

ILLINOIS NEEDS A Farmer- Labor Party

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PREFACE

How will you vote in 1936?

How can you really wield political power in order to send men to office who will truly represent your interests—the interests of the people?

The big political bosses, Pat Nash, Mayor Kelly of Chicago, Len Small, Col. Robert McCormick of the Tribune, Sam Insull, William Randolph Hearst, and the rest, are lining up their candidates for you to vote for.

But can you really help yourself by voting for the candidates of the two Wall Street parties? Or will we build a Farmer-Labor Party in 1936?

The contents of this pamphlet are part of a report dealing with these questions delivered at a meeting of the District Committee and the most active members of the Communist Party held December 14-15, at Chicago.

The Daily Worker of December 26, 1935, warned: “. . . The masses are faced with burning issues today, and cannot wait until 1940. These same people (who urge waiting) will come forward with similar arguments in 1940 . . . the policy of waiting and postponing under the slogan of supporting “the lesser evil” is paralyzing the American working class.”

Out of the problems of the crisis, the failure of the New Deal to provide any of the benefits it promised the people, out of the sinister development of Hearst as the mouthpiece for the Wall Street crowd around the Liberty League, grows the urgent need of the hour—the formation of a new party. Such a party will be a true peoples party, a Farmer-Labor Party that will unite all the sections of the population, from the liberals to the extreme left, on a common platform of defense of democratic liberties against Fascism.

The Communist Party, in publishing this report, offers it as an indication of what the Communists think must be done, what they propose to do themselves, and, above all, with the earnest wish that it may help in cementing the united front, in erecting a great People's Front as a bulwark against the rising tides of Fascism and war.

District Committee of Communist Party of Illinois.

Comrades, we are fortunate in holding our enlarged District Committee meeting at this time because we have had the opportunity to read and study the material of the last Central Committee held November 15th. The report of Comrade Browder published in the Daily Worker is a masterful application of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to conditions in the U. S. A. Comrade Browder's report, as well as the resolutions and speeches coming from the Central Committee plenum, should make it easier for us in this district to put these important decisions into actual life.

I do not intend to repeat things already very well contained in the Plenum material. I want at this time to give a brief characterization of the last Central Committee meeting.

I have attended many meetings of our Central Committee, but never have I witnessed a Plenum such as the last. The Central Committee was unanimous on the line of the Communist International. The speeches at the meeting indicated that it was not merely a formal acceptance, but that the new tactical line corresponds to the situation in the U. S. A. and meets the needs of the masses. The majority of the reports reflected the struggle of the masses and proved that the Party is already a factor in building the Trade Unions, in organizing the unorganized, in building the Farmer-Labor Party, in extending the united front and that the Party is breaking down the remnants of sectarianism. The Plenum proved the maturity of our Central Committee and its great authority. The reports also showed that the solidarity of the revolutionary working class of the U. S. A. with the Soviet Union is unshakable. The Central Committee did not only talk about the 7th Congress decisions and the new tactical line but showed the entire party how to carry out this line in practice. It prepared the party for the 1936 elections and showed us how to prepare the mass campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party. The Plenum was also a preparation for the coming Party convention which is to take place in March, 1936.

Working Class Decisive Factor Against War!

The events of the past few days make it clear that we must give the war situation our serious consideration. The international situation is loaded with the dynamite of war. The working class, the people, face a grave danger of war more serious than at any time since 1914. But we must remember that today there is a different working class than the working class of 1914. The working class today is on the road to unity of action against capitalism and reaction. It is a working class which is uniting its forces against Fascism. But, above all, it is a working class which has the Soviet Union and the final unshakable victory of Socialism over one-sixth of the earth's surface.

Both the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. emphasized with great clearness what the existence of the Soviet Union and the victory of Socialism means for the world's masses, for the fight for peace and against Fascism. In the Socialist victories of the Soviet Union, the working class today has a fortress against Fascism. In the Soviet Union, all the forces for peace, all the forces fighting against Fascism have a base, and a tremendously powerful support. The weaker and oppressed nations find an ally and support in the strength of the Soviet Union.

The tremendous international significance of the Soviet Union and its Socialist victories can be seen by the fact that it was this which strengthened the united front pressure on the French government and forced France to accept the Franco-Soviet pact. This, in turn, stimulated the formation of the People's Front, a step which has had decisive international significance in hindering the cause of Fascism.

The working class today is in a position to exercise a decisive influence on the international situation, due to the strength of the Soviet Union, and to develop unity in its own ranks and in the ranks of the middle class. The consciousness of this fact must be present in all our work, and must arouse us and stimulate our Party to greater activity than ever before.

The proposed division of Ethiopia, the resignation of the British Foreign Minister, shows the direction of the imperialist powers, but they are being hindered in carrying through their brazen program of giving Ethiopia to Italy, by the pressure and response of the masses.

Why did Britain take such a stand in connection with Italy?

Comrade Browder on his return from the Seventh Congress warned us, even while British imperialism was talking loudly of sanctions, that without the struggle of the masses in support of the Soviet Union's proposals for sanctions, the imperialists would attempt to arrive at an agreement at the expense of Ethiopia. This warning came true. Why this open cynical plan to rob Ethiopia of its independence and give way to Italy, who has violated the Covenant of the League of Nations, and has been designated as an aggressor?

British imperialism was frightened by the growing insecurity of the Fascist regime itself in Italy. British imperialism knows that the collapse of Fascist rule in Italy means the fate of European capitalism. Ethiopia is being sacrificed to save Italy, to save capitalism. Britain is worried about the effects of the Ethiopian struggle on its own colonial empire. Already, British imperialism was forced to give some small measure of independence to Egypt when the railway men threatened a strike. And that is not all, the Egyptians are demanding more concessions.

The proposed partition of Ethiopia, therefore, is an attempt to save the whole system of colonial exploitation and oppression, and an attempt to save Fascism and capitalist rule.

In all of our work and tasks the central question must be the war atmosphere in the world. Our task is to arouse the masses to the danger and destroy the "neutrality" illusions. We must organize the tremendous sentiment for peace that exists among the masses and wide sections of the population.

In our struggle against war, we must shoulder the responsibility for the safety of the Soviet Union, for the defense of its Socialist victories, for the preservation of our Socialist fatherland.

But another development is taking place, which affects the international situation profoundly. That is the steady march of Japanese imperialism in the Far East. Japanese imperialism is openly establishing a base for attack against the Soviet Union in Northern China exactly as outlined in the famous Tanaka document. But this development sharpens the imperialist struggle between Japanese, British and American imperialism.

The proposed settlement of the Ethiopian question is therefore an attempt of British imperialism to free its hands for use in the Far East.

The latest developments indicate how rapidly some of the imperialist powers are attempting to solve the crisis of the capitalist system by cementing an anti-Soviet bloc.

Britain and France have arrived at an agreement on Ethiopia. And already this agreement is giving the greatest encouragement to Fascist Germany, to Hitler's dream of colonial expansion. Mussolini frankly showed the trends of the line-up when he said: "Germany and Japan, like Italy, need colonial expansion. Germany also needs colonies."

This statement shows that Mussolini has been tremendously encouraged by the proposed British-French agreement to sound the call for the forming of a Fascist-imperialist bloc against the Soviet Union, for the carrying through of the notorious Hugenberg memorandum, which outlines the parcelling of the Soviet Union among the imperialist powers, especially Fascist Germany and Japan.

All these developments prove how profoundly correct was the stand of the Soviet Union at every stage of the changing situation. The peace policy of the Soviet Union, its principle of the indivisibility of peace, stands today as the sole correct policy, and as the only hope in the fight to hinder the outbreak of another world slaughter.

The tremendous role now being played by the Franco-Soviet pact, for example, is given recognition by a statement of a leading French Senator, Pierre Cot, former minister of aviation, who warned that the proposed agreement of Mussolini involves the danger that France may become Germany's Ethiopia, and that France, as a

result, must stand firmly with the League for a system of collective security.

This bourgeois politician also recognizes that the proposed division of Ethiopia is not merely a "localized" colonial adventure, but the prelude to world-wide changes in the whole international situation when he states: "We are confronted with a war of aggression which is not only a colonial war, but a crime against international law." Livitnoff's principle of the indivisibility of peace is recognized more than ever as the leading diplomatic weapon against war.

The warning of the Communist International in the "Pravda, organ of the C. P. USSR, that British imperialism in its drive for an anti-Soviet bloc is willing to smash the League and whatever part it played in postponing war, is coming true.

The Soviet Union, Bulwark of Peace!

This places the Soviet Union before the eyes of the world as the firmest bulwark of peace, as the defender of the independence of small nations. The policy of the Soviet Union and the Comintern on the question of sanctions and the League of Nations have been powerfully confirmed.

