

# The Communist

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

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# THE COMMUNIST

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EDITOR: EARL BROWDER



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## REVIEW OF THE MONTH

*Wall Street Is Disappointed. Wants a Bigger War and Greater Say in Its Outcome. Welles Goes Abroad. Preparing Ground for Taking America into War. On Imperialist Contradictions and Class Contradictions. The Far East, Latin America and Finland. The Main Enemy Is at Home. Labor Discusses the Coming National Elections. Policies of the Communist National Committee. Browder's Report. John L. Lewis Projects a Coalition of Labor With All Common People. Prospects and Possibilities. The Meaning of the Woll-Hutcheson Maneuvers. Hillman Reiterates Full Confidence in Roosevelt's Imperialist Policies. Working Masses Are Voicing Lack of Confidence. Orientation Towards a Peace Party. Problems of Communist Party Building. Dimitroff on Stalin's Teachings.*

**W**ALL STREET gives many signs of being displeased with the course of the European war. It may be said that American finance capital is somewhat disappointed. And for many reasons.

For one thing, war orders are not coming in as expected or desired, either in volume or in diversity of commodities. For another thing, the Anglo-French Allies persist in a peculiar lack of appreciation or gratitude for American "sympathy." Instead, they interfere with American shipping to their own advantage and that of Italy. They exploit their position of belligerents for the waging of a most reckless economic warfare, not only against Germany and the small neutrals but also against their American rival, the imperialists of the United States. They counter every expansionist move of American imperialism in Latin America and in the

Far East with economic and political maneuvers of their own, whose only purpose is to check Wall Street and preserve their own positions. And, lastly, these same Allies, whose victory is supposed to be in the interests of the American people, are beginning to display resentment against the diplomatic and political interventions of the American Government in European affairs.

So pronounced has this "ingratitude" of the Allies become in recent weeks that even Major George Fielding Eliot, the *Herald Tribune* military expert who firmly believes in an Allied victory as indispensable for American security, felt compelled to serve notice that:

"The cold hard fact is that Great Britain has ceased to be the world dominant power, though she continues to behave as though she were."

And that:

"... our future security from having to fight foreign wars is very largely dependent upon a realization... that we have become the first sea power of the world." (*Herald Tribune*, Jan. 25.)

Naturally, as "the first sea power," we have to assert ourselves, also with respect to England. Hence, President Roosevelt sends the former head of the Steel Trust, Myron Taylor, to the Vatican to work "for peace." He then dispatches Sumner Welles, one of the outstanding imperialist manipulators in the State Department, on a visit to Europe, to advise the President and Secretary of State "as to present conditions." Simultaneously, Secretary Hull discusses with the "neutrals" the future peace, with special reference to economic reconstruction and reduction of armaments.

American imperialism is thus further "asserting itself." It is seeking a voice and a say in the imperialist redivision of the world, for which England and France are waging war against Germany and for which Japan is waging war in the Far East. All this is done in the name of peace and national security. It is done under the flag of neutrality. Its real purpose, however, is to extend and strengthen the imperialist positions of American finance capital.

Observing these developments, especially the apparent contradictions between Wall Street's "sympathy" for England and its imperialist struggle against England, some people in the anti-imperialist

camp tend to feel somewhat disorientated. They wonder what Wall Street is really aiming at and what the policies of the American Government really are. To which the answer is, first, that the war has raised a number of questions to which the imperialist bourgeoisie has not yet found the answer and on which there is still disagreement among themselves; and, second, that the contradictions in imperialist policy arise from contradictions in life itself.

Marxists-Leninists knew from the beginning, and said so, that the war will tend to sharpen all contradictions of capitalism. Not just some but all of them. They could not know, of course, how rapidly the sharpening would occur, the exact forms it would take, and some important angles in the final lineup of forces on the international scene among the capitalist states. However, they did know this: that the anti-imperialist camp of the peoples of all countries, in which the Soviet Union stands as the main fortress and beacon light, is daily acquiring greater power to influence considerably the direction of development of all these contradictions. This latter point is fundamental in the present situation. It is a point which many have not yet fully grasped.

How then does all this affect the policies of American imperialism? We said from the outset that the war will activate the imperialist struggles of American finance capital. That has been proved true and that is still the main thing to consider. We also said that this "activation" was bound to sharpen

the antagonisms of American imperialism with *all its rivals*, including England and Japan. It was clear that the Anglo-French war with Germany will not soften, let alone abolish, these contradictions. Why? Because it was clear that Wall Street will seek to exploit the war for the purposes of greater profits and for the extension of its imperialist positions all over the world and, therefore, for the extension and prolongation of the war itself; that, consequently, American imperialism will come into serious conflicts with its present rivals in Latin America and in the Far East, i.e., with Japan and England.

But, the question is raised, doesn't American imperialism seek first of all the defeat of German imperialism? The answer is: yes, American imperialism wants to see German imperialism weakened; but it also wants to see English and Japanese imperialisms weakened in the very same process. That is why Wall Street and the Roosevelt Government are encouraging and, in a sense, supporting the Anglo-French war against Germany; but that is also why Wall Street and the Roosevelt Government want to see England more deeply and irrevocably involved in the war, so deeply in fact that it would not be able to obstruct effectively Wall Street's imperialist expansions in Latin America and in the Far East. Wall Street wants a bigger and greater war. It wants England to win the war against Germany but to come out of it so weakened that American imperialism would step into first place in world imperialist hegemony.

And here is where Wall Street's present mood of disappointment comes in. For the plain fact is that British imperialism shows no signs of wanting to oblige Wall Street. Seeing through the game of its American rival, British imperialism, while directing its main effort against Germany with whom it is at war, is nevertheless alert to and resisting every expansionist move of American imperialism. Its very war against Germany British imperialism is trying to wage in such a way as not to lose any important positions to Wall Street. That is not easy. That will in time become impossible. But that is how British imperialism is fighting today. And that is the main reason for Wall Street's disappointments with the course of the war, a factor which also operates for the present against any softening of Anglo-American imperialist contradictions.

This is not to say that the very sharpening of the Anglo-American imperialist contradictions may not, under certain conditions, lead to Wall Street actually dragging this country into war on the side of England and France. It will be recalled that this is what happened in 1917. If these contradictions should become very sharp and if Britain should be threatened with certain defeat, American imperialism may very well try to join England in the war. Yet seeing this, we must also see something else. We must see that, unlike 1917, there is growing a powerful anti-imperialist, anti-war camp headed by the Soviet Union, whose peace policies and struggles have a great and growing influence on world affairs,

an influence which will count very heavily in what American imperialism may actually be able to do. We are not fatalists.

Yes, it will be admitted, but isn't American imperialism moved powerfully by a desire to bring on an anti-Soviet war? And doesn't this tend to bring British and American imperialisms together? Undoubtedly. But for a fuller understanding of this important phase of the question, the anti-Soviet "desires" of American imperialism must be further analyzed. Then we shall find that the evident sharpening of the anti-Soviet line of American imperialism is conditioned *at this time* not only by the class opposition of the American bourgeoisie to the socialist state but also by Anglo-American and American-Japanese imperialist rivalries. Not to see that is to run the danger of becoming disorientated.

The American imperialist bourgeoisie, like its brethren in the other capitalist countries, is an irreconcilable class enemy of the Soviet Union. Consequently, Wall Street would like the present imperialist war to take such a turn as seriously to weaken the socialist country because of its *socialist, anti-capitalist nature*. But this alone cannot explain the steady sharpening of the anti-Soviet line of the American bourgeoisie and Government. Why? Because in the *immediate* situation, and from the point of view of the immediate *practical* interests of American imperialism, Wall Street today comes into much more serious and tangible conflict with England and Japan than with the Soviet Union. That is obvious.

Wall Street's rivals in the quest for markets, colonies and strategic positions are to be found not in the Soviet Union—that is clear—but in England and in Japan.

True, the socialist anti-imperialist peace policy and struggles of the Soviet Union constitute a serious obstacle to the imperialists and war-makers everywhere, including those of the United States. Therefore, to the extent that the Soviet peace policy is succeeding ever more effectively in blocking the policies of the imperialists which aim to extend and prolong the war, to this extent even the immediate and practical interests of American imperialism come into collision with Soviet policy. To this extent all imperialists become more rabidly anti-Soviet. And this, of course, explains a good deal of the reckless anti-Soviet incitements by the American bourgeoisie which is assisted by William Green, Norman Thomas, Waldman, Lovestone and the Trotskyites.

For example: in the Far East, as everywhere else, Soviet socialist policy works towards peace for all the peoples living there and for the freedom and independence of China; whereas Wall Street's imperialist policy works for the prolongation and extension of war and for eventual American imperialist domination over China. Hence, a serious clash in policy. This latter point perhaps needs emphasis.

For it is currently assumed that the only enemy China has is Japanese imperialism, with most discussions revolving around the question of what shall be done to Japan. But this is altogether a one-

sided view of the situation. Japanese imperialism still continues the most immediate and dangerous enemy China has but it is not the only one. There is British imperialism and American imperialism. And the growing activization of American imperialism in the Far East is making it more dangerous, not only for its rivals, England and Japan, but also for the future of China itself, especially Wall Street's *anti-Soviet machinations* in the Far East. Furthermore, from the longer-term point of view, American imperialism may become China's most dangerous enemy. Therefore, the task of the anti-imperialist forces in the United States is to combat American imperialist machinations in the Far East *in the first instance*, actively supporting the national liberation struggles of the Chinese people *against all its enemies*, militantly resisting Wall Street's anti-Soviet line as a menace to peace and to the Chinese people, incorporating and subordinating the demand for a Japanese embargo to this main line of anti-imperialist struggle.

We thus took account of another major factor which tends to sharpen the anti-Soviet line of American imperialism, namely, the effective Soviet peace policy and its growing authority in international affairs. Yet, having done so, and always keeping in mind the irreconcilable *class* hostility of the American bourgeoisie to the socialist state, the fact still remains that *in its present expansionist moves* American imperialism comes into equal, if not more serious, conflict with German and also with British and

Japanese imperialism. Hence, we must account also for this factor, which is the evident desire of American imperialism *to see the present war transformed into a world war*, to get England and Japan involved in war with the Soviet Union, *in the hope that this would weaken its imperialist rivals as well as its socialist class enemy*.

It is on this basis that American imperialism is hastily seeking to build up its military strength, with a view to entering the war as a belligerent, at the "proper" moment, to "cash in" on the exhaustion of its opponents and on the contradictions between them.

Or, take Roosevelt's policy in Finland. This too has many motivations, not just one. It is, first, an attempt to hurt the Soviet Union. It is, secondly, to arouse inside the country a wave of war hysteria and political reaction which, by the way, is not succeeding. But it is also an attempt to push England deeper into war as well as to obstruct the improvement of peace relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. And here again we have a peculiar combination of motives: imperialist rivalry, strivings to world hegemony, promotion of capitalist reaction at home, class hatred of the socialist state.

There can be no doubt that the imperialist bourgeoisie of England, France and the United States are seeking to make Finland a base for military intervention against the Finnish people and against the Soviet Union. The Communist Party signaled this danger from the outset. More than that. It pointed out,

in its first analysis of the war between the Allies and Germany, that the imperialists will seek to transform this war into a war against the Soviet Union; the more so, the more deeply they become involved and entangled in their inter-imperialist struggles. Yet here, too, we must note an important fact in Anglo-American imperialist rivalries. While American imperialism is fully in "sympathy" with the British-French desire to turn the war against the Soviet Union, and even seeks to become the "spiritual" leader of the "holy crusade," it is at the same time pushing England to take the first steps, resenting very much British attempts to push America in this direction.

Therefore, and remembering that the main enemy is at home, labor and its allies are confronted with the task of *resisting every specific imperialist move* of the capitalist class and its government. These moves must be thoroughly exposed, for they are not always visible on the surface of things. This means to show that behind the "neutrality" talks and "peace" machinations, the imperialists are unfolding a fight for markets, colonies and strategic military positions, preparing to enter the war as belligerents, sharpening imperialist rivalries, seeking to turn the present war into a world war, and steadily promoting a counter-revolutionary crusade against the Soviet Union.

\* \* \*

**L**ABOR is beginning to prepare for the coming national elections. Issues, policies and programs are already before the masses and discussions among them are assum-

ing ever wider proportions. This is all to the good.

Here one must note the important fact that the general political orientation formulated by the Communist Party at the outbreak of the war—the anti-imperialist people's peace front—is beginning to bear fruit. Progressive labor is assuming ever greater initiative in the promotion of this people's front, receiving the sympathetic support and, in part, collaboration of large sections of youth, women and Negroes. Among the toiling farmers, moods and attitudes are undoubtedly sympathetic to the political initiatives of progressive labor, although organized support and collaboration are not as yet widely in evidence. And this is a weak spot which has to be mended.

One has a right to assume that the decisions of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in New York City, February 17-18, the report of Comrade Browder and the various resolutions will contribute materially to the clarification and solution by labor and its allies of the more immediate and practical problems connected with the approaching national elections. At least, we must make it so. The orientation towards an anti-imperialist peace party, proclaimed by the Communist National Committee, will certainly be recognized by large sections of labor and its allies as a most fruitful and highly practical direction which the political efforts of the anti-imperialist camp must take at the present time.

In fact, this would seem to be the general direction taken by the highly important United Mine

Workers' Convention. The decisions of this convention, taken in conjunction with the notable legislative program of the C.I.O., merit careful and close analysis.

First, naturally, comes President Lewis' statement to the convention on labor's attitude towards political parties and the 1940 election campaign. It seems to us that the central point of this statement, the most illuminating one, is the idea of political *coalition*. Implicit in this idea is the understanding that labor is a distinct group and entity by itself and must therefore participate in politics, not just by passively supporting some other groups, but by entering with them into some sort of partnership or coalition. A coalition in which labor is guaranteed a definite say in the policies and administration of the government.

President Lewis' criticism of the Democratic Party and of the Roosevelt Administration is precisely this: it did not fulfil these requirements of coalition, although labor granted it its support on this understanding. He said:

"A political coalition, at least, presupposes a post-election good faith between the coalescent interests. The Democratic Party and its leadership have not preserved this faith."

He then proceeds to discuss the matter more specifically. As follows:

"In the last three years, labor has not been given representation in the Cabinet, nor in the Administration or policy-making agencies of government. The current Adminis-

tration has not sought nor seriously entertained the advice or views of labor upon the question of national unemployment or lesser questions affecting domestic economy, internal taxation, foreign trade, military and naval expansion, relations with foreign nations or the issues of war or peace."

Labor, according to President Lewis, labor as a class needs a voice and a say in the formulation of government policies on all these questions and in the administration of government itself. This is undoubtedly the way the majority of the American working class feels on the matter.

It is clear that this position is far in advance of the old and discredited Gompers "non-partisanship" of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." It is clear that this position is very much different from, and sharply opposed to, the policy of the Woll-Hutcheson group, the agents in the labor movement of that section of monopoly capital which controls the Republican Party. It is also considerably different (whether in quantity or also in quality, is a separate question) from that political current in the labor movement which still continues to speak of Roosevelt as its leader and spokesman. In short, the coalition position formulated by President Lewis has in it *the elements* of transition for the American working class to a higher stage of political activity.

What are these elements and possibilities? They are, first, the strong and very audible note of class consciousness, representing a powerful urge on the part of labor to indepen-

dent political activity and influence. They are, secondly, a reflection of labor's alertness to the dangers of the imperialist offensive and a growing determination to ward off and combat these dangers as a united class. They are, thirdly, a clear expression of distrust, though not yet opposition in principle, to the capitalist parties as such. They are, lastly, a feeling of the way on the part of labor to such collaboration and alliances with non-labor groups as will promote labor's interests and aspirations.

Considering the existing objective situation, the fighting mood of the workers, the prevailing trends in class alignments at home and abroad and the growing political influence of the Communist Party, it will be perfectly correct to say that the coalition idea expressed by President Lewis can become a real transitional stage to higher forms of working class political independence and leadership. With it can be set in motion wide masses of the working class on the road towards the anti-imperialist people's front under working class leadership.

Yet we still have to consider some of the more immediate angles of the question. The United Mine Workers' Convention, as is known, proceeded from President Lewis' statement and adopted a political resolution which includes the following:

"... if the welfare of labor and the people are to be considered and if the sincerity of the party is to be true and abiding . . . we must have a united party in 1940, united on liberal candidates, on liberal principles, and the consummation of New Deal legislative and adminis-

trative policies and united with labor, working in cooperation with labor upon the basis of recognition and proper representation, in order that we can win the election this year."

With this general guiding line, the convention referred to the international executive board further action on concrete policy and program for the forthcoming national elections. The matter is, therefore, before the masses for inquiry, discussion and clarification. And as this process goes on, the first task confronting labor is to eliminate, definitely and irrevocably, any possibility of the working class (or the bulk of it) becoming disunited and falling victim to the political machinations of the Hutcheson-Woll outfit.

This is an immediate and practical task, made more urgent by the so-called declaration issued by these Republican Party monopoly agents during the recent session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in Miami, Florida. What is the meaning of that Hutcheson-Woll declaration? It is a wedge to split labor politically, to demoralize its ranks, to force it into breaking all contacts with the anti-imperialist and progressive elements among the farmers and middle classes and, on the basis of this, to corral labor support for the Republican Party, for a particular section of monopoly finance capital.

Therefore, in the present mass discussions on the tasks for the coming national elections, the first and most immediate job is to arouse labor's alertness to the reactionary political machinations of the Woll-

Hutcheson outfit and to create an insuperable barrier to these machinations in the labor movement.

But this is not the only dangerous possibility that has to be eliminated definitely and irrevocably, if labor is to hold its own, let alone make progress in the coming elections. Another danger of political division in labor's ranks and of subordination of the working class to the imperialists and war-makers comes from those who still persist in selling President Roosevelt as labor's only "champion," "friend" and "leader." They persist in doing so despite Roosevelt's continued desertion of the progressive features of the New Deal, despite his imperialist and war-making course, despite his hunger-and-war budget, despite his growing hostility to labor and the increasing reaction in his policies.

These so-called Roosevelt-men in the labor movement are literally demobilizing the working class in the face of a growing imperialist reactionary offensive and war danger. These people are, in effect, weakening labor's political power built up with so much sacrifice and struggle. Whether they know it or not, they are dragging labor to an inclined plane, blindfolded, leading to capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie and its political representatives.

Among the Roosevelt-men in the labor movement there are, of course, various tendencies. There are those who hang on more to Roosevelt than to the Democratic Party, while others prefer to stick to the Democratic Party regardless. There is still somewhat of a differ-

ence between them. But as the days go by and the differences become less marked between Roosevelt the New Dealer and the Democratic Party as the political instrument of a section of the imperialist bourgeoisie (and this process is very rapid), so are the differences tending to disappear between the Roosevelt-men and the Democratic Party-men in the labor movement. At any rate, it is already hard to tell which of the two is *worse* for progressive labor and its allies.

Consider, for example, one of the recent expressions of President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Publishing a statement on A.C.W.A. political policy in the February issue of *Advance*, that is, *after* Roosevelt's Congress message and war budget, President Hillman manages to muster sufficient courage (or is it something else?) to tell the workers that:

"... there is no man in public life today in whom we can so fully and safely confide and for the balance of the journey."

Confide, mind you. Giving yourselves away. Entrusting your fate passively and unconditionally to one of the most militant spokesmen of Wall Street imperialism. And "for the balance of the journey."

No. The American working class cannot, will not do *that*, whatever else it may prove to be ready to do in the 1940 elections. Ever larger masses of American workers are demonstrating that they do not share President Hillman's "conviction":

"... that we may, with full confidence, accept and endorse his for-

aign policy as the greatest measure of assurance that war will not come to America."

No. The American working class has already begun to express *lack of confidence* in this policy, seeing daily that it leads to imperialist involvement, war, greater economic oppression and political reaction. As against the bourgeois-imperialistic policies of Roosevelt as well as of the Republicans, labor is rallying around the legislative program of the C.I.O., drawing to itself the toiling farmers, the youth, the women and the Negro masses. In the face of this reality, it is positively "impractical" to expect American labor, at this date, to accept a political policy (such as advocated by President Hillman) which spells passive, unconditional, unqualified and one-sided support for a leader of a capitalist party. This has certainly been demonstrated also in the special elections in the 14th Congressional District in New York where the percentage vote of the Democratic Party relative to the total vote dropped nearly 12 per cent; the Communist candidate—Browder—receiving almost 14 per cent of that total.

Therefore, we say: in the present mass discussion on labor's tasks in the forthcoming national elections, a number of already clearly defined dangerous possibilities or "alternatives" have to be eliminated as contrary and hostile to the interests of the working class and its allies. We refer, in the first instance, to the political maneuvers of the Woll-Hutcheson outfit, on the one hand, and to the proposals of the Roose-

velt-men and Democratic Party-men, on the other.

Eliminating these dangerous and impossible policies, there remains the broad basis for advantageous and progressive labor political action embodied in President Lewis' statement to the United Mine Workers' Convention. On this basis labor can build a specific policy for the coming elections, infusing it with the spirit of President Lewis' remarks to the Youth Congress that:

"It is time for labor, it is time for the common people, and it is time for the youth of America to get together."

