real difficulties elsewhere, are retrenching in the South. This tendency to abandon the South, if continued, will have the most dangerous consequences, not only for the South, but for the labor movement nationally. It surrenders the South to reaction and to reformist union leaders. It is a shortsighted, opportunist policy arising from a lack of understanding of the national question and from capitulation to difficulties and white chauvinism. These unions must understand that if they do not fulfill their duty toward the South, the resulting victory of reaction will return to plague them in the North; whereas by giving much greater assistance to the South than they have given in the past, they will create conditions that will strongly reinforce the cause of militant trade unionism generally.

The chief obstacle to the further unionization of the South is the white chauvinism with which the minds of the Southern white workers have been poisoned. But this fact has led some to project the false "theory" that the white workers are hopelessly reactionary, that they cannot be won

for Negro-white unity. In practice, this "theory" leads to the abandonment of the fight to win the white workers and to a capitulation to their white-chauvinistic ideas. This "theory" is based on fear of, and lack of confidence in, the white workers. It is not true that white workers and farmers, even in the South, cannot be won for Negro-white unity. Negro-white unity was achieved during the Reconstruction period and during the Populist revolt and it is being achieved now. The participation of whites in the Progressive Party, their fight against segregated mass meetings, the activities of white students against Jim-Crow education, the support of whites for the Negro vote (in Richmond, Va., the successful Negro candidate for City Council received 9,000 votes of which 3,000 were white), all testify to this fact.

The exploitation of the white workers and farmers, their entire experience, creates objective conditions that make it possible to win them. The key to winning them is to convince them, not on a moral basis solely, but on the basis of their self-interest primarily. The key is to convince them that Negro-white unity is essential in order to advance their own economic, political and social interests, that they must fight for the rights of the Negro workers in order to advance their own rights. In short, it is necessary to convince them of the great truth uttered by Karl Marx over eighty years ago: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." We

must point out to Southern white workers that the wage differentials between North and South are again widening now—with workers in the North getting increases ranging from 8¢ to 15¢ per hour, and those in the South receiving from nothing to increases of 5¢ per hour—and that this is due to their failure to fight to raise the standards of their Negro brothers. We must show them that much of Southern labor is still unorganized, especially in the textile industry, because of the lack of Negro-white unity; that great masses of poor whites are disfranchised because they do not unite with the Negroes to win the vote for all; that health, education, housing, and recreation lag far behind the rest of the nation. The white workers in the South can and must be won!

While it is true that the slowness in winning the white workers for a correct policy acts as a brake upon the further development of the Negro liberation struggle, it would be a fatal mistake to slow up the organization of the Negro workers and farmers until the lag among the whites is overcome. The Negro people's struggle must go forward at a more rapid rate; it is itself a major essential instrument for winning the white workers as allies in that struggle.

THE LAND QUESTION

The heart of the national oppression of the Negro people in the Black Belt is the land question. As a result of the relatively high employment in industry, there has been a decline in

the farm population. This has resulted in a growth of mechanization on the farms which in turn drives Negroes off the land and intensifies their exploitation. At the same time, the shortage of farm labor creates favorable opportunities for organization of farm workers, sharecroppers, and tenants. On the other hand, it leads to an increase of violence and terror in order to force Negroes to stay on the land when they might find more favorable opportunities elsewhere.

But while there has been a decline in the farm population, the overwhelming majority of the Negro population in the South live on and around the land, and the bulk of them remain share-croppers and tenants, so that the old basic relationships have not changed at all. The one new feature we must take note of is the further growth of a Negro agricultural proletariat resulting from mechanization, as well as the growth of processing industries, etc., in the Black Belt and a proletariat in these industries too.

In the light of this situation, we must face the serious fact that not the slightest progress has been made, not the slightest step has been taken, to organize the share-croppers and tenant farmers in the Black Belt or even to formulate a program for them. The successful carrying through of the national liberation of the Negro people is impossible without such organization. This situation can no longer be tolerated. There is absolutely no reason why organizing

committees should not be organized immediately among the most advanced sharecroppers and tenants, which can then make approaches to such organizations as the National Farmers Union and the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union for assistance. The time is also ripe, I believe, for a national conference of unions, Progressive Party organizations, and all organizations interested in the South, to organize economic, political, and personnel assistance to the share-croppers and tenants in the Black Belt. It is quite clear that attempts at organization will meet with ferocious resistance, but they can and must be made. Special attention should be given to the organization of the Negro proletariat in the Black Belt, as well as the white workers, as a force that can play a leading role in the organization of the farm population. In this general connection, our National Committee, in consultation with our comrades in the South, should immediately draw up a land program for the South.

THE PARTY IN THE SOUTH

The key to the successful carrying forward of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South, and for the South to play its role in the struggle for socialism, is the building and strengthening of the Communist Party. Since the Emergency Convention of 1945, we have succeeded in reconstituting our Party in the South. This is an historic achievement and has contributed no little to the demo-

cratic people's upsurge in the South. Our comrades in the South work under the most difficult conditions, and their work is truly heroic. Our Party has grown in numbers, in activity, and in influence in the South since its reconstitution. Our Party as a whole is not yet fully aware of the contributions of the Southern comrades and of the tremendous asset they are to the Party and to the building of the people's coalition nationally.

But the Party in the South has tremendous tasks and responsibilities and cannot rest on its laurels if it is to live up to them. It must be built into a much bigger Party. It must, above all, root itself in the working class, in basic industry. It must be built among both Negro and white workers, but above all the Negro workers, as well as among Negro and white share-croppers and farmers. The Party must lead in overcoming the basic weakness of lack of organization of the share-croppers and farmers. It must extend greatly the circulation of the Southern edition of the *Worker* as well as of the *Daily Worker*.

The Party in the South has succeeded in developing a number of open Party spokesmen. This process must be continued and expanded. The greatest single weakness with respect to open Party activity is the fact that outside of Texas there does not exist a single outstanding open Negro spokesman of our Party anywhere in the South, despite the wealth of Negro comrades. Despite

all difficulties, and they are great, a beginning must be made to change this situation.

The Party should initiate campaigns such as for the destruction of the K.K.K., to oust Rankin, and to cut down the Congressional representation of states which disfranchise large masses of Negro and white voters.

As our Party has done on a national scale, our Party in the South has supported and contributed greatly to the birth of the Progressive Party, which has been established in almost every Southern State. We must understand that the creation of this new people's party is of the greatest historic significance especially in the South, and will serve as the main mass vehicle through which the Negro people and their white allies will fight to achieve their democratic goals.

Precisely because we base ourselves on scientific socialism and because we understand the heart of the Negro question to be the oppression of the Negro nation in the Black Belt, our Party has a special contribution to make to the building of the Progressive Party. We must work to the end that the Progressive Party in the South be solidly based upon, and increasingly led by, the progressive labor movement. We must help insure that it becomes a party of struggle, that in the South it places in the forefront the fight for the right of Negroes, as well as whites, to vote, the fight for land, for Negro and white unity to eliminate the back-

wardness of the South in all its aspects, against segregation, lynching, police brutality, etc. We must fight against all expressions of white chauvinism, both in our own Party as well as in the mass movement. We must fight for Negroes to share the leadership of the New Party; and for Negro candidates to be nominated. Special mention should be made here of the historic candidacy of Larkin Marshall, Negro editor of Macon, Georgia, in the heart of the Black Belt, for the U.S. Senate from Georgia, which must be made into a national campaign. As the first most important immediate task, we must help the Progressive Party in its efforts to get on the ballot in every state possible.

The main fire in the South must be directed against the monopolies and their white-supremacist allies. At the same time, the sharpest criticism must be leveled against the former white liberals who are capitulating to the Ku Kluxers—the Arnalls and Thompsons and also the Folsoms and Peppers. They illustrate the basic truth that anyone who does not face the Negro question boldly and squarely and does not wage an uncompromising fight against the Jim-Crow system, must inevitably capitulate to the Ku Kluxers and eventually land in the enemy camp. There is no middle course.

TASKS BEFORE OUR PARTY

In the course of this struggle, we must not submerge our own Party, but build it at all costs. There must

be a real struggle, in practice, against white chauvinism. A major expression of white chauvinism in our ranks in the South is the fear to approach and win prejudiced white workers for Negro-white unity, for our Party and for the people's democratic coalition. We should note the example of the Texas State convention of the Communist Party which unanimously expelled McIntosh, a port agent in the N.M.U. in Port Arthur, who in face of the goon terror of Joe Curran and the police, ran away and left the Negro and white members of the union to face the music, even though they were ready to fight. There were some comrades in our Party who were content merely to censure McIntosh because he had been a long-time member of the Party; but the Texas Party acted correctly. There is no room in our Party for cowards and deserters from the class struggle, and especially for people who abandon their Negro brothers. We Communists are people who defend the rights of the Negro people to the point of laying down our lives when that becomes necessary. We must also combat petty-bourgeois Negro nationalism—which expresses itself in tendencies among the Negro people to give up the fight to win the white workers and farmers as allies and which sees all whites as enemies of the Negro people.

Recognizing their common problems, the Party districts in the South have begun a policy of close collaboration and consultation. This needs to be strengthened greatly, with much

greater assistance from the national office of the Communist Party and from the Party as a whole. More of the national leaders of the Party should visit the South. Organizers must be found for Tennessee, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Our comrades in the South are conducting a magnificent struggle, but they are not receiving the necessary assistance from the Party as a whole. This is because our Party nationally does not yet fully appreciate that the core of the Negro question nationally is the national oppression in the Black Belt, nor understand the tremendous significance that the completion of the democratic revolution in the South will have for the building of the general anti-monopoly coalition.

Recognizing that the movement for the liberation of the oppressed Negro nation in the Black Belt and for the democratic reconstruction of the South is a vital sector of the struggle of the working-class and people's movement throughout the country for peace, security, and progress, *this Fourteenth National Convention of the Communist Party should go on record as setting aside the week of December 6-13, as an annual Solidarity Week with the Fighting South*, with the following ends in view:

1. To educate our Party and the labor, Negro people's and third-party forces throughout the country on the significance of the Negro Liberation movement and the struggle for unity of white and Negro workers in the South.

2. To raise to a higher level mass political action throughout the country against lynch terror, for the right to vote, for the organization of the sharecroppers and farmers, and against Jim Crow and segregation in the South.