Is it not clear that the policy suggested by certain left Socialists under the influence of counter-revolutionary Trotskyites would have played into the hands of the anti-Soviet forces? They asked that the Soviet Union begin an individual embargo against Italy. It is clear that this would have made the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc much simpler, and would have isolated the Soviet Union.

Here it would be well to recall that the proposals of the Communist International to the Second International asked for unity to enforce sanctions. The Second International rejected the United Front and urged reliance on the League of Nations. The Communist International in its statement says:

"It would be absurd to believe that the League of Nations will do everything possible to insure peace and that consequently the masses of people may calmly adopt an attitude of passive waiting.

"It must not be forgotten that the conflict of interests

of the imperialist states within the League of Nations makes it extremely difficult to use the League as an instrument of peace.

"The facts show that the League of Nations has so far done nothing serious in defense of peace while certain imperialist powers are trying within the League of Nations to arrive at an agreement for the partition of Ethiopia.

"But even if the League of Nations is regarded as an instrument which might to a certain extent hinder the outbreak of war, this does not mean that the policy of the League of Nations can act as a substitute for the struggle of the proletariat.

"On the contrary, the independent joint mass action of the workers and all sincere friends of peace is essential to induce the League also to take effective measures of some kind against war danger."

U. S. Hides War Preparations Behind "Neutrality" Talk

Throughout these sharpening war developments, American imperialism follows the same laws which impel the actions of the other imperialist powers. U. S. imperialism prepares to defend its own imperialist interests under a heavy cloud of peace talk and "neutrality" demagoguery.

Here we have as our main tasks the exposure of the war preparations of the Roosevelt administration, its complete acceptance of the militarist platform of the most reactionary Wall Street monopolists. We must show the masses that the illusion of "neutrality," which incidentally, is the slogan of the liberals and of Hearst at the same time, only conceals advancing war preparations and that the era of geographical isolation of America is past. The imperialist position of Wall Street makes such isolation impossible. American imperialism is building up the greatest war machine in its history in preparation for war in the Pacific and Far East.

The hesitant, uncertain moves of American imperialism with regard to embargoes, moves which were quickly withdrawn and never fully carried through, show that U. S. imperialism is aware of the inevitable conflict with its imperialist rivals. It is not yet ready to consider war

as an immediate question of the day. American capitalism, therefore, tends to a policy which is for the temporary maintenance of peace until such time as it is ready for more drastic action. In this connection, it is significant that the date set for the completion of the naval building program is 1937. Thus, for the present, American imperialism, while it is pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into war preparation every month, talks "neutrality" with regard to Africa.

With regard to the Far East, the situation is wholly different. Here American imperialism shows its war program with increasing frankness. The war-like significance of the recent successful aviation flights across the Pacific was not lost on Japanese imperialism. Following these air-mail flights, even the Chicago Tribune printed a full-page map of the Pacific showing the increasing series of Pacific aviation bases rapidly growing up under the Roosevelt administration.

With the advance of Japanese troops over the Great Wall southward into the five Northern provinces, the menace to American imperialist investments in the Nanking government of Chiang-Kai-Chek becomes greater all the time. This accounts for the sharpness of Secretary Hull's recent statement in which he warns "no one can predict the outcome" of these Japanese moves southward. It is also significant that, as British imperialism moves for a settlement of the Ethiopian question at the expense of Ethiopia, Sir Hoare issued a warning note to Japan the same time that Hull's note appeared.

We still maintain that the chief antagonism in the camp of world imperialism is the one between Britain and the U. S. A. The events in the Far East affect British imperialism as well as the U. S., yet the threat of this main antagonism keeps breaking through. Norman H. Davis, Roosevelt's personal ambassador, states that he is stunned by "secret conversations between Britain and Japan." This helps to explain why Roosevelt agreed to the record naval reserve of over 150,000 men.

Flowing from this, our main task in the U. S. A. is to awaken the masses to the danger of war and win them away from the illusion that the U. S. A. is unaffected by developments across both oceans.

It is evident that the masses show a desire for peace, and our task is to organize them to actively defend peace. The most effective means is to popularize the policy of the Soviet Union. We must defeat the argument of our enemies who would have it that the Soviet Union should be the only one to apply sanctions and thus give the imperialist powers the great chance to start war against the Soviet Union. We must explain the sanctions policy of the Soviet Union in the light of recent developments in the League of Nations. We must show the meaning of the "indivisibility of peace."

What We Must Do to Struggle Against War!

1. Raise the slogan "stop shipments of munitions and war material to Italy."
2. Flood the government with resolutions calling for "no loans, no oil, no war material to Italy."
3. Mobilize the Trade Unions behind the resolution passed at the last A. F. of L. Convention—for an embargo against Italy and for a boycott of Nazi goods.
4. Build a real People's Front against war, to reach out into other strata that have not been touched, but who are against war and for the maintenance of peace.

A very important task is to build the American League Against War and Fascism as a united front people's movement. We must stop our lack of attention to this organization. The last Cook County conference proves that the Party did not give sufficient energy and attention to this movement. We have not yet gathered all anti-Fascist and anti-war sentiment into the American League. This must be done through the activization of every section and every mass organization to build the League, and to send a substantial number of delegates to the Third United States Congress Against War and Fascism to be held in Cleveland, January 3, 4 and 5, 1936.

1936 Election Issues

The closer we approach the 1936 presidential elections the clearer we see the political lineup within the camp of the bourgeoisie. We are witnessing a sharp

struggle within this capitalist camp and out of this struggle there is emerging a reactionary group with strong Fascist tendencies. The Liberty League, the Economy League, and Hearst best represent this reactionary trend. At the same time, however, we see a crystallization of the forces that will form and build a **Farmer-Labor Party**.

Large sections of monopoly capital, as represented by the trusts controlled by the Morgan and DuPont interests, want a more determined attack on the living standards of the masses. They want the National Budget "balanced" at the expense of the workers and farmers. They want the government out of the business of relief, although they do not hesitate to accept billions from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for their private enterprises. These groups have come to the conclusion that they can no longer depend upon the policies of Roosevelt. They want Roosevelt replaced by someone who will carry through the defense of capitalism in line with their more open and direct drive against the workers and poor farmers.

But what are the aims of Roosevelt? Fundamentally, Roosevelt seeks to carry through the same ruling class program as is wanted by his opponents from the right. There is this distinction, however, that he is pursuing this program by a different path and is basing himself on different groups within the capitalist camp, seeking at the same time to retain the support of the workers, farmers and the middle class.

We must not underestimate the importance of the difference between Roosevelt's policies and those of his opponents. The reactionary capitalist groups will do everything possible to defeat Roosevelt in 1936. More than 1500 of the wealthiest and most powerful capitalists in the country recently gathered in a meeting called "The Congress of American Industry." At this Congress they pledged to use politics, propaganda and personal influence to defeat Roosevelt in the coming elections. Through a committee, this group of the most powerful representatives of finance capital issued statements which demanded from the government the immediate and complete abandonment of attempts to control or plan pro-

duction, distribution, wages and employment. These capitalists want relief in any form cut off without delay. These interests assert that: "Private industry is amply able to deal with ten million unemployed if left unhindered."

These brutal monopolists know that they cannot solve the problem of unemployment, but in order to cheapen production costs they wish to see a starving army of surplus laborers who can be used against the employed to drive down wage levels. Even Roosevelt's coolie WPA wage is too high to suit these reactionary interests. They glorify capitalism by covering it up with a halo of Americanism. They have a different conception of Americanism than the class-conscious American workers have. Our Americanism tells us that the U. S. was conceived in the class struggle and born in revolution. Our Americanism means fighting for our democratic and revolutionary traditions as well as fighting for the well-being of the masses. Americanism for J. P. Morgan and Hearst means greater exploitation and more misery for the great majority of the American people.

These same capitalists feel that the masses should not be given any concessions even of the Roosevelt type, although the New Deal policies suited them for a few years of the crisis. Now these reactionary capitalists announce in their declaration that: "World-wide business recovery removes the necessity of compromising or adopting expediency under the stress of emergency conditions." This means an open attack against the masses. The Liberty League, the Morgans, the DuPonts, Hearst, General Motors, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, while declaring open war against the New Deal, are at the same time pressing Roosevelt to the right.

Roosevelt's statement on the "breathing spell" as well as his decisions to stop federal relief are such concessions to the right. This, however, does not satisfy these monopolists who very boldly and openly state that "what is needed is not a temporary truce, but a permanent peace." They insist upon their full program in defense of monopoly. Peace to them means that they be left alone to carry on their unbridled exploitation without any restrictions

whatsoever. They demand an undisguised attack on the masses. They want brutal suppression of strikes. They shout for open destruction of workers' organizations. They insist on unconcealed methods of reaction—on Fascist methods.