Proceeding from these broad principles, it is already possible and necessary to develop them in a more concrete way. In doing so, following the deliberations of the Communist Party National Committee, we shall arrive at the following conclusions:

Labor is interested in a coalition with the working farmers, the youth, Negroes, women, with all the common people, for the struggle against imperialism, war, capitalist exploitation and reaction. This requires opposition to the monopolies and to the capitalist class, which means opposition to both capitalist parties.

The foregoing is obviously a major conclusion of principle. It therefore requires special emphasis, particularly on one angle. Coalition ideas, as is known, are not new in the world labor movement. And there is one particular brand of "coalition" which has done untold harm to the labor movement of such countries as Germany and

England, to mention only these two countries. We refer, of course, to the old, bankrupt and discredited Social-Democratic idea of class collaboration which always spelled subjection of the working class to the capitalist class and defeat for labor. It is this kind of "coalition," in substance if not in form, which is now operating in England, France and in the Scandinavian countries, the coalition between Social-Democracy and the imperialist bourgeoisie, which is turning the working class into cannon fodder for the imperialist war. It is also this sort of "coalition" that is heading the Finnish White Guard camp—Tanner, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party, and Mannerheim, the mailed fist of foreign and Finnish imperialism.

It is clear, therefore, that American labor is not interested in *this* sort of coalition. Labor's fundamental interests require irreconcilable opposition to "coalitions" with the imperialist bourgeoisie. Such coalition in this country, at the present time, would mean nothing less than turning the labor movement into a subordinate part of the imperialist and war-making machine of the capitalist class. It would, in fact, present us with a modern edition of Gompersism during the last world imperialist war. And American labor certainly does not want that.

American labor, as President Lewis said in effect, needs and wants a coalition *with the common people*, which means a coalition *against* their exploiters and oppressors, which means no coalition with any of the two parties of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

From this follows that labor has to build up and unite its own independent mass organizations, economic and political, and to strengthen its ties with the working farmers and middle classes. It also follows that labor can profitably and advantageously, at this stage of development, encourage and support those elements in the major parties who evidence anti-imperialist and anti-war leanings, who can be induced to champion in deed, not alone in word, labor's progressive demands, but to give such qualified support only on specific issues and demands. And to do all of this, *with a steady orientation towards an anti-imperialist peace party of the people, headed by labor.*

The capitalist press seems to be intent on cultivating a lot of speculation on whether the decisions of the United Mine Workers' Convention mean a "final" break with Roosevelt, whether Senator Wheeler is "labor's candidate," etc., etc., etc. This kind of speculation is obviously futile and harmful. The discussion now taking place in the labor movement will be most profitable if it is grounded in the broad basis of principle—a labor coalition with the common people against both parties of the imperialist bourgeoisie—and if specific policy for the forthcoming national elections is built on this principle.

If this is done, then labor will find it advisable to draw a certain line of differentiation between elements and individuals in the two major parties who reflect such political tendencies as can be supported by labor in a specific and

qualified way; and, on the other hand, the parties themselves which labor cannot support in any way but must oppose. In doing so, labor will be encouraging and stimulating all the fight there is in these elements and individuals against the imperialist and war-making policies of the bourgeoisie, *deepening* that fight, using this very fight—*against* the Republican Party, *against* the Democratic Party, and *for* promoting the orientation towards an anti-imperialist people's peace party.

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**P**ROBLEMS of Party building—building the Communist Party numerically, organizationally and ideologically—are once more claiming the major attention of Communists and their organizations. Naturally, the recent meeting of the Communist Party National Committee turned its attention also to these important problems: membership; the Party press; organizational methods; defense; propaganda and theoretical work.

In examining these problems, the first thing that has to be said is that the furious attempt of the class enemy and its government to *terrorize* the Communists, to *demoralize* them, to cut them off from the masses, to break up their following and to *isolate* them—that these attempts have failed. They have failed thus far in every important respect.

The experiences of the last five months have proved to us, to the labor movement and to the country in general, that the Communist Party of the United States has grown up ideologically, politically

and organizationally; that it has successfully ridden itself of rotten and opportunist elements; that it became more than ever homogeneous and united; that it has stood the severe test of the war crisis and has not lost its Marxist-Leninist way; that it has learned in considerable measure to retain its contacts with the masses under relatively difficult conditions; that it is even beginning to broaden these mass contacts and to strengthen them.

In short, we are today a better Marxist-Leninist Party, more advanced on the road to becoming a true Bolshevik Party on the model of the great party of the Soviet Union, more worthy of our teacher and leader—Stalin.

If more proof was necessary, the course and outcome of the special elections in the New York 14th Congressional District, with Browder as the Party's candidate, supply this evidence.

Having said this, we must also say something else in addition, as was said by the Communist National Committee and in Comrade Browder's report to that meeting. Communists feel and understand that they still lack a great number of requisites to be true Bolsheviks; that they must work hard, unceasingly and more intensively than before *to translate and embody into the practice of our movement the Stalin principles of Bolshevization*. They are the principles which Comrade Stalin formulated as far back as 1925 and whose power and actuality have never been stronger.

Writing on "Stalin and the World Proletariat," on the occasion of our teacher's sixtieth birthday, Com-

rade Dimitroff points out a number of things which the workers of the capitalist countries are learning from Stalin. Some of these are:

The working class of the capitalist countries is learning from Stalin *the Bolshevik art of how to carry on the struggle against the class enemy in order to defeat him*. Stalin's teachings have been tested in the greatest struggle of the ages, in the victorious struggle for socialism. They have been tested, checked and proved correct. Stalin's teachings, his further development of the Marxist-Leninist science, therefore constitute an inexhaustible source for the ideological armament of the world proletariat.

To strengthen our Party, to become much more effective as the revolutionary vanguard of the American proletariat, Communists must apply themselves more diligently, more systematically to the Stalin source of ideological armament. Communists must bring this source *closer* to the working class and to the labor movement.

The workers of the capitalist countries, says Dimitroff further, are learning from Stalin to understand *the great role of a Party of the working class*. They are learning the art of creating such a Party, strengthening it, increasing its ability to fight and maneuver, to broaden its contacts with the wide masses of the working people.

Here, of course, we are at once reminded of that great story of building a working class party which is embodied in the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, the greatest and most glorious Party ever had by an advanced

class. We are also reminded of the Stalin principles of Bolshevization referred to above. A book and a document of inestimable value to every class-conscious and militant proletarian, to every honest fighter against imperialism and war.

We have been learning from these sources; that is true. But we must learn more profoundly to apply this knowledge to our own special conditions. More of us must learn it, and more systematically and deeply.

Comrade Dimitroff goes on to another phase of Stalinist knowledge. He says: the advanced workers in the capitalist countries are learning from Comrade Stalin how to wage a Bolshevik struggle *against bourgeois influences and agencies* in the ranks of the working class. They learn how to expose in time the carriers of these influences and the channels through which these influences penetrate. They learn how to tear the mask off those people who falsely drape themselves in clothes of workers' "friends," to expose them before the masses, to paralyze their harmful activities, and thus serve the most vital interests of the working class.

The main channel of bourgeois influences in the working class has been and is *Social-Democratism*, says Comrade Dimitroff. And of these influences, Comrade Stalin has written in 1927 that "present-day Social-Democratism is an ideological support of capitalism. . . . It is impossible to finish with capitalism without finishing with Social-Democratism in the labor movement."

Stalin, concludes Comrade Dimi-

troff, represents the most ideal embodiment of *proletarian internationalism*. From Stalin we learn how to fight bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, how to carry forward the best revolutionary traditions of our people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, how to help the American working class to become the leader of the nation. We already know, and must bring this knowledge to the widest masses, that just as the First International was the international of Marx and Engels, so the Communist International is the international of Lenin and Stalin.

It is in the spirit of these principles and ideas that the American Communists will be handling today the practical problems of Party building:

To bring to the masses the policies of the National Committee and

to help mobilize the masses for their needs and struggles.

To recruit into the Party the best, most creative and dependable members of our class and of the general anti-imperialist camp.

To raise the level of Marxist-Leninist education and to spread our ideology more broadly and extensively.

To build our press: the *Daily Worker*, *The Communist*, and all other Party publication. To bring the "Browder Library" to the homes of the broadest masses of people.

To build and strengthen all our defense activities in order to meet with the maximum effectiveness the continuing onslaughts of the enemy.

Forward to still greater efforts on behalf of our class and people, under the leadership of our National Committee, headed by Browder and Foster!

A. B.

#### ERRATUM

An unfortunate error appeared in the translation of the quotation from Joseph Stalin in the article, "The Power of Stalinist Prediction," by M. Mitin, in *The Communist* for February, on page 142, second column, lines 18 and 19. As is obvious from the context, the error gives the sentence a meaning opposite to the correct one. The phrase "and be subordinate to individual farming" should read: "and subordinate individual farming."—*The Editor*.

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# “MARX WAS BEFORE ALL ELSE A REVOLUTIONARY”

SPEECH OVER THE GRAVE OF KARL MARX, DELIVERED AT  
HIGHGATE CEMETERY, LONDON, MARCH 17, 1883

BY FREDERICK ENGELS

**O**N THE 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in an armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the death of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art, etc.; and that therefore the production of the immediate material means of life and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given

epoch, form the foundation upon which the forms of government, the legal conceptions, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which these things must therefore be explained, instead of vice versa as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist method of production and the bourgeois society that this method of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem in trying to solve which all previous investigators, both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one life-time. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

This was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced a quite other kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in the general course of history. For example, he followed closely the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.\*

For Marx was before all else a revolutionary. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the forms of government which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the present-day proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, of the conditions under which it could win its freedom. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rhein-*

*ische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwaerts* (1844), the Brussels *Deutsche Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-9), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in revolutionary clubs in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the International Workingmen's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which Marx might well have been proud, even if he had done nothing else.

And consequently Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his times. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeoisie, whether conservative or extreme democrat, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring them, answering only when necessity compelled him. And now he has died—beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have many opponents he has hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his work will endure through the ages!

\* Marcel Duprez (1843-1918). French physicist who made the first experiments at transmission of power from a distance.—*The Editor*.

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# RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

IN PLENARY SESSION, FEBRUARY 17-18, 1940

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION, THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

**I.** Events of the past five months have fully substantiated the resolution of the Political Committee of October 13, 1939.\* That resolution correctly analyzed the imperialist character of the war, the war policies of the American bourgeoisie and the government, the political realignments internationally and within the country, and the new tasks confronting the working class and the Communist Party. The October resolution declared in part:

“Under the cynical mask of ‘neutrality’ the American bourgeoisie, despite certain inner tactical differences, is united in its greed for huge war profits and imperialist aggrandizement. It is preparing to involve the U.S.A. in the imperialist war under conditions most favorable to strengthening the world hegemony of American imperialism. Important sections of the American bourgeoisie are encouraging and stimulating hostility toward the Soviet Union, supporting the British plan of converting the present imperialist war into a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of

Socialism. Pressed by the imperialist bourgeoisie, the Roosevelt Government, despite its avowed intentions of ‘keeping America out of war,’ more and more takes a course which threatens to involve the U.S.A. in the imperialist war.”

Since then *the increasingly aggressive imperialist policies of the Roosevelt Administration and Wall Street have drawn the United States deeper and further into the imperialist war and brought about the immediate danger of the direct involvement of our country as a military belligerent. Moreover, American imperialism is now taking a leading role in the organization of a new anti-Soviet war front in direct opposition to the interests of the American people.* It strives through its ever growing anti-Soviet activities to frustrate the peace policy of the Soviet Union which aims to prevent the spread of the imperialist war and to bring about its termination. It wants to extricate world capitalism from its deepest crisis at the expense of the working class and toiling people of

\* *The Communist*, November, 1939, p. 995.

all lands, and at the same time establish the hegemony of Wall Street over the whole capitalist world.

This aggressive, imperialist, pro-Allied war policy is already expressed in the lifting of the arms embargo; the decisions of the Panama conference; the incitement and utilization of the Finnish White Guard Government in fomenting counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union; the extension of loans and credits to the lackeys of imperialism in Finland and the Scandinavian countries.

In the Far East, American imperialism is intervening more actively with the aim of strengthening its positions in relation to Japan and Britain and at the expense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. In Latin America, Yankee imperialism, whose interests also clash with Britain, Japan and Germany, is bringing greater economic and political pressure against the Latin American peoples, and especially against the Republics of Cuba, Mexico and Chile.

Just as in the first phase of the imperialist war when the Roosevelt Government endeavored to conceal its predatory aims under the mask of "neutrality," so today it accelerates its drive towards gigantic war profits, world hegemony and plunging America into the imperialist war on the side of the Anglo-French belligerents, under the guise of "peace." This "peace" offensive, which was launched with the exchange of letters between the President and the Pope, the recognition of the Vatican state as a political govern-

ment through the appointment of Myron Taylor to the Vatican, the visit of Sumner Welles to the four Munich powers, has as its immediate objectives: extending the war, preparing for America's further involvement, hastening the formation of a new anti-Soviet war front, and lining up fascist Italy and the other capitalist "neutral" powers for the purpose of strengthening the independent position of American imperialism.

2. A central part of the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie is the sharpening offensive against the living standards and civil liberties of the American working people. Symbolic of these reactionary attacks is the war-and-hunger budget of the Administration and the "economy," and anti-labor drive of Congress, which is supported by the Democratic and Republican Parties alike.

While the big monopolies are reaping huge war profits, the position of the majority of the people has become worse. Despite the pick-up in production in a number of industries, ten million workers remain unemployed. Instead of meeting their needs the President and Congress are carrying through new slashes in appropriations for social welfare. Despite talk of "economy" they are spending billions for war preparations, for war credits, for loans, for subsidies to war industries, and are curtailing only expenditures for the unemployed, the youth, the small farmers, housing, health and pensions for the aged. In the midst of war profiteering the employed workers find their liv-

ing standards continuously reduced, the cost of living higher, the speed-up more intense and working conditions becoming worse.

Monopoly capital with the aid of the Government is endeavoring to dismember and crush the organizations and mass movements of the working people. By amendments aimed towards emasculating the National Labor Relations Act and by the introduction of compulsory mediation they hope to rob labor of its hard-won and most effective weapon for the defense of its living standards: the right to organize and strike. The new attack against A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions through the vicious misuse of the anti-trust laws is a menace to all labor organizations. Through the Administration's sabotage of the Wages and Hours Law there is being prepared the way for a general attack on wages and a renewed open-shop campaign. The new alien and sedition bills are aimed towards insulating, intimidating and gagging the foreign-born. In the face of increased terror against the Negro people in the South, both the Democratic and Republican Parties are conspiring against the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill. The prelude to these attacks was and is the offensive launched against the Communist Party and its leadership, and in the first place its General Secretary, Earl Browder. To facilitate these attacks on the unions, on the Communists, on the Negro people, the foreign-born and the defenders of Loyalist Spain, war hysteria was stimulated by the declaration of a state of "limited emergency" by the President, a

precedent entirely without basis in American law. This general offensive must meet the united resistance of the working class and the toiling people.

3. These developments confirm the correctness of the estimate of the Political Committee when it said on October 13:

"In view of the political changes and realignments taking place within the country, bourgeois democrats are gravitating towards and being drawn into the imperialist camp, and not only the old division between the Republican and Democratic Parties, but also that between the New Deal and the anti-New Deal is losing its former significance. Both are parties of the bourgeoisie and seek in various ways to realize and promote the predatory interests of American imperialism in the war and both are following policies which threaten to involve the U.S.A. in the present war. *The working class cannot support these policies.*"

Since then this process has entered a more advanced phase. The Roosevelt Administration is now in the forefront carrying through the policies of finance capital. Serious differences on all major questions of policy between the Roosevelt Democrats, the Garner Democrats and the Hoover Republicans have disappeared from the public view and are being adjusted behind the scenes in order to exclude the masses from influencing the decision.

In spite of remaining differences between the two great parties of finance capital, differences chiefly of a secondary character, the Roosevelt Administration, supported by

decisive sections of monopoly capital, is endeavoring to create "National Unity" and labor "peace," especially around its foreign policy. In these objectives, the Administration has the active support of the dominant sections of the Democratic Party, influential Republican circles, as well as of such labor officials and Social-Democratic leaders as Green, Tobin, Hillman, Dubinsky, Waldman and Thomas. Just as the working class, the toiling farmers and exploited city middle-class cannot support either the Democratic or Republican Parties, they cannot support the policy of "National Unity" which aims to tie the American people to the war chariot of the economic royalists.

4. Against the war drive and offensive of monopoly capital and the Government, a great wave of popular resentment and mass opposition is developing. This has especially expressed itself and taken on definite form since the presentation of the war-and-hunger budget of President Roosevelt, and the granting of war credits to Finland have revealed to large masses the war course of the Administration. This is to be seen in the rise of the "*Yanks are not coming*" movement which is spreading throughout the ranks of labor and youth; in the growing mass support for the progressive C.I.O. legislative program; the anti-war stand of the organized youth movement; the anti-war resolutions of the Farmers Union convention; the stand of the unemployed against the war-and-hunger budget as expressed in the Workers Alliance actions. It is like-

wise shown in the mass boycott by the labor and progressive movements of the Hoover "Finnish relief" campaign; the initiative of important sections of labor and decisive youth organizations in deciding to make April 6 a day of struggle against the imperialist war. This opposition is also expressed in new efforts towards mass organization of the unorganized, especially on the part of the C.I.O. unions, the fight for higher wages, shorter hours and against the high cost of living. An important manifestation of the fight for greater security in opposition to the hunger budget is the continued fight for old-age pensions and the mass campaign for the American Youth Act.

In answer to the drive to abrogate the Bill of Rights and curtail the rights of labor, there is also rising a powerful movement to defend and extend civil liberties. This is evidenced in the organization of broad civil rights conferences in numerous cities and states; in the mass campaign to defend the civil rights of the Communists, particularly the defense of Earl Browder; in the national conference for the protection of the foreign born; the fight for the Anti-Lynching Bill and the abolition of the poll tax in the South. It is also evidenced in the broad nationwide movement in defense of the N.L.R.A., the opposition to the un-American Dies and Smith Committees, the defense of the Wages and Hours Law, and the indignation rising in labor and progressive circles against the misapplication of the anti-trust laws against trade unions.

The majority of the working peo-

ple who formerly supported Roosevelt and the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party are now becoming dissatisfied and disillusioned with the new course of the Administration. Millions of these, especially the progressive labor movement, are withdrawing their support of a third term for Roosevelt, are seeking the most effective path by which to continue and extend progressive social and labor legislation and to keep America out of the imperialist war. *The conditions are therefore maturing for labor and its allies to advance further along the path of independent political action and to crystallize a new political instrument—a mass farmer-labor party, an anti-imperialist party of peace.*

The main obstacles in the path of this development are: the division in labor's ranks; the weak ties between the organized labor movement and the toiling farmers; and a certain reluctance of the progressive labor movement, which is turning away from Roosevelt, to break completely with the two-party system of capitalism and to establish a new political party based upon the working class and its natural allies.

*Therefore, the chief immediate task confronting the labor movement and the Communist Party in the present situation is to forge working class unity and a united people's front against the imperialist war, reaction and capitalist exploitation: a people's front of struggle under working class leadership, directed against the chief enemies of the working people—the Wall*

Street monopolists and their political representatives and parties.

5. The essentials of the program of this anti-imperialist people's front already are being brought forward by the militant labor and progressive movement, and consist of such urgent immediate demands and measures as the following, which represent the interests and desires of the majority of the American people:

(a) *Keep America Out of the Imperialist War!* Oppose all war loans and credits to the imperialist war-makers and their lackeys. Repudiate the militarization and armaments program. Fight against any actions by the President, the State Department or Congress which would tend to continue the war, to aid one or the other warring imperialist groups or to worsen American-Soviet relations. Enact measures to curb drastically war profiteering and monopoly profits and control.

(b) *Put America Back to Work; Curb the Monopolies; Jobs, Security for All!* Against the war-and-hunger budget of the Administration and Congress. For the enactment of legislation to inaugurate an annual housing program providing for the building of at least one million homes annually. Establish an old-age pension system providing \$60 monthly for all over 60. Enact the Wagner Health Bill. Expand W.P.A. to provide a minimum of three million jobs on socially beneficial projects at union wage rates. Adopt the American Youth Act. Launch an adequate nationwide

program for farm tenant rehabilitation and drought relief, guarantee of cost production, protection of the family-sized farms, debt moratorium, as well as a large-scale program of credit facilities and long-term, low-interest loans to the toiling farmers and small businessmen. Adopt a people's tax program with a heavy excess profits tax and a steeply graduated tax on incomes in the higher brackets and corporate surpluses of over \$25,000 a year, and abolish tax-exempt securities.

(c) *Higher Wages, Shorter Hours—An American Standard of Living for All!* Organize the millions of unorganized, strengthen labor, help labor protect and improve wages, hours and working conditions.