3. To hold Party recruiting meetings throughout the country during Solidarity Week.

4. To develop a system of solidarity and other forms of direct, practical, and material assistance by Party organizations of the North and West to Party organizations in the South.

5. To raise the sum of \$20,000 for the Party in the South during this week.

6. To prepare, in connection with Solidarity Week, educational and other materials; to publish in our press appropriate articles; and to issue a special edition of *The Worker*.

7. To establish solidarity relations between the large Party districts with the Southern districts, following the example of California, which has selected Alabama, and Brooklyn, which has selected Texas.

There must be a fundamental change in our Party with respect to this question, with a great educational campaign conducted, and concrete struggles and assistance organized. We must create a new atmosphere in which the great truth is made known to our whole Party and to the whole progressive movement that the labor movement can make no basic advance, that our

Party cannot advance, that the national people's coalition cannot advance, that the nation as a whole can make no basic progress, unless

a struggle is waged for, and material assistance given to, the national liberation movement of the Negro people in the South.

THE PARTY'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORK AMONG THE YOUTH*

By ROBERT THOMPSON

COMRADES:

The Youth Panel was, in my opinion, a very good one. In addition to comrades engaged directly in youth work, there actively participated in the Panel a number of important trade union forces, as well as leaders of Party organizations throughout the country. Discussion in the Panel was based on an excellent report by Comrade Betty Gannett and was marked by some very valuable contributions to the development of our policies and activity in the youth field.

The Panel concluded that the report to the Convention should center attention on a few basic propositions which we want to register fully in this Convention as a guide to the work of our Party in the youth field in the immediate period ahead.

* * *

The first such basic proposition that should register fully at this Convention, and through this Convention in our Party as a whole, is the decisive character of the problem of winning the youth of our country. Work among the youth is not just another important field of work for

our Party and for the progressive forces; it is a *decisive* field of work. In all truth, we can say that the forces that win the youth of our country will win our country. Unless the working class can enlist in its support decisive sections of the youth, it cannot, regardless of what it does in other fields, win the struggle to check fascism and block war.

Reaction is highly conscious of this decisive role which youth plays in determining the outcome of the struggle shaping up in our country. It is not only conscious of the importance of youth, but is very highly mobilized and is very much in action in the battle to win the youth. This is expressed in the very rapid extension of 'the militarization of youth through the draft and through the school systems. Already the educational system of our country has been brought pretty fully into line with the pro-war and pro-fascist drive of monopoly capital. The church, the movies, the press, and the various capitalist-led youth-serving and youth agencies have been enlisted in this fight to influence and win the youth. At this Convention we must take note of the fact that reaction is making certain serious inroads among

* Excerpts from the Report to the Convention on the Youth Panel.

the youth, inroads that are a real danger signal for our Party and for the progressive forces.

It is becoming more than an isolated occurrence, for example, that the progressive forces are losing out or incurring serious difficulties in union after union because reaction is successfully influencing the outlook of the youth in a number of industries. Most recently we have the example of the maritime industry, where the Curran forces gained a substantial base among the youth. This could be duplicated in many other industries, unfortunately. I am sorry to have to state that our maritime comrades did not have a representative at the youth panel, which indicates that they have not as yet drawn full conclusions from the developments in the industry.

Despite the fact that in the recent period there has been some improvement in our Party's work among youth, and despite the very promising initiative that the Progressive Party is taking in the direction of setting out to enlist a broad base of support for itself among youth, it cannot be said that the progressive camp is as yet mobilized or is in action in the battle to win the youth of our country. What characterizes the present situation is that a battle for the youth is going on, that it is a major battle, but that as yet it is *largely a one-sided battle*. It is being waged aggressively by the pro-fascist and pro-war forces of our country, but as yet is *not* being waged in any extensive or energetic way by the

working class, by the camp of peace and democracy. Our Party must set out to change this situation; it must set out to use its influence to make this battle for the youth a two-sided battle by bringing the working class and general progressive camp fully into the struggle.

This means that in the election period and beyond, the progressive camp must give major attention to developing broad movements on those issues that most vitally affect the youth, so that it merges in the eyes of the youth as the champion of its interests as against the forces of monopoly capital. On the issue of the draft there must be the most energetic campaign developed by the third-party forces. On the economic problems of the youth, the trade-union movement, to the extent that that we can influence it, must give greater attention to developing and projecting a program that meets some of the increasingly aggravating problems that are confronting the youth. Already we have a situation where one section of the youth—the Negro youth — is well advanced into a situation where it has very few economic opportunities and where there is a real burning need for the projection of a program championed by the progressive forces that will meet the needs of this section of the youth. Already they are virtually excluded from the jobs that the Negro people won during the war in basic industry. Already the Negro veterans are in a very different economic category than any other section of

the veterans from the viewpoint of the jobs they can secure, the wages they receive, etc.

The projection of a legislative program, which will do what the Youth Bill did during the days of the American Youth Congress, in the way of presenting a program of forcing increased government assistance to the youth on various fronts, has become a pressing need. It is along this line that the progressive forces can begin to counteract the inroads of reaction among the youth. Especially among the Negro youth, the progressive forces must break with a wrong method of functioning whereby they are fairly alert to peripheral issues that affect the Negro youth but do very little to project and fight for a program which holds forth a solution to the basic economic problems confronting the Negro youth.

In the same way on other fronts—the front of the fight to prevent the transformation of the school system further into an adjunct of the war machine, on the question of discrimination, on the question of direct assistance to the organizations of the youth — on all of these fronts, the progressive camp must move. This is the basic proposition that we think is the foundation for a drastic turn in the caliber of our Party's work in the youth field. There must be a recognition of the decisive character of the battle for the youth that is now going on and a determination on our Party's part to do its full job in seeing to it that that battle rapidly

becomes a full-fledged two-sided battle, with the labor and progressive camp entering fully into the fight.

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The second basic proposition that we feel should register fully in our Party is the recognition that a major new development is now taking place among the ranks of the youth—a really historic new development, comrades—and that is the growth of third-party support and organization among the youth. This is an event that has historic importance. It can go far in determining the course of the youth of our country in the struggles that are ahead.

The extent of youth's support for the third party and of organization along third-party lines among the youth is, I think, very evident, without my belaboring the point. It is clearly evident in the youthful character of the third party itself. It is clearly evident in the youthful activities that have been taking place in the latter period by this third party—by the very fine response to the convention of the Young Progressives of America in Philadelphia.

What does this development present the democratic camp with? It presents the democratic camp with a really historic opportunity to promote the rapid emergence of a mass anti-fascist, anti-war youth organization in our country. This is something of incalculable importance to the whole working-class and democratic movement in our country. But the thing we have to emphasize is

that nothing is foreordained about this new development among the youth; it will not take shape spontaneously or automatically; it will grow only if great energy is thrown into the job of bringing it into being. It is, in the first place, comrades, a big organizing job, an organizing job that, if it is going to be done, must receive forces, material support, and backing from the whole of the third-party camp, and especially from those sections that we most directly influence.

* * *

The third major proposition is that this Convention should confirm the correctness of the point in the Draft Resolution which orients our Party toward assisting in the formation, some time shortly following the November elections, of an independent non-Party youth organization, basing itself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In connection with this proposition, we feel that the following points should be established in relation to our past policies in the youth field:

1) The dissolution of the Y.C.L. in 1943 was an important and very harmful manifestation of the revisionist line that was beginning to flower and become dominant in the policies of our Party. There can be no question that the dissolution of the Y.C.L. and the form and content of the A.Y.D. was basically determined by the fact that revisionism was already becoming dominant as a factor, shaping the policies of

our Party in all fields, including the youth field.

2) The 1945 Convention, which corrected the line of our Party, also basically and correctly reoriented our work in the youth field. We must put a halt in our Party to this nonsense that somehow our Party corrected its revisionist line in 1945, developed a correct Marxist-Leninist main line of policy, and yet somehow in the whole of this period, followed a revisionist line in the youth field. There is no such thing. The correction of our main line also correctly reoriented our work in the youth field, and the policies pursued in the youth field, the activity developed, have flowed basically from that correct line.

3) Following 1945, a serious error was made in failing to draw the conclusion that our Party should assist in the formation of an independent non-Party youth organization based on Marxism-Leninism and dedicated to educating the youth in the spirit of socialism. There is no question but that there was an altogether impermissible lag in our Party's thinking through of this problem on the basis of its correct line of policy. It is essentially this error that we are now setting out to correct here.

* * *

What type of Marxist-Leninist youth organization are we projecting? We are projecting an organization that should have the following main characteristics:

1) It must be an independent youth organization, with its own

leadership, making its own decisions, learning from its own ways of working and its own mistakes. This is a most cardinal tenet of the Marxist Leninist approach to the problems of work among the youth and of winning the youth for the fight against reaction and for socialism. This new organization must fully conform to that principle. We are not interested, however, in just duplicating all the features of the Y.C.L. in the projected organization and certainly not those aspects of the Y.C.L. which were not good and which in many respects tended to make the Y.C.L. a Young Communist Party. Rather, the new Marxist-Leninist youth organization must be a mass organization with a mass appeal, one that will avoid those features of the Y.C.L. which were narrow and sectarian in character.

2) It must be an educational organization of the youth, giving the young people every opportunity to learn and to receive answers to questions in the process of learning how to fight for their own interests and in the interests of the working class as a whole. In other words, it must be an organization based on struggle, dedicated to educating the youth in the spirit of socialism and in the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

3) It must be a partisan organization in the class sense, basing itself on working-class ideology and on Marxism-Leninism, guaranteeing that the young people are educated in this spirit in the fight for freedom, in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of socialism.

4) It must be a non-Party youth organization, combining within its ranks, Communist and non-Communist youth and opening its door to all young people who want to struggle for peace and freedom, and in defense of their own rights, and who sympathize with, or are interested in learning about and studying communism.

Now, in proceeding to assist in laying the basis for the formation of this type of Marxist youth organization, the question that our Party must pay particular attention to is that this be done in a way that facilitates the main problem of the next several months, of helping to build a powerful and broad anti-fascist youth organization allied to the third party, of which we spoke earlier.

* * *

In approaching the problem of helping to bring such an organization into being and of laying the groundwork for it, we have to give considerable further attention to certain intermediary forms, which will guarantee that this organization is created in a way that facilitates its success and gives it from the outset the broadest possible character. In approaching the formation of this organization, we must not have in our Party any concept that it is going to be some kind of a simple process of just giving youth cards to the young Communists in the Party. That would be the most disastrous kind of orientation, were it to influence our method of work on this question.