Ex-President Hoover, speaking in St. Louis recently, expressed the policy of these exploiters when he said, "Stop these wasteful Federal public works projects. . . . Decentralize the administration of all other forms of relief. Turn them back to the states and local communities. . . . Allot to the states less than one-half of the present funds being spent in relief." In spite of Hoover's shrewd satire and clever demagoguery the intent of his policies are clear. The Hoovers and Hearsts are trying to bamboozle the American workers into jumping from the New Deal frying pan into the Republican fire.

At the November meeting of the Central Committee Browder stated in speaking of the position of Roosevelt: "He (Roosevelt) is the spokesman, primarily, of the large independent and monopoly groups which are in conflict with the Morgan interests. What is necessary to emphasize today is that Roosevelt continues to hold his mass base of farmers and workers. He is trying to accomplish this end by some tangible concessions to the well-to-do farmers and very niggardly concessions to the workers. It is precisely this fact that presents us with a problem of winning the masses away from Roosevelt as well as combatting the dangerous possibilities of certain sections of the masses who, becoming disillusioned in Roosevelt, have turned to the Republicans."

The Situation in Illinois

We are witnessing a similar play of political forces on a state-wide scale with of course some modifications here and there because of local conditions. The New Deal Democratic administration of Horner has done everything possible to make the masses of the population in Illinois pay for the crisis. The trusts and monopolies have had their tax burden lightened, while the masses of people pay tribute in the form of a three per cent sales tax. The rich, protected by the various state laws, are not only exempt from income taxes, but through the sales

tax the poor are compelled to pay for relief. The sales tax affects the purchasing powers of the workers and farmers. Records show that people with an income of one thousand dollars yearly spend 61 per cent of their income on items which are affected by retail sales tax, while the millionaire spends only one per cent of his income this way. Therefore, the sales tax is sixty times more burdensome proportionately on the worker than on the rich.

The sales tax was enacted by the Democratic administration ostensibly for the purpose of unemployment relief. Yet only one-third of sales tax income is used for relief.

During the fiscal year ending June, 1935, according to a report made by K. L. Ames Jr., State Director of Finance, the sales tax was the largest source of revenue, netting the state \$41,621,526. This was before the increased sales tax. For the current year the revenue from this source will be much greater. The sales tax income is greater than the tax on utilities, commerce commission, liquor and gasoline taxes. Yet only a fraction is used in the interest of those who pay the sales tax. This system of taxation permits the millionaire to cheat the people of Illinois of hundreds of millions of dollars. They are enriching themselves as they impoverish the masses.

The unemployed have become pawns in the hands of the capitalist politicians. Last April the relief stations of Illinois were deliberately closed in order to bludgeon the workers into the acceptance of the increased sales tax—this with the help of Mr. Hopkins, the Roosevelt relief administrator. This was not only a Horner measure, but it was flavored a la Roosevelt. The increased sales tax was to have solved the relief problem. But now we are again informed that even with the aid of federal government grants there will be another relief crisis next spring when many of the WPA projects close down. Capitalist voices in the State Legislature are already shouting for a still higher sales tax.

The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, dominated by the Democrats, has lowered relief allowances by at least 15 per cent during the last two months. The same commission has stopped the payment of rent for families who are supposed to be eligible for WPA jobs.

People assigned to WPA will be given only one week allowance instead of two or three as formerly. Eviction cases have increased one hundred a day over the average in November and December of last year. Even if all the WPA projects are carried through in Illinois, there will still remain one hundred and twenty thousand on the relief rolls.

To give relief to those who are on relief rolls will require \$3,600,000 per month. The Federal Government will not give any more aid to Illinois after December. The State Government will only allow \$2,000,000 per month for relief purposes. This amount is \$1,500,000 short of meeting relief payments. This will mean a 40 per cent cut in relief for the unemployed. The average family in Illinois on relief is supposed to receive \$30 per month, but due to the insufficient appropriations, it will receive only \$18 or less.

The Democratic Administration of Governor Horner called a special session of the Illinois State Legislature last October for the purpose of enacting social legislation to conform with the social security measures adopted by the last Congress. Up to now only one measure has been passed and that is the Old Age Pension Bill. Officially the Bill is an "assistance" Act. It was denounced on the floor as a pauper rather than a pension bill. It provides that assistance shall not exceed \$30 a month and will be only \$15 a month if the Federal Government does not come through with its proposed one-half of the pension payments.

The Unemployment Insurance Bill, as bad and inadequate as it is, because it does not cover the present unemployed and places the tax burden on the workers, did not even come up for a reading in this session of the Legislature. It is rumored that when the session reconvenes for a short period in January, it, as well as some other labor measures on occupational diseases, may be abandoned entirely.

The Democratic State Administration has proven on numerous occasions that it defends the interests of the bankers and manufacturers. This administration that cheats the unemployed of their relief, that robs the people through a sales tax, that claims poverty as an

excuse for not passing social legislation, finds ways and means for building 27 new National Guard armories costing \$17,000,000. The Horner administration finds millions for strike-breaking purposes and war, but very conveniently lacks funds when it comes to feed the starving.

The Horner administration has, on a number of occasions, used the National Guard and State Police to break strikes, as was the case in Freeport and in the recent milk strike. The Horner administration enacted a law which virtually bars new parties from the ballot by requiring them to get two hundred signatures from each of fifty counties in the state. This is undoubtedly an attempt to hinder the development of the Farmer-Labor Party and to keep workers' parties like the Communist and Socialist off the ballot. While the Horner administration is so zealous in limiting the freedom of the masses, it shuts its eyes to the corrupt and fraudulent practices of the Democratic machine in Chicago. The City Club, of which Governor Horner is a member, has estimated that there were two hundred and fifty thousand fake votes cast in Chicago during recent elections and that these votes are controlled and used by the Democrats. This is the kind of democracy that the millionaires and Mr. Hearst heartily approve of.

Some Democratic representatives in the State Legislature have prepared bills such as the Graham-Weber proposals to outlaw working class organizations, to prevent them from using halls or to assemble freely. This is a demonstration of how the Democratic administration bows before the reactionary interests, before those who want Fascism in this country.

Growth of Reaction in Chicago!

The Democratic administration in the City of Chicago is of the same pattern. The 1936 budget of the City of Chicago does not provide a single penny for the relief of the unemployed or any money for social benefits that can benefit the poor. Imagine a city like Chicago with a budget of over \$100,000,000 setting aside only \$125,000 for public benefits—\$31,000 less than for 1935, and appropriating only \$19,000 for emergency medical aid. Yes, the budget for 1936 is already \$1,000,000 over that

of 1935, but who gets the increase? The Police Department will receive \$1,231,000 for its additional police. This department eats up nearly one-third of the total city budget, while vastly important social and public services are forgotten. The annual Cook County Hospital report shows that 82,721 patients were turned away from Cook County Hospital on the ground that there was no room for them.

The State of Illinois and the City of Chicago are governed and dominated by the Democrats—those who are in the same party with Roosevelt. Roosevelt is making a pretense of being liberal, of opposing the reactionaries, but it is his party that is using reactionary measures to enslave the masses, to rob the people in the state and city. Certainly President Roosevelt cannot claim ignorance of the situation in Illinois. Was he not recently the guest of Mayor Kelly in Chicago and did not Mayor Kelly dine at the White House only a short time ago?

Indication of Break With Old Parties!

The masses are becoming dissatisfied with the New Deal on a national scale and on a state-wide scale. According to the recent Literary Digest poll, 66 per cent of Illinois votes were cast against the New Deal. Even though we allow for inaccuracies, and also for the fact that the Literary Digest poll reaches mostly the middle class and well-to-do strata, nevertheless it tells us which way the wind is blowing. It indicates that sections of the middle class in the city, farmers and even workers are turning away from the Democratic Party. We have had no important elections in this state recently, therefore we cannot say whether this dissatisfaction with the New Deal means a definite swing to the Republican Party.

There exists a danger that the growing discontent with the Roosevelt and Horner policies will be harnessed by the Republican Party. The masses are dissatisfied with the New Deal for their own reasons and these are not the same as the reasons of the millionaire Liberty Leaguers. The workers are dissatisfied with the Roosevelt WPA wage, with the cutting off of Federal relief, with the rising cost of living, with the sales tax, with the

fact that the increase of production is profit for bankers. Yet the Republicans are utilizing this discontent for their own purposes, on a national as well as on a state scale. The Republicans in the State Legislature fought bitterly against the increased sales tax. Why? Is it because they are friend of the workers and farmers? No, just the reverse is true. The Republicans are not in favor of any relief. They shouted for "economy" which means economy at the expense of the poor. Of course, they also wanted to embarrass the Roosevelt administration.