(d) *Protect and Extend Civil Liberties!* Defeat the drive of the war-makers to nullify the Bill of Rights! Oppose the so-called anti-alien and sedition bills; pass the Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax Bills; for the LaFollette-Thomas Oppressive Labor Practices Bill and the Walsh-Healy amendments; continue the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. Defend and strengthen the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. Stop the attacks upon labor by the Department of Justice. Abolish the un-American Dies and Smith Committees. Guarantee the civil rights and freedom of action of labor, including the Communists and all other anti-war, anti-imperialist organizations. End the inquisitions of the Department of Justice and Hoover's new "Palmer" Raids.

6. Our participation in the 1940 elections must be based upon rallying and uniting the working people in support of this program of action.

Communists should participate and aid in the broadest popular discussions in the unions and progressive organizations on the need of a workers' and farmers' alliance, and independent farmer-labor political action.

The Communists will participate in the further development of the independent *legislative activities* of labor and the farmers in support of such progressive policies as set forth in the legislative programs of local and national labor and farmer organizations, including those of the C.I.O., Workers Alliance, American Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, etc.

Likewise Communists will devote special attention to helping and strengthening trade unions and farmers' organizations, as well as farmer and labor political organizations, against all warmongering and pro-imperialist elements without and within.

The trend of the advanced sections of labor, in preparation for the 1940 elections, is to concentrate now in all states and localities upon organizing a wide people's front mass movement, on this basis electing labor and farm representatives to Congress and Legislatures.

Moreover, while organizing its independent political activities for 1940 and following a working class policy, labor finds possibilities for collaboration with all sincere anti-war, pro-labor elements, including certain individuals and sections in and around the former New Deal

camp, and in certain localities genuine anti-war elements in the ranks of the Republicans, who will participate in the struggle of 1940, *in alliance with labor and under its leadership.*

7. In order more effectively to rally and unite the working class and toilers against the imperialist war, reaction and capitalist exploitation, the Communist Party will name its own ticket, and organize its own independent Presidential, State and Congressional election campaigns. The Communist Party of the United States enters the Presidential and Congressional elections with its own program and candidates in order to clarify the issues, to popularize its socialist aims, to defend the civil liberties of the people, to defend the legality of the Communist Party, promote independent farmer-labor political action, and the organization of a broad anti-imperialist peace front.

8. The historic tasks facing the American working class today place upon the Communists a great responsibility which can only be effectively carried through by further strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. In this turning point in world history, the Communist Party of the United States, true to its class—the working class—loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and the cause of socialism, alone of all political parties and groups in this country, correctly estimated the character of the war and gave a bold lead to the working class. To the toiling masses it was able to point the way in the struggle against the imperialist war, for keeping America out of this

war, and for combating the predatory policies of American imperialism. In the face of unprecedented attacks intended to isolate and destroy the Communist Party—the vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party of the United States maintained and strengthened its contact with the masses. It consolidated its ranks. It advanced its work among the masses. It stands stronger and more united around the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The Party was able to do this because, in a Bolshevik manner, it overcame a certain slowness in re-adjusting itself to the new situation, especially with regard to the changed policy and imperialist role of the Roosevelt Administration.

In the rapid process of political realignments, through their own experience in the struggle against the predatory war and its consequences, thousands of workers are becoming convinced of the bankruptcy of capitalism. Thousands are seeking a fundamental solution of their problems which can be found only in the program and policies of the Communist Party, in the socialist reorganization of society. Therefore, in the course of its mass work, the Communist Party of the United States must more widely carry on mass education for socialism, and especially popularize the glorious socialist achievements of the first country of working class victory, the Soviet Union.

In the present political situation particularly, the Party has great opportunities for mass recruiting, in which the whole Party, all of the Party organizations, every Party member must be active. This work,

to be successful, must be systematically organized. Of decisive importance in this connection is the rooting of the Party among the industrial proletariat. For this purpose, special efforts must be directed toward the recruiting of workers in basic industries. This can only be achieved by improved mass work in the basic industries, by helping energetically to organize the unorganized and to defend trade union rights and wage standards.

Another point of concentration for the building of the Party is among the most advanced Negro proletarians. The Party and the Young Communist League should carefully examine and overcome some of the serious weaknesses of our work among the Negro masses, as a condition for more successful Party and Y.C.L. building.

The economic plight of the youth and their special concern over the danger of war demands the building of a strong mass Young Communist League as the closest co-worker and helper of the Communist Party.

All state organizations must finally overcome their neglect of mass work among the toiling farmers and begin systematically to reach, to mobilize and to champion more effectively the interests of the working farmers, tenants and sharecroppers, and to begin serious recruiting among them.

In view of the new situation created by the war the improvement of the mass work of the Party and the Young Communist League among the toiling women, and increased recruiting and promotion of women to leading posts in the Party are now of special concern.

To accomplish the task of building and strengthening the Party at this time, it is necessary rapidly to readjust methods of work, and, where necessary, to find the new organizational forms that will guarantee the closest ties with the masses and the greatest safeguards for the continued work of the Party organizations and its membership under changing conditions.

The *Daily Worker* during this period has been the indispensable voice of the Party and the working class in the fight for peace, for civil liberties and security. This is being recognized not only by the Communists but also by ever larger sections of the progressive labor movement. The Party must consider the attainment of a mass circulation of the *Daily Worker* as a primary task in all its mass work for the building of the Party and the anti-imperialist people's front. Greater support also must be given to the anti-war and labor press, and to the press organs of the American workers published in the foreign languages.

The present situation demands a general extension and improvement of all of our mass political and educational material, with the aim of bringing the Communist message to millions of working people and refuting the distortion and falsehoods of the capitalist press. To accomplish this, much more attention should be paid to the publication of local and neighborhood papers, leaflets and similar material.

The ever greater and more complicated tasks of work among the masses in all its phases requires that great care be given to the test-

ing and promotion of the leading personnel of the Party in all Party committees and subdivisions. Now more than ever, an essential prerequisite for the further Bolshevization of the Party and the extension of its mass work is the Marxist-Leninist education of its leading personnel and of its membership. Once again it is necessary to emphasize the importance of mastering the lessons and experiences of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the purpose of better understanding the problems of the American labor movement. Likewise, indispensable for the complete understanding of the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism is the mastery of Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*.

Together with this, it is necessary to heighten the Bolshevik vigilance of the Party and strengthen the struggle against Social-Democratic agents of imperialism, as well as the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite-Lovestoneite espionage agents and provocateurs. It is necessary to cleanse our ranks of all capitulatory, cowardly, opportunist elements, wherever they may have succeeded in penetrating, and to pay special attention to the promotion of tested proletarian elements to positions of leadership.

Now as never before, our Party must strive to educate and imbue the working class and people with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We must redouble our activities to combat the spread of imperialist poison, of bourgeois nationalism, and social-chauvinism. We must develop to the maximum the international working class soli-

darity of the American workers with the workers of the glorious Land of Socialism—the Soviet Union. This international solidarity must extend to the peoples of Latin America, of the Far East, and to all victims of capitalist oppression and imperialist war.

The Party can only succeed in the fulfillment of its historic responsibilities if it constantly improves its mass work and combats both Right opportunist and "Left" sectarian manifestations in the spirit of Bolshevik self-criticism, in the spirit of the counsel of Comrade Dimitroff:

"The unfolding of a really wide movement against the imperialist war and reaction can only be successful if the Communists act and conduct the struggle in the very midst of the masses, keep a sharp watch as to their state of mind, take careful heed of their voice, and take their needs and sufferings to heart. The Communists must not run ahead. They must put forward slogans that correspond to the concrete situation, slogans that can be understood and grasped by the masses, they must always take the lead of the movement of the masses and lead them on to the solution of the maturing new tasks.

"The present exceptionally serious situation demands of the Communists that they do not give way at all to repression and persecution, but come forward resolutely and courageously against the war, against the bourgeoisie of their own country; that they act in the way Lenin taught, in the way taught now by the great, wise leader of the working people, Stalin." (*The War and the Working Class*, p. 22.)

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION  
CAMPAIGN

1. All State organizations should at once set up State Campaign Committees and take all necessary steps to place Presidential electors as well as state and local candidates on the ballot. Taking into account previous experiences, and especially the reactionary attacks now under way, we can be certain that the reactionary forces will place every obstacle in the way of our Party. Exceptional care must therefore be taken to meet all legal requirements of the various States in the filing of candidates. The Campaign Committee should immediately make a study of the election laws, and consult with qualified legal counsel on all steps taken, including the smallest technical details necessary to place the Party on the ballot.

2. The placing of the Party on the ballot, especially under present conditions, must not be looked upon as a routine task, but as a task of the greatest political importance. It can be carried through successfully only if it is made a feature of a mass political campaign. Everywhere we should strive to win mass support for our nominations, whether they are made through conventions, through filing by State Committees, or by petitions. Only such mass support will thwart the efforts of reactionaries who use legal technicalities and openly illegal methods to prevent the Party from appearing on the ballot. Such a political approach to this task will arouse and inspire large numbers of persons otherwise not close to the Communist Party who, in the

interests of civil liberties, will help the Party get on the ballot.

3. In the Congressional and State elections, full use should be made of the principle of concentration. The Party especially should draw on the important experiences of the recent campaign of Comrade Browder in the 14th Congressional District of New York; the experiences of the New York Councilmanic elections of 1937 and 1939; the campaign of Comrade Amter for Congressman-at-Large, when he polled more than 100,000 votes in New York State; and similar experiences in California, Michigan and Ohio, where as a result of this policy of concentration large votes were registered for the Communist candidates. The principle of concentration should be carefully applied to the election campaign in respect to selection of offices and districts as well as candidates.

We must enter such campaigns in these concentration points with the knowledge that great changes are taking place among the masses, that great realignments are in process, and that we fight to win. Only in this way can we fully mobilize our forces and create that enthusiasm necessary for such a successful campaign.

4. Already now it is necessary to prepare the 1940 election campaign by fully educating the Party membership both with regard to issues and to the organizational phases of a successful election campaign. Already now we must bear in mind the issues of the coming elections in all our mass work. As part of

this preparation the records of Congressmen, State Legislators, etc., should be made available to the people.

## DEFENSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

### 1. *Reactionary War Means Reactionary War Regime at Home*

**T**HE Roosevelt Administration's abandonment of its former trend toward a policy of peace, its going over to a policy of leading our country into world conflict and seeking to establish American finance capital in the leadership of the *most reactionary war in all history*, is inevitably accompanied by a corresponding change of policy in domestic affairs.

The Administration's perspective is one of a war of capital against labor the world over, a war against socialism, which is the inevitable goal of the modern labor movement, and against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the citadel and guarantee of victory of the world labor movement. It is a perspective of war against the liberation movements of subject peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa, especially to forestall the breaking of the British yoke over India and the imperialist yoke over China.

This imperialist course necessitates also a headlong attack against the American labor movement and against all of the social measures and organizational gains of the workers and other exploited sections of the American people. The regaining of control of the White House and Congress by the "economic royalists" is logically followed by the overt abandonment of all suggestion of enforcement of the

Anti-Trust laws against the trusts and the turning of these laws to savage attacks (under the direction of the trusts) against the trade unions whose successful organization in several fields becomes "monopoly" of labor, "restraint of trade."

The sudden wave of many simultaneous attacks on the Communist Party in the form of criminal prosecutions and related official actions against Communist leaders and workers' organizations—prosecutions mostly based upon incidents of from two to nineteen years in the past—is due not to new "discoveries" about the Communist Party, but to the sudden reorientation of the Roosevelt Administration toward the entry of this country into a second world war with the most reactionary imperialist aims antagonistic to the interests of the American people. Small as the Communist Party is in numbers, its clear and vigorous opposition to the entry of our country into the present reactionary war has created for it a common bond with more than nine-tenths of the American people. The war-making bankers and the Administration therefore regard the Communist Party as a powerful obstacle, destined to become rapidly more powerful, against the war plans, against the assaults on living standards, and against the efforts to dismantle the basic trade unions and civil liberties, which are the inevitable accompaniment of a

war opposed to the interests of the people. The beginning of the assault on the Communist Party has already been followed by the beginning of the assault on the unions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., the farmers, the unemployed, and against the Bill of Rights.

## II. "War-Time" Prosecutions Under False Pretenses

But what reactionary would dare go to the public openly proclaiming that his purpose in prosecuting the Communist Party is to remove an effective opponent to this country's entry into the war?

What reactionary would be so foolish as to admit that the aim of the Government's action against the Communist Party is to destroy its influence in the trade unions against war and against the wrecking of the unions by the war-maker employers?

What reactionary would dare openly to say that the attack on the Communists as "agents of a foreign principal" is designed to destroy the American workers' right to share in the international solidarity of labor? What servant of the economic royalists will dare admit that the attacks on the workers' newspapers and publishing concerns are aimed at setting aside, in the interest of getting the country into war, the First Article of the Bill of Rights providing that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press"?

Such admissions being politically impossible, the Administration resorts to the classic weapon of *manipulated "criminal" prosecutions* for political purposes. True to the history of this weapon of re-

action, a prosecution and conviction of the General Secretary of the Communist Party are carried through with the official pretense that they are based upon technical passport irregularities of five, ten and nineteen years past, long ago investigated and discarded as trivial but now resurrected for the single purpose of accomplishing an illegal political repression behind a screen of law.

A reactionary ruling class which destroyed the eight-hour movement in Chicago in 1886 by hanging its leaders on the pretended ground of murder; which broke the great strike movement of railroad workers and imprisoned its leader Debs, in 1894, on the pretense of the workers' interference with the mails; which tried to destroy the Western Federation of Miners in 1906 and to hang its leaders on the pretense of their guilt of assassination, and in 1916 halted the war-time movement for organization of California labor by condemning the strike leader Mooney to death on a frame-up of murder; a ruling class which slaughtered Sacco and Vanzetti as a measure of terror against immigrant workers, and in 1931 condemned nine innocent Negro boys (13 to 20 years of age) to death as a gesture of terrorization against the Negro people but with the pretense of a "rape" case in order to alienate the friends of liberty and stimulate white chauvinism and division of the people on "race" lines—this hypocritical ruling class knows how to carry through a political prosecution and conviction of the General Secretary of the Communist Party on what are made to appear as purely tech-

nical grounds of violation of law.

But the purpose of the condemnation of Earl Browder to four years in prison, on a type of case which, even if based on fact, would customarily result in a one-dollar fine, a suspended sentence or a thirty-day jail sentence, is proved by the simultaneous flood of "war-time" prosecutions of workers' organizations from coast to coast.

### III. "Alien and Sedition" Laws Revived for War

The Administration, to facilitate our entry into the war, undertakes the suppression of the Constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press on the part of the Americans most interested in peace—the workers. With true instinct the war-makers strike at the *Daily Worker* as the most powerful existing press organ of the American workers fighting stubbornly against the war provocations. But they strike from behind a screen of technical accusations, pretending to be concerned with post-office regulations, while "libel" charges are the basis for attack by its Republican rivals as well as *provocateur* groups. But the Administration seeks to conceal the character of the reactionary assault, which is essentially and primarily an assault against the *American* people and the *American* workers, by branding all publishing concerns engaged in the education of the workers for socialism through newspapers and books as "foreign."

While highly-paid professional propagandist agents of the British and French Governments enter our country on every ship to engage openly in corrupting and dragging

our country into war on the side of those governments, the Roosevelt Administration shuts its eyes to these truly foreign agents with whose purpose it connives, but at the same time attempts to force the native American workers' organizations to "register as agents of foreign principles" as a means, first to brand them, and second to prepare to suppress them in entering the war.

Thus the Roosevelt Administration stoops to the shame of the infamous "Alien and Sedition laws" of 1798. Just as the reactionaries 142 years ago dragged the United States into England's reactionary war against the French Revolution, so the reactionaries of today seek to drag the American people into a war of British, French, Japanese and Wall Street imperialism against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the national liberation movements of China, India and Africa. Just as many leaders and editors of Jefferson's Republican Party were then prosecuted and imprisoned and Jefferson himself was branded as an "agent of a foreign power" on the grounds that they republished the literature of the French revolution and the Jacobin party for the democratic enlightenment of the American people, so now the Roosevelt Administration, mad with plans of equally reactionary war, aims to suppress American workers' publishing concerns on the grounds that they publish, for the socialist education of the people, literature some of which derives from the history of the Russian Revolution and its political party and the workers' Socialist Republic.

#### IV. American Citizenship Rights Attacked in War Drive

At the height of the "New Deal" the Roosevelt Administration made a tentative suggestion of willingness to enforce the 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution, in so far as these relate to the right to vote, which have been violated by all Administrations for more than half a century. By defiance of these Constitutional provisions through poll tax and other laws, 75 per cent of the lawfully entitled voters of eight States of the South are completely deprived of the vote. These Amendments guarantee to all American citizens the right to vote, forbidding that the right be denied or abridged "on account of race" and "color" and providing that "the basis of representation" of any State shall be "reduced in the proportion" in which the right to vote is "denied . . . or in any way abridged."

However, with the adoption of its policy of entering into the European war, knowing that the vast majority of the American people oppose that course, the Administration discards this as well as all other ties that it was forming with the democratic mass. Open proposals to deprive some million more American voters of the right to vote, on the grounds of their being unemployed and on relief, meet with no opposition from an Administration bent on entering the war contrary to the will of nine-tenths of these voters.

Instead of defending the rights of American citizenship, the Administration, now mad with plans of war, invokes in this respect also the un-American spirit of the "Alien and

Sedition" laws, to make a monstrous attack against the citizenship of naturalized Americans.

By its court actions against naturalized citizens, seeking to reopen and nullify and forfeit their citizenship on the ground of a new inquiry into their political opinions at the time of naturalization, the Administration seeks to establish *two categories of citizenship*. The Constitution admits only one distinction between native-born and naturalized citizens: that the President must be native-born; and the whole body of the Constitution forbids any other distinction. The whole spirit and content of the Constitution and the specific terms of the 14th Amendment provide that "All persons *born or naturalized* in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof" are citizens, and forbid the several States to "abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." But the Administration is attempting to abridge the citizenship of 9,000,000 American citizens of foreign birth by placing the naturalized in a special category of *precarious* or *provisional* citizenship, a citizenship subject at any time to reopening and forfeiture on the ground of past if not present political opinions.

Baiting of "aliens"—unnaturalized residents of the country—has become a common practice promoted by the press and committees of Congress, as well as the Administration, as a measure intended to stimulate brutal chauvinism for war purposes, while also a convenient means of attacking large sections of labor in the heavy industries, as well as of dividing labor's ranks.

V. *Bill of Rights Violated  
for War Aim*

Democratic guarantees against arbitrary criminal prosecutions, manipulated for political repression—guarantees that were won by the American people in the two great revolutionary struggles, first under Washington and Jefferson and then under Lincoln—are again being broken down by the Roosevelt Administration as they were by Hoover, Coolidge, Harding and Wilson. The institution of the *Grand Jury* set up in Article Five of the Bill of Rights in 1791 as a guarantee of accused persons against being “held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime” without first an examination of the *prosecutor’s* case by a Grand Jury composed of the neighbors of the accused person, has been transformed into the opposite. Under the degenerated practice of previous reactionary Administrations, and now under the Roosevelt Administration, the Grand Jury is transformed into a Star Chamber inquisition directed entirely *against* the accused and used to accomplish the same arbitrary and unjust persecutions which the Grand Jury was designed to prevent. Now, *not* the *prosecutor* is required to lay his case before the Grand Jury, but the *accused* is forced to come before the Grand Jury and to lay his *defense* before the prosecutor even before the accused is informed of the accusation. This is in defiance of Article Five of the Bill of Rights which provides “nor shall (any person) be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself,” and of Article Six which asserts his right

“to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation.”

Grand Juries functioning in this way, usually composed of persons not representing a cross-section of the community, but selected for their position of wealth or their reactionary political bias, become the first means for criminal prosecutions manipulated for the purpose of political oppression. Before them the prosecutor has no obligation towards the rights of the accused political opponents of the wealthy classes; only the defendant is dragged into inquisition, and around his defense is built a case such as the frame-up of Mooney, of Sacco and Vanzetti and of Scottsboro.

Also the petty jury system so proudly proclaimed in the Bill of Rights as the right of every person to “a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury,” has ceased to be any of these things. “Speedy” trial asserted by the Bill of Rights to be a right of the *accused* has become solely a right of the prosecutor to force a defendant to trial unprepared. “Public” trial is modified by *selection of the jury panel in secret* by arbitrary choice by a marshal or sheriff, with additional manipulation by the prosecutor exercising the right of eliminating veniremen not subject to his influence. As a rule jurors selected from such a panel will convict in any prosecution of class nature, whether or not the result be called a “blue ribbon” jury, in open recognition of its reactionary class nature. The public stage of the trial only begins after the secret selection of the jury panel has assured that the case will be lost to the defendant. The judge

can charge "favorably" to the defendant, thus avoiding reversible error, knowing it will not affect the jury.

Under such a corrupted system, in which the democratic guarantees of the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment have been perverted into their opposite, a person for whose conviction there is a political reason, generally speaking and in the absence of an aroused public protest, comes into court convicted in advance.

#### VI. *Appeal to People Against War-Makers*

Mass support in a struggle in defense of the constitutional rights of the accused must be coupled with a bold and skilled fight in the courts themselves to revive and reassert these rights in spite of and against the whole encrusted body of precedent by which they are denied.