We have the possibility here of bringing into the projected organization at the outset, not only considerable young forces from our Party, but also considerable forces from other sections of the youth movement, including the A.Y.D., who can be won if approached properly.

In this connection, we should, I believe, think along the lines of assisting, at an appropriate moment, in the development of a proper organizing committee to prepare for the formation of such an organization.

* * *

The fourth major proposition is with regard to the A.Y.D. Our Party forces are not playing their full role in counteracting certain harmful liquidationist tendencies with regard to the A.Y.D., tendencies rapidly to scrap this organization.

I think that our Party must aid in trying to eliminate such harmful tendencies or ideas. The A.Y.D. has a very important part to play in the people's coalition in the 1948 elections. The A.Y.D. certainly has a very important role to play, if the Communists within it work properly, in providing a broad base for the formation of the projected Marxist youth organization. Our Party people in the A.Y.D. must especially give attention to helping, in the next three or four months, to conduct a real education campaign in this organization, deepening the class consciousness of its membership, and bringing to these young people a much fuller

understanding of Marxism-Leninism and of the role of our Party.

* * *

The Panel was convinced, comrades, that the policy we are projecting is a sound policy, valid throughout the country, and must be regarded as a policy for our Party as a whole. However, the Panel was very cognizant of the fact that there are a number of special problems relating to the application of this policy in the South.

The Panel felt that it would be doing a disservice to try to give quick answers to some of these special problems of application of this policy to the conditions of the South. It felt that these problems could be resolved only with the fullest participation of our comrades from the South in the discussion on this question. Therefore, we feel that our Party should, without loss of time, organize with the appropriate personnel a special conference that will thoroughly discuss, and work out solutions for, a number of special problems connected with the application of this policy to our work in the South.

Lastly, comrades, the Panel feels that everything we are now projecting for making a really decisive turn in the caliber and effectiveness of our work among the youth depends in the first place on the extent to which we make an organized and systematic effort to raise the consciousness and the understanding of our entire Party on the Marxist-Leninist approach to the youth question.

WIN THE YOUTH FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM!*

By BETTY GANNETT

THE DRAFT RESOLUTION points out the need of a non-Party center for the Marxist training and education of the advanced anti-fascist youth of America. Such an organization, dedicated to the education of a new generation of working youth in the spirit of socialism, would have momentous importance. The proposal for its establishment arises out of today's need for the broadest anti-fascist, anti-imperialist unity of the working youth, of the Negro, student, farm, and professional youth, to resist the militarization and fascistization of America's young people. To save the youth from the sorry fate of a Hitler *Jugend*, we must develop a conscious force among the youth, capable of championing their interests, steeling them in the fight for peace, democracy, and freedom, and arming them against the fascist chauvinist poison that reaction's propaganda machine daily spews out.

Life has proved that only a separate youth organization, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, can, through work among the youth themselves, perform this indispensable task. What is more, only a

Marxist youth organization can win the working youth for leadership in the youth movement.

MILITARIZATION AND YOUTH INSECURITY

Our youth is a vital section of our country's population. Of the 24,576,000 young people between the ages of 14 to 25, approximately 40 per cent, or some 10,000,000, are working youth, comprising nearly one-fifth of the total working force in the country. As against the condition obtaining ten to fifteen years ago, millions of young workers today are members of unions. Practically all unions have a substantial youth membership, some having become virtually youth unions. In hundreds of plants, when shifts change, it almost seems as though school has been let out.

During and since the war, youth helped to organize many new plants and build and strengthen many unions. Young people, particularly veterans, played an active role in the numerous postwar strikes, showing a high degree of militancy and fighting spirit. True, many young workers take the unions for granted, not having experienced the years of

* The report to the Youth Panel of the Convention.

struggle that finally gave birth to unionism in the trustified industries. But the very fact that millions of working youth are organized opens vast possibilities for involving them in the fight against monopoly capitalism, against Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism.

Of America's youth, 2,500,000 are to be found in colleges and universities. This is a new type of student body—over half of it young veterans. Many young people of working-class and lower middle-class origin, including Negro youth, who formerly could not enter the higher institutions of learning, are taking advantage of the G.I. Bill of Rights. This explains the many spontaneous or organized struggles on a whole series of issues that have stirred the American student body into action.

Today, in contrast to the '30s, American youth do not face the problems growing out of mass unemployment. But every youthful hope and aspiration is being shattered in a world which has gone through one devastating war and stands on the brink of another. A sense of insecurity and uneasiness pervades the ranks of America's youth. This does not express itself as yet in a conscious upsurge—but in resentments which become louder all the time.

Speaking at a recent gathering, Lieutenant Governor Hanley of New York complained: "Too many young people, nowadays, want only security."

Security is the main concern of

America's youth. For instance, 56 per cent of the country's unemployed are youth. Young people, especially young Negroes, find it daily more difficult to secure jobs. Moreover, this is the first summer since the end of the war that young students are unable to find satisfactory employment.

The majority of America's youth are forced to take unskilled jobs. In 1945, the last war year, the median annual income for youth under 20 was only \$444; and for the age group of 20-24, \$1,022. This was one-third to one-half less than the median for all gainfully employed. Many veterans returned to \$25 and \$30-a-week jobs. But the Negro veterans fared even worse. A survey of 26 communities in 1946 showed that Negro veterans earned from 30 per cent to 75 per cent less than white veterans.

The narrowing possibility of securing jobs at decent pay, for training and upgrading, the fear of being the first to be laid off when the labor market tightens and the crisis comes, has created a feeling of instability and anxiety among working youth everywhere.

This sense of insecurity is further heightened today by the passage of the peacetime draft and by the preparations for a new war. Only three years after the end of the war, young people again face military mobilization.

In a few short weeks, 9,500,000 young men from 19 to 26 years of age, half of them veterans, will register, and an additional 1,200,000

every year thereafter. Our young men are being prepared for war—for military adventures in every part of the globe. "Our plan," says Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall, "contemplates a striking force ready to go into immediate action in the case of emergency." We have seen the harbingers of such "emergency" in Wall Street's military intervention in Greece and China. It is now reported that within twelve weeks after induction, new draftees will be shipped abroad. They are surely not being sent on good-will missions or sight-seeing tours.

The militarization of America's youth is now a reality. Their organized indoctrination with anti-labor, anti-democratic, anti-Communist, and chauvinist ideology begins in earnest. Some youth, falling victim to the hysterical propaganda that the United States faces the danger of attack, accept the draft as a patriotic duty. Others see the draft as a means of getting steady pay for twenty-one months. But, the overwhelming majority of young Americans await the draft with dread, resentment, and widespread opposition. On the campuses, in religious organizations, in shops, and especially among the Negro youth, among whom opposition to the draft is combined with a hatred of the whole Jim-Crow pattern of the American army, there is a heightened sense of insecurity and uneasiness. Youth have stopped planning for the future.

An undercurrent of resentment to Wall Street's drive for war is be-

ginning to seethe among America's youth. They can be won in the millions for an active fight for peace, for the repeal of the draft, for security and democracy.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE YOUTH

The monopolists are alarmed at every sign of political awakening, activity and even questioning among the youth. They know full well that they must win the support of the youth if their program of war and plunder is to succeed. With renewed frenzy they unloose a campaign of propaganda to win the minds of young America for their war program and for their reactionary offensive at home. Posing as the guardians of the "American way of life," they and their ideological spokesmen try to prevent the youth from identifying themselves with the camp of labor and progress, which alone has the true answers to their problems.

Thus, Hanson Baldwin, in a recent article in the *New York Times* shows that the high military command, conscious of its objective, has introduced a Troop Information Program to "bolster" the draftees' morale, since it is faced with the "reluctance of the American people—particularly of those called on to serve—to accept a peacetime draft."

A nationwide school program is being undertaken by the United States Office of Education to alert America's 32,000,000 students to the "dangers of Communism." Wall Street is carrying its program to the

schools and colleges with unprecedented openness. Dr. John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education (now resigned) recently summoned faculty members of all schools most systematically to inculcate the poison of anti-Communism in the students, lest they be "duped by the glittering promises of the Communist propagandists."

The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the corporations generally, conduct the most subtle propaganda among the youth, in the colleges as well as in the shops, glorifying the "free enterprise" system and preaching the "harmony of interests" between labor and capital. With propaganda of boss patronage designed to prevent the awakening of class consciousness, they offer the youth a mirage of prosperous advancement, "free to exercise their ingenuity, incentive, and competition."

R.K.O. Pathe has issued a new series on "This Is America." Some of you may have seen the short, "Letter to a Rebel." The picture takes off from an editorial, written by a student in a college paper, attacking monopoly capitalism. The youth's father, editor and owner of a small-town newspaper, answers by presenting an idyllic picture of American free enterprise, without a shadow of a trust or cartel. The true capitalist is not a Rockefeller or a Du Pont, but the local grocer and corner druggist.

In the true manner of the one-

time allurements circulars to attract immigrant labor to the shores of Golden America, we are told in this movie how every worker rides home from the factory in an automobile, has the right to strike, the opportunity for advancement.

Social-Democrats and Trotskyites work with renewed energy to gain a foothold among the youth. The Dubinskys and the Reuthers, with the blessings of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, strive to divert the Leftward moving young people into organizations that will keep them chained to the two-party system, to the bi-partisan war policy. Their main mission in life is to split the growing anti-fascist unity of the youth, to stop the advances of the new people's party, the Progressive Party, among the youth. Their chief weapon is the most rabid anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slander.

Has reaction won the battle for the youth? Everything happening in the country today proves it has not. But the battle for America's youth is approaching a showdown.

The progressive forces in the unions, the Progressive Party, and especially our own Communist Party, must see clearly that fascism and war cannot be stopped if reaction wins America's youth. Therefore, all sections of the progressive movement must assume greater responsibility in the battle to win America's youth for the side of peace and social progress.

The American young people will

respond if effective leadership is provided.

Where unions have recognized the need of developing special forms of activity to reach their youth, the youth have not fallen victim to the Catholic-Social-Democratic inspired anti-Communist, anti-union activity.

In the face of the blitz tactics of the bi-partisan Congress, a broad opposition to U.M.T. developed, bringing 1,500 youth to Washington in the early part of this year. And where the issues were made clear, students fought to preserve academic freedom, demonstrated for peace, and won higher government subsidies for veterans.