The Republicans in the State Legislature are now fighting against the security measures. What is the basis for their opposition? Is it because they feel that these measures are inadequate, and that what is needed is a better Unemployment Bill paid for by the rich and an Old Age Pension Bill that will give security to the old people? The contrary is the truth. The Republicans are giving voice to the demands of the Illinois Manufacturers Association and other capitalist groups who are openly fighting any and all social legislation, even of the present inadequate kind.

People Become Politicians' Football!

There is still another problem to consider and that is the fight inside the Democratic Party of Illinois. Many of the Democrats understand that Horner is the symbol of contempt among the wide masses, that Horner and the sales tax are synonymous, that the sales tax token is called "Horner money." A certain section of the Democratic Party wants to divert the discontent with the Democratic policies of the present administration into channels that will still keep the masses within the confines of the Democratic Party. That is why Horner is having a difficult time to attain renomination for Governor, that is why the Kelly-Nash faction is looking for some other candidate to replace Horner. Roosevelt also senses the situation and consequently he is more friendly to the Kelly crowd.

Are the political lineup and maneuvers clear to everyone? No. It is our duty to bring these political problems and issues clearly before the masses. This means that we Communists too must be better acquainted with

politics. Every opportunity must be used to rally the oppressed and the exploited sections of the population for the building of a Farmer-Labor Party movement.

Finance capital does not always speak openly of its aims. The "Grass Roots" conference even used phrases against Wall Street. Under the cover of such slogans as "Save the Constitution," "Liberty," "Back to Abraham Lincoln," etc., an effort was made to tie the farmers of the Middle West to the Republican Party.

The recent utterances of Senator Wm. E. Borah show that certain sections of the Republican Party will not hesitate to use the rankest demagoguery to win the masses. Senator Borah is giving voice to ideas in the minds of the masses in the Middle West, particularly the farmers. He knows that only through an attack upon monopoly capital can he hope to fight the New Deal. Therefore, Borah very cleverly appears to fight both the New Deal and Big Business. The Hoover method in itself is insufficient to fight the New Deal.

Some say that Borah is a radical. The radicalism of Borah can be gauged by his opposition to the anti-lynch law. Of course he used the excuse that he objects to the law because it interferes with state rights, but the practical politician Borah was in fact catering to the slave masters of the South whose votes and support he wants. Senator Borah is tied up with the arch-reactionary, Hamilton Fish, and this a further indication of his basic conservatism. Borah's ranting against the monopolies does not make him a radical. Hitler also attacked the monopolies, the trusts, the banks, etc., while he actually worked with the monopolists. There is a section in the Republican Party opposed to the New Deal, yet they understand that different tactics are needed to fight it. Certainly no one can accuse the Chicago Tribune of being radical, yet the Tribune interests seem to lean towards Borah. Borah's candidacy is another means by which the capitalists hope to hold the workers tied to one of the two old parties, in this case the Republican Party.

It is necessary to expose the interests behind the "right" opponents of Roosevelt, to show that the Liberty League and Hearst are working towards Fascism, but we

must also keep in mind that large sections of the population have a lot of faith in Roosevelt. They believe that he will fight the bankers and manufacturers, as represented by the Liberty League, and prevent them from taking power in the next election. We have come up against this problem recently in the city of Aurora, where some of our Trade Union friends used this argument. Here it is necessary not only to show the masses where the main danger of Fascism is coming from, what groups are behind it, etc., but also it is most important, as Comrade Browder says, "to convince the masses that Roosevelt, while no longer as in 1933-1934 representing the main Fascist camp, still he is not working against it—is no obstacle to the growth of the Fascist forces. Roosevelt's entire record proves that."

It is therefore important to convince the masses that they cannot depend on Roosevelt in their fight against economic degradation and political reaction—in their struggle against Fascism. We must point out that the workers, farmers and sections of the middle class must build their own independent party, the Farmer-Labor Party. Only such a party will challenge the Liberty League, the Republican Party as well as the Democratic Party. Through a Farmer-Labor Party the attacks of the capitalists on the masses can be checked. Fascism and war can be prevented. Through a Farmer-Labor Party we can make the rich pay for the crisis and lighten the burden of the poor. The two old parties realize the danger for them in the building of a Farmer-Labor Party and are doing everything possible to check the spread and growth of such a movement.

While there is a great deal of discontent in existing conditions, the broad masses of workers and farmers voted in the main for the old parties during the last municipal elections. We must also note a dangerous tendency that the growing dissatisfaction may be utilized by the reactionary Republican Party. **BUT TO SEE ONLY THESE FEATURES WOULD BE WRONG.**

Why then did so many people vote for the old parties? This can be explained by the fact that there was no organized national Farmer-Labor movement. Wherever such a movement did exist and had the backing of

a substantial part of the Labor movement, particularly the trade unions, Labor registered its opposition to the New Deal and to the Republican Party by voting for such workers' parties, programs and candidates. This was shown in the victory of the Socialist Party in Reading, Pa., and Bridgeport, Conn., in the election of Labor candidates in Toledo and other towns as well as the high vote for Maurice Sugar, the Labor candidate in Detroit.

Farmer-Labor Party Campaign on Way!

This important development definitely shows that the situation is maturing for the building of a mass Farmer-Labor Party. It indicates that this movement has deep support among workers and farmers. Some people underestimate this and like to emphasize that the masses are still with the two old parties. The Farmer-Labor Party will not be born by itself nor will it grow up spontaneously over night. It must be organized and built through the united efforts of the most advanced workers and farmers. It must be done now and without delay. The capitalist class through its parties, candidates, newspapers, radio, etc., are already involved in the 1936 presidential campaign. We must not delay the unfolding of a broad Farmer-Labor Party movement. We must mobilize people for the 1936 campaign, because this campaign is already on the way.

The reactionary monopolies, the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association, the Liberty League see the need of keeping the political leadership of the workers away from the left, away from a Farmer-Labor Party movement.

Mr. Wells Utly, a spokesman for the Congress of American Industry, said that corporations represented in the convention "formed genuine political organizations with paid political agents and coordinated publicity." This same reactionary industrialist emphasized that employers must assume political leadership of their employees."

If we are to win the masses away from the monopolists, the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party is essential. The recent Central Committee meeting emphasized the need of speeding up the building of the

Farmer-Labor Party. THIS MEANS BUILDING SUCH A PARTY IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN IN PREPARATION FOR THE ELECTION STRUGGLES IN 1936.

Outside of Chicago, there is no Farmer-Labor Party movement and the Cook County Labor Party is at present limited to a number of local unions not yet embracing important sections of the labor movement.

The Farmer-Labor Party must be built systematically and should come up for discussion in every mass organization. Such discussion should be tied up with the concrete problems confronting the members in such organizations. Resolutions should be adopted favoring a Farmer-Labor Party, and sentiment should be crystallized for organizations of committees for the Farmer-Labor Party. Such committees should be instructed to contact and join with other groups striving for the same end. For example, when Carpenter Local Union 504 adopted a resolution for a Farmer-Labor Party and brought it before the Chicago Federation of Labor, it would have been advisable for the local to have set up a committee to work for the realization of this resolution.

This committee could have contacted some other local unions or delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor and organized them for joint support of such a resolution. In this way the whole movement for the Farmer-Labor Party would be pushed forward.

How to Build FLP!

How can we initiate and help build a movement for a Labor Party in a city like Gary? We face the brutal domination of the U. S. Steel Corporation, which owns the mills and the land, through the American Land Company. The U. S. Steel Corporation is linked with the various utility corporations, and controls power, light, and transportation.

U. S. Steel not only exploits the workers in its mills at low wages with a murderous speed-up, but also decides the amount of rent the workers pay, how much carfare they will pay and sets the rate for electric light, etc. U. S. Steel is able to do many of these things only because it is engaged in politics. It uses both the Republican and Democratic Parties in order to keep its grip on Gary.

Sometimes these parties change places—the Democratic administration gives way to the Republican—but the rule of the Steel Trust remains undisturbed.

Through the control of the administration in that area, the Steel Trust keeps the workers from organizing. It intimidates them, it hinders free assemblage and limits the rights of free speech. Only a few weeks ago police broke up meetings with the support of company police.

Why, for example, was Alderman Perotta shot? The people in Gary know that he was a militant opponent to the gambling interests and that on some occasions he took the floor in the City Council for freedom of speech. He was bumped off by a gang linked up with the present clique in control of Gary. Such issues, indicating the struggles within the old parties, provide the basis for the Farmer-Labor Party.