The best and only manner of defense against these attacks on the people's Constitutional rights is always and invariably to go to the masses of the American people over the heads of the ruling class and its courts. This method always takes the form of exposing the false pretense and bringing clearly to the consciousness of the people the real reason for the attack, the real issue of the struggle that takes place under disguised forms in the court.

It is necessary to show the public that the reason for the present resumption of attempts at political repression through pretended "criminal" charges in Federal and State courts, on a huge scale and as a general policy, is not a sudden "crime wave" on the part of the trade unions and the Communists, but the

effort of the Roosevelt Administration to draw the country into restrictions of civil liberties resembling war-time law, or practical suspension of Constitutional guarantees, and thereby the more easily to draw the country into the present war on the side of British and French imperialism contrary to the will of the majority of the people.

#### VII. *To Defend the Communist Party Is to Defend the American People Against Imperialist War.*

The real issue is war.

The Communist Party is the party of the workers' struggle against imperialist war.

We meet the issue in complete confidence that our Party's opposition to our country's entry into this war is shared by the immense majority of the American people and that they will respond.

The Communist Party is the party of socialism, the party of the working class of the United States. The warmongers proclaim that there shall be no such party. Thus the reactionary dreams of Prince Bismarck of a Germany without a revolutionary workers' political party of socialism are stirring again—this time in the breast of an American parasite class, under the new and even more impossible conditions of *imperialism*, the last stage of capitalism.

With complete confidence we declare that such reactionary dreams cannot be realized.

The Communist Party is the American workers' party of international solidarity with the workers of all countries of the world, and with the workers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose

socialist state represents the greatest triumph of the labor movement of the whole world, the greatest victory of democracy.

The reactionaries proclaim the end of international solidarity of labor, and that the love of the workers of all lands for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a crime.

With absolute certainty of victory we challenge that slave owners' decree and declare that the principle of international solidarity of the working class is indestructible for the American workers.

The Communist Party resolutely stands its ground, and asks its many thousands of friends in the trade unions and other workers' organizations to meet and defeat this attack in keeping with the best traditions of the American labor movement and of American democracy during the past 150 years.

It is the fight against the war. It is the defense of the civil rights of all the people through defending the rights of the American workers to maintain their Communist Party as an inseparable part of the life of the American people.

## COMMUNIST PARTY DEFENSE FUND CAMPAIGN

The National Committee of the Communist Party of United States authorizes the launching of a national campaign during the months

of March, April and May to raise a Defense Fund of \$50,000 on the basis of voluntary contributions.

## THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

**T**HE National Committee of the Communist Party calls upon the American people and especially the labor and progressive movement to demand enactment of the Capper-Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill now bottled up in a subcommittee of the United States Judiciary Committee; to defeat the efforts being made by reactionaries to kill this Bill.

The defense of the rights of the Negro people is a first guarantee for the civil rights and political liberties of all Americans. The continuing barbarous crime of lynching has become an instrument of a national policy of reaction, and has merged

with a whole system of repression of the democratic rights of the people of the South, whereby three-fourths of the rightful voters are disfranchised and democracy made a mockery. The democratic interests of all the American people demand that this oppression of the Negro people be wiped from our land.

Enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the Constitution of the United States cannot be accomplished without striking at the lynch rule of the landlords and bankers over the South. Persecution of fifteen million Americans and the constant denial of American rights to the Negro people is a

menace to the whole American people, to the labor movement, to everything democratic and progressive.

Let the voice of progressive America, by resolutions and dele-

gations through and from their organizations and groups demand: Pass the Anti-Lynching Bill! American Right for All! Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments! Abolish Lynching From Our Land!

## THE FARMERS AND THE WAR

**I.** The imperialist war is speeding up the process of pauperizing the farmers, especially the owners of family-sized farms, small tenants and sharecroppers. During the first five months of the war, foreign markets have become more and more closed to the products of the American farmers, although these markets have increased the rich profits of the merchants of death, the munitions makers and armament peddlers. Producers of grain, meat, tobacco and dairy products have been hardest hit, and while cotton prices have advanced slightly, the speculators have reaped the profits because the small cotton-grower is never able to hold his crop for higher prices.

At the same time, the home market has shrunk, because the Roosevelt Administration, in its own feverish preparation for war, while increasing armament and military expenditures, has sharply reduced appropriations for farm benefits, tenant aid, W.P.A., N.Y.A., and other relief projects, producing dire consequences for the working farmers, labor and consumers alike.

With markets so drastically reduced, the family-sized farmers and the small farmers are facing bankruptcy. Middle farmers are being foreclosed and even evicted. They travel down the ladder of

farm ownership to the status of a tenant or sharecropper, while the former tenants and sharecroppers are being cast out to seek jobs and wander about homeless and jobless, with less hope than ever before of getting on relief rolls.

Unless the imperialist, war-making policies of the Government, of the trusts, and of the reactionary Democratic and Republican parties, are resolutely combated by a powerful farmer-labor-progressive alliance and a fighting anti-imperialist front for peace, the coming months will witness still more widespread pauperization, lower prices, mounting debts, and a new rise in evictions and foreclosures of the family-sized farmers, tenants and sharecroppers.

**2.** The burning need of the hour is to develop the broadest unity of action and a powerful alliance of labor, farmers and progressives, to fight against imperialist war, social insecurity and reaction. The Presidential election campaign and the burning issues of the day place the task of the development of farmer-labor cooperation on the order of the day. New possibilities are open for effecting a broad anti-imperialist, anti-war and anti-monopoly alliance between the workers, farmers and all progressives.

Such an alliance can and must take the offensive in fighting for peace, civil liberties, social security and a program of genuine benefits for the working farmers.

3. That the progressive labor movement should take the initiative in every community and state and on a national scale strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the working farmers and all farm organizations, even to the extent of giving concrete assistance to the task of organizing the unorganized farmers. This farmer-labor solidarity can be built through joint meetings, demonstrations, petitions and delegations on issues affecting workers and farmers alike, and also on issues primarily affecting the farmers. Higher wages and more jobs for the workers, which are the immediate goal of the trade union movement, directly benefit the farmers by providing a market for the farmers' products. In communities where farmers are unorganized, labor's cause is directly advanced when concrete practical assistance is given to the building and strengthening of organizations of farmers. It is advantageous that the legislative program of the farmers become also the program of progressive labor, and that there be organized special activities in support of the farmers' demands before municipal, county, state and national government bodies. The legislative field offers a means for organizing common action of workers and farmers to oppose and defeat the attempts of the Administration and the economy bloc of Democrats and Republicans to slash Federal and state appropriations for

the farmers, tenants, unemployed, labor, youth and the social services of housing, health and education.

The active support of the C.I.O. to the recent dairymen's strike in New York points the way to the practical realization of farmer-labor unity of action. Other examples are the joint legislative and anti-war activity of labor and farm groups promoted through the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the pact of cooperation between the C.I.O. and organized farmers. Similar efforts should be made to multiply and extend labor's alliance with the farmers on the economic and political fronts and in a broad people's anti-war mass movement.

4. The main demands of the working farmers are expressed in the legislative programs of their several organizations. These can be summarized as follows:

(a) Guarantees for the cost of production; security for the family-sized farms.

(b) Moratorium or holiday on debts and taxes for the low-income farm groups.

(c) Prohibition of foreclosures, evictions and forced sales.

(d) For sharecroppers and tenants in the South, a contract signed by the landlord fixing the terms of their relationship and prohibiting eviction until another farm is found satisfactory to the tenant.

(e) Adequate funds to rehabilitate tenants and sharecroppers through long-term loans that will enable them to buy land for themselves, without any discrimination because of race or color.

(f) Long term Federal loans for refinancing mortgages, for production, feed, seed, etc., at low interest rates, for the working farmers.

(g) Extension and liberalization of the provisions of the social security act for the working farmers, tenants and farm laborers.

(h) Democratic administration of Government farm relief projects through elected committees of working farmers.

(i) Adequate funds for housing, health, resettlement and relief for migratory agricultural workers; and application to agricultural labor of all Federal social legislation by which labor is guaranteed the right of organizing in trade unions, of collective bargaining and all social security legislation.

5. The successful fulfilment of these tasks requires in the first place that the state and local organ-

izations of the Communist Party shall quickly and completely overcome their neglect and underestimation of systematic mass work among the working farmers and the farm laborers. The National Committee therefore proposes that all state committees of the Party shall organize a special discussion on the farm question and shall draw up practical proposals which can be put at once into operation. Concrete plans should be drawn up to build the Party in selected key areas, including areas close to cities where Party organization already exists which can give help to the farm branches. The circulation and study of the Party press and literature should be organized. It is necessary to issue a number of popular pamphlets and national leaflets dealing with the farmers and their immediate, burning needs, with the farmers and the imperialist war, and farmers and the 1940 elections, etc.

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE IRISH PEOPLE

**T**HE National Committee of the Communist Party expresses its deep sympathy with and firmly supports the Irish people in its glorious struggle for national independence and national unification, for possession of its Irish soil, for civil and religious liberties, and the full expression of its Gaelic culture and language. In that great cause for which James Connolly, Ireland's brilliant revolutionary and Marxist, laid down his life; in that struggle for which so many heroic Irish men and women have died, the Communists see the cause of liberty of the peoples of the world. The exe-

cution of the Irish Republican armymen, James Richards and Peter Barnes, adds new names to the long list of Irish martyrs for which the British imperialists must be held responsible.

The ruthless murder of her patriots by an imperialist invader, eviction, famine, loss of life and land, suppression of freedom and culture have been the fate of the Irish people under seven hundred years of British oppression, a terror which has reduced Ireland's population from twelve million to less than four million today.

Imperialist England's violent sup-

pression of all natural strivings for self-determination on the part of her ancient victim, Ireland, and of her more recently seized and exploited colonies, exposes to the world the sham and fake of British imperialism waging the present war for "democracy" for "freedom of peoples" and for "rights of small nations." The complete unification and liberation of Ireland from all oppression by the British imperialists would give luminous assurance that other oppressed peoples could also be freed, would greatly stimulate the strivings for national independence of the 400,000,000 Indian people, those of Africa and of Asia, who are also held in subjection by British imperialism. National unification and national independence is being fought for by the Irish people despite the terror of British imperialism and the compromising role of De Valera. To help in the struggle for Ireland's freedom is to join the march for humanity's advancement.

The Communists of today carry onward the struggle of Marx and Lenin, who in their day were in the forefront of the struggle for Irish freedom.

The reactionary course of the Roosevelt Administration, and the Republican Party of Hoover and others who are set upon a like course, results in a new betrayal of the Irish people, in direct aid to the British imperialist oppressors, similar to the betrayal by Woodrow Wilson. The Chamberlains and Churchills—representatives of that British imperialist clique which has maintained with blood and terror

the rule of the landlords and bankers over Ireland—are doing all in their power to secure through the butcher Mannerheim the same banker-landlord control over the people of Finland. By giving his help to this policy and placing himself at the side of Chamberlain, President Roosevelt and the camp of reactionary "national unity" are giving American imperialist assistance for the continued division and exploitation of Ireland.

The liberation of the Irish people can best be advanced by Irish kinsmen in America actively participating in that growing movement of the American masses against the present imperialist foreign policy by which our country is being led, against the popular will, into a reactionary war in alliance with British and French imperialism.

The contribution which the Irish workers have made to the American labor movement can be multiplied by active and widespread cooperation of Americans of Irish descent in the union of workers, farmers, middle class and Negro people into a great people's movement in the United States, participating in the joint struggle for jobs, peace and civil liberties, while opposing and defeating the imperialist propaganda and sinister efforts now under way with the aim of involving the American people in Chamberlain's imperialist slaughter.

To the American people we repeat the slogan of the early champions of democracy—the Jeffersonians: "For an independent, united Ireland!"

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# SEVEN YEARS OF ROOSEVELT

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

**F**OR seven years the Roosevelt Administration has been in power. It is now seeking a new four years' mandate, either through a third term for Roosevelt or a candidate named by him. It is timely, therefore, to make a general evaluation of the present Administration in terms of its policies and their results, and the perspectives it holds for the working class and the American people as a whole.

## *The Great Economic Crisis*

When President Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, he found American capitalism in a mess. The economic structure, which only a short while before had been the admiration of the capitalist world, was in collapse, following the great economic crisis of 1929. During the period of partial and temporary stabilization of world capitalism, which set in a few years after the war, the United States had flourished. Unscathed by the devastation of the war, this country had been transformed from a debtor to a creditor nation. It emerged as the most powerful imperialist world power. Its twenty billion dollars of capital export in war and post-war

foreign loans had given industry a tremendous impetus. This was further stimulated by the expansion of the domestic market during these years through the growth of the automobile industry, the mechanization of agriculture, the industrialization of the South, the extension of the installment system, etc.

The period 1923-29 seemed a golden age for American capitalists, but the workers' real wages remained almost stationary, and the farmers were stricken by crisis. The capitalist soothsayers, including A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders, shouted that there would be no more crises, no more class struggle, no more need for strikes. American capitalism had "matured"; Marx was "outmoded"; the path to utopia had been found; poverty was about to be abolished. The slogan was "a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage." The rest of the capitalist world gaped in envy and amazement at the American miracle.

The Communists alone had predicted the crash which came in 1929. The basic contradiction of capitalism, cause of the inevitably recurring economic crises, had not been solved. Social production

created rapidly expanding productive capacity, while private ownership of the means of production resulted in a limited market, in the restricted purchasing power of the masses. This contradiction had been greatly intensified by the World War and its consequences. The Communists, guided by this Marxian analysis, could and did predict that the great American boom was but laying the basis for an unparalleled crisis that would shake the precarious stabilization of the capitalist world.

Industrial production tobogganed 40 per cent. Foreign trade fell off 50 per cent. The national income dropped from 78½ billions to 41 billions in three years; the wages of industrial workers fell from 15 billions in 1929 to six billions in 1932, and the farmers' income collapsed from twelve to five billions. During 1931 alone, 17,000 retail stores failed. In the first three years of the crisis, hundreds of thousands of homes and farms were foreclosed. Many cities and states went bankrupt. New capital investments—the life-blood of the capitalist system—dropped from eight billions in 1928 to 161 millions in 1932. Stock exchange values fell off 75 billions; 5,000 banks failed, and during the week of March 6-11, 1933, the entire American banking system was shut down. The unemployed reached the unheard-of total of 17,000,000 by March, 1933.

This was the American phase of the great economic hurricane then sweeping through the capitalist world. The only country that escaped the terrific blast was the Soviet Union, whose socialist eco-

nomie system was developing at a speed never equalled by American capitalist industry and agriculture even in their palmiest days.

The Hoover Administration, tool of finance capital, took active steps to protect the capitalists' interests. In November, 1929, under cover of chatter about maintaining the purchasing power of the masses, Hoover organized his notorious no-wage-cut, no-strike conference of capitalists, labor leaders, and the "public." As a result, the A. F. of L. leaders stood passively by while the industrialists slashed wages from 20 per cent to 50 per cent. In 1930 also, with slogans of "economic planning," Hoover gave \$277,000,000 to the agricultural banks, farm implement manufacturers and big farmers in a vain effort to stabilize the prices of wheat and cotton through the Federal Farm Board, established in 1929. During 1930, Congress gave the industrialists further help by boosting the tariff with the notorious Hawley-Smoot law. In 1932, through the newly-constituted Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Hoover handed \$2,843,000,000 to the banks, railroads, insurance companies, and other big concerns. These were loans on the pretense of stimulating capital investment, but actually to facilitate dividend payments.

Hoover's policy toward the working masses, in contrast, was one of brutal deflation. The employers threw millions of workers on the street and the Federal Government refused to give them relief. Mortgage-holders foreclosed on countless homes and farms; hundreds of millions of dollars of the people's

savings were lost in collapsed banks. The Government did nothing to stop this holocaust of the slim resources of the masses. Hoover filled the country with lies minimizing the crisis and with assurances that prosperity was "just around the corner." He used the armed forces or allowed them to be used—Federal, state, and local—against unemployed, striking workers, militant farmers, and veteran bonus marchers, all struggling desperately against starvation.

The Democratic Party opposition in Congress proposed no alternative to Hoover's deflationism. The A. F. of L. and railroad union leaders, tailing along after Hoover, accepted his wage cuts, endorsed his stagger system, opposed unemployment insurance. They allowed their unions to stagnate and the masses to starve. The Socialist Party also went along with the politically bankrupt A. F. of L. leaders. Only the Communist Party came forward with a constructive program. Demanding Federal relief and unemployment insurance, no wage cuts, the seven-hour work-day, a broad policy of public works, and protection of the people's democratic liberties, our Party, in the face of fierce persecution, gave militant leadership to the mass struggles.

Under Hoover, the economic apparatus of capitalism slowed down more and more. The vast army of unemployed and dispossessed grew apace. Starvation stalked through America. Great unemployed struggles developed, several important strikes broke out; the bonus-seeking veterans marched upon Washington, and in many places the

farmers defied sheriffs who tried to foreclose their farms. In all these militant struggles, the Communists played a leading role. The masses began to threaten vaguely but ominously of revolution. A great fear struck the heart of capitalism and was voiced on all sides. Then came the 1932 elections: the starving and outraged masses threw Hoover overboard and elected Roosevelt with the unprecedented total of 22,000,000 votes.

#### *Roosevelt Succors Finance Capital*

In the last year of Hoover's term, the great capitalists had become genuinely alarmed at the depth and length of the crisis, and the radicalism growing among the impoverished masses. Professor W. B. Donham said: "Unless greater stability is achieved, it is doubtful whether capitalist civilization can long endure." Nicholas Murray Butler declared: "The period which we are passing through is a period like the fall of the Roman empire." Many other capitalist intellectuals wrote in a similar pessimistic vein. Demands for a stronger government, for more Federal intervention in economic life, were heard widely in capitalist circles. Many systems of "planned production" were brought forward by leading capitalists—Swope, Harriman and others—as well as by middle-class economists. The American Legion criticized the present form of government and proposed a National Council of Defense; Al Smith said we ought to have a dictator; Senator Reed cried out for a Mussolini.

In this atmosphere of alarm, confusion, and economic prostration,

Roosevelt came to power. Big capital immediately hailed him as the savior of its system. With this backing, he launched a program of militant state intervention into the economic life, such as this country had never before remotely approached. This state intervention covered capital investment, intensification of monopoly, price fixing, regulation of production, subsidizing of industry and agriculture, adjustment of taxation and tariffs, manipulation of mass purchasing power, labor relations, hours and wages, social security legislation, and much more. All of this required expansion of the Government bureaucracy, its closer linking to industry, and a vast increase in the President's power.

In the 1932 election campaign, Roosevelt had given but faint indications of this first-aid program for stricken capitalism. As a Democrat with a slightly liberal reputation, Roosevelt made his central campaign issues Government economy and Prohibition repeal. True, he spoke of extending farm credit to the states and of expanding the Federal program of "necessary and useful" construction. He also commiserated with the "forgotten man," promising him a vague "New Deal." But his much-quoted promise to cut Hoover's Federal budget by 25 per cent is evidence that he did not contemplate the huge Federal expenditures of later years. The *Wall Street Journal* of August 1, 1932, correctly reflected finance capital's estimate of Roosevelt: "Each of the major parties nominated a man whom the country has no reason to fear as the occupant of the White

House." The Communist Party put forward its own ticket, led by Foster and Ford, and sharply opposed Roosevelt for being "just as much a defender of the big financiers . . . as Hoover."

Few American Presidents have assumed office with such a high degree of national unity supporting them as did Roosevelt in March, 1933. Big capital had swung over heavily behind him and was counting on his "recovery" program; the great body of rural and city middle classes also looked to him for aid; and the masses of workers, including the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, endorsed him.

President Roosevelt immediately plunged into a legislative campaign to bring Government assistance to the wobbling financial institutions of capitalism. Bills were passed in Congress so swiftly that the members had hardly time to read, much less to understand, them. Following Hoover's policy, Roosevelt poured hundreds of millions as loans into big capitalist concerns through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. By the Emergency Bank Act, he liquefied the frozen assets of the banks, authorizing the Government to issue sound bonds for their otherwise worthless commercial paper. Further aid was pumped into the banks by the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the Home Owners' Loan Act; the bankers were enabled to refinance dead mortgages on homes and farms by getting gilt-edged Government bonds in exchange for them. This procedure eventually gave the financiers several billion dollars of Government funds.

Additional help was rushed to business by inflationary policies to raise prices, including the embargo on shipment of gold abroad, abandonment of the gold standard, devaluation of the dollar by 41 per cent, and establishment of the \$2,000,000,000 currency stabilizing fund out of the Government's "profits" in its devaluation transaction. During the first Roosevelt year wholesale prices rose 30 per cent and retail prices about 20 per cent.

To aid finance capital there next came, in June, 1933, the famous National Industrial Recovery Act. Originated by the United States Chamber of Commerce, this measure proposed a profound reorganization of American industry and labor relations, obviously with a fascist pattern in mind. The N.I.R.A., with its codes and code-making bodies for each industry, strengthened monopoly by relaxing the anti-trust laws, regulated production by restricting it, fixed prices at monopoly levels, and aimed for a docile working class, locked in bureaucratic labor boards. The reactionary General Hugh Johnson was appointed chief. The N.I.R.A. was greeted with unbounded enthusiasm in capitalist circles (save for a few dissidents like Henry Ford), reflected in the widespread Blue Eagle campaign.