With a high degree of consciousness, the Negro youth have fought lynch-mob and police attacks, and vicious discriminatory practices in every community. They are seething with revolt against the Jim-Crow pattern of the army. For Negro youth refuse to accept Jim-Crow segregation, discrimination, and oppression. They refuse to "stay put" in the Negro ghettos.

THE BIRTH OF THE "YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA"

A week ago, 2,000 young people, coming from 44 states, founded a new people's youth organization, the Young Progressives of America, thus realizing a long-standing need for a broad, progressive, anti-fascist youth organization. The leadership of the new people's party correctly saw that the youth, through their own organization, could make a far

greater contribution to winning young America for the program and candidates of the Progressive Party.

The birth of the Y.P.A. is of historic significance. It expresses both the opposition of large sections of the youth to the parties, program and candidates of Wall Street, and to the draft, and their burning desire for peace, freedom and security.

We must not underestimate the progressive role played by the American Youth Congress of the thirties, a united front embracing existing youth organizations in common struggle against the menace of war and fascism. But for the first time in the history of American youth, progressive youth has a center whose own strength is augmented by the support and encouragement it derives from a rising new people's coalition and the Progressive Party. This is the new feature of significance. In the past, labor and the democratic forces generally did not assume responsibility for the organization of the youth and, as a result, reaction made serious inroads among the young generations. With the help and leadership of the Progressive Party, possibilities now exist for building a really powerful organization of hundreds of thousands of militant young people around a program in defense of the interests of the youth: for repeal of the draft; for the 18-year-old vote; for a minimum-wage law and apprenticeship training; for academic freedom and expanded educational facilities; and for the smashing of Jim-Crow prac-

tices on the job and in recreational, cultural, and social activities.

The youth gathered at the Convention determined to secure a mass membership, especially among America's working youth, Negro and white. This emphasis is indeed correct. For it is the working youth, pitted against the monopolists at the point of production, that alone can give to the organization a greater consistency and firmness in all phases of struggle. In the light of the fact that the Young Progressives now has its main base on the campus, this shows a high degree of understanding. The attendance of several hundred youth from the steel, auto, coal, and other industries, points to the real possibilities of building the Y.P.A. in hundreds of plants, local unions and working-class communities, both North and South.

It is by no means accidental that the Convention of the Y.P.A. represented a varied composition of ideological trends and age levels. If it really is to become the strongest progressive youth organization in the field, it should attract youth of every shade of political opinion, eagerly concerned with the fight for peace and democracy. The representation at the Convention must, of course, not be taken as the limit of its potential growth. A real grass roots movement of far wider scope can be organized. Every young person can be enlisted in a great volunteer army to build the organization in every city, town and village. The youthful enthusiasm of Y.P.A. mem-

bers can help to inspire hundreds of thousands of others to vote for the candidates of the Progressive Party, and build this new organization into a permanent rallying center for all progressive youth.

The rise of this new progressive organization and the growing ferment among the youth create new possibilities for broader united activity with the youth in the existing bourgeois-led organizations. American youth are highly organized; but they are found in organizations in the main dominated by the bourgeoisie. In these organizations are millions of non-fascist, pro-democratic youth. It is possible to establish working relations with them around specific issues of common concern. This will not be done by relying upon the leadership of these organizations. Many of these leaders, even those who would make common cause on one or another issue, are prevented from taking a stand by the regulations of their organization, and the financial backers of these organizations, by the pressures of government and church leadership. The only way these organizations can be drawn into joint action is by the involvement of the youth themselves. That task can no longer be postponed.

TOWARD A NON-PARTY MARXIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION

These very developments in our country make imperative the creation of a non-party Marxist youth

organization. Such an organization can make a lasting contribution to advance the fighting determination and anti-fascist unity of the youth; to enhance the ideological clarity of the youth, counteracting the vicious chauvinist concepts spread by the bourgeoisie and its agents; and to promulgate the principles of scientific Socialism among the broad masses of youth. It is because of this that the national youth conference held by our Party in the middle of April unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed the proposal now contained in the Draft Resolution for the establishment of a non-Party Marxist youth organization as soon after the 1948 elections as possible.

What kind of Marxist youth organization is necessary? How should it be brought into being?

To answer these questions, it would be well to draw certain lessons from our past experiences, to establish what was positive in our work, and what was inadequate or erroneous.

LESSONS FROM THE PAST

There has been much unclarity and difference of opinion in our ranks on whether the dissolution of the Young Communist League in 1943 was a mistake. We tended to consider the dissolution of the Y.C.L. and its replacement by the American Youth for Democracy as merely a new approach to an old problem—that of securing a broader center for anti-fascist activity among the youth—a goal that the Y.C.L. had set for

itself for more than a decade. Furthermore, it was axiomatic that the dissolution of the Y.C.L. could not be viewed in the same light as the liquidation of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the entire working class, including the youth. The Y.C.L. was a different type of organization, and under certain circumstances the dissolution of the Y.C.L. through a merger with other youth forces may take place. But under all circumstances the aim must be to extend the base for the socialist education of the youth.

From its birth our Young Communist League made many important contributions to advancing the struggle for the needs of the youth. It involved the youth in the unemployed struggles, helped to organize those in the trustified industries into unions, and raised to a new level the fight for the rights of the Negro youth. It played a key role in uniting and leading large sections of the non-Communist youth in the fight against fascism and war in the middle and late thirties. Through its program of activities it advanced the understanding of socialism among important sections of the youth, and trained a significant Marxist cadre for the Party.

However, the Y.C.L. was constantly prevented from playing a more effective role by sectarian concepts and methods of work. For more than a decade it seriously strove to adapt its organization to the special needs, habits and ways of life of the American youth, and made

more important progress in that direction. As a result it attracted to its ranks many non-Party youth—young people not ready to accept the Communist Party program, but interested in a fighting youth organization, interested in studying the science of Marxism.

During this same period, the Y.C.L. sought to bring into being in the United States, a broad, non-Party, anti-fascist youth organization, through the merger of existing anti-fascist youth groups on the basis of a common program, educating the youth in the spirit of socialism. The Y.C.L. on several occasions considered changing its name, recognizing that its very name committed young people to accept Communism in advance, if that would facilitate establishment of such an organization. But this was rejected time and time again, precisely because the conditions for bringing such an organization into being did not exist.

In 1943, the prerequisites did not exist for the merger of the Y.C.L. with other forces around a common program. More was involved in the action of 1943 than a change in the name of the youth organization and a broadening of its base. For the dissolution of the Y.C.L. was not isolated from the developing Browder revisionism in our Party which already influenced many fields of activity, including the field of youth work. What was involved in the action of 1943 was the liquidation of the Marxist content of the youth organization, thus abandoning the con-

cept of the need for an independent Marxist youth organization, without which the youth cannot be won for effective anti-fascist unity, much less for socialism.

Revisionist thinking strongly influenced the character of the organization projected to replace the Y.C.L. The new organization was conceived as one educating the youth not in socialism but in the traditions of the best in bourgeois democracy. It was to be a non-partisan organization, with free discussion of the policies and theories proposed by *all* political parties, with the individual youth deciding his or her position on the "merits" of these policies and parties. Fraternal ties with the Communist Party were dissolved, in order to "facilitate" ties with all patriotic anti-fascist organizations—ties that remained unachieved. Emphasis was laid on the service character of the organization, thus differentiating it but little from other youth service organizations. And Marxism was to be studied on a voluntary basis, as one of the important "currents" of democratic thought. Of course, there was great need in 1943, as there is today, for the creation and building of anti-fascist youth organizations committed to a general democratic program. But such organizations do not eliminate the need for a Marxist youth organization.

As revisionism strengthened its hold on our Party, the revisionist concepts in the youth field were

also deepened. During 1944-45, every semblance of working-class militancy in the program and activities of the Communists working among the youth was further watered down. Their activities were developed in full keeping with the utopian post-war perspectives of Browder, of working for "orderly social progress within the framework of the existing social system." The growth of revisionism negated every basic principle of Marxist-Leninist work among the youth. As an inevitable accompaniment, there developed the complete separation from, and neglect of, the problems of the youth by the Party as a whole.

When we departed from an independent Marxist youth organization we further aggravated a historical weakness of the youth movement, its weak base among the working youth, both Negro and white. For the rejection of the need to fight for socialist ideology among the youth inevitably meant to give up the struggle for winning the working youth against monopoly capitalism and for socialism.

Thus, under the conditions of 1943, the dissolved Y.C.L. was replaced, not by a broader type of Marxist youth organization, but by a democratic, anti-fascist organization that took a neutral position as regards Marxism and the Communist Party. Under these conditions the dissolution of the Y.C.L. was a revisionist error—a product of Browder revisionism.

SINCE OUR PARTY'S EMERGENCY CONVENTION

What happened to our youth policy at our Emergency National Convention and in the period following? Here it must be noted that certain incorrect conclusions have been drawn from my report to the Party national youth conference in April of this year. Because of the failure in that report sufficiently to differentiate between what happened during 1943-45 and what happened after our Emergency Convention, some comrades concluded that we not only continued our revisionist errors in the youth field, but, in fact, further deepened and extended revisionism. This is obviously incorrect, and, undoubtedly this false interpretation could have been drawn from my report. Therefore, we must estimate clearly and correctly the basis laid at the Emergency Convention for our youth work.

At the Emergency Convention, when our Party unanimously rejected Browder revisionism, we re-established for the youth movement, as for all fields of work, a Marxist-Leninist direction. The National Youth Memorandum issued by our Party in November 1945 aimed to infuse our work among the youth with a new anti-imperialist, anti-fascist content and called for the strengthening of the A.Y.D. as an advanced, fighting, anti-fascist organization. We re-established the principle of Party responsibility for youth work and the need for the Marxist-

Leninist training of youth cadres. We projected the establishment of Party youth clubs to involve young Communists in youth work.

As a result of the rejection of revisionism, certain advances were made in the youth field.

1. The A.Y.D. led many important struggles, participating in numerous united front actions and legislative struggles, particularly around issues affecting the problems of the Negro youth. It developed a new fighting spirit. It advanced the principle of internationalism, for anti-imperialist solidarity, through its activities around the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. The A.Y.D., despite many obstacles, did an outstanding job in resisting the Red-baiting attacks of the un-American committee and similar forces in other parts of the country, defending the need for unity of Communists and non-Communist youth.