Here are some steps we should take in Gary. A short resolution indicating some of these issues and showing the need for the building of a Farmer-Labor Party should be drawn up. This resolution should be introduced in some local union for its endorsement. In the name of this union the resolution should be circularized in as many organizations as possible. The organization adopting such a resolution should set up a committee for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. With such a resolution, we should look around for people who are favorable to a Farmer-Labor Party. We can go to the Socialist Party and seek their cooperation. An informal discussion on this question should be arranged for those interested and liberals who support freedom of speech in Gary should be invited. If such a group agrees on the basic need for a Farmer-Labor Party it can form itself a sponsoring or promotion committee. This committee should contact various unions and organizations to broaden the campaign. Some local union adopting the resolution should introduce it in the Central Labor Union. Support for this resolution can be organized by rallying leaders and officials of the Central Labor Union to the desirability of an independent political party of the workers, farmers and middle class elements.

If this movement gains support beyond the ranks of Communists and their sympathizers, then a preliminary

conference should be called where an enlarged committee or council for the promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party is organized. This committee would carry on agitational work to popularize the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party. It should seek publicity on important issues, and because elections are nearing, there are good possibilities of breaking into the press. It should be aware of the antagonisms within the opposition camp. If issues are raised properly and with some tact, the Republican newspapers may print releases that are aimed against the Democrats and the Democrats would print releases aimed against the Republicans. For example, in the recent civil liberties fight, we saw how the Gary Post took a position against the most reactionary officials.

The Committee for the Promotion of the Farmer-Labor Party should also call mass meetings tying its program up with local issues. It could invite speakers from out of town who are well known and favorable to the Labor Party.

Without much delay, it is advisable to start a move for participation in the local elections this spring. Therefore, this promotion committee could call a wide conference inviting all groups, white and Negro, trade unions, veteran organizations, fraternal organizations to participate. At this meeting the question of candidates should be taken up and the permanent formation of the Labor Party discussed. If too many people hesitate we should agree on a formation of a Labor Ticket as a step towards building the Farmer-Labor Party. How should the candidates of such a party be chosen? They should be active, well known trade union leaders or other popular individuals who may not be trade union members but who would champion a program for the benefit of the workers and farmers.

Broad Election Campaign Needed!

From Wm. Weinstone's speech at the last Central Committee meeting we learn some very valuable lessons about how to organize a broad election campaign.

The slogan to organize the unorganized will meet with popular response in the present situation in the Steel Mills. This would strengthen the whole Labor Party

movement and will also win the support of the trade unions and of the unorganized. The Farmer-Labor Party or Labor Ticket should react to every event in the city. When there is a hearing in the City Council on some important measure affecting the people, like a franchise, the adoption of the new budget, or appropriation of funds for public projects, the Labor Party or its committee should participate actively and bring forward its own proposals in these situations.

What About the Chicago Federation of Labor?

What is the position of John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, on the Labor Party? To date, he has not given any open support to the Cook County Labor Party, nor has he shown any opposition. His resignation from the Labor Advisory Council was accompanied by a statement which contained the following very significant remarks: "Inasmuch as the Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor was convinced that the administration forces double-crossed vital labor legislation . . . I feel constrained to follow Brother Olander's lead as Labor's protest against such double-crossing and double-dealing.

"I hereby tender my resignation on the Labor Advisory Council to be effective immediately. I do this in the hope that all union men connected in any capacity with this administration, will stand squarely behind Brother Olander in refusing to be used as catspaws in making it appear that Labor can get any kind of a square deal while any of the old party politicians are in power."

John Fitzpatrick, as well as some other leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor, have not yet broken with the New Deal. Oscar Nelson, for example, is a Republican politician. We hope that recent experiences in Chicago and Springfield will convince some labor leaders like John Fitzpatrick that there is no hope in the capitalist parties. Victor Olander, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, speaking of recent reversals in the matter of labor legislation, said: "The workers of the state were hurled back a quarter of a century in the matter of protection of life, limb and health in industry."

Who is responsible for this? Who denied the use of Soldier's Field to the Chicago Federation of Labor on Labor Day? Who denied the people of Chicago the most elementary civil rights of freedom of assemblage and the right to demonstrate? Who raids labor unions, protects racketeers and breaks strikes? Who sent the National Guard to Freeport to break the Metal Workers strike? The Democratic administration.

In such a situation, will it benefit Labor if it turns to the more reactionary Republican Party linked up with the Liberty League, Morgan and DuPont? Frank L. Lowden, a member of the Pullman family, one-time Governor of Illinois, and a well known open-shopper, has aspirations for high office, even that of the Presidency. His record shows beyond doubt that he is an enemy of the worker and farmer. The most reactionary sections of the capitalist class are pushing forward Frank Glenn, Attorney for the Illinois Manufacturers Association, as a Senator on the Republican ticket. Are our memories so short? Have we forgotten that Frank Glenn prosecuted the Herrin miners, demanding for them the penalty of death? These Republican office seekers, agents of the trusts and millionaires, are no better than the present Democratic politicians who occupy office. Most decidedly Labor cannot look for salvation to these two old parties.

Why Independent Political Action!

There is only one way out for Labor in the present situation. Through the organization of its own party—the Farmer-Labor Party. The policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies within the old parties has failed miserably. The Federation News of December 7th, 1935, carries a very interesting editorial entitled: "Why Labor Gets Politically Skinned."

This editorial, after raising some very serious doubts about the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor, says the following: "Precluding all ducking of the inevitable inference, that if the doctrine preached by the simon-pure trade unionists, that thorough organization is necessary in the industrial field to insure to Labor the degree of consideration it seeks and is justified

in demanding, it naturally follows, that unless the same is pursued on the political field, Labor is licked before the first blow is delivered and its bombastic slogan, defeat your enemies and support your friends, is reduced to mere empty lip service, rather than one of political hard service. Not only does this savor of unanswerable logic, but also confirms a fast-growing belief that in this commercail age, with its idolatrous worship of wealth, the political situation assumes the character of a card game in which money is declared trumps and is played with a marked deck and the credulous sucker is invariably due for a thorough skinning.

"The prevalence of this conviction, especially in the ranks of organized labor, was plainly evidenced by the introduction of ten different resolutions numbered 23, 39, 83, 90, 101, 132, 136, 186 and 213 in the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor and were referred to the Resolutions Committee with no definite report of that committee's conclusions as to the merits or demerits of these ten resolutions, or a floor discussion of their virtues or vices to be found in their minutes."

We welcome this editorial in spite of some confusion.

The editorial takes issue with the decisions of the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor for not doing anything about the Labor Party and ends by showing up the futility of non-partisan politics. The position of the Chicago Federation of Labor is of great importance because its attitude on a Labor Party is quite decisive. If the Chicago Federation of Labor becomes a part of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, it will not only radically change the position of this movement on a local or state scale, but will have national repercussions both on the political situation and in the American Federation of Labor. That is what we Communists should work for.

Build the Cook County Labor Party!

In proportion to the growing desire for a Farmer-Labor Party, the Cook County Labor Party is not making very much headway. This is due to a number of reasons:

1. The leadership shows too little initiative in involving

other unions, and organizations both political and fraternal.

2. A certain section of the Labor leadership is definitely sabotaging the movement.
3. Some of the people heading this movement are too dependent upon the higher officials of the American Federation of Labor and consequently fear to take bold steps for the building of the Labor Party.
4. The Labor Party, while generally having a correct and suitable program, is not taking any active steps to participate in the coming elections, nor is it meeting the issues which arise daily.

What are some of the steps that should be taken to further the campaign for the Labor Party in Chicago and the State?

1. It is necessary to cooperate with the Socialist Party and discuss some concrete United Front proposals to build and extend a Farmer-Labor Party movement.
2. All Communists and sympathizers active in trade unions are urged to place themselves at the disposal of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party of Cook County for visiting local unions to get affiliations, and for the election of delegates to the forthcoming conference.
3. The Communist Party, in its own name, will cooperate with the Labor Party Executive of Cook County, offering them help in the preparation for mass meetings; we should undertake to publicize these meetings and rally support to make them a success.
4. We urge the Labor Party to run candidates in the 21st and 46th wards in Chicago in order to fill vacancies. The Communist Party on the basis of the Labor Party demands will support these candidates. Pending the action of the Labor Party on the special elections, the Communist Party should prepare its own candidates in these wards, but at the same time endeavor to set up a broad united workers' ticket.
5. We will endeavor to convince the Labor Party that other groups, in addition to the trade unions, be

included within its ranks, such as fraternal and political groups.