So far, so good for Big Business. The rulers of America's finance and industry liked the Roosevelt New Deal very much. So, it may be added, did the A. F. of L. leaders; while the Socialists hurried to Washington, congratulated Roosevelt, and called the New Deal a

step towards socialism. The Communist Party pointed out the fascist danger in Roosevelt's N.I.R.A., and condemned his lavish aid to finance capital, while calling upon the workers and farmers to take full advantage of his concessions to them.

However, although the capitalists were pleased with the New Deal subsidies, loans and other financial help, the fly in the ointment was that the masses of workers, farmers and city middle classes insisted they also be given relief. By their election vote and mass struggles they had made it clear that they would no longer tolerate the Hoover policy of Government aid to business with great loans and subsidies on the "theory" that in the course of time beneficial effects would percolate down to the masses. For three years the unemployed, led by the Communists, had been actively demanding relief; in many states the farmers were no less militant; the war veterans had been fighting for the bonus; and the employed workers were just launching one of the greatest organizing and strike movements in American history. These aroused masses, therefore, realizing they had dealt reaction a hard blow in the 1932 elections, demanded action on their own grievances.

This mass pressure resulted in some features of benefit to the people incorporated into early New Deal recovery legislation. Hoover's thin trickle of Federal loans to the states for the unemployed was expanded into a substantial stream: the Emergency Relief Act of May, 1933, provided \$500,000,000 in re-

lief for 4,000,000 families. The P.W.A., set up by the N.I.R.A., began a building program of public works, eventually to reach \$3,300,000,000. The poorer farmers also got some relief through the A.A.A. payments for their destruction of farm animals and restriction of crop acreage. Not only did the banks profit by the Government's refinancing of home and farm mortgages, but the owners, too, benefited from slightly lower interest rates. The youth likewise gained in a measure from the C.C.C. camps. Finally, the workers got their unions legalized in the celebrated Section 7A of N.I.R.A. which gave them "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing."

The Roosevelt Administration made very limited concessions to the rising labor and democratic movement. In 1934 it was calculated that the average family on relief got only \$19 monthly. And Roosevelt, be it remembered (like Hoover), vetoed the ex-soldiers' demand for the bonus. Usually, too, the benefits to small farmers and harassed home-owners had to be searched for with a microscope. The housing program aided but few of those who most needed homes. The wage scales set by the N.I.R.A. codes were disgraceful, and the conceded right of trade union organization had strings tied to it. Roosevelt and his man Johnson both specifically stated that Section 7A did not prohibit company unionism (which flourished like a mushroom in this period). When the great strike wave got under way, in 1933, Roosevelt did everything

possible to check it. He offered no opposition to the unprecedented use of troops, police and vigilantes against striking workers in various states. He actually destroyed the big organization drives in the automobile and steel industries by having them referred to Government boards where they were quietly asphyxiated. Roosevelt's anti-strike policy was supported by the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leadership; whereas the Communist Party vigorously aided the organization and strike movements.

Although Roosevelt thus handed the loaves to the capitalists and the crumbs to the masses, the former, unaccustomed to making even small concessions, grew dissatisfied. By the middle of 1934 they were already denouncing the New Deal. At this time the crisis passed into the depression stage and economic conditions improved a little; in 1933, 1,475 industrial firms showed profits of \$661,000,000, as against deficits of \$97,000,000 in 1932. So finance capital, recovering from its crisis-panic, felt the occasion to be opportune again to take the masses in hand. The spokesmen of Big Business therefore assailed Roosevelt and began a struggle against him which was to have far-reaching effects. Their attack signaled the end of the first period of the Roosevelt Administration, in which Roosevelt's program, supported by capitalists generally, consisted primarily of first-aid measures to big capital, with minor concessions to the workers, farmers and lower middle class.

*Finance Capital's Attack Upon  
the New Deal*

The American Liberty League, formed in August, 1934, backed by the great Morgan-duPont-General Motors interests with Al Smith as its political front, gave impetus to the anti-Roosevelt movement in capitalist circles. It was rapidly followed, during the next two years, by violent attacks from the United States Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers, American Bankers Association, Hoover Republicans, the great bulk of the capitalist press, and such fascist demagogues as Hearst, Coughlin and Huey Long.

These "ganged-up" reactionaries accused Roosevelt of seeking to establish a dictatorship; they denounced him as a Communist and the New Deal as Socialism. They condemned his policy of "priming the pump" of industry through Government spending and demanded complete freedom for business, as well as a balanced Federal budget. They condemned the T.V.A. as Socialistic; they insisted upon returning to Hoover's starvation system of local relief; they rejected N.I.R.A. and A.A.A. as bringing the Government into private business. They blossomed forth demagogically as Jeffersonian Democrats, advocates of states' rights, and opponents of centralized government. They denounced Roosevelt as a traitor to his class and a demagogue who was dangerously agitating the people and encouraging the labor movement. Their anti-Roosevelt campaign crystallized in the Tory Democrat-Republican alliance in

Congress; and the reactionary-controlled Supreme Court knocked out as unconstitutional the N.I.R.A., the A.A.A., Railroad Retirement Act, Frazier-Lemke Act and other progressive legislation.

The wild charges against Roosevelt by the spokesmen of finance capital were, to say the least, unfounded. A bourgeois liberal, representing some big capitalist elements and large sections of small capital, Roosevelt believed that the way to preserve capitalism was through pump priming, minor reforms for the toiling masses, and the maintenance of democratic processes, rather than through those drastic repressions proposed by the pro-fascist reactionaries. Furthermore, a fundamental factor in shaping Roosevelt's policies was the tremendous mass pressure upon him from the people, especially from the working class. Great strikes and organizing campaigns took place in the early years of his Administration; the A. F. of L. recruited 750,000 members in 1933-34, and the C.I.O. established in November, 1935, started on its historic organizing campaigns that soon added another 4,000,000 members to the trade unions. The farmers, too, were militant in their demands, and the war veterans were insisting upon the bonus. The great mass ferment further expressed itself by the growth of a strong youth movement centering in the American Youth Congress; by an upsurge among the Negro people, which spoke through the National Negro Congress, and by such confused but vast panacea movements as Epic, Townsend Pension Plan, Share-the-

Wealth, even though the last-named was fascist-led. This heavy mass pressure upon Roosevelt stiffened his mild liberalism into opposition to the reactionary bankers and "economic royalists." Therefore, despite the big capitalist attacks, his Administration went on at a slowed tempo and Congress adopted during 1935 and 1936 such progressive legislation as the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and the Act prohibiting interstate shipments of strikebreakers.

As the 1936 elections approached, the struggle between the people and finance capital became sharper. Roosevelt had behind him important sections of small capital and overwhelming masses of workers, farmers and city petty-bourgeoisie. His election platform called essentially for an endorsement of the progressive features of the New Deal and their further development. Although there were still 24,000,000 people living on relief, a gradual improvement in the economic situation had taken place which helped Roosevelt. Arrayed against him almost unanimously were the great bankers and industrialists, the preponderance of the daily press, such demagogues as Coughlin and Townsend, and other reactionary forces. Roosevelt's position was basically one of compromise between big capital and the people. But the big capitalists warred violently against the New Deal and all its works. Their policies were calculated to start the United States definitely on the way towards fascism.

In this great election struggle the Communist Party, which had grown

from 10,000 members in 1932 to 50,000 members in 1936, with rapidly extending mass influence, played an important role. Our Party, while opposing Roosevelt's concessions to finance capital, had increasingly supported his reforms, though it pointed out their shortcomings and brought mass pressure against him to secure more fundamental demands. Our Party stated that the main issue in the campaign was: "Progress against reaction; democracy against fascism." While nominating its own Presidential candidates, Browder and Ford, its main fire was concentrated against the Republican candidates, Landon and Knox, as standard bearers of reaction, who must be defeated at all costs.

The election fight was one of the bitterest in the history of the United States. Never were class lines so sharply drawn; never did the workers show so much political consciousness and solidarity. The country was deluged with a sea of Red-baiting and reactionary propaganda, incitements to physical violence against Roosevelt, threats to organize a fascist putsch. But the masses came through with flying colors, giving Roosevelt 27,500,000 ballots, the largest vote ever given to any President. It was the most significant electoral victory won by the American people since the election of Lincoln in 1860.

#### *The Retreat of Roosevelt*

Unabashed by its defeat in the 1936 elections and brazenly defying the popular mandate given Roosevelt, finance capital immediately

launched a counter-offensive against the New Deal. In the 1937 session of Congress the reactionaries built a majority in both Houses of Republicans and Garner Democrats, defeated Roosevelt's proposals to reorganize the Supreme Court and the Federal Government, and sabotaged important pending New Deal legislation. In the economic field they intensified their "sit-down strike of capital," thereby helping precipitate the crisis of mid-1937. They increased attacks on the trade unions, brutally smashed the "little steel" strike, introduced and passed anti-union legislation in various states, and got their stooges in the A. F. of L. Executive Council to deepen the split in the labor movement. On top of all this, the reactionaries insolently turned loose on the country the Dies Committee, to smear as "red" everybody and everything progressive. This counter-offensive of finance capital against Roosevelt reached a high point in the 1938 fall elections, in which the New Deal suffered a setback by the loss of several important governorships and a big bloc of Congressional seats.

The determined assault by organized reaction confronted Roosevelt with the imperative necessity of sharpening the struggle of the New Deal forces. Obviously, the battle against finance capital had to be waged on a higher political level than hitherto: that is, more relentlessly and with new programs and tactics. It was necessary either to do this or face ultimate defeat at the hands of the ruthless big bankers and industrialists, who had de-

cidated at all costs to put an end to the New Deal and to halt the growing democratic mass movement. Realizing the need for this higher level of struggle, the Communist Party outlined a series of proposals which, if adopted, would have checked big capital's offensive and given the initiative to the New Deal forces. These policies may be summarized briefly under five general heads, as follows:

(a) To abandon Roosevelt's economic scarcity theory and practice of trying to achieve prosperity by restricting agricultural and industrial production (a fallacy he shared with Hoover) and instead to absorb commodity surpluses through a program of radically improving the living standards and purchasing power of the masses. This could be done by instituting the thirty-hour week and substantial legal minimum wages, raising unemployment relief rates and increasing relief work wages to trade union scales, broadly extending farm relief, instituting liberal old-age pensions, shifting the tax burden onto the shoulders of the rich, and by large-scale free food distribution, as indicated by the present beginnings in the Food Stamp Plan.

(b) To break the sit-down strike of capital by having the Government assemble and invest the capital that the bankers had tied up in their banks. This could be done by greatly extending the Government's lending-spending program in a vast housing project, a wide expansion of public works, the rehabilitation of the railroads, a great national health program, the conservation of

natural resources, etc. This necessitated attacking the inner fortresses of the "striking" capitalists by relentlessly breaking up monopolistic practices; by insisting on compulsory renewal of fixed capital in industry and on the establishment of minimum working forces in industrial enterprises; and by moving towards Government ownership of the banks, the railroads and the munitions industries. "Open up the factories" and "Put America back to work" were our slogans.

(c) To protect the threatened democratic rights of the people by abolishing the Dies Committee; enacting LaFollette's proposed legislation against labor spies, gunmen, and detectives; disarming the factories; breaking up vigilante and other terroristic gangs; and by adopting the Federal Anti-Lynch Bill.

(d) To develop the democratic peace role of the United States by lifting the arms embargo against the Spanish Republic, giving aid to the attacked Chinese Republic and embargoing Japan, establishing truly democratic relations with the Latin American peoples, and by co-operating with the U.S.S.R. in building an international peace front to stop the fascist aggressors. Our Party's main peace slogan was "Keep America out of the war by keeping war out of the world."

(e) To create the organized political mass movement necessary to defeat finance capital by building a great democratic front of trade unions, farmers' organizations, pro-

gressive political groups, professional guilds, Negro associations, youth movements, veterans' organizations, women's clubs, peace societies, and the like—a strong alliance of the great democratic forces of America, with the workers as its backbone, against the sixty families of economic royalists and their hangers-on.

But, for reasons to be explained, Roosevelt failed to adopt this necessary program, supported by the Communist Party, of struggle for "jobs, security, democracy and peace" against the hunger, fascism, and war program of finance capital. He did not even aggressively fight for the program he had already enunciated. True, he spoke many brave words: that he had just begun to fight; that one-third of the people were ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed; that in the New Deal the trusts had met their match and would soon meet their master; that the fascist aggressors should be quarantined; that he would use against them all methods short of war; and many more ringing statements. But in practice Roosevelt fell far short of these valorous words. His policy from 1937 to the outbreak of the European war in September, 1939, was one of compromise, retreat, of gradual abandonment of the progressive features of the New Deal; of eventual surrender, as we shall see from the following brief analysis of the course he took:

(a) *Economy of scarcity*: Roosevelt, with his scarcity theory, did not take the drastic measures necessary to put the surplus products of industry and agriculture into the

hands of the impoverished people by increasing the purchasing power of the masses. In consequence, the unemployed remained at starvation levels, the sharecroppers and tenant farmers vegetated in pauperism, wage standards of the employed workers stayed low, the tax burden was shoved increasingly onto the shoulders of the masses, and the whole economic system lacked the necessary stimulation.

(b) *Sit-down strike of capital:* Roosevelt tried to realize his plan of reviving industry by priming the pump with a minimum of Government spending, instead of boldly broadening out the Government works program and also making a direct assault upon the economic fortresses of finance capital along the lines indicated earlier by his denunciations of the economic royalists and by our Party's proposals. He made no attack upon monopoly, except a futile Congressional investigation; and he would hear nothing of Government ownership, not even of the broken-down railroad system. Without such a sharpened attack against finance capital as our Party proposed it was impossible for Roosevelt to break the capitalist economic sabotage and to accomplish even his mild program of economic and political reforms.

(c) *Democratic rights:* In the vital matter of defending the people's democratic rights Roosevelt also failed to measure up to his own pledges and to the requirements of a successful struggle against militant and powerful finance capital, as a few examples will show. Thus, the Administration, while pro-

fessedly sympathizing with LaFollette's splendid investigation of industrial gunmen, spies, and strike-breakers, gave no support whatever to his proposed legislation to correct these abuses. Instead, it tolerated and financed the infamous Dies Committee, extended no backing to the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, and never raised a finger to abolish the glaring poll tax evil in the South. Nor did it take any steps to check the wide growth of vigilantism in strikes.

(d) *Foreign policy:* Roosevelt refused, too, despite his many ringing statements, to develop the foreign policy of democracy and peace necessary to check and defeat the imperialist bankers and capitalists, of this country as well as those abroad. In the case of republican Spain he wrote one of the most shameful pages in American history by his arms embargo against the Loyalist Government, his haste to recognize the fascist Franco regime after the overthrow of the republic, and his callous disregard of the fate of the Spanish republican refugees and war prisoners (although a Gallup poll showed that 70 per cent of the American people were sympathetic to republican Spain). With regard to China, also, Roosevelt's policy of words of sympathy for the people's forces and the wholesale shipments of indispensable war materials to Japan (again contrary to public sentiment) was a tragedy to the world democratic forces. In connection with Latin America Roosevelt, with his Good Neighbor policy, made a somewhat better democratic showing, although in

many instances (Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico) his course was more one of promises than of performance. In his relations with the U.S.S.R. Roosevelt started out by extending that country diplomatic recognition and developing something of a friendly spirit with it; but, under reactionary pressure, he gradually adopted a more and more hostile attitude. Finally, in the recent great fight for the international peace front Roosevelt often sharply denounced the fascist aggressors; but he lacked the boldness and democratic integrity to cooperate with the U.S.S.R., a cooperation which would have been of world-decisive importance in preventing the second imperialist war.

(e) *The Democratic Front*: Just as Roosevelt did not adopt the domestic and foreign economic and political policies necessary for successful struggle against finance capital, so, also, he failed to support the organizational steps essential to consolidate his mass following into an effective fighting movement. He had no conception of a real democratic front of workers, farmers and lower middle classes against the forces of big capital. At most he leaned upon the workers for support. He extended considerable assistance to the unionization of the basic industries and called repeatedly for trade union unity; but he failed to take a definite stand against company unionism, and his characteristic weakening during the crucial "little steel" strike ("a plague on both your houses") did inestimable damage to the trade union movement. Roosevelt also

gave some aid to the organization of the youth, women, farmers, peace forces, and other popular movements, but always in a half-hearted way. He remained wedded to the old machine of the Democratic Party, to Hague, Tammany, Pendergast, et al. His so-called purge was half-hearted and ineffective. He did not take up seriously the building of a great democratic front, by whatever name; although to have done so was an indispensable condition for the victory of his reform policies in face of the powerful attacks of finance capital.

In consequence of these weaknesses in policy, strategy and organization, especially since the renewed offensive of big capital in 1937, Roosevelt's New Deal tended more and more to fail of results, to compromise, and to surrender to the reactionaries. The Congresses of 1937, 1938, 1939 brought little of constructive value for the masses, despite Roosevelt's gigantic popular victory in the 1936 elections. The chief progressive results were the Soil Conservation Act to replace the scrapped A.A.A., a modest Housing Act, some small improvements in the Social Security Act, a watered-down Wages and Hours Act, a new Food and Drug Act, and the revamped Railroad Old-Age Pension and Unemployment Insurance Acts. Nothing was accomplished in regard to such measures as the Anti-Lynching Bill, the La-Follette Oppressive Labor Practices Bill, the Youth Act, the Wagner National Health Bill, and anti-monopoly legislation. On the negative side also were the ever-growing military budget and the re-

peated cuts in Government relief work, despite the persistence of a dozen million unemployed, and of actual starvation conditions in many cities and rural communities.

The reasons that Roosevelt did not adopt the broader policies and intensified struggle which were absolutely necessary to defeat finance capital were twofold. First, his bourgeois liberalism (and the bourgeois support behind him) did not allow him to rise to the political level of a fundamental attack upon the basic economic and political positions of finance capital. The necessity for such a fight, even to secure modest reforms, became especially clear after Big Business in 1937 brazenly ignored the election results of 1936 and boldly sabotaged Roosevelt's program. But Roosevelt was incapable of leading the requisite struggle. All his previous economic and political measures had strengthened finance capital; while the workers', farmers' and home-owners' benefits from these laws were secondary features.

The second, and more basic, reason for the failure of the New Deal forces to take up the gage of battle against finance capital was the lack of decisive pressure from a solidly organized and clear-headed labor movement. It was necessary for the proletariat to establish a strong hegemony in the New Deal camp and to give decisive and correct leadership to the workers' allies, the farmers and city petty bourgeoisie. But, the trade union movement, although numerically much stronger than in the 1933-36 period, was disastrously weakened by ideological confusion and the split into

two warring factions. While the C.I.O. pushed Roosevelt somewhat from the Left, the A. F. of L. (its leaders' program becoming more and more like that of the employers) held him back from the Right. Although in this period the Communist Party, with the Y.C.L., reached a total membership of 100,000 and had a very broad mass influence, it could not, by its own efforts, achieve the establishment of proletarian hegemony among the New Deal forces and give the movement a sound policy and solid organization. Under such circumstances, therefore, labor, lacking a mass party of its own, did not play its imperatively necessary leading role in the loose aggregation of the New Deal forces. The New Deal remained under middle class domination, a bourgeois liberal at its head—with the resultant surrender that we have noted.

However, the mass movement around the New Deal obviously contained great potentialities of struggle and political development under the weight of pressure from the masses and our Party.

Despite Roosevelt's limitations, the Communist Party was correct in supporting, with criticism, amendments and pressure, the New Deal movement and its social reform measures. As Earl Browder said:

“With all its weaknesses and inadequacies, its hesitations and confusions, the New Deal wing under the Roosevelt leadership is an essential part of the developing democratic front against monopoly capital.” (*The Democratic Front*, p. 16.)

It was the bounden task of our

Party to participate in this great New Deal movement of the masses and to strive to give it correct leadership and program. That this policy was right was evidenced, among other facts, by the rapid growth of our Party numerically and in mass influence, while the Socialist Party, which, after first hailing the New Deal as incipient socialism, later adopted a position of narrow opposition towards it, rapidly declined in size and prestige and finally broke up into several squabbling sects.

*Roosevelt Surrenders to the  
War-Makers*

As the Communist International and the C.P.U.S.A. have clearly demonstrated, the present conflict among the rival powers, England, France and Germany, is an imperialist struggle for markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of influence, colonies, and world domination. Patterning themselves after their tactics in the World War, in order to fool the masses regarding the sordid objectives of this war, the imperialists are trying to cover up their real goal by demagogic slogans about "living space," a "fight for democracy," and the like. All the warring imperialist powers are responsible for the conflict: Germany, by its many aggressions in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel and Poland; and England and France, by their actually launching the war against Germany and by seeking to turn it against the Soviet Union.