2. We opened up new possibilities for work among the students. We not only expanded the Party to ninety campuses, but our student comrades initiated and supported movements on various issues, including the special needs of the veterans, lower tuition fees, academic freedom, abolition of the quota system which discriminates against Negro and Jewish youth particularly, opposition to U.M.T. and the draft, etc. Marxism was again brought to the campus through the organization of many Marxist societies, forums, and lectures. The fine Marxist stu-

dent quarterly, *New Foundations*, began publication.

3. In many districts Party youth clubs were established to develop work among the youth in the communities and organizations. Some districts set up functioning youth commissions and started the process of training Communist youth cadres. A new consciousness developed of the need to establish ties with the youth in the bourgeois-led youth organizations. As a result, we substantially increased our youth membership, re-activated many former Y.C.L.-ers, attracted a large corps of new veterans, and initiated many important activities and struggles in the name of the Party youth clubs.

Did we give *all* the answers in 1945?

The developments of the past few years prove that we did not go far enough in 1945.

Experience has proved that the A.Y.D. did not have the possibility of developing into a broad anti-war, anti-fascist youth organization, primarily because such a development among the youth is contingent upon similar developments among the people as a whole. When history placed on the order of the day a people's anti-monopoly, anti-fascist coalition, which gave birth to a new people's party, the objective possibility was created for a similar movement to develop among the youth on a broad scale. Thus, recent developments enable us to see more clearly what we did not see in 1945.

Experience has also proved that

through the Party itself, even through youth clubs and youth commissions within the Party, broad Communist work among the youth cannot be effectively organized. It becomes difficult to attract and educate non-Communist youth for socialism. While the Party constantly trains youthful cadres for Party work, the Party, as the last three years have shown, does not constantly train young cadres with a long-term perspective for work among the youth. Thus, as our own experience, and that of the world working class has taught us, there is no substitute for an independent Marxist youth organization. Developments, especially in the last nine months, enable us to see this more clearly than we did in 1945.

Had we in 1945, or in the period immediately following, probed more deeply into every phase of our youth work, listened more attentively to the voices raised below, there is no question that we would have much sooner, if not already then, seen the need for an independent non-Party Marxist youth organization. It is now clear that most of the comrades who raised the demand for the re-establishment of the Y.C.L., were not so much concerned with the Y.C.L. as such, but correctly wanted a youth organization with a Marxist content.

As a result of discussions held during the past seven months, we now implement our youth policy by projecting the need to build a non-Party Marxist youth organization.

THE ESSENCE OF A NON-PARTY MARXIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION

What is meant by a *non-Party* Marxist youth organization?

First of all, the Marxist youth organization must be an independent youth organization, with its own leadership, making its own decisions, learning from its own ways of working and its own mistakes. Only in this way can the youth be trained, educated, and won for socialism. This is a fundamental Marxist principle for work among the youth. Marxists have always championed the organizational independence of the youth movement, as against Social-Democracy which attempted to dominate and impose its will upon the youth. Marxists everywhere have always stressed the need for a special youth organization to satisfy the special requirements and defend the special interests of the youth as a means of training a new generation of youth in socialist ideology. Thus Lenin many years ago stated:

Frequently, the middle-aged and the aged *do not know how* to approach the youth in the proper way; for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism *in a different way, by other paths*, in other forms, under other circumstances than their fathers. Incidentally, this is why we must be decidedly in favor of the *organizational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but because of the very nature of the case; for unless they have complete independence the youth *will be unable*

either to train good Socialists from their midst, or to prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.

Secondly, it must be primarily an educational organization of the youth, giving the young people every opportunity to learn in the process of fighting for their own interests, for the interests of the working class as a whole. Every phase of the organization's work must be aimed to educate the youth in the spirit of the fight for freedom, in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of socialism. Basing itself on the science of Marxist-Leninism, the education of the youth must be not a classroom but a class-struggle concept, educating the youth in the process of day-to-day struggles.

Thirdly, it must be a partisan organization, basing itself upon the working class and its vanguard Party, the Communist Party. Within the organization, young Communists must work to establish the closest fraternal relations between the youth organization and the Party, striving to convince the membership of the correctness of Party policies, creating confidence in our Party and an understanding of its indispensable vanguard role.

Fourthly, it must be a non-party youth organization, combining within its ranks Communist and non-Communist youth, opening its doors to all young people who want to struggle for peace and freedom, in defense of their own rights, and who sympathize with, or are interested in studying and learning about,

Marxism. The youth organization cannot be a Junior Communist Party. We do not need a political party of the youth, with a rigid structure, strict discipline, and an inner life which copies that of the Party. It must be a youthful organization, with diversified organizational forms, adapting its organizational structure, methods of work, and program to the specific level of the youth themselves. It must work in such a way that it satisfies not only the political, but the educational, cultural, recreational, and social needs of the youth. In fact, nothing that engages the minds of young people should be outside its sphere, and it must organize its work in such a way that it does not deprive the youth of living the way youth normally live.

It is in this sense that the youth organization is a non-Party organization—non-Party in its forms, methods of work, internal life, composition of its membership—but Marxist-Leninist in its content and direction.

ERRORS TO AVOID

Since we projected such a Marxist youth organization, certain incorrect tendencies have expressed themselves. This no doubt happened because we were unable to find an effective way of reaching the entire Party with adequate material explaining our position, nor were we able adequately to mobilize our comrades for a fight for a correct understanding of our policy. Thus, since

the Party youth conference, three main tendencies have hampered the realization of our policy:

1. There has been evidenced an inner orientation—a concern mainly with internal organizational problems. Perhaps this is due to the fact that at the youth conference we gave a one-sided emphasis to the errors of the past and did not sufficiently spell out the tasks for today. But the fact remains that this tendency is hindering our ability to fulfill our great responsibilities in this critical election year, and would, if continued, narrow down the base of the Marxist youth organization itself. Not endless inner discussions and debates, but turning the face of our youth to the problems of the young people will test the correctness of our policy.

2. There is a tendency to consider our existing Party youth clubs and Party student clubs as an adequate base for the new Marxist organization. This tendency expresses a lack of confidence in the possibility of attracting to the Marxist youth organization, non-Communist youth who, while not yet ready to join the Party, do want to belong to a youth organization which educates the youth in Communist principles, in socialist science. A Marxist youth organization based only on Communists defeats the very objective of an independent youth organization for educating youth for socialism. What is more, such an organization, limited only to Communists, would make for the recurrence of the sec-

tarian habits and methods of work of the early years of the Y.C.L. It would fail to profit from the experiences of the Y.C.L. in the latter years of its existence.

3. Some young Communists have developed liquidationist tendencies in relation to the American Youth for Democracy. A concept has arisen that the A.Y.D. has already fulfilled its historic purpose now that a new broad progressive youth organization is coming into being. Thus, in some areas, the A.Y.D. has already been liquidated in fact, while in others the trend to liquidation has increased in recent months. This tendency proceeds from the failure to recognize that the A.Y.D. is the most advanced anti-fascist, anti-imperialist youth organization in the United States, because of the role of Communists in its leadership, because in the past three years it has been the sole youth force fighting the effects of imperialism and reaction on the youth. As a result, it has won the respect of many advanced young people, and it has a splendid, devoted, and loyal membership. As the most advanced youth organization, the A.Y.D. has a special role to play—to initiate, support, and develop anti-fascist unity; to contribute ideological clarity and experience in struggle to all youth organizations.

The decision of the A.Y.D.'s National Council to deepen in its members an understanding of the class nature of present day society will guarantee that the A.Y.D.

plays an important role in bringing to the youth an understanding of the need for a non-party independent youth organization with socialist perspectives. Any tendency to bypass the A.Y.D., or to allow it to disappear by neglect, would seriously impair the progress toward anti-fascist unity, seriously weaken the objectives to be fulfilled in the 1948 elections, and weaken the base for a new Marxist youth organization.

THE PERSPECTIVES

How shall we proceed to realize the perspective for a Marxist youth organization?

Clearly, we cannot hope to crystallize this type of Marxist youth organization unless our youth, in fact the whole Party, strengthens its ties with the white and Negro working youth and students, reacts to and gives leadership on the issues which most concern the youth, and gives support to every progressive action and movement developing in the country. The realization of our youth policy is not, and must not be conceived as, an inner organizational question. It is a question of realizing a mass youth policy—rooting our young comrades among the youth, in the first place among the working and Negro youth.

Therefore, the tasks in the 1948 elections must receive primary attention by all Communist youth and those they influence. The American youth have no traditional ties with the two-party system. They can be

won for the program and candidates of the Progressive Party. Many of the 6,000,000 first voters can be made to see their stake in the outcome of the November elections. But this will not take place spontaneously. The youth must be reached, patiently and consistently. They must be given detailed answers to the important issues involved in the present elections. They must be organized so that their initiative, their youthful enthusiasm, their daring and boldness, will be given full play. And they must be reached where they are—in the shops and unions, in the schools and colleges, in the ball parks, swimming pools, beaches, dance halls, in the bowling alleys and pool rooms, in the Y's, settlement houses, and churches.

As a result of active participation in the election campaign the progressive organizations of youth can emerge considerably strengthened. That is why all advanced anti-fascist youth, in the unions, in the communities, in the A.Y.D., in the Negro youth organizations, and the Communist youth together with them, will give particular attention to the building and strengthening of the Young Progressives of America as a really broad, all-inclusive, anti-fascist center of American youth.

Communist youth welcome the birth of this new organization. They have but one interest—to see it grow as the broadest anti-fascist, anti-imperialist formation of the youth of our country, enlisting the support of ideologically diverse elements and

groups around a common minimum program of struggle. Communist youth have no desire to dominate or control this organization. They realize they have much to learn from the large masses of young people and their elected leaders. Through democratic discussions and collective solutions, the most effective methods and forms of work will be developed. At the same time, young Communists, armed with Marxism, can contribute greatly to a fuller understanding of the real problems the youth face, with a real understanding of the course that must be adopted to fight for their interests.

The Party leadership in every district must give special attention to our young comrades, help them to overcome any sectarian habits and practices which may have arisen as a result of inexperience, and imbue them with confidence in the ability of the youth, under proper leadership, to move on the path of progressive action.