6. The question of the Farmer-Labor Party should be raised in all our sympathetic organizations. In the various fields of our work broad united front conferences on this question should be held.
7. Sections of the Communist Party should begin to work for the setting up of neighborhood committees for the promotion of the Labor Party. These committee should involve trade unions, clubs, and neighborhood organizations of various kinds, but under no circumstances should they be limited to Communists and their sympathizers. The Communists do not want to dominate the Labor Party movement.
8. Outside of Chicago, in Gary, Hammond, Peoria, Rockford, Rock Island, Decatur, Waukegan, and in Southern Illinois in the trade unions and in mass organizations of all kinds ways and means of organizing a Farmer-Labor Party should be discussed. People sympathetic to this movement should introduce resolutions in all of these organizations and wherever branches of the Socialist Party exist they should be approached for united action on the Farmer-Labor Party.
9. Through the initiative of trade unions in towns outside of Chicago, the Cook County Labor Party should be approached for speakers to address these unions.
10. All sections of the Party outside of Chicago in the suburbs should undertake activities in order to reach farmers and their organizations to bring them into a Farmer-Labor Party.
11. We should give special consideration to the building of the Farmer-Labor Party among the Negroes on the South Side of Chicago.

It is clear that we desire a Farmer-Labor Party that will attract not only class-conscious workers, but all workers, farmers, intellectuals and certain strata of the city middle class. **SUCH A PARTY WILL BE A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT OF THE UNITED STATES—AN ANTI-FASCIST PARTY THAT**

**WILL OPPOSE THE TWO CAPITALIST PARTIES,
THAT WILL FIGHT THE TRUSTS, THAT WILL COM-
BAT FASCISM.**

Negro People and Farmer-Labor Party!

What possibilities have we for building a movement for independent political action among Negroes? Can the Negroes on the South Side be brought to support a Farmer-Labor movement? . . . In Chicago we witness among Negroes a deep dissatisfaction with the New Deal program. The Negro masses have seen the failure of the Democratic administration locally and nationally. Not only has the New Deal failed to live up to its promises, but after three years it has brought the Negro people suffering, misery and deepened oppression. . . . But there is a danger that these masses, disillusioned with the New Deal, will in the 1936 election campaign be corralled by the Republicans. There is the possibility that they will be fooled into support of that party which represents the greatest Fascist danger in the United States, the party of the Morgans, du Ponts, Hearst, etc.

Oscar de Priest, former Negro congressman, is actively using the unpopularity of Mitchell and the dissatisfaction of Negroes with the New Deal to forward the interests of the Republican Party. Oscar de Priest and his friends are very active on the South Side. Republican mass rallies are being held and Republican clubs are being set up in all neighborhoods. In recognizing this danger, it would be incorrect to underestimate the strength of the Democrats among Negroes, which exist in the fact that they have a powerful machine and control of job patronage. To win the Negroes from the old parties will mean much serious work. Here is where our job comes in. We must show them that the only way to give effective expression to their justified discontent with the reactionary parties is to support the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

The greatest opportunity to rally the Negro people into a movement for independent political action presents itself with the National Negro Congress. The Congress is scheduled to meet in Chicago February 14 and has as a task to mobilize Negroes of all walks of life—middle

class, professionals, workers, and organizations of various kinds. This Congress is of historical importance not only to the Negro people but especially to the white workers. The Communists should vigorously work for the building of this Congress. It is especially essential that the trade union question, the question of organizing the millions of unorganized Negro workers, should be the central problem at the Congress. To this end the Communists and all progressive elements in the trade union movement should begin immediately to raise the question of the Congress in local unions and vigorously combat the old policy of isolation and Jim-Crowism that has existed for many years in the American Labor movement.

Youth Can Be Won!

The youth can be won for a Farmer-Labor Party. The youth are the disinherited of the capitalist system in the present period of crisis and decay. They can be easy pawns in the hands of Fascists. But they can also be good fighters against Fascism if they are properly united on the basis of their demands. At the November meeting of the Central Committee the problems of the younger generation were thoroughly discussed in the light of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International. The world movement of Communist youth decided to broaden their organization to include not only working class youth, but the whole younger generation. The future Leagues will be built to include in its ranks, Communists, Socialists, religious and other youth, as a unified movement to be educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

It will require that our Communist Party help the young comrades do the job. The Young Communist League in Illinois has already taken steps in this direction. They are becoming part of the youth in mass organizations, settlement houses, etc. The Party should throw its energy behind these moves and help guide the younger generation to unity and into the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Women!

The women can be won for a Farmer-Labor Party. The old capitalist parties do not neglect to mobilize the

women as campaigners and voters for them. The Republican Party has already set up political classes and is raising such issues as the high cost of living to get the support of the women. The Communists must frankly state that we have neglected to work energetically among women. If we want to build a united front we must mobilize the women and their organizations. The issues intimately affecting women can serve as the broadest basis for a united front as we have learned in the campaign against the high cost of living.

Fascism, although it has a program of vicious slavery for the women and provides a degrading position for them in society, yet demagogically appeals to the women for support. We must win the women from Fascism by showing them what Fascism brought to their sisters in Germany and other Fascist countries. And above all, on the basis of organizing broad movements for the defense of their needs we can bring the masses of organized and unorganized women into the Farmer-Labor Party movement.

Win the Middle Class Against Fascism!

The middle class of the city is also suffering from the effects of the crisis. Fascist movements always play upon the sentiments of the middle class and through demagoguery succeed in enlisting them into their storm troop battalions. In the cities, the middle class are learning from the events in Europe. They are beginning to recognize that Fascism is the barbarous regime of the monopolists, that it enriches the trusts and destroys culture.

The middle class is becoming aware of the dangers of Fascism in the United States. Sinclair Lewis' book "It Can't Happen Here" indicates this. Even though Sinclair Lewis has no conception of the important role of the working class nor of the difference between proletarian and Fascist dictatorship, nevertheless he does reflect the anti-Fascist attitude of the American professionals and middle class. The Illinois Teacher in its October issue carried a very interesting article, entitled "Fascism in Illinois," written by Robert C. Moore, Secretary of the Illinois State Teachers Association.

Mr. Moore showed how the Fascist elements are influencing the schools in this state. But what is more significant, this article proves that finance capital is behind this, although they use such names as "Citizens Committee on Public Expenditures." Mr. Moore concludes: "We have numerous witnesses and their testimony shows that in Illinois we have a small self-appointed, extra-legal, responsible group of big business men with one man as their chief spokesman who are asserting a power of dictation in governmental affairs. They limit the credit and determine the budget of governmental units by their control of the banks. The regularly chosen public officials are dummies and puppets in their hands and such officials use their power destructively at the behest of their bosses. If this isn't Fascism, it is worse!"

We see that the middle class and the professions may be won for a Farmer-Labor Party and involved in the struggle against Fascism.

Program Based on Vital Demands!

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party which was published in the Daily Worker, lists fifteen types of demands. All of these types of demands are very realistic and fill the needs of the widest masses. What we have to do is to concretize these demands on the basis of local conditions and not mechanically duplicate them. The general demands of the Cook County Labor Party differ somewhat from these, yet they are within the framework of the type of demands outlined in the Central Committee resolution.

Fascist Signs in Illinois

Comrade Dimitroff, in his report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, upbraids the people "who intolerably underrated the Fascist danger, a tendency which has not everywhere been overcome to this day." In our district, too, we have people who look upon the reactionary measures daily being inaugurated by the capitalist class against the people as just "ordinary things." Some of the comrades live in the distant past. The capitalists have always used terror, they claim. Therefore, they say, why get excited? These

people fail to see the new conditions under which we live and struggle. They fail to understand the difference between the ordinary terror used by the ruling class and the terroristic Fascist methods now being used in a number of countries, and these same tendencies coming to the fore in the United States. We should understand what measures can be called Fascist and what groups are the bearers of these tendencies. We must recognize the Fascist enemy in order to defeat him. We must know him not only on a national scale, as expressed in such groupings as the Liberty League, Hearst and others, but also on a local scale.

There are specific Fascist trends and groups to be observed in many sections of the country which are as yet not connected with the Liberty League, Hearst or other national Fascist currents. Nevertheless these local movements represent a real danger. This must especially be taken into consideration since the expression of Fascism is not yet crystallized in one mass cohesive party. In the Illinois district we are witnessing a rapid growth of Fascist tendencies.

There is the utmost need for a daily united struggle to protect the civil rights and conditions of the workers. We have to convince the Socialists, the trade unionists and middle class liberals that the growing reaction in Chicago will affect them, too. Did not the Chicago authorities refuse Grant Park to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom for a Jane Addams Memorial Meeting unless they agreed beforehand not to touch the question of war?

Let us see how such reactionary measures find expression in our district.

- A. The Illinois Legislature has passed laws to keep the Communist Party and other Labor and independent groups off the ballot.
- B. In Chicago there is a definite denial of the right to demonstrate and assemble on the streets. Demonstrations are forcibly broken up as in the case of August 31st and the anti-war picket line since then.
- C. In the City of Gary, meetings are forcibly broken up by the police with the assistance of company thugs.

Only because of a mass struggle are the police now restrained by an injunction from interfering with meetings held by the Communist Party.