The United States, concretely the Roosevelt Administration, also bears heavy guilt for the war, be-

cause of its failure to support the Soviet Government's proposal of a great peace front of the democratic peoples to restrain the fascist aggressors. This plan would have staved off, if not actually prevented, the present war. But American finance capital, in its decisive section, wanted none of this proposal; its policy then, much like that of Chamberlain, was based on the hope that Germany's growing strength would finally be directed into a war against the Soviet Union. It was also not averse to seeing British and German imperialism weaken each other. Roosevelt did not boldly challenge the great bankers and industrialists by giving active support to the U.S.S.R.'s peace front proposal. Instead, he stood aside and let the international peace front be undermined by the combined efforts of the British, French and American reactionaries and their Social-Democratic and Trotskyite stooges.

The key point in the struggle for the international peace front was the fight to defend republican Spain. Had Spain been saved, this would have constituted a gigantic victory for the world democratic peace forces and would have resulted in an international situation very different from the present. But Chamberlain, Blum-Daladier, and Roosevelt (the former with their "non-intervention" policy and the latter with his arms embargo) sacrificed Spain and gave the fascists a great victory that flung the door wide open for the present imperialist war. History will place a big share of guilt for the war upon the shoulders of President Roose-

velt for his failure to back up the international peace front and for his cold-blooded betrayal of republican Spain.

Once Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy failed and the war began, American finance capital leaped forward into a policy of aggressive imperialist aggrandizement. Its major war aims may be stated briefly as follows: (a) to make all possible profits by selling war munitions to the belligerents; (b) to push militantly its plans for trade, investment, raw materials, and spheres of influence in Latin America and the Far East, while its great imperialist rivals, England, Germany and Japan, are occupied with their wars; (c) to give active economic and, if need be, military aid to the Allies (notwithstanding the deep-going Anglo-American imperialist rivalry), in order to prevent Germany from emerging as a powerful imperialist victor and to avoid a disastrous dislocation of world capitalism by the possible breakup of the British Empire; (d) to transform the present war into a general capitalist war, including the present neutrals, against the Soviet Union; (e) to hamstring the labor movement in this country and thus break up effective mass opposition to the war and profiteering program of the great capitalists.

As we have seen above, Roosevelt's policy towards the offensive of finance capital from 1937 to 1939 was one of compromise and retreat from expressed New Deal objectives. But as soon as the war broke out and the great economic overlords of the country, emerging from

their previous relative passivity internationally, militantly developed their war policy, Roosevelt's attitude of weak resistance to finance capital speedily became transformed into one of outright surrender to the new war policy. Abandoning his middle-of-the-road position, the vacillating Roosevelt went over definitely to the camp of finance capital. He accepted its basic foreign and domestic policies, dropped the progressive features of the New Deal, and turned his Administration into the willing instrument of the imperialist war-makers. This surrender was facilitated by the split in the trade union movement, and by the weaknesses, confusion and conservatism among trade union and other mass organization leaders upon the whole question of the war.

This marked the end of the second period of the Roosevelt Administration, a period in which the Administration, in conflict with big capital and supported broadly by the toiling masses, had laid its central stress upon industrial pump-priming and progressive reform.

#### *Roosevelt's War Policy*

Roosevelt has now become the political leader of the warmongers, and his accepted task is to lead the country as far and as fast into the war as the financial oligarchs deem necessary. This is the essence of the present, third period of the Roosevelt Administration. All this is obvious, despite Roosevelt's peace demagoguery, from a brief listing of his present major policies, in the light of the war aims of American

finance capital, as stated just above.\*

(a) *War Profits*: Roosevelt has adopted the reactionaries' economic program by orienting the Government upon the theory of achieving prosperity through war orders, a course leading straight to participation in the war. He is dropping piecemeal his pump-priming and relief program, and is moving towards the goal, beloved of the bankers, of "balancing the budget." Accordingly, his proposals to Congress slash a billion dollars off the Government works relief program, while they add half a billion for the armed forces. P.W.A. is to be abolished altogether, and although 10,000,000 workers still remain without work, Roosevelt would cut W.P.A. jobs from the present total of 1,930,000 to 1,280,000. Over 4,000,000 youth are unemployed, yet Roosevelt proposes to reduce the N.Y.A. and C.C.C. appropriations by \$75,000,000. Farm aid is slashed by over \$400,000,000, the Federal housing program is left to simmer, and the much-talked-of national health program is abandoned. All this is joyful news to the reactionaries in Congress, a signal for them to make further cuts in social services.

Of course, Roosevelt does not kill the New Deal at one blow, does not scuttle immediately his whole "lending-spending" program. The shaky economic situation makes this inadvisable. Further, the national elections are coming, and

mass resentment might prove costly. But with the legal national debt limit now reached, we may expect that Roosevelt, instead of fighting to extend that limit, will set out, jointly with his new reactionary allies, to balance the budget at the expense of the toilers.

(b) *Aggressive imperialism*: Roosevelt has likewise accepted the reactionaries' policy of American imperialism striving to grab world markets, raw materials, spheres of influence, and similar objectives, while its main imperialist rivals are at war—a course pregnant with war danger. This explains the Administration's new aggressiveness towards Japan and its attempt to arrive at an agreement with that power, whereby the United States will continue to furnish Japan with all the war materials she needs in return for a share of Japan's loot in China, and on the basis of an active anti-Soviet policy by Japan. It also makes clear Roosevelt's new militancy in Latin America, where, casting aside the Good Neighbor policy and resurrecting the Monroe Doctrine in a sinister form, he has embarked upon an imperialist program of trying to destroy English and German influence south of the Rio Grande, of forcing Latin American countries into the orbit of the United States, and of combining all the Americas into one bloc for Wall Street's imperialist maneuvering. All this requires a vast extension of this country's armed forces, which Roosevelt meets with his gigantic two-billion-dollar military budget.

(c) *Pro-ally war support*: Roose-

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\* For a fuller presentation of Roosevelt's present policies read the articles by A.B. and Gene Dennis in *The Communist* for January, 1940.

velt also subscribes to the reactionaries' policy to give active war aid to Great Britain and France (while grabbing their trade at the same time and thereby sharpening British-American rivalries). He does not want these Allied powers defeated, not because they are "protecting democracy," but through fear of a possible breakdown of the British Empire and the consequent serious shaking of the world capitalist system. For this reason he rushed to lift the arms embargo, a definite step in military support of the Allies. It also explains why he took the same stand as Chamberlain in rejecting the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, Germany and the Netherlands. His Finnish policy is akin also to Chamberlain's attempt to spread the war by involving the neutrals. Roosevelt's general European policy, despite his sharp squabbles with the Allies over sea rights and markets, dovetails with that of the British and French war-makers in a common opposition to Germany and, at the same time, to direct Germany against the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that Roosevelt is calculating on bringing the United States militarily into the war on the side of the Allies if they should meet with real difficulties. At the same time there is the fear on the part of American and world imperialism of the revolutionary consequences of a military defeat of Germany. In its war maneuvers American imperialism will exact as high a price as it can—world hegemony, if possible.

(d) *Anti-Soviet orientation*: After following a policy of mild tolerance

for a few years towards the Soviet Union, Roosevelt has now adopted the reactionaries' attitude of extreme hostility towards that country. In the *City of Flint* case he deliberately picked a quarrel with the Soviet Government; his intervention in Finland borders on actual war against the U.S.S.R.; his "peace" maneuvers with the Pope are also anti-Soviet provocations. Roosevelt, erstwhile liberal, has now become a world leader of the anti-Soviet crusade, in the attempt of the reactionaries to solve their present intolerable contradictions by organizing a world capitalist war against the Soviet Union.

(e) *"National Unity"*: Roosevelt is also agreeing, in practice if not yet in words, with the reactionaries' plans to castrate the labor movement, so that it cannot hamper their war policies, either foreign or domestic. An imperialist war economy automatically means anti-labor, anti-people's measures. These the capitalists hope to effect under the well-worn slogans of "national unity" and "national emergency." It is therefore a danger signal when Roosevelt, in the name of "national unity," is rapidly making peace with the Tory Democrats and Republicans. At the Jackson Day dinner a year ago he declared that the Democratic Party was to be a party of "militant liberalism," but at this year's dinner he invites the "economic royalists" to cooperate with him. What such "national unity" has in store for the workers is evidenced by Roosevelt's "hunger-and-war budget," by the growing attacks upon the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. lead-

ers; by the prosecution of the trade unions under the Sherman anti-trust laws, by Roosevelt's pressure to achieve trade union unity upon an A. F. of L. basis, by the efforts of reactionaries to destroy the National Labor Relations and the Wages and Hours Acts; by the continuation of the Dies Committee with the vote of 345 to 21 as a sort of Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda whose anti-progressive attacks are reinforced by Department of Justice legal actions; by the attempt of the Roosevelt Administration to outlaw the Communist Party and to jail Earl Browder and others of its leaders; and by the infamous M-Plan which, in case of war, is designed to regiment the workers, to suspend existing labor legislation, to undermine wage and working standards and to make the labor movement a part of the imperialist war machine.

Liberals and Social-Democrats are the best political war leaders for capitalism. This is because, with their fair-sounding demagogy, they are able better to sugar-coat imperialist war and to regiment the masses. It was no accident that the "liberals" Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson led the main Allied forces during the World War and that the Social-Democrats in all countries were an important section of the war leadership. In the present war situation we have the "liberals" Daladier and Roosevelt at the head of two imperialist governments. Although the Tory Chamberlain still leads in Great Britain, we may be sure that in a pinch the British bourgeoisie will call upon a Liberal, or even a La-

borite, more effectively to rally the masses to defend its money-bags.

Roosevelt, with his large mass following, is, therefore, from the standpoint of Big Business, almost an ideal war leader. He is just the man to undermine most effectively the mass resistance to the war. As the war crisis deepens, his popularity rises in capitalist circles. However, Roosevelt labors under the serious handicap of the third term tradition. If the war situation becomes acute enough and he runs for President, he could readily become an acceptable candidate of the big capitalist interests. Of course, not without a hard-fought election struggle between Republican and Democratic politicians, reflecting the conflicts among the rival capitalist groupings, over questions secondary to the main war policy of the bourgeoisie.

Roosevelt's capitulation to the war program of finance capital kills the New Deal so far as benefits to the masses are concerned. His policy has lost its progressive features and has become an instrument of reaction. His surrender betrays the people into the hands of the war makers, the economic royalists; it undermines the democratic rights of the masses, disorients their organizations, and gives encouragement to all the forces making for reaction and fascism. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that the toiling masses, especially the working class, make a determined stand against Roosevelt's war program and defeat it. The Communist Party is correct in organizing this people's resistance.

The seven years of the Roosevelt Administration to date may be summed up briefly in its three phases as follows: The first period was that of 1933-35, when Roosevelt, in collaboration with finance capital, directed his chief measures primarily towards heavy assistance to the big corporations, with small concessions to the workers, farmers and lower middle class, and when the Communist Party took a position of sharp opposition to him. The second period extended from 1935 to 1939, when Roosevelt, because of his reform proposals, was attacked by finance capital and supported by the broad masses and, with criticism, by the Communist Party. In the third, and present, period, begun with the outbreak of the imperialist war in September, 1939, Roosevelt has re-established his ties with the reactionaries, adopted the war orientation of finance capital, and abandoned his progressive policies, and he consequently faces the opposition of the Communist Party and of increasing bodies of workers and other democratic forces.

During the seven years of the Roosevelt Administration the toiling masses have made many gains, as a result of their struggles. As we have seen, they have greatly strengthened the trade unions, the youth organization and various other groupings in the popular mass movement. The Communist Party has also made real headway. There has also been laid the basis for a system of social insurance and progressive labor legislation. But most important, the workers and other toilers, through their vast experience in the New Deal years, have

gained a new consciousness of their political interests and strength. Altogether, the New Deal period, in spite of Roosevelt's hesitations and compromises, has been one of rapid political progress by the working class and its allies.

#### *The Fight Against the War*

Although Roosevelt has adopted a pro-war orientation, the great masses of workers, farmers and other toilers, who have hitherto supported him, decidedly want peace. Also the militant spirit of the workers demonstrates that they are in no mood to accept the domestic phase of Roosevelt's war program—the sacrifice of their democratic rights and their living and working standards. These anti-war mass sentiments have been evidenced by such developments as the recent Gallup poll which showed a 97 per cent vote against the United States entering the war, the strong popular resistance to lifting the arms embargo and financing the Mannerheim clique with "loans," the militant anti-war stand of the American Youth Congress, the U.M.W.A. convention's rejection of a third term for Roosevelt and its condemnation of his hunger-war budget, and by various recent higher-wage movements.

Although the mass anti-war sentiment is constantly becoming more articulate and better united, it is still largely confused and unorganized. Great sections of the masses continue under the illusions that the Allies are fighting for democracy and also that Roosevelt's policy is one of neutrality—illusions sedulously cultivated by the

New Deal forces. Then there are widespread isolationist fallacies among the people, upon which the Republicans especially are trying to capitalize. To develop an effective struggle against the war, therefore, the people must be taught that this is an imperialist war, not one for democracy; that Roosevelt's policy makes for war, not for peace; and that isolationism must give way to an active struggle for world peace. As Dimitroff says, "*Explain, explain and once again explain the real state of affairs to the masses.*" (*The War and the Working Class*, Workers Library Publishers, New York.)

It is especially important to point out to the masses in the present situation the lessons of the last war—the way the country was dragged into the war under cover of peace pretenses, the hypocrisy of the "making the world safe for democracy" slogan, the meaning of the suppression of civil rights, the treachery of the Social-Democratic and conservative trade union leaders, and many other lessons—always bearing in mind the specific differences between the World War and the present struggle.

In the fight against the war it is necessary that general slogans such as "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming" be developed into a concrete day-to-day program of struggle against the foreign and domestic policies of American imperialism. This is necessary because every warmonger in the country is working hypocritically under general pretenses of peace and neutrality. To defeat such war demagoguery the peace forces, while

popularizing broad anti-war slogans, must direct their struggle against each and every step the warmongers take towards war, including Roosevelt's intervention in Finland through diplomatic pressure, money and "volunteers," his hunger-and-war budget, his aggressive imperialist policies in Latin America and the Far East, the M-Plan, the whittling away of the W.P.A. and social security, the attack on the Bill of Rights, as well as the demagoguery of the Hoovers, Vandenberg, Tafts, and Deweys. While thus developing the struggle against the imperialists' unfolding war plans, it is necessary for labor and its allies to formulate their own program of demands and organize the masses to fight for it. To this end the C.I.O.'s legislative program is a valuable contribution, although it needs to be developed in the field of foreign affairs.

The struggle to keep the United States out of war and to re-establish peace must be based upon a militant defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the masses. The resolutions of the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America of February 17-18 constitute a practical program. The fight against profiteering, for higher wages and shorter hours, for W.P.A. and unemployed relief, for the organization of the unorganized, for trade union unity, for relief from the tax burden, for a national health program, and other partial demands, not only bring the masses into direct collision with the domestic side of the capitalists' war program; but also,

if it is resolutely followed out, with their war plans as a whole. This is why the capitalists want to hamstring the trade unions, as they did with the Gompers no-strike, no-organize agreement during the World War. The workers are already in a militant mood, which will be further sharpened by the growing attacks of the employers and the Government upon their living and working standards, their democratic rights and their mass organizations. Under no circumstances should the Administration be permitted to hog-tie them under a paralyzing "national unity."

The need for better organization of the peace forces is a crying one. There is as yet no one mass movement that links up all the scattered anti-war elements. The struggle for peace assumes many fragmentary and primitive organizational forms, such as anti-war committees in the trade unions. It may take the form of local conferences against the high cost of living, of movements for the preservation of the Bill of Rights, for popular legislative demands, for unemployed relief, for the organization of the unorganized, etc. It may be carried on by activities in various mass organizations—farm, youth, women, Negro, and among the anti-war elements of the Democratic and Republican parties—by the adoption of resolutions, peace demonstrations, petitions, and otherwise. All these activities must be cultivated, coordinated, and raised to the higher level of a definite peace program and organizational forms of a national scope.

Obviously, from all that has been

said up to this point, neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party can be the political organization to express this great mass anti-war sentiment. These bodies are war parties, tools of finance capital, although in both there are genuine peace-desiring masses. What is needed is a broad anti-imperialist peace party, founded upon a united people's peace front of workers, farmers, professionals and lower middle class elements. Conditions are ripening for the formation of such a party.

There is a sound political basis for this new party in the profound gap between the pro-war policies, foreign and domestic, of the Democratic and Republican parties, and the determination of the great majority of the people to keep out of the war and to defend their living standards against the profiteers. Organizationally, too, the toilers are much better prepared to support an independent party than ever before in American history. Since 1932 the trade unions have jumped from 3,000,000 to 8,000,000 members and they have improved their composition by organizing the workers in the basic industries as well as in large sections of the white collar trades. They are developing a new leadership, are casting off antiquated non-political notions, and they have also gained valuable political experience through solidarity and victories. If a sound trade union unity can be established the power of the unions will be multiplied. Besides the tremendous strengthening of the trade unions, the youth movement has also grown enormously, as have the old-age pension

and farmers' organizations, the Negro, women's, unemployed, health and other popular movements.

Moreover, these masses are beginning definitely to realize the need for independent political action. The United Mine Workers of America convention showed this very clearly. The difficulties must not be underestimated, however. The American working class cannot cut loose from the traditional political domination of the bourgeois political parties without considerable education and struggle. Both the big parties are using the most extreme peace demagogy to obscure their war plans and to keep the masses under their ideological and political control; and what is still more dangerous, they are being assisted by a great many leaders of trade unions and other mass organizations.

The 1940 election struggle will doubtless show many advances towards the necessary peace party, by the crystallization of peace elements in the Democratic and Republican parties and a peace bloc in Congress, by the development of the independent program and activity of organized labor, by the growth of such organizations as Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, etc., and, perhaps, also by a linking of all these groupings and movements on a national scale. The problem in building the new party will be to find ways to encourage to the utmost the numerous ideological and organizational streams leading toward the goal of independent political action, while at the same time avoiding hasty

consolidations of the toilers' forces that would result in a skeleton party divorced from the great masses.

In the fight to keep the United States out of the war, to defend the people's living standards, their mass organizations and civic rights, to build a great independent party of the toilers, history is thrusting heavy responsibilities upon the Communist Party. But our Party is not without strength for the task. During the past ten years, aside from minor errors and weaknesses mostly of a sectarian character, our Party has followed a correct political line. In consequence, it has built up firm unity and discipline, extended its numerical strength and mass influence, learned to identify its activities and program with the democratic and revolutionary traditions of the American people, acquired skill in working with all sections of toilers—Negroes, farmers, Catholics, etc. It has gained a wealth of general political experience, and emerged as an important national political factor.

In order to apply effectively this political strength and experience, however, our Party must especially be conscious of the added responsibility for political initiative placed upon it by the turn of the New Deal leaders to the Right. Before Roosevelt surrendered completely to finance capital's war program, he used to put out progressive slogans which our Party could and did support, and which facilitated cooperation with many New Deal leaders. But now, with the Administration's pro-war orientation, the effective struggle against reaction and for

the interests of the masses depends much more on the independent initiatory and leading role of our Party. Our united front work is now chiefly from below. Generally, therefore, our Party has to sharpen up its methods of mobilizing the masses for struggle. Especially must we be on guard that the Administration's turn to the Right does not deflect our Party into sectarian practices.

The reactionaries are aware, of course, of the increasingly vital role of our Party in this present period. That is why they are so active now to outlaw it and to imprison its leaders. Their persecution is a tacit recognition that the Communist Party is indeed the vanguard of the proletariat. Our Party can shield itself from this persecution, build its membership and develop its leadership among the masses only if, in addition to adopting necessary measures of legal defense, it identifies itself completely with the people's fight against the war and for their daily economic and political demands.

In this respect we should learn from the mistakes of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World during the World War. The Socialist Party confined itself almost entirely to a general agitation (mostly of an incorrect pacifist brand) against the war and neglected badly to give leadership to the masses in their fight against the high cost of living, for the organization and the unorganized, and the like. This error contributed greatly towards splitting off the Socialist Party from the masses and undermined its position generally. The

I.W.W. made a similar mistake, but from a different direction. Under the fierce persecution to which it was subjected, with hundreds of its leaders arrested, the I.W.W. transformed itself practically into a legal defense organization, directing its main efforts towards financing trials and other such activities, and neglecting its basic functions as a labor union. This isolated and weakened it very seriously. Similar dangers now confront our Party. We must understand, therefore, very clearly and definitely, that our Party can struggle successfully against the war, and defend itself effectively in so doing, only if it comes forward militantly, not only as the people's champion in their struggle for peace, but also for their immediate economic and political needs.

#### *The New Deal and Socialism*

The past decade has produced a profound deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. The whole system gives striking evidence that it is decadent and rotten, that it is living parasitically at the cost of measureless suffering by the toiling masses, and that if civilization is to advance, capitalism must be abolished and socialism established.