FOR THE REPEAL OF THE DRAFT

The youth will not be won for progressive political action by words alone. A many-sided struggle in defense of their real needs must be organized and developed.

Chief of these is the fight to repeal the draft. The fight to repeal the draft can enlist broad support among American youth—not only among those already organized in the Young Progressives, the N.A.A.C.P. Junior Council, the American Youth

for Democracy, etc., but among those found in the religious and bourgeois-led organizations.

Various forms of activity and education should be developed—demonstrations, conferences, picket lines and lobbies, leaflets, meetings, discussion groups and the radio—to reach the youth where they are.

In the fight against the draft a relentless struggle must be organized against Jim Crow in the armed forces. In this fight the unity of Negro and white working youth and students must be established. The justified indignation of the Negro youth against the Jim-Crow army is being diverted by the Philip Randolphs and other Social-Democrats into a demagogic campaign for passive resistance to the draft without fighting for the repeal of the draft. Such "struggle" can neither eliminate Jim Crow in the army, nor protect the interests of Negro youth. The only way to defeat Jim Crow in the armed forces is to fight for the repeal of the draft, and to rally the Negro youth in unity with the white youth in the fight against the whole war and pro-fascist program of bipartisan reaction.

EMPHASIS ON THE YOUNG WORKERS

In developing our work in the coming months, great responsibility rests upon the Party to assist the youth in finding the special forms for activity and organization among the young people in industry, particularly those in the large plants.

Communist trade unionists have the task to help overcome within their unions the neglect, and even resistance, to the development of a special program for the defense of the economic interests of the youth, as well as the organization of special forms of education, recreation, and social activity for the trade-union youth. All progressive labor leaders should be convinced that the cause of the Progressive Party would be greatly advanced if the youth were allowed to develop special Youth Committees for Wallace, or the building of clubs of the Young Progressives of America in the various shops and unions.

The Party leadership everywhere must view with particular concern the fact that today we have only a small number of industrial youth within our Party. The existing youth clubs have but limited connections with youth in industry. If we are to win young workers for the Party, if we are to lay a solid foundation for the new Marxist youth organization among working youth, in addition to orienting the youth clubs to working-class communities, it is necessary to develop separate youth forms of organization among the young workers in the shops and industries. The unsatisfactory experience in the development of youth shop clubs in the days of the Y.C.L., because of sectarian methods of work, must not stand in the way of our now finding the proper forms for the present work of our Party youth clubs and, especially, effective

forms for the building of the new Marxist youth organization in the shops and industries.

THE NEGRO YOUTH

Perhaps the most alarming state of affairs in the youth field exists in relation to Negro youth. This is true for the progressive youth movement as a whole, and especially true of our Party youth clubs, in which we have only an extremely small number of young Negro comrades. This is due in no small degree to the absence of a policy for work among the Negro youth. To date, the theoretical position of our Party on the national character of the oppression of the Negro people has not been examined as it relates to the particular problems of the Negro youth.

In the main, our young comrades have been working without perspective in the Negro community—and remain almost completely isolated from the Negro youth, from their organizations and their fundamental problems. While the A.Y.D., and recently our own Party youth clubs, on and off campus, have initiated and supported many important struggles in defense of the needs of Negro youth, these struggles have been sporadic, and have not involved adequately the white working youth and their organizations. Neither have these struggles come to grip with the basic needs of Negro youth.

What is most significant is that to date no consistent struggle against white chauvinism has been con-

ducted. As a result, white chauvinism has penetrated the ranks of our youth clubs, the ranks of the A.Y.D., and many organizations in which our comrades are involved. Our youth must be reared in a spirit of internationalism, in a spirit of relentless struggle against all forms of white superiority, national chauvinism, and anti-Semitism. This is a special responsibility for the Communist youth. And this must be undertaken in a new way by our youth clubs and youth leadership as a whole.

The Party leadership must help to make a turn in this field of work. Youth clubs have to select important Negro communities and Negro youth organizations for special concentration, with forces and funds allocated for this work. Special schools and classes must be organized for the training of our Negro youth cadres, and young Negro comrades drawn into all leading youth bodies.

So far as the South is concerned, immediately after this convention a conference should be held with all Party leaders to discuss how the tasks of this convention can be carried out among the Negro and white youth of the South, and especially how to translate into practice our perspective for a Marxist youth organization in the Southern states.

Only if we grapple with these questions, only if we turn the face of our youth to mass work, can we lay the foundations for a new Marx-

ist youth organization after the elections.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

At the same time, laying a firm foundation for the new Marxist youth organization demands the expansion of the existing youth and student clubs, the building of new clubs, and the creation of functioning youth and student sections with competent youth leadership. We must allow the Party youth clubs to develop an internal life of their own in keeping with the needs and interests of the youth themselves. We must give them the opportunity to concentrate their main efforts on the problems of the youth, on developing forms and methods of work which will attract youth.

It should be clear to all that our Communist youth can make the greatest contribution to the Party when they are given every opportunity to work among the youth and are not overburdened with all the Party campaigns and general Party assignments. For our youth, Communist work must mean, first of all, work among the youth.

There is evident some hesitation on the part of many comrades to allow the clubs and youth sections greater leeway in developing their youth activity. There is fear they might get out of hand. There are also some expressions of resistance to taking young comrades out of Party clubs and bringing them together into youth clubs; or to taking

youth clubs from Party sections and allowing them to function in special youth sections. Under normal circumstances, this position of these comrades would be correct. But in the light of the perspective for the new organization, it is necessary to create now those conditions for the work of the youth clubs and sections that will enable them to move in the direction of the new Marxist youth organization.

In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other centers, where youth sections were established, some real progress has been recorded. The youth sections have done the best recruiting in many instances. They led the campaign to raise the special fund to fight the Mundt Bill. They have begun to develop a new inner life and a spirit of enthusiasm and unity. They have begun to organize classes and full-time schools. They have broadened their contacts with youth, actively participating in numerous broad activities. They have also begun to build up a whole number of non-Party youth discussion groups, convincing non-Communists of the need for the independent non-Party Marxist youth organization.

The Party leadership in every district must give the utmost attention and assistance to the youth clubs and the youth and student sections, and to strengthening the State Youth Commissions. We must help guarantee that experienced youth forces are assigned to youth work. Our educational departments, in consultation with the youth comrades,

should help rapidly to expand the training of scores of young comrades for leadership in the new Marxist youth organization. Our experience in the last months proves that we have many splendid young comrades. If they lack knowledge, experience, and Communist maturity, they do not lack the burning desire to work and learn.

The perspective for a new Marxist youth organization requires not less but more attention on the part of the Party to work among the youth. The carrying out of an all-around youth policy, with our limited base and forces, is a complex and difficult one under any circumstances. It therefore requires the most persistent guidance by the Party leadership in every district. In fact, the Party leadership and membership, from top to bottom, must appreciate that the perspectives we are now unfolding require careful guidance and supervision by the Party, regular consultations and discussions with the youth, and the utmost help to assure that our youth will master the technique of combining the broadest methods and forms of work with a firm struggle for Marxist content.

Finally, it is necessary to create a new consciousness in the ranks of our entire Party that the problem of the youth is the problem of the Party. We have often repeated the truism that he who has the youth has the future. The American bourgeoisie knows this; it is striving with every means at its disposal to extend

its influence over the youth. We can do no less.

But here we should say one thing more. He who has the youth in America today also has the working class. For the millions of working youth today is the working class of tomorrow. We must guarantee that every Party member, every Party club, every Party committee fully recognizes the decisive importance of

this task and helps in practice to realize our youth policy.

If we imbue the ranks of our Party with this spirit, we shall then be able to make a decisive break with our past neglect of youth work and guarantee that the youth of America will assume their rightful place as an important segment of the camp of progress and socialism.

THE CONVENTION UNANIMOUSLY REJECTS BROWDER'S APPEAL

Comrade Robert Thompson reporting in behalf of the Presiding Committee:

YOUR PRESIDING COMMITTEE has considered an appeal for readmission to our Party by Earl Browder. This appeal is in the form of a letter by Browder to the National Cadre and Review Commission. I would now like to read the letter to you.

New York City,
July 6, 1948.

Alexander Trachtenberg,
Cadre & Review Commission
Communist Party of U.S.A.,
New York City.

Dear Trachtenberg:

I wish to raise again the question of restoring my membership in the C.P.U.S.A., from which I was expelled in 1946.

Events in connection with Yugoslavia reveal serious dangers to the world movement for socialism. Many, including myself, have hitherto had an inadequate understanding of these dangers.

In such a moment all other considerations must give way to the necessity of unity of the world movement and the protection of its achievements.

The sole instrumentality through which this can be attained on an international scale is the Communist Information Bureau, the leading role of which has been confirmed by the

C.P.U.S.A. The enemy camp, making use of my expulsion from the Party, now tries to manipulate with my name to extend their disruptive efforts. This is a weapon to which they are not entitled; my only desire is to strengthen the camp of peace, democracy and socialism. Therefore, I wish to end this situation quickly, and by what means may be necessary. I therefore ask you to obtain for me information of the conditions and procedure under which I may gain reinstatement.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Earl Browder.

Your Presiding Committee has considered this appeal for reinstatement and recommends to this Convention its rejection. (Applause.) The Presiding Committee bases this recommendation on three main grounds:

The first of these grounds consists in the fact that the writings and other activities of Browder in the period since his expulsion, and continuing up to the present moment, demonstrate beyond the possibility of question that Browder continues to adhere to, and to propagate in all of its essentials, the anti-Marxist, bourgeois political line for which he was expelled in 1946.

The second of these grounds consists in the fact that neither at the present moment nor at any other

time since his expulsion has Browder, in words or in deeds, shown the slightest evidence of critically re-evaluating his revisionist policies and role while in the leadership of our Party, or his anti-Party, disruptionist activities and role since his expulsion in 1946. It is clear from this that there is no evidence on his part of any change in, or any desire to change, his anti-Marxist political line and his anti-Party activities.

The third ground for the Presiding Committee's recommendation consists in the fact that in the period since his expulsion from our Party, and continuing up to the present moment, Browder has not only continued to propagate his anti-Marxist bourgeois political views, but Browder has also continued to conduct anti-Party activities directly aimed at spreading lies and slanders about our Party among the masses, at undermining confidence in our Party and

its policies, and aimed at undermining the unity of our Party and creating a disruptive and factional base for himself within our Party.