- D. In Chicago the masses are denied the use of the parks and other public places for meetings. The Chicago Federation of Labor was denied the right to meet on Labor Day in Soldier Field.
- E. Trade unions are being attacked, union offices raided, picket lines smashed by the Democratic State's Attorney, Mr. Courtney of Cook County.
- F. The Communist Party and other working class groups are being denied the use of halls. The Real Estate Board and the Hearst interests cooperate in this. Recently the city authorities have given full cooperation to Hearst in an attempt to close down the Chicago Workers' School.
- G. Only a few weeks ago, the Board of Education of the city of Chicago enacted a rule that every school day must open with a salute to the flag, the taking of the oath of allegiance and the singing of patriotic songs. This measure was instigated by the Hearst newspapers under the slogan of "A flag in every school room."
- H. The Fascist and reactionary elements as represented by Hearst, the Liberty League, Mrs. Dilling, Walgreen, started the attack on the University of Chicago under the guise of a "Red" investigation. They recommended the dismissal of professors with progressive ideas.
- I. A number of state legislators, for example Weber and Graham, have bills they want introduced that will outlaw the Communist Party.
- J. The American Legion has proposed the organization of special squads placed under the disposal of the police department, to put down what they term civil disorders and riots. These squads are to be picked and limited only to a small section of the Legion membership.
- K. We are witnessing a rigid censorship carried through

by the ruling Kelly group. The threat of license revocation terrorizes the theaters and keeps them from producing or showing plays that are not to the liking of the capitalist class. The closing of the play "Tobacco Road," while carried through under the guise of decency and morality, was in fact done because it depicts the miserable conditions as they exist in the South among the poor share-croppers. Surely the authorities of Chicago cannot boast as being the guardians of morality when vice, gangsterism, corruption (Sweitzer) permeate the very corridors of the City Hall.

- L. The City Council, at its meeting December 11, passed an ordinance which menaces freedom of the press in a way obviously inspired by William Randolph Hearst. The ordinance forbids the sale of daily newspapers or publications on the city newsstands which are not published in the city. This makes it possible at once for the authorities to ban all radical, liberal and other journals distasteful to reaction. The ordinance will become effective after ninety days.

Terror Becomes Government System!

These measures are carried through not in the form of the usual coercion and ordinary terror, but they are becoming a system of government. The various national groupings with Fascist tendencies such as the Liberty League, Hearst, Macfadden, the Crusaders, the Union for Social Justice, Friends of New Germany, Minute Men, the Paul Reveres, exist in Chicago. The Liberty League and Hearst groups representing the biggest monopoly interests are the most dangerous. Yet there are other tendencies now local which in my opinion require serious attention. I am referring to the third party organized and led by Newton Jenkins.

"Third Party" Fascist Menace!

The Third Party movement has all the earmarks of Fascism. The program of the Third Party is almost an exact duplicate of Hitlerism, but with trimmings and phraseology to suit American conditions. We must com-

bat this movement not only because it is Fascist, but also because it is being utilized by the capitalist class to stop the development of a genuine Third Party movement in the form of a Farmer-Labor Party.

In the programmatic declaration of the Third Party there is a very militant attack on both the Republican and Democratic Parties. We read in this statement the following: The American people will never stand for turning over the Roosevelt wreckage to a Hoover blunderer. They will turn to the Third Party. It is a new party. It is a patriotic party. It is an American party." Opposition to the two old parties does not make this group less Fascist. Comrade Dimitroff in his report to the Seventh Congress shows that: "In reality Fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual and at a times severe struggle against the old bourgeois parties or definite sections of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the Fascist camp itself—a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries.

The Third Party, just as the Nazis in Germany, uses an unlimited amount of demagogy in order to detract the attention of the masses away from the daily problems which confront them. For example, in a statement of this party we read: "The Third Party program is fashioned upon the conclusion that seventy-five per cent of our trouble is international and twenty-five per cent is domestic." In this way the Third party dodges the question of wages, strikes, unemployment relief, social insurance, etc., and practically the whole responsibility of the crisis is placed on other countries.

The Third Party, in a very demagogic way, comes out against the trusts. Jenkins says: "The Third Party pledges to throw off this racial yoke and to restore the government to the people. The great monopolies which infest our land to the detriment of the people and serving as they do an open threat to the perpetuity of the republic, must be broken off and dissolved. The chain-store and the chain-bank, both un-American, must be abolished by law."

Does not this statement confirm the brilliant analysis of Comrade Dimitroff, who in his report points out:

"Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it appeals to them with the most artful, anti-capitalist demagoguery, taking advantage of the profound hatred entertained by the toilers for the piratical bourgeoisie, the banks, the trusts and the financial magnates, and advancing slogans which at a given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses."

Under the guise of struggling against bureaucracy, the Third Party proposes forced labor camps of the type of Hitler Germany. "The Third Party would require that every young man and woman in the country serve a period of not less than one year and not more than five years in the public service." This is also an attempt to win the young generation that sees only gloom in the present crisis and is looking for some way out. The Third Party does not hide its terroristic aims. The statement that the Third Party believes: "that those who betray our country and who rob and pillage the state should be hanged on a public square throughout the land," is not an attack on the rich and powerful, as one might be led to believe, but a call for a struggle against all liberals and progressives.

Attacks Progressive Trends!

In an article signed by Newton Jenkins, we read: "Magazines like the New Republic, the Nation, Common Sense and other un-American periodicals, are already doing their stuff and are responding to the alien interests that are impoverishing our country. These should be the first of the false propagandists to feel the restraining hand of a self-respecting government operating in the interests of our citizens. In any sweeping investigations of foreign propaganda in our country, these un-American "liberal" magazines should be given the most careful scrutiny that their conduct deserves."

Statements such as these prove that the Fascists in their struggle against the revolutionary working class do not stop at this, but carry their fight against liberals, progressives, educators, etc. Prof. Paul Douglas, one of the leaders of the Commonwealth Political Federation, at one time sponsored Newton Jenkins, who has since turned Fascist. The Fascist activity of the Third Party

in Chicago will undoubtedly convince Prof. Douglas that unity of action on the political field is necessary to combat Fascism. I am sure that Prof. Douglas is beginning to realize that his attack on the Communists at the July convention of the Commonwealth Political Federation, did not advance the struggle against Fascism. What is needed now is united action of all groups, including the Commonwealth Political Federation, to build a Farmer-Labor Party.

Jenkins for War!

Newton Jenkins is a great admirer of Hitler and Mussolini. Jenkins is shouting for an unknown soldier to take the lead in establishing a Fascist dictatorship in the United States. The Third Party News tells us: "In certain European countries the war men have been able to beat through and capture the control of their governments. Italy and Germany serve as the classic examples." And further on we read: "Perhaps the same thing will take place in America. In the face of that kind of competition, Roosevelt and Hitler would not survive. The nation might rally to the unknown soldier."

Fascism attempts to arouse the deepest chauvinistic hatreds and that is why they always place the solution of all problems on the international arena. They prepare the masses for imperialist wars of aggression. In its statement, the Third Party makes no attempt to hide its chauvinism. The following voices, the imperialistic designs of American capitalism: "Why not take Canada? England is taking land all over the world with or without just claim. Why can't we let Britain know that we are ready to annex the Dominion? It would be a good thing for our country and an equally good thing for the Dominion." We analyze the program and aims of the Third Party because it is necessary to know this dangerous movement in order to expose and combat it.

Jenkins Masked as Progressive!

Newton Jenkins is well known in Illinois. He was formerly connected with the LaFollette group. He used to parade around the State of Illinois as a progressive and friend of Labor. He was frequently the candidate of

progressive and independent groups in this state. His participation in anti-trust battles has given him somewhat of a reputation among the farmers and the middle class. In 1932 Jenkins was a candidate in the primaries for United States Senator and received nearly three hundred thousand votes outside of Cook County, and during the last mayoralty elections in Chicago he received nearly ninety thousand votes. This shows that Jenkins does have some influence upon the masses and we must not therefore minimize the Third Party.

In the past elections, Jenkins ran as an independent. Now that he carries a Third Party label, there is a danger that some people, unaware of the Fascist aims of the Third Party, will show their dissatisfaction with the two old parties by supporting him. Newton Jenkins and the Third Party are working very cleverly for the support of the Townsendites, the Huey Long followers, the followers of Coughlin, the followers of the EPIC movement as well as trade unionists. They are particularly active in the Railway Brotherhoods. He, of course, is catering to business men's associations. In the face of this situation, we must intensify our united front activity among these groups in every locality, in order to win them for the Labor Party against Jenkins Fascism. The whole situation must compel us to speed up the building of a Farmer-Labor Party movement. The Third Party boasts of a full slate for the coming elections in Illinois. We must work to combat not only the Third Party, but the Liberty League, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, by placing against all of these a united Farmer-Labor Party.