World agriculture is in chronic crisis, and world capitalist industry in 1938 remained 10 per cent behind 1929 production level, despite population increases and artificial stimulation of industry. In Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States the governments were able to keep the economic life up to even present levels

only by constant huge blood transfusions of government funds for public works, and principally armaments. World trade remains stagnant and tends more and more towards a barter and quota basis. The international gold standard has broken down completely, and 60 per cent of the world's gold stocks (eighteen billion dollars) is unhealthily assembled in the United States. Mass pauperization spreads on an unprecedented scale and popular discontent smolders everywhere. International law has collapsed and treaties among the capitalist countries no longer have any validity. The struggles of the great imperialist powers for markets, raw materials and colonies, growing fiercer from year to year, have resulted in the overrunning of China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania and Memel. Finally, the deepening contradictions of world capitalism have climaxed in the great war between the Allies and Germany.

The breakdown of world capitalism is emphasized by the tremendous advances being made in these same years by socialism in the Soviet Union. In that country economic crises have been completely abolished and with them unemployment. During 1929-32, when world capitalist industrial production fell off 38 per cent, that of the U.S.S.R. increased 81 per cent. In 1938, although industrial production in the capitalist countries still averaged below 1929 totals, the output of Soviet industry reached 486 per cent of that year. Soviet agriculture also showed spectacular progress in organiza-

tion, mechanization and output. From 1929 to 1938 Soviet national income advanced from 25 to 112 billion rubles, as against stagnation in the capitalist world. The value of retail trade in the U.S.S.R. leaped from 48 billions in 1929 to 122 billions in 1936. In 1936 the wages of Soviet industrial workers averaged 2.9 times as high as in 1929. On the basis of this rapidly expanding system of socialist industry and agriculture the working, living and cultural standards of the Soviet people have rapidly risen. As world capitalism has been visibly collapsing, the U.S.S.R. has given a striking demonstration of the success and workability of socialism.

The deepening of the world crisis of capitalism, especially the outbreak of the war between the Allies and Germany, puts the question of socialism on the political agenda in Europe. Capitalism cannot solve its economic and political contradictions, which become deeper and more explosive from year to year. Current talk of a "new order" after the war, a United States of Europe, that will institute an era of peace and prosperity under capitalism, is only so much propaganda to draw the masses into supporting the war. They have no more validity than Wilson's 14 points and his League of Nations. The only way the present economic and political chaos can be overcome is by the revolutionary measure of socializing the means of production—by the establishment of socialism. This alone can save the world from a terrible period of pauperization, fascism and war.

There is a mass opposition to the

war in all the capitalist countries. This can develop, under Communist leadership, into struggle against the capitalist system itself. China and India are aflame. Mass illusions regarding capitalism are everywhere evaporating and sentiment for socialism is growing. The Soviet Union has greatly strengthened its position in the Baltic, the Balkans, the Far East, and as a world power generally. As Dimitroff says: "The Social-Democratic leaders will not succeed for long in deceiving the masses as they were able to during the first imperialist war." (*Ibid.*, p. 21.) If involved in a long and murderous war, the masses, in their fight for peace, will apply Lenin's famous slogan, as the Russians did in 1917, by transforming the fight for peace into a fight for socialism. Fear of revolution makes the warring imperialist powers hesitate to fling all their forces into a general butchery on the Western front.

American capitalism, as part of the world capitalist order, unavoidably shares in that system's general decline and decay, and in the world trend toward socialism. Roosevelt's New Deal has not "saved" American capitalism, as its proponents assert. Its crude attempts at "planned production" under capitalism have failed to eliminate industrial crises. All it has accomplished in an economic sense is a few emergency stop-gap measures of relief. It has not solved the fatal capitalist contradictions between the rapidly expanding producing power of the toilers and the narrowly restricted markets, a contradiction which is inextricably linked

with the private ownership of industry and the land. Thus the New Deal has not been able to cure the breakdown of this country's industry and agriculture and to put them upon an upward curve again. Notwithstanding its progressive social legislative features, it has not overcome the deepening poverty of the masses or prevented the political radicalization that accompanies it. After seven years of Roosevelt, our national economy, notwithstanding its tremendous natural resources and technical equipment, remains stagnant, and one-third of the people are still ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed. The New Deal has been only a sort of pulmotor, fed by the accumulated fat of capitalism; a first-aid device which is with difficulty keeping industry and agriculture limping along and preventing vast sections of the population from actually starving to death in the midst of plenty.

American industry, had it continued its pre-crisis rate of growth, and considering the 8,000,000 increase in population during the past decade, should now be operating at least 35 per cent above 1929 levels; but, in spite of many billions of dollars in blood transfusions of Government funds and its influx of war orders, industry had only flutteringly reached the 1929 rate of production. Over 10,000,000 workers remain idle. The total amount paid out in wages and salaries in 1939 was only 84 per cent of that in 1929. New financing in 1938 was but one-fourth of what it was in 1929; foreign investments, which were 124 millions monthly in 1928, were only fourteen millions monthly

in 1937; exports, which amounted to five and a quarter billions in 1929, reached only three billions in 1938. Agriculture is in chronic stagnation. Notwithstanding three billions in Federal subsidies, and various schemes to screw up farm produce through acreage reduction and crop destruction, the total returns to the farmers are now only two-thirds of what they were in 1929, when agriculture had already been in crisis for several years.

The problem of strengthening the purchasing power of the masses, and, hence, of raising their living standards, has not been solved by the New Deal. The national income in 1938 amounted to only 64 billions, as against  $78\frac{1}{2}$  billions in 1929, or against the more than 100 billions there would have been had the pre-crisis rate of increase been maintained, or against the 300 billions possible had American national income increased at the same rate as that in the Soviet Union. American per capita wealth dropped from \$2,856 in 1929 to \$2,296 in 1936. Real wages of industrial workers in 1938 were only 90 per cent of the 1929 level, although the workers' production output per man-hour had increased by 20 per cent. Ten years ago only one person in 100 was dependent on public relief; now the ratio is one in six! Most of the unemployed, without relief of any kind, are on the verge of starvation, and W.P.A. workers are hardly better off. Millions of the youth, the aged, and poor farmers are submerged in deepest poverty. The various social security laws, work projects, and relief systems of the New Deal barely re-

lieve the most desperate aspects of this vast sea of misery and pauperization. The so-called American standard of living is a myth for two-thirds of the people.

The failure of the New Deal to reinvigorate industry and agriculture, to abolish unemployment, and to raise the living standards of the masses has also been accompanied by the growth of a whole series of negative factors, which indicate clearly the weakening and decay of the capitalist system in this country. Monopoly capital is getting a stronger stranglehold, as evidenced by such striking facts as that from 1929 to 1936 the number of banks declined from 27,264 to 15,572, and the 200 largest non-financial corporations increased their holdings from 81 billions in 1929 to 122 billions in 1939. During the past decade the national debt has gone up from 17 billions to 45 billions, with a consequent huge growth of parasitic government bondholders. The Federal budget has jumped up from three and three-quarters billions in 1928 to nine billions in 1940, and has a two and one-quarter billion deficit. Military expenditures have increased from 675 millions in 1929 to two billions in 1940. These facts are indications of a declining, not a rising, capitalist system.

Roosevelt's present turn towards a war economy; his abandonment of the pump-priming program and acceptance of Wall Street's plan of prosperity through war orders, is a tacit acknowledgment of the failure of the New Deal to solve this country's economic problems. The New Deal made a beginning of Federal social security, and it also

facilitated the growth of the labor movement. But it has not cured the basic weaknesses of American industry and agriculture. Nor is its present path towards war a solution. On the contrary, this will surely deepen every capitalist contradiction, intensify the decay of the economic system as a whole, and greatly sharpen the class struggle. Nor does the platform of the Republican Party offer any solution. There can be only one real remedy, the establishment of socialism.

For many years past the United States, with its great industries and huge proletariat, has been objectively ripe for socialism. The factor lacking has been that the workers are not yet convinced that socialism offers the only way out of their poverty. But now American capitalism is causing this subjective factor to mature. Because it can no longer keep its industries fully in operation, much less expand them, it makes millions of able-bodied workers walk the streets in semi-starvation, it leaves vast armies of youth without jobs or prospects of establishing families, it terrorizes the aged by their lack of security, and it makes even the farmers on the land go hungry. These masses

are drawing the necessary conclusion from all this by progressively losing faith in the capitalist system. The radicalization of the workers and other toiling masses that is now taking place is the most significant fact in American political life.

The Communist Party is bringing to the laboring people the lesson of the present American situation. This lesson is the need to organize and fight for every measure that eases the people's hardships under capitalism—for great Government work projects, substantial unemployment relief, higher wages, old-age pensions, sickness insurance, for shifting the tax burden upon the wealthy, for defending and extending democratic rights, for securing the re-establishment of peace. While leading in these day-to-day struggles, the Party has the task of educating the masses eventually to abolish the private ownership of industry and land that is at the bottom of the world's present misery, crises and war, and to found the socialist system which alone can fundamentally solve America's economic problems and open up before its people an expanding perspective of prosperity, culture, and peace.

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# AFTER A DECADE OF MASS UNEMPLOYMENT

BY HERBERT BENJAMIN

*[The writer of this article has occupied a leading position in the unemployed movement and struggles for more than ten years. He was one of the founders of the first nationwide organization of the unemployed, the National Unemployment Councils. He was the leader of the great National Hunger Marches of 1931 and 1932. As one of the chief officers of the largest organization of unemployed, he helped bring about the unification of the unemployed movement when all groups were merged within the Workers Alliance of America. Until last month he served as General Secretary of the Workers Alliance, from which post he has resigned to assume other duties in the working class movement.—Editor.]*

**A** NEW mood is beginning to stir the masses. It is manifesting itself as an important feature of the current political scene. There is a strong resemblance between this mood and the attitude expressed through the great unemployed demonstrations of March 6, 1930. Nor is it a mere coincidence that such a disposition for struggle should develop about the very time of the tenth anniversary of those

memorable demonstrations. One of the contributing factors is the realization that after more than ten years, government and business have failed to make any progress toward a solution of the problem that gave rise to the gigantic and militant demonstrations of a decade ago.

Never before or since have there been demonstrations that expressed so extensively and forcefully the elemental mass power as well as the disillusionment and resentment of the American people. Though not unprepared, these demonstrations had all the appearance and character of a great, spontaneous upsurge of the masses. It detracts in no way from the organizing ability, the energy and agitational power displayed by the Communist Party, as the initiator and organizer of these demonstrations, to point out that none of these qualities could have made such demonstrations and their profound effects possible, but for the fact that the masses were eager to find at that moment a means of expressing their pent-up resentment.

*Results of March 6, 1930*

Not only the nearly one-and-a-

half million actual participants, but many millions more imparted significance to the March 6 actions, and to the somewhat general and vague slogans around which they were rallied. Their homes, their opportunity to work, their normal way of life had been suddenly and violently disrupted. It was natural that they should hold responsible for their plight those who claimed credit for the "prosperity" which had prevailed. What most stirred the resentment of the masses was the manifest unwillingness and even indifference of those entrusted with authority to undertake any serious action in their behalf.

For years before, during, and after the World War, these politicians and patrioteers had been orating about the need for preparedness, for huge expenditures on armaments to defend our shores and our homes against invasion. They posed as great statesmen, as devoted public servants. They also boasted of their great talents as engineers of the "Golden Age." Finally, they referred to their "humanitarianism" as demonstrated by the so-called relief campaigns for the starving peoples of war-ravaged Europe.

Now millions of American homes were being laid waste as by a ruthless invader. Millions of families were being disrupted. Self-respecting workers were being reduced to beggary. American children were starving, freezing, dying by the hundreds of thousands, yes by the millions. Where were these great statesmen and patriots? Why had they failed to prepare for such a catastrophe? Why were these great

engineers suddenly paralyzed into impotence? Why were these great humanitarians indifferent to the misery of millions of their fellow-Americans?

These questions were in the minds of scores of millions of people. These questions became a dynamic force when hundreds of thousands massed in the streets to voice them. Those at whom they were directed realized that they were being indicted before the highest tribunal—an aroused and embittered people.

That is why leaders of government and business were thrown into a panic of consternation. That is why most of them, including J. P. Morgan (of the famous "block aid" plan), began to profess concern about the plight of the unemployed.

On March 6, 1930, the American people expressed through mass action an aroused discontent which they could not express through the ballot until nearly two years later. These and subsequent mass actions spelled the doom of Hoover's political career. Even some of the most hard-boiled big-business reactionaries were persuaded by the temper revealed through these actions that they must abandon Hoover, if not the policies he represented, in favor of someone less likely to arouse such deep resentment among the masses. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President and the development of the New Deal program of social legislation were the direct results of the struggle launched by the historic demonstrations of March 6, 1930.

*Reaction Renews Its Assault*

Within two years after Roosevelt took office, the economic royalists began to recover from their fright. They launched the Liberty League and the Economy League for the purpose of putting a halt to what they called the "communistic New Deal." By 1938, the big industrialists and bankers were practically unanimous in their opposition to the modest program of social reform by means of which Roosevelt was trying to save capitalism.

As long as the Government policy appeared to be directed toward the elimination of mass unemployment and mass distress, the people as a whole restrained their impatience and tolerated without severe criticism the inadequate relief and the slow progress toward recovery and a measure of security.

Big business and its political representatives chose to misread this attitude of the masses. They assumed or professed to believe that the masses were uncritical and in fact satisfied. This, they argued, was proof that the masses were being pampered, that, in effect, more was being spent on relief and more done toward social reform than was required to avoid a revival of the dangerous mood that had developed under Hoover. On this basis they endeavored with increasing success to reduce still further the meager relief and obstruct all progress toward putting into effect and carrying forward essential social legislation.

As long as Roosevelt could see no other way of saving capitalism, he insisted that a market must be

created for the goods that our economy can produce, by increasing the purchasing power of the "under-privileged one-third of our population that is ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad." This could be accomplished only through relief to the unemployed, higher wages for underpaid labor, and a higher income for the poverty-ridden farmer, and Government "lending and spending" substituted for idle private capital. This meant, too, that labor's bargaining power had to be enhanced by such measures as the Wagner Act and other extensions of civil liberties; that public housing and public health had to be developed to provide essential services withheld by private enterprise; that taxation should be based, in greater measure, on ability to pay; that aid be afforded to small business where its existence was threatened by monopoly.

This was the New Deal prescription for saving the capitalist system. Roosevelt treated the reactionary capitalists as a doctor might treat a fretful patient. He pleaded with them to take their medicine, for their own good. When they became too much agitated, he either reduced the dose or interrupted the treatment altogether.

The outbreak of the European war was like a godsend to Roosevelt. Here at last was the opportunity to save the capitalist system in the way it wants to be saved. American economy could be revived and activated on the basis of fat war orders. Here was a market for which profit-makers would be more than eager to produce. No need now to expand the market by in-

creasing the purchasing power of the American people. Big business ceased to be a fretful and resentful patient. Its confidence was restored as if by a miracle. "Doctor" Roosevelt was no longer a bogey-man. He became a cherished adviser and leader and an invaluable "public" servant.

For the capitalists it has sufficed that industry and business be able to reap high rates and a large volume of profits. That makes the economic system appear healthy and social conditions perfect. As to the masses? The capitalist theory is that "what helps business helps you." Capitalists are willing to accept the theory as fact and do not disturb themselves to check up and find out if things actually work out that way. In their anxiety to make the masses believe that high profits assure social well-being they even convince themselves.

To make sure that nothing disturbs their prosperity celebration, they have unloosed a tremendous flood of war propaganda. This had two purposes. First, to drum up appreciation of the noble war aims of the star customers, in order to foster a spirit of accommodation among the masses conducive to high profits and to preparing the people to be corralled into the war at the opportune moment. Secondly, the purpose of this propaganda barrage was to divert attention from embarrassing domestic issues so that all the modest social gains of the past seven years could be quietly ditched. Within a few weeks after the outbreak of the war, they perfected their propaganda and cleverly turned it more directly

against all the aspirations of the people, by concentrating their main attack against socialism, through vicious assaults upon the Soviet Union.

But though they may derive some comfort for a while by concealing a serious, fundamental disease, the capitalists and their spokesmen cannot actually eliminate it, by such means. On the contrary, by their attempts to disregard and suppress the fact that their cure and recovery have not overcome or even materially reduced the plague of mass unemployment, they help aggravate the disease as well as its effects.

It was precisely this complacency and callous indifference that most aroused the mass indignation, the resentment that expressed itself in the March 6, 1930, demonstrations, in all the unemployed struggles of the ensuing three years, and in the votes that swept the Hoover Administration out of Washington.

Even before Roosevelt carried through his retreat and final capitulation to reaction, there were signs of growing dissatisfaction with the slow progress toward recovery and reemployment. This was partially expressed in the 1938 elections when the Republicans and other reactionaries made advances, not because they won the vote of people fooled by their unprincipled demagoguery, but by default. Administration forces, in failing to display an intention to move forward more boldly, in merely campaigning on their record, failed to arouse sufficient enthusiasm to overcome the aggressive campaign conducted by the reactionaries.

The unemployed and the people generally want something more than grudging palliatives. They want a program to lift them out of the depression, out of hopeless poverty, out of interminable relief crises, out of endless joblessness, out of constant insecurity. This accounts for the broad support accorded the Townsend Plan, the Ham and Egg Plan, the Bigelow Plan, despite their recognized deficiencies. The Republicans showed that they sensed the attitude of the masses by pretending to favor such plans, by their demagogic appeals to the dissatisfaction with W.P.A. and other half-hearted New Deal relief and recovery measures.

Recent developments have changed and are further changing the attitude of the masses from one of restrained criticism to one of resentment. Faint hopes and doubts have been changed to positive disappointment. Confidence in Roosevelt and his leadership is converted into disillusionment and a sense of betrayal.

The end of the New Deal coincides with the end of a full decade of crisis and depression. The masses realize with profound shock that ten whole years have passed since the capitalist crisis robbed millions of the opportunity for gainful employment. All that they have suffered during these ten years, all that they have lost, the blighted lives, the broken homes, the stunted bodies of their children, the blasted hopes as a short-lived job came to an end, the heartbreaking humiliation of getting on relief and the misery of existence on the beggarly budget, this and much more

come to mind as they review the past ten years. And the end of the New Deal means to them that those who direct the affairs of the nation have not only displayed their impotence but are willing, if left alone, to permit all this and more to continue during the new decade.

This is the basis for the recurrence of the militant mood that prevailed during the early period of the crisis. This is the basis for the insistent demand arising from the ranks of labor that a determined attack be made on the unemployment problem. This is why such men as John L. Lewis and Philip Murray, who are close to the masses and sensitive to their moods, warn of "uprisings and strikes" unless those charged with the responsibility of government recognize the obligation to move toward a solution of mass unemployment.

This mood will in all likelihood find forms of expression different from those in the early 'thirties. But whatever its form, there can be no doubt of its essential character. Properly directed, it will have a profound political effect in this crucial political year.

#### *The Reorientation of the Unemployment Movement*

One of the immediate effects of the new political situation has been to induce a re-examination of the program and policies of the unemployment movement, especially of the principal organization of the unemployed—the Workers Alliance of America.

Of necessity, everything that relates to practical action around the problem of unemployment is tenta-

tive. Only the fundamental aims of the movement against unemployment are fixed. The program, policies and even organizational forms of the movement are subject to constant change as the conditions upon which they are dependent change. The composition of the unemployment movement is likewise subject to greater fluctuation and more frequent change than is true for any other organized movement.

In the early period of the crisis, it was possible to put great masses of unemployed into motion and rally large masses to support them, even though the organization itself was loose and weak. It was then primarily a movement of protest against conditions that shocked everyone and could be defended by no one. Nothing had been devised that could conceal the stark hunger and wretchedness occasioned by unemployment. Nor had there yet been devised anything that could cushion the shock that these conditions occasioned.

Every struggle and every incident dramatized the situation, agitated the masses, and increased the uneasiness that prevailed in the ruling circles. The latter factor induced slight concessions which in the circumstances constituted important victories and encouraged further struggles. During this period, the unemployed movement was broad but loose. It was like the old-fashioned "bucket-brigade." Everybody joined in when there was a fire (in this case an eviction or similar incident), and all were demobilized when it was over.

When organized public relief was instituted, the unemployed move-

ment had to make many changes in its program, structure, and activities. Since the form of relief was impermanent, varying from place to place and subject to frequent alterations, it was necessary for the unemployed organizations to vary and frequently revise their program and activities.

With the establishment of the W.P.A. in 1935, it was possible to stabilize at least one important section of the unemployed movement on an organizational basis similar to that of a trade union. Naturally, this tended to influence the character of the entire movement. Five years is a long time for a movement that is only about ten years old. The past five years, during which the unemployed movement operated to a considerable extent as a trade union of W.P.A. workers, have served to fix the character of this movement as similar in many important respects to a trade or industrial union.

During this period, too, the New Deal program became the unifying force for a broad but loose political coalition of all progressive people's organizations and movements. The unemployed movement found itself part of this coalition together with the entire progressive labor movement and the Roosevelt Administration. Its relationship to the Administration changed from one of outspoken opposition to that of a critical ally, fighting together against a common, reactionary opponent. This circumstance helped to influence the basic policies of the unemployed movement.