The appeal by Browder for reinstatement is in keeping with his anti-Party activities and conduct. It does not mark a break or a departure from his anti-Party activities and conduct. It is an attempt by Browder, thinly disguised by demagogic phrasemongering about Tito, to gain admittance into our Party for Browder, for Browder's anti-Marxist bourgeois political line, and for Browder's anti-Party factional activities.

On the basis of these three grounds, the Presiding Committee recommend to this Convention the rejection of Browder's appeal for reinstatement into our Party. (Applause.)

[The recommendation of the Presiding Committee was unanimously adopted by the Convention.]

1948 ELECTION PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In this crucial 1948 election the American people have a fateful decision to make: Shall America follow the path of peace or war, democracy or fascism?

Our boys returned from World War II with the hope that their wartime sacrifices had not been in vain.

Remember the promises:

- Fascism would be wiped out.
- The great-power unity that brought war victory would bring enduring peace.
- An economic bill of rights would provide every American with security.

These promises have been broken.

Instead of peace, there is war—in Greece, in China, in Israel.

Instead of peace, we witness feverish preparations for a new world war.

Instead of peace, American boys are being regimented for war with the enactment of the peacetime draft.

Instead of security and abundance, we have sky-rocketing prices, lowered living standards and the shadow of an impending economic crash with mass unemployment. Farmers fear the inevitable collapse of farm prices. After three years our veterans are still denied housing. Our youth face a future of insecurity and new wars.

Instead of greater democracy, we have lynch law, mounting Jim-Crowism and anti-Semitism, and a conspiracy to undermine our sacred democratic heritage. We have anti-Communist witch-hunts, the arrest and conviction of anti-fascist leaders, the harassment and intimidation of writers, artists and intellectuals. We have phony spy scares, the hounding of government employees and former Roosevelt associates, the persecution of foreign-born workers, and the adoption of anti-labor legislation, attempts to outlaw the Communist Party through Mundt-Nixon Bills, and now the indictment of the twelve Communist leaders on the trumped-up charge of "force and violence." These are the methods by which the American people are step by step being driven down the road to a police state and fascism.

These are the chief issues of the 1948 elections.

* * *

America is a great and beautiful land, endowed with immense natural resources and a people skilled in producing abundance. Why then the fear of insecurity?

We are today threatened by no outside force. We are in no danger of attack from any nation. Why then the war hysteria?

The answer lies in this simple fact—250 giant corporations, operating through a handful of banks, control the economic life of the United States. These in turn are largely owned by a few plutocratic families—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont and Ford.

The nation's industries are not operated for the public welfare, but for the private gain and power of the multi-millionaire ruling class. Prices continue to rise because of vast military expenditures and because the monopolies, through price-fixing agreements and other devious devices, extract exorbitant profits.

They make huge profits from war and from armaments. They extract super-profits abroad by forcing other nations into economic dependence upon Wall Street. This drive for foreign markets, for Wall Street domination of the world, is at the bottom of the war hysteria and war preparations. Big Business strives to crush the growth and advance of democracy and Socialism throughout the world, in order to protect and swell its profits.

Big Business seeks to re-establish the old Nazi cartels and to use Germany and Japan as military bases for new aggression. But the failures of the bipartisan policy to achieve its main aim of world conquest have increased the frenzy with which Wall Street seeks to plunge the nation into fascism and World War III.

WAR AND PEACE

Neither the American people nor the Soviet Union is responsible for the sharpening tension in international relations. The responsibility rests squarely on Wall Street and the bipartisan Truman-Dewey atomic diplomacy. Only the capitalist trusts want war. The Soviet Union is a socialist country. It has no trusts, no I. G. Farben or du Pont cartels to profit from wars. That is why the Soviet Union is the most powerful force for peace in the world.

The Communist Party calls upon the labor movement and all progressive, peace-loving Americans to struggle for the realization of the following peace program:

- End the "cold war," the draft, and the huge military budget.
- Restore American-Soviet friendship, the key to world peace and the fulfillment of the peoples' hope in the United Nations.
- Conclude a peace settlement for a united, democratic Germany and Japan based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Guarantee the complete democratization and demilitarization of these countries.
- Stop military aid and intervention in China, Korea and Greece.
- Break diplomatic and economic ties with Franco-Spain.
- Scrap the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. Furnish large-scale

economic assistance to the war-ravaged victims of fascist attack. Give this aid through the United Nations without political strings.

- Lift the embargo on, and extend full recognition to, Israel.
- Give immediate, unconditional independence to Puerto Rico.
- Aid the economic development of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the basis of full support to their fight for their national independence. Defeat the Truman Arms Standardization Plan.
- Abandon economic, political and military pressures on the countries of Latin America.

THE ATTACK ON LABOR AND OUR LIVING STANDARDS

The trusts have inflated prices and battered down the real wages of American workers to 16 per cent below 1944.

Huge war expenditures amount to 15 billion dollars this year—one-third of the entire national budget! The American people are already paying dearly for this "cold war economy," through a heavy tax burden, speed-up and reduction in real wages. We will pay still more heavily as the inflationary boom speeds the day of the oncoming economic bust.

Big Business has decreed that labor's hands be tied and its rights destroyed. The Taft-Hartley Law and strike-breaking injunctions are weapons against the people's resistance to the monopoly drive towards war and fascism.

To defend the labor movement and the vital economic interests of the overwhelming majority of the American people, labor and all progressives should unite in stubborn and militant struggle for the following demands:

- Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law and end strike-breaking injunctions. Adopt a code of Federal labor legislation, including the best features of the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law.

- Restore price control and roll back prices, without any wage freeze.
- Enact an extensive program for Federally-financed low-rent public housing, minimum wage legislation, old-age pensions, adequate health insurance, and increased aid to education.

- Provide increased security for the working farmers through up-to-date parity price and income guarantees, based on unlimited farm production. Such income guarantees require farm subsidies, effective crop insurance and sharp curbs on the giant food trusts and their marketing agencies. Carry out a program of planned conservation and River Valley projects. Extend the Federal minimum wage and social security laws to agricultural workers, including seasonal and migratory labor.

We call for heavier taxation on high incomes and excess profits, with increased exemption for the low brackets. We demand a capital levy on big

fortunes and corporations to finance essential social legislation.

We support all steps to curb the power of the trusts, the source of reaction, fascism and war. The American people can make gains, even under capitalism, by mass resistance to the monopolies.

We support measures to nationalize the basic industries, banks and insurance companies, but point out that such measures can only be useful as part of the fight to realize a people's democratic government in the United States. Democratic nationalization of trustified industries requires guarantees of democratic controls and the right of labor to organize, bargain collectively and strike. This can only be accomplished by a people's government dedicated to curbing the power of the trusts.

We point out that capitalism cannot become "progressive" even by curbing the excesses of the monopolies. The basic causes of unemployment, economic crisis, fascism and war can only be removed by the establishment of Socialism through the democratic will of the majority of the American people.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The destruction of the rights of the Communists is the classical first step down the road to fascism. The tragedy of Germany and Italy proves this. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the working class and all Americans who hate fascism to defend the rights of the Communists, and to help explode the myth that Communists are foreign agents or advocate force and violence.

We Communists are no more foreign agents than was Jefferson who was also accused of being a foreign agent by the Tories of his day. We follow in the best traditions of the spokesmen of labor, science and culture whose contributions to human progress knew no national boundaries. We follow in the tradition of Abraham Lincoln, who said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting the working people of all nations and tongues and kindred."

It is the monopolists who advocate and practice force and violence, not the Communists. Reaction has always resorted to force and violence to thwart the democratic aspirations of the peoples. In 1776, force and violence were the weapons of King George against the American colonists seeking national independence. In 1861, force and violence were used by the Southern slave owners in an attempt to overthrow the democratic republic headed by Lincoln. Today the people suffer the violence of the K.K.K., the lynch mobs, the fascist hoodlum gangs and police brutality.

We are Marxists, not adventurers or conspirators. We condemn and reject the policy and practice of terror and assassination and repudiate the advocates of force and violence. We Communists insist upon our right to compete freely in the battle of ideas. We Communists insist upon our right

to organize and bring our program to the people. Let the people judge our views and activities on their merits.

We call upon the American people to fight with all their strength against the danger of fascism, to resist every fascist measure, to defend every democratic right.

- End the witch hunts, loyalty orders and phony spy scares.
- Abolish the Un-American Committee. Withdraw the indictments against the twelve Communist leaders and the contempt citations against the anti-fascist victims of Congressional inquisitions.
- Stop the campaign of terror and intimidation against labor leaders, intellectuals and people of the professions.
- End persecution and deportation of the foreign born and lift the un-democratic bars to citizenship.
- Outlaw all forms of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and every other expression of racial and religious bigotry.
- End all discrimination against the Mexican-American people in the Southwest.
- The Communist Party calls for an end to any and all political, social and economic inequalities practiced against women and demands the maintenance and extension of existing protective legislation.
- Extend the suffrage. Remove the bars directed against minority parties. Lower the voting age to 18 years in every state.

NEGRO RIGHTS

The hypocrisy of the democratic pretensions of Wall Street and the Administration are shattered by the reality of the Jim-Crow system in America. The most shameful aspect of American life is the Jim-Crowism, the terror and violence imposed upon the Negro people, especially in the South. Discrimination in employment, only slightly relaxed during the war, is once again widespread.

The Communist Party, which has pioneered in fighting for full political, economic and social equality for the Negro people, calls for an end to the policies of the Federal and state governments which give official sanction to the Jim-Crow system in the United States.

We call upon all progressives, especially white progressives, to carry on an unceasing day-to-day struggle to outlaw the poll tax, lynchings, segregation, job discrimination and all other forms of Jim-Crowism, official and unofficial, and to give their full support to the rising national liberation movement of the Negro people. This is vital to the Negro people, to the white workers, and to the whole fight for democracy in America.

- We demand a national F.E.P.C. law, to be vigorously and fully enforced.

- We demand that the Ingram family be freed and adequately compensated for the ordeals to which they have been subjected.
- We demand that the Ku Klux Klan and all other hate-and-terror organizations be outlawed.
- We condemn President Truman's cynical evasion of the issue of segregation in the armed forces. We demand that he immediately issue an Executive Order ending every form of segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and the government services.
- We defend the right of the Negro people to full representation in government, and demand Federal enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, so that the Negro people, North and South, may participate freely and fully in the 1948 elections, and all elections thereafter.
- We call for a democratic agricultural program which will give land and other forms of assistance to millions of Negro and white tenants and sharecroppers in the South, and thereby help put an end to the semifeudal plantation system.