United People's Front Can Be Built!

We have some good examples of the united front. These examples indicate the possibilities if we use our initiative.

The United Front on the South Side for medical aid for Ethiopia is a very broad movement involving some of the most important organizations and individuals in joint action for peace and aid to Ethiopia.

The wide support to the Sonya Branting meetings in our district shows that it is possible to mobilize all kinds

of organizations and individuals in joint action against Fascism.

The united front of the German organizations is an excellent beginning of a People's Front, involving trade unionists, fraternal organizations, Socialists, Communists and various cultural and social clubs.

The children are also learning to work the new way. Their activity for the united front against war and for peace deserves encouragement. The response from the Boy Scouts shows the widespread desire for peace. The Illinois Children's Council was correct when they said in their communication to the Boy Scouts: "We feel that the great majority of the scouts in the neighborhoods, the parents of the scouts, and the troops themselves are in hearty accord with the movement for peace. To these we suggest the need for immediate education of scouting for the support of peace, through peace meetings of scouts, through the circulation of petitions for peace, through the publication of scout peace bulletins, and through any method the scout troops think best. Let us show that scouting also has strong sentiments for peace. We enclose a copy of the peace mandate for your consideration as an example of a petition that can be used."

The experiences in the territory of Section 5 in building the Anti-Nazi Federation is another good illustration. In Section 8 our comrades in the Unemployment Councils took the initiative in mobilizing nearly the whole population in that village against the closing down of a relief station. There we saw unemployed, Legionnaires, Townsendites, parent-teachers' associations and small taxpayers getting together on one issue that aroused them all. It is important to note this, because in building the united front for the Farmer-Labor Party we will have to raise just such issues that will rally the widest number of people—a movement so broad as in this case, that compels even the small-town public officials to take sides with the people.

We have worked together with the Socialists on the Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia. Our Socialist comrades were very active in the struggle against Fascism and war. Even though we have some disagreements with them, yet we can reach some understanding for

united action of a more permanent nature on this question. There is also the need for the unification of the unemployed movement in Illinois. The Socialists can be quite decisive in bringing about the unification of the unemployed into one organization. There are some workers in the Illinois Workers' Alliance who think that their organization can be built if they pursue an anti-Communist policy. Life should convince these people that this is not so. The last convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor verifies this. A unified organization of the unemployed will win the support of the organized labor movement. The Socialists and Communists by setting the example through united action can speed up the unity of the unemployed.

Civil Rights Grave Issue!

The question of civil rights in the city of Chicago is of the greatest importance. Around this question we have to initiate a broad people's movement. The important thing is to develop such a movement in Chicago and this will, of course, have political implications. It will mobilize people in the struggle against reaction, for civil rights and will expose the two old parties—the bearers of reaction. This movement should involve liberals, professional people, pacifists, trade unionists, the Negro people, Socialists and Communists—all those who are in one way or another opposed to the reaction that is developing in Chicago.

Correct Approach Needed!

In forming the Anti-Fascist People's Front, it is necessary to have a correct approach to organizations and parties which are now under the influence of the capitalists or their agents. Some of these organizations may even be of a semi-Fascist character. The people belonging to these organizations do not always know about the real political makeup of the leadership. For example, the people who belong to the Union for Social Justice dominated by Coughlin are as yet not aware of the Fascist leanings of this radio priest. It is clear that we cannot surrender these masses to the bourgeoisie or Fascists. We have to approach these organizations in various

ways in order to draw them into the People's Front against Fascism. The resolution on the Farmer-Labor Party adopted at the last Central Committee meeting states: "Coughlin gains influence by playing upon the acute needs of the masses, by utilizing their just hatred of the bankers and the monopolies, by the ardent wish of the masses to break the stranglehold of the bankers upon the life of the country and to receive a measure of social justice. But this is what we are fighting for and not Coughlin. Hence we must work among his followers in the Union for Social Justice and show the real way of breaking the domination of the bankers. The struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party must be made a live and important issue among the followers of Coughlin.

Basic Industries Key to Farmer-Labor Party

The problem of organizing the unorganized, and the building of industrial unions is closely related to the job of building a Farmer-Labor Party. We have had people in our own district who have predicted untold consequences if we support Lewis and other leaders of the A. F. of L. in the fight for the organization of the unorganized. They told us that people will lose sight of the difference between us and Lewis on all questions. We are not supporting these people as "good" individuals, but because they fight for certain measures in the interest of the working class. We shall support these people only insofar as they genuinely fight for progressive measures. If they do things in their own union or anywhere else which will harm the workers, we will at that time make our position clear and the workers will see the differences.

I want to relate to you one recent example which verifies the correctness of the Party position. In one local union of the U. M. W. of A., one of our comrades, running for a delegate to the national convention of that union, received the highest vote of all candidates. Some of the Lewis supporters were defeated while others trailed behind our candidate. Why did our comrade get such tremendous support? He did not run only as an opposition. In fact, he supported some measures for which Lewis is fighting, such as Industrial Unionism. But more

than that, our comrade ran on a platform which clearly defended the interests of the miners; for a Farmer-Labor Party, for democracy in the union, against Fascism and war, much more than Lewis stands for at the present time. The miners voted for this platform, and also for those individuals who in their opinion worked to win better conditions and build the union. In this case, the miners saw very clearly the difference between the Communists and Lewis, and their vote proved it.

The changes which have taken place in the labor movement necessitated changes in our tactics. Lewis is beginning to understand that only through the organization of the unorganized and the building of industrial unions can the labor movement survive the attacks of the capitalist class, and defeat the menace of Fascism. It is true that some of these leaders do not draw all the necessary conclusions. They do not as yet cooperate in the building of a Farmer-Labor Party. Nevertheless the few steps that Lewis, Hillman and Howard have taken are progressive ones which we support. The setting up of the Committee for Industrial Organization is of tremendous importance. Not only Communists, but all trade unionists should rally behind this committee for the organization of the unorganized into Industrial Unions.

The movement for the organization of the steel workers into genuine unions has been developing of late. The independent union in the South Chicago Carnegie Illinois Steel Mills now has over two thousand members. In the Gary Carnegie mill, the company union representatives are evenly split on the question of affiliation to the A. F. of L. In Gary the dissatisfaction with the company union was shown by the workers in the mills as they went about organizing all kinds of social clubs. The workers believed they could use these clubs for the purpose of winning concessions from the steel trusts. The company has already been giving many concessions since the movement has begun.

The union in South Chicago is pointing out to the workers that these wage increases were obtained through organization of the workers. The Independent Union in South Chicago continues to grow and is organizationally far ahead of the movement in Gary and other places.

The movement in Gary leans more to the A. F. of L., but one of the reasons the Independent Union in South Chicago is not affiliated to the A. F. of L. is due to the high dues payment of the A. A. as compared to their present dues payment. The craft union bureaucracy has stepped in not to launch a broad campaign to organize the steel workers into the A. A., but to choke the organizational drive in steel. The A. A. by itself, we see, is too weak to do the job. Resolutions should be introduced by militant trade unionists in every field demanding that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take immediate action to organize the steel workers.

We have learned the importance of working inside the company unions, that it is possible to win the workers inside the company controlled organizations. Yet we must be very tactful in the present situation to prevent a head-on collision with the Steel Trusts until such time as the great portion of steel workers are convinced through their own experience that it is necessary to break away from the company unions and to form a genuine trade union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Comrade Browder, in dealing with the question at the C. C. meeting, said :

“It is necessary to bear in mind that the workers join unions to improve their condition and for the large body of workers, unless special conditions exist, they wait to see what things will develop before they join. Here the most advanced workers must know how to build up forces of the union in the various departments, how to work for adjustment of grievances, how to draw in each department the best workers into the union, how to organize the work in such a manner that will safeguard the first who were to join and prevent immediate victimization and guard the power of the union before it comes to a head-on collision with the employers.”

I want to close emphasizing again that the united front and the Labor Party are the central tasks. To accomplish this task we must have human material. We must train and develop more forces, people who are not sectarian, who have won the confidence of the people in the trade unions, shops, etc. In preparation for the Party convention much care must be taken in selecting the in-

coming leadership. The entire Party, in the units and sections, must discuss leadership. Only the kind of people who will work in the **new way** are the ones who should be put forward as leaders. We must provide more schools and theoretical training for these people, and patiently assist them in their daily work. In preparation for the convention, there must be the freest Bolshevik discussion and self-criticism.

With the proper work for the united front and for the building of a Farmer-Labor Party, combined with real concentration work in the basic industries, to organize the unorganized, we will build a powerful Party in our district and we will realize our control task set by the Central Committee of 4,000 dues paying members by March 8, the time of the National Convention of our Party.

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