It was essentially correct that the unemployed movement should

concentrate and make its main base among the masses on the Federal Works Projects. These were the most decisive elements among the unemployed, those most organized and most able to maintain an organization. Manifestly it was therefore necessary and proper that the unemployed organization develop the capacity to represent W.P.A. workers in relations with the Administration and the supervision of the Works Program, in much the same manner that unions represent their members before their employers.

It was likewise essential that the unemployed movement should be part of the broad political coalition fighting for progressive social legislation, against the reactionaries. The unemployed movement could not possibly have served its purpose or retained support among the masses of unemployed if it had failed to identify itself with and support the New Deal and the movement around it.

Yet, as was probably inevitable in the circumstances, the positive results were accompanied by very serious negative effects. Some of them were the unavoidable consequences of necessary policies, others were due to mistakes incidental to the carrying out of very difficult policies and tactics. Let us consider a few of the more basic of these.

Due to its limited forces, leadership and resources, the movement, while functioning largely as a union of W.P.A. workers, was unable to provide adequate leadership for the general struggle against unemployment. It became lost in details involving grievances of W.P.A. work-

ers, failing to give sufficient attention to the problems of those unemployed who were unable to get on the W.P.A., although these were the vast majority. It thus became dependent for its organized existence upon the continuation of the W.P.A. As the reactionaries succeeded in curtailing W.P.A., the basis for the organization became more and more narrowed, and its ability to serve the unemployed was thus reduced at the very time when the unemployed had greatest need for a strong organization.

This condition made itself felt in a nearly disastrous decline of the organization when the reactionaries in Congress not only slashed the appropriation for W.P.A. so that it would provide an average of only two million jobs, but imposed provisions that required the discharge of all workers who had been on the Program eighteen months or more. Within a few months nearly every member of the Workers Alliance was thereby removed from the Works Program. A large proportion of the membership was lost because of the impression that the organization was a union of W.P.A. workers, and because in many places it actually did not understand how to be of help to any but W.P.A. workers.

Failing to deal with the basic causes of unemployment and to find a way to represent and express the unemployed in general, the organization neglected one of its prime functions—mass agitation and educational work. This aggravated the problem of membership fluctuation, since workers joined in many or most cases only when they had a

personal, immediate grievance and left as soon as this had been attended to. The result was that in many places the organization was not even a union, but appeared to be a sort of social service agency, maintained by a small nucleus of devoted members who were regarded as specialists in adjusting grievances.

More serious was the fact that the unemployed movement has during recent years been without a fundamental program of its own. In the early years of the crisis, the movement was directed toward promotion of the Workers' Social Insurance Bill. This measure was the unifying element of the unemployed movement. It provided a basis for sustained struggle, a means of bringing and holding masses in the movement. It served also as a link with the labor unions, and a means of promoting unity of employed and unemployed.

After the Social Security Act was enacted, the campaign for genuine social insurance as previously conducted was discontinued. Where the problem received any attention at all, it was in the form of modest efforts to amend the state social insurance laws in line with some of the minimum provisions of the Workers' Bill.

While the movement had greatly improved its practical legislative activity, it restricted itself almost entirely to immediate legislative issues, such as W.P.A. appropriation bills. Here it had no possibility of presenting any position which would fundamentally distinguish it from the position of those who treat the whole problem of unemploy-

ment as an emergency. The differences were only over relatively minor details or over amounts. If it excelled at all, it was in offering better prepared statements or more accurate facts. It did not, however, press the indictment against unemployment, nor challenge those responsible to produce a program that would lead to a solution.

The result of all this, together with the necessary political association with the Administration forces making up part of the New Deal coalition, was to cause confusion in the minds of many unemployed. Many felt that no serious mass action or effort was required, since the power and influence of the President would assure achievement of the main objectives set forth by both the Administration and the unemployed movement. Such campaigns as were conducted were of short duration. They were timed to coincide with consideration by Congress of immediate legislation. Since Congress provided little advance notice, and concluded its action within a short time, it was hard to launch, much less prepare, a campaign before it had to be terminated. These campaigns served only to exhaust the movement. They produced little apparent result in terms of direct benefits; they produced none of the enthusiasm and exhilaration that come from the realization that a successful mobilization had been achieved; and they had little educational value.

The unemployed movement has therefore been or appeared to be on the defensive at all times during the past several years. It appeared

to lack independence and self-reliance. Since the relief program has been steadily deteriorating both for lack of improvement and because reactionaries constantly whittled away its best features and introduced more onerous provisions, the movement appeared to achieve few gains by its independent effort or initiative and to sustain numerous defeats.

Because of lack of an independent fundamental program, because of preoccupation with minor details and grievances, because of lack of effective mass agitation, little successful mass action was developed. There were even some who considered that the movement deliberately and as a matter of policy sought to discourage mass action. Clumsy application and distorted interpretation of the policy of cooperation in making the Works Program creditable and successful even led in some instances to the impression that the movement was a sort of "company union" for the Administration. In any case these circumstances led to an identification of the unemployed movement with the Administration program. The unemployed organization was therefore considered by some unemployed to be partly responsible for the deficiencies of this program.

One further important result of these mistakes and shortcomings was that the organized unemployed movement was not adequately prepared to withstand the attacks directed against it by the reactionaries. Because it confined itself to immediate, partial demands, and conducted little or no educational work, its ties with the masses of

unemployed were as tentative as its program. Only a relatively small proportion of members and followers were interested in the organization itself and in its fundamental aims. These were in the main the most politically advanced and class-conscious among the unemployed, above all the Communists. It was not made clear to the unemployed that the red-baiting campaign directed against the Workers Alliance as against every section of the labor and progressive movement was an attack upon them and upon their basic interests. At most it was allowed to appear as merely part of the reactionary strategy for putting across their immediate legislative program. When the fight against the passage of this program (the Woodrum Bill) was over, the unemployed organizations made some effort to maintain a fight against the vicious provisions of this program. But no counter-attack was developed against the red-baiting attacks. It is significant that the one exception to this, the California unemployed organization that did conduct a campaign to expose the purpose of the red-baiting attack, was the only organization that suffered no decline and in fact grew very considerably during this period.

This serious mistake, which was also very costly, is due to the general weakness of educational work in the unemployed movement. This does not refer to formal educational work alone, but rather to failure to develop all mass campaigns on a basis and in a manner that would have served to promote understanding among the masses of unem-

ployed of the basic factors that operate in the struggle against unemployment.

It is in this sense, too, that the unemployed movement has been on the defensive. Not alone because it was merely fighting to retain what it had already won, but because in these struggles, a defensive, almost apologetic attitude was displayed. The immediate interests of the unemployed could have been more effectively defended by a counter-attack which would have laid the basis for a further advance.

*The Immediate Program of  
the Unemployed*

These mistakes and shortcomings are being recognized by the organized unemployed movement as it re-examines its experiences, its program, and its policies in the light of the new conditions. There are already many indications that a serious beginning is being made to overcome these and other weaknesses. Most important of these improvements are the program and policies adopted at the recent meeting of the National Executive Board of the Workers Alliance.

These decisions reflect the militant mood of the unemployed; their rapid disillusionment as they recognize that Roosevelt and the New Deal are no longer synonymous; the determination to develop and pursue an independent program and give leadership in the struggle against mass unemployment. They recognize too the need for drastic changes in the policies, tactics and organizational practices and forms which will equip the unemployed movement for its new tasks.

Most important of the decisions made in these recent meetings are the immediate and basic programs adopted. These provide valuable instruments for the entire labor and progressive movement in the struggle to better the immediate conditions of the unemployed and to promote economic security for the American masses.

The immediate program flows from a realization that W.P.A. has deteriorated to a point which makes it wholly inadequate and unacceptable as the major form of Federal relief. Although launched as a first step towards a sound policy of treating with unemployment by providing useful work with at least minimum subsistence wages, instead of starvation relief doles, W.P.A. has failed to go forward. On the contrary, it has steadily and systematically deteriorated. All of the worst and most unsatisfactory features of the W.P.A. have been maintained and aggravated. Few of the improvements promised have materialized. Through successive amendment by the reactionaries in Congress, the W.P.A. has been converted from a progressive beginning to a reactionary Garner-Woodrum program. It already has many of the elements of a forced labor program, and unless militant action prevents it, this is what it may soon become.

It should be remembered that when the W.P.A. was launched Roosevelt exacted a price. In consideration for providing this Works Program, he asked that the Federal Government be exempted from the obligation to provide direct unemployment relief. Although no one au-

thorized to represent the unemployed agreed, Roosevelt acted as though the bargain were voluntarily consummated. He declared: "The Government must and will quit this business of relief." He said that the Federal Government would provide work for unemployed "employables" and that states and local communities must take care of the "unemployables."

In practice, however, the Federal Government carried out only that part of the bargain which permitted it to deny direct relief. Never during the nearly five years since W.P.A. was established were W.P.A. jobs provided for more than about three and a half millions of the ten to fifteen millions who have been unemployed during these years. Each year the appropriation for W.P.A. was slashed, first in the budget proposals of the President and then still further in the amounts voted by Congress. The current fiscal program provides for an average of only two million jobs, although there are ten to eleven millions unemployed. The infamous war-and-hunger budget presented by Roosevelt to the present session of Congress proposes further cuts for the coming fiscal year that will reduce the number of jobs to 1,350,000. If Congress fails to increase the appropriation, this means that by next September the W.P.A. program will provide only 1,100,000 jobs. In other words, exactly 50 per cent of the 2,250,000 workers at present employed on W.P.A. will be fired by September 1 of this year.

Meanwhile, when such scandalous relief crises as recently oc-

curred in Ohio are brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, he merely shrugs his shoulders and explains that these are problems for the states and local communities. But the fact is that the Federal Government has contributed a large share to the relief crisis that is developing in every state, because it has failed to provide W.P.A. jobs for the employable unemployed as it had promised. As a result, state and local relief agencies are overtaxed and all the unemployed suffer.

To meet this situation, the Workers Alliance's immediate program calls for the establishment of a Federal Unemployment Assistance Fund. Under this provision, the Federal Government would be required to grant funds to the states and help provide relief for any unemployed who cannot be afforded employment on a public works program. The arbitrary declaration that "the Government must and will quit this business of relief" must be challenged. The Federal Work Program must serve as a means of affording employment at decent wages to workers whom industry refuses to employ. It must not remain, as it has been in the recent period, a convenient alibi for failure to relieve suffering among the unemployed.

W.P.A. has failed in a number of other important respects. Originally established, as were all relief measures, as a "temporary," "emergency" measure, it provided monthly wages which were admittedly insufficient if families were required to subsist on them for an extended period. These wages were defended

at the time on the grounds that the program was temporary, that the wages were an "emergency, security wage."

Security meant that workers would be assured the full amount of the established wage each month. Later, however, when organized labor and the unemployed succeeded in their fight to establish prevailing hourly rates of wages on the W.P.A., the Administration recalled the "security wage." It then argued that workers should be paid only for the number of hours actually worked. This meant that if a project failed to operate due to bad weather or other cause, workers would lose their pay. It meant that the families of workers would have less income than even the subsistence minimum which had been fixed on W.P.A.

Wages on W.P.A. have always been so low that in many places workers with large families had to get "supplementation" from local relief agencies to make up the amount set by relief agencies as the minimum relief budget. Yet the unemployed have been eager to work rather than live on a dole. They therefore accepted W.P.A. jobs in place of relief, even though it meant additional expense for carfare, for meals out, for clothing, etc.

Now, under the Woodrum Act, W.P.A. workers have lost prevailing hourly wage rates. They are required to work 130 hours a month for their scheduled wage. But the monthly security wage has not been restored. W.P.A. workers no longer have time to pick up occasional odd jobs to supplement their W.P.A. earnings. They have no time to seek

private employment. They must spend carfare of three to four dollars out of their monthly earnings. They often report for work only to be told that the project will not operate that day; in bad season with long cold or rain spells this may mean many days and even weeks. W.P.A. figures show that these losses average more than 6 per cent, or over three dollars per month from a fifty-dollar monthly wage. Thus, many workers find themselves with less income after working on W.P.A. than they could derive from direct relief.

In other ways, W.P.A. provides even less security than direct relief, bad as this is. Congress enacted the so-called eighteen-month clause, which compels the arbitrary discharge of any worker who has been employed on W.P.A. during eighteen continuous months. The Administration has gone the reactionaries in Congress one better. Workers are now discharged whenever the project on which they have been working is completed. A worker who has been on relief may thus find himself discharged after working only a few weeks or months on a W.P.A. job. Then he must begin again the heart-breaking job of getting his family back on the relief rolls. This may take him more weeks than he worked on W.P.A. It means drastic cuts in the miserable income of the unemployed. It very often means actual starvation for weeks on end.

An enumeration of all the inadequacies and onerous features of the W.P.A. would require much more space than can be devoted here. Many of these have been described before. W.P.A. workers are all too

familiar with them. These intolerable features account for the extreme dissatisfaction prevailing among the unemployed and in the labor movement generally after nearly five years' experience with this program.

The immediate program of the Workers Alliance is designed to provide a sound public works program to substitute for W.P.A. It is predicated on the proposition that the Government must assure the right and opportunity to work to all willing workers. It therefore eliminates all relief requirements and "need tests" and makes the sole test of eligibility that a person shall be willing and able to work but unable to secure employment. Preference is, however, to be given to those without other source of personal income.

For the first year, it is proposed that at least three million jobs be provided. Thereafter jobs are to be made available for at least 50 per cent of the number determined as unemployed in the 1940 census.

Prevailing wages are to be paid for a thirty-hour week or as many hours as are required to earn the monthly wage fixed. The basis of fixing wages is to be an average of \$70 for the entire country and all occupations. This will make for a 30 per cent increase over the present W.P.A. average wage, which is \$50.

Housing and other necessary construction, cultural and health projects, training and retraining projects for youth and workers eliminated from obsolete industries, as well as the best of other projects heretofore operated by W.P.A., are included. Provisions are also made

to assure the right to organize and protect workers against all manner of abuse and discrimination.

This program, which has been designated as the "American Work and Assistance Standards Act," will afford the basis for a campaign that can rally all those who realize that President Roosevelt's budget message represents complete surrender to the policy of ruthless economy in social expenditures and wild extravagance in expenditures for armaments. It does not mean that a struggle will be directed against the W.P.A. The unemployed have no intention of giving up W.P.A., unsatisfactory as it is, until something better is provided in its place. But it does mean that the campaign will serve, regardless of its immediate outcome, to advance toward a program that more nearly meets the urgent needs that exist after ten years of unemployment.

#### *A Program for Minimum Economic Security*

Of even greater importance, not only to the unemployed movement, but for the entire American people, is the basic program that is being developed by the Workers Alliance.

This program contemplates the enactment by Congress of a law that declares it to be the purpose and obligation of the Federal Government to provide: (1) the right to work; (2) a guaranteed minimum income; and (3) an increasing share of the national income.

The minimum family income is set at \$20 per week, or \$1,000 per year, for the average family of three. The basic minimum for single persons, or for the head of a

family, is fixed at \$15, and \$2.50 per week is set as the additional amount for each additional member of a family.

It is a striking commentary on our economic system that this modest minimum would nevertheless represent a substantial increase in the income of thirteen million families and some five million single persons. A total of 18,358,899 American families and single persons now subsist on an annual average income of \$750. Of this number 6,710,911 have an income of less than \$500 per year.

The first result of action to assure that all such families and persons receive a minimum of \$1,000 per year will be a substantial increase in the standard of living of this one-third of our people. The further result would be a tremendous increase in total purchasing power, with a consequent increase in employment. This coincides with labor's demand that there be not only an increase in the total national income but also in the share that goes to the working people.

Under this program, all families with an income of less than the minimum, whether because of unemployment, or in private employment, self-employment, or because of old-age or disability, would be entitled to supplementation from Federal funds in the amount required to assure the minimum.

This supplementation would be in the form of "Prosperity Stamps" similar to the "Food Stamps" now used for distribution of surplus commodities. These stamps would, however, be legal tender for all goods and services and would be re-

deemed in cash after cancellation through purchase, on presentation to a bank of the Federal Reserve system or Post Office. Those whose entire income comes from this source would be entitled to not less than 25 per cent in cash.

According to this program, the "right to work" would be assured by the Federal Government through a sound public works program which would provide not less than four million jobs at prevailing union wage rates; the minimum income would constitute the minimum wage on such a program.

Persons registering under this program would, if qualified, be either afforded private employment, employment on the public works program, or direct grants. The responsibility would rest with the Government, if no work could be provided.

As a further means of reducing unemployment, the measure proposes a thirty-hour week in all industry. This corresponds with labor's demand for an increasing share in the benefits of technological advance.

Provision is also made for government loans and grants to production-for-use cooperatives so that additional employment may be provided. The Works Program would also be authorized to operate projects to supply goods and services that private enterprise proves unwilling or unable to supply.

The third object of this program, to assure an increasing share in the national income, is provided for by requiring an increase in the amount of the fixed minimum in proportion to the increase of the annual na-

tional income. Thus, if the national income is increased by 15 per cent over the preceding year, the minimum family income is similarly increased.

As a means of financing this program and at the same time inducing employment of idle capital, the program proposes steeply graduated increases in taxes on corporation and personal profits and income, on unused corporation surplus, on inheritances, gifts, transfers and on Government bonds and securities which are now tax-exempt. All indirect taxes and sales taxes that fall on the consumer and payroll taxes such as provided through the present social security laws are repealed under this program.

For purposes of control and enforcement, Federal licensing is required for all corporations and large enterprises. Those not licensed would be forbidden to engage in any form of interstate commerce.

It is claimed for this plan that it is economically sounder and therefore more realizable than the various plans around which mass movements have been rallied during the past ten years. It doubtless incorporates many of the essential provisions of a sound program to promote a greater measure of economic security.

It places the responsibility of assuring a minimum income to all American families where it properly belongs, upon the Federal Government. It presses the legitimate demand for a minimum of economic security to all families and single persons, including minimum old-age and disability benefits. It demands that Government shall im-

plement "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and include among these inalienable rights the right to work.

At the same time it incorporates the demand raised, but not sufficiently pressed by organized labor, for the establishment of a thirty-hour work-week.

As against the various schemes whereby those least able are forced to pay for the cost of social security, through sales, transaction and payroll taxes, this plan proposes the only sound and correct means—taxing large incomes and accumulations of wealth. It thereby proposes to convert idle wealth into necessary purchasing power that can produce employment and a greater utilization of America's tremendous resources and productive capacities.

There can be no doubt that if put in operation such a plan could result in substantial reductions in the number of unemployed. And this would, of course, open up opportunities for useful employment to the youth that now finds itself without a chance to work. Farmers and small business and professional people would likewise be benefited by the increased purchasing power such a plan would provide.

The argument may be raised that such a plan would involve a prohibitive cost. Actually, however, it would add only about seven or eight billion dollars to the present expenditures of the Government. It has the merit, too, that cannot be claimed for other activities on which the Government now spends billions of dollars, that it actually serves to reduce unemployment and

permits of fuller utilization of natural wealth and resources even while it raises the standard of living of the American people.

Furthermore, in the very process of operation, the cost of such a plan would be considerably reduced. As more workers are re-employed, as wages in private industry are increased, less would be expended on total grants and for supplementation. As the total national income and thus revenue from taxes are increased, the revenue of the Federal Government would likewise be substantially increased.

It is not necessary for the purpose of the present discussion to deal with the limitations of this as of every plan that strikes against the conditions created by capitalism without eliminating capitalism itself. If the sponsors and supporters of this plan were to make the claim that it offers a solution to all the contradictions and evils of capitalism, such a discussion would doubtless be necessary.

But in so far as the plan is designed to express the growing demand of the American people for a greater measure of economic and social security and promote the objectives and aspirations of the masses who have supported such movements as developed around the Townsend Plan, Ham and Eggs, Epic, and the Share-the-Wealth plan, it makes a worth-while contribution. It is not only free of such fallacies as the attempt to finance social security by means of transaction and payroll taxes, but it serves also to integrate the movement for social security with the movement of organized labor and

the organized unemployed for immediate improvements in their economic conditions.

There is every possibility that a movement can be developed around the provisions of this plan that can exceed in its mass proportions the movement developed in the early years of the crisis around the Workers' Social Insurance Bill. Such a movement, when led by responsible leaders of labor, is bound to play a progressive role in winning immediate improvements and in advancing the basic aims of workers, unemployed, farmers, and small business and professional people.

#### *Towards New Independent Mass Struggles*

The Workers Alliance is initiating a broad discussion of this plan. From suggestions that will come out of such mass discussions, the various provisions of this program will be improved, before the plan is made final into a legislative draft. Formal presentation of the plan will take place in connection with nationwide demonstrations being organized for March 23.

This date has been designated as "National End Unemployment Day." It is designed as an occasion for vigorous expression of the insistent demand for an end to unemployment. It will serve as a mobilization in support of the immediate national and local demands of the unemployed and of labor for more adequate Federal, state and local relief. Since the war-and-hunger budget presented by Roosevelt represents callous disregard for the immediate needs of the unemployed, the demonstrations of

March 23 will undoubtedly take the form also of a challenge to this budget.

For all these reasons, National End Unemployment Day may be expected to mark an important turn in the movement and struggle against