Such reforms will help provide the material basis for the Negro people's advance towards full liberation from their national oppression, towards their full political, economic and social equality.

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Millions of American working people have come to realize the futility of any further support for the bankrupt two-party system of Big Business. Both major parties are committed to the bipartisan war program, reflected in both the Truman Doctrine and its New Look version, the Marshall Plan. Both major parties are united in this program of fattening the billionaires and bleeding the people.

Both major parties are responsible for runaway inflation. Both the Democratic Administration and the Republican Congress have done nothing to curb the powers of the trusts to hoard food, rig markets, boost prices and gouge consumers.

Both major parties are responsible for the atrocities committed against the Bill of Rights. Both helped pass the Taft-Hartley Law. Both the Democratic Congressional leaders and the cynical Dewey-Warren-Taft Republican leadership are responsible for the failure to enact civil rights legislation. Neither the Democratic platform nor President Truman's demagoguery will fool any enlightened American. The President's deeds belie his words. He has refused to end segregation in the armed forces and the government and fire from his cabinet those who maintain it.

Both major parties are responsible for the Hitler-like hysteria expressed in spy scares, loyalty probes, government witch-hunts and the arrest and indictment of Americans whose "crime" it is to oppose the Wall Street war

plans. The Democratic-controlled Department of Justice and the Republican-controlled Un-American Committee are equally guilty of subverting the Bill of Rights.

Chief allies of the twin parties of Big Business in the ranks of labor and the progressive organizations of the people are those who pretend to criticize the corruption and decay of the two old parties while, in fact, keeping the people tied hand and foot to the two-party system. These include the top officialdom of the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and R.R. Brotherhoods and groups like the Americans for Democratic Action and such Social-Democrats as Norman Thomas and David Dubinsky.

THE NEW PARTY

Millions of Americans, disillusioned with the two-party system, have joined to found a new people's party.

The new Progressive Party is an inescapable historic necessity for millions who want a real choice now between peace and war, democracy and fascism, security and poverty.

The Communists, who support every popular progressive movement, naturally welcome this new people's party. We supported the progressive features of Roosevelt's policies, domestic and foreign. We helped organize the C.I.O. in the 1930's. We have supported every democratic movement since the Communists of Lincoln's generation fought in the Union cause during the Civil War.

On most immediate questions before the people of the country the Progressive Party has offered detailed platform planks around which all forward-looking people can unite. Our support of the Progressive Party policies and campaign does not alter the fact that we have fundamental as well as some tactical differences with Henry Wallace and related third-party forces.

The Communist Party is not nominating a Presidential ticket in the 1948 elections. In 1944 we Communists supported Roosevelt to help win the anti-Axis war. Similarly, in 1948 we Communists join with millions of other Americans to support the Progressive Party ticket to help win the peace. The Communist Party will enter its own candidates only in those districts where the people are offered no progressive alternatives to the twin parties of Wall Street.

The Progressive Party is by its very nature a great coalition of labor, farmers, the Negro people, youth, and professional and small business people. It is anti-monopoly, anti-fascist, anti-war. By its very nature it is not an anti-capitalist party. It is not a Socialist or a Communist Party and we are not seeking to make it one. It is and should develop as a united front, broad, mass people's party.

There is only one Marxist Party in America, one party dedicated to replacing the capitalist system with Socialism—and that is the Communist Party.

Our firm conviction that only a Socialist reorganization of society will bring permanent peace, security and prosperity is no barrier to cooperation with all other progressive Americans, in helping create a great new coalition in order to save our people from the twin horrors of war and fascism.

We seek no special position in this movement and will, of course, oppose any attempt to discriminate against us because of our Socialist aims.

We Communists are dedicated to the proposition that the great American dream of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, will be realized only under Socialism, a society in which the means of production will be collectively owned and operated under a government led by the working class. Only such a society can forever banish war, poverty and race hatred. Only in such a society can there be the full realization of the dignity of man and the full development of the individual. Only such a society can permanently protect the integrity of the home and family. Only a Socialist society can realize in life the vision of the brotherhood of man.

* * *

Fellow-Americans:

We live in times of great danger.

Fascism and war now threaten our country.

But the common people of America, and in the first place the working people, can defeat these dangers. They can turn our country to the path of democracy and peace, to the path of social progress.

The 1948 elections will help decide which way America will go.

Your united action in this election, your determined defense of your rights, can become powerful forces for peace and progress. The future of our country is in your hands.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

THE 14TH NATIONAL CONVENTION of the Communist Party opened with a historic mass meeting in Madison Square Garden on August 2. A capacity audience, with many unable to get in, was on hand to welcome the delegates and salute the indicted members of the National Board, who were seated on the platform.

Introduced by Chairman of the evening Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York City Councilman Benjamin Davis extended the Party's welcome to the delegates. Comrade Henry Winston paid stirring tribute to the Communist dead, fallen in home front struggle or wartime battle against reaction and fascism. Comrade John Williamson presented the Party's program for mass action to demand that the special session of Congress enact minimum proposals to deal with inflation, civil rights and housing.

Comrade Eugene Dennis turned the tables on the bipartisan conspiracy behind the indictments of the National Board members, brilliantly opening the case for the Communist Party and prosecuting its frame-up accusers. Following a fighting speech by Comrade Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan Party, the audience contributed generously to the collection.

Comrade Foster's keynote speech,

formally opening the Convention, was greeted with a thunderous ovation. The keynote speech was broadcast over a national hook-up.

The first working session of the Convention opened the morning of August 3. Following some brief introductory remarks by Comrade Foster, the election of a Presiding Committee of 17, and the adoption of Rules, the delegates heard the main report of Comrade Dennis. General discussion on the report continued during the afternoon and evening sessions.

Wednesday morning, August 4, Comrade Winston delivered the sub-report on the Party, which was discussed at the afternoon session. The evening session met in three panels. Comrade Williamson reported to the Labor Panel, Comrade Betty Gannett to the Youth Panel, and Comrades Benjamin Davis and John Gates to the panel on the Negro question and the South.

Delegations met from 8:00 to 10:30 A.M. on August 5. The rest of Thursday morning and afternoon was taken up with reports from the Panels, and discussion of these reports. The reports from the Panels to the full convention were made by Williamson and Gates, and by Bob Thompson who reported for the Youth Panel.

Thursday evening the Convention adopted the report of the Credentials Committee, and the Main Resolution with recommended amendments. Comrade Dennis, reporting for the Presiding Committee, proposed that the Convention act on the recommendation of the delegations for the election of a National Committee of 13. Voting was by secret ballot. The 12 members of the former National Board were elected to the new National Committee. Comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, also a member of the old National Committee, was elected to the new one. The National Committee then met and unanimously elected Comrade Foster Chairman and Comrade Dennis General Secretary. The decision was acclaimed by the Convention.

On August 6, the Convention acted on the report of the Constitution Committee, adopting a number of proposed amendments. It also adopted the 1948 Election Platform, submitted by the Platform Committee, and adopted a number of resolutions proposed by the Resolutions Committee.

The afternoon session heard the summary given by Comrade Foster and adopted the main report and the sub-reports. Following adjournment, the delegates were guests at a buffet supper given by the New York Party organization.

Several special actions of the Convention should be recorded. It adopted unanimously the Presiding Committee's recommendation to reject Earl Browder's application for re-

admission to Party membership. It condemned the current Washington "spy scare," and exposed its reactionary and warmongering purposes. It protested the use of anti-labor force and violence in the Dayton Univis strike, and wired an expression of solidarity to the striking workers. It hailed the victory of the American Indians in winning the right to vote. In response to a request received from the broad people's lobby gathered in Washington on August 5, the Convention released Comrade Davis to speak for the Party on the issues before the special sessions of Congress.

After enthusiastically receiving an address by Comrade Cesar Andreu, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico and the only fraternal delegate able to attend, the Convention adopted a resolution pledging the Party's support to the Puerto Rican people's struggle for national independence.

It was agreed to set the week of December 13 as a week of aid to the fighting Party in the South, and plans were made to increase the assistance given by the larger Districts and the National Office to building the Party in the Southern states.

The Convention voted to send fraternal greetings to Comrades Bob Minor, Ray Hansborough, Morris Childs and a number of other comrades absent because of ill health, and to Comrade Leon Josephson, the first victim of the House Un-American Committee to serve a prison sentence.

An unprecedented number of Communist parties of other countries

sent fraternal greetings to the Convention. Among these were the Parties of Great Britain, Norway, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Venezuela, India, Canada, Israel, South Africa, Australia, Mexico, Peru, Netherlands, Switzerland, France, Cuba, and China. Barred by the U.S. State Department from entry into this country to attend the Convention were fraternal delegates from the Communist parties of a number of countries, including France, England, and Hungary.

A partial list of the Resolutions adopted includes those on the Defense of the National Board and other Communists and non-Communists who are victims of class frame-ups; resolutions protesting general terror against the Negro people and dealing specifically with the Ingram, Milton and other cases; a resolution,

which received considerable attention at the Convention, dealing with discrimination against the millions of Mexican-Americans in the United States; resolutions condemning U.S. imperialist aid to fascism and reaction in Greece, China, Israel and Spain; and resolutions concerning the Party's work in the fields of literature, national groups, work among the farmers, women, etc. The Convention adopted a resolution approving the statement on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, issued by Foster and Dennis at the time of the Communist Information Bureau's criticism of Tito's policies.

Resolutions submitted on a number of questions, such as health, education, work among children, cultural work, etc. were referred to the incoming National Committee for action.

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MASSES & MAINSTREAM

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notes on reading

When the august NEW YORK TIMES refuses to review a book, one might deduce that the book is of little or no importance. Such is definitely not the case with regard to **Notes From the Gallows**, by **Julius Fuchik**, which has made so deep an impress since its appearance in the United States, and which has now been published in more than a score of countries, including at latest report, India and Brazil. Howard Fast called it "a covenant between the Communist Party and the human race." And Roger Garaudy aptly described it in his definition of a Marxist's concept of "a good book."

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No matter who you are, dear reader, no matter how busy you are, please find the time to secure this book and read it. It will remain with you for life.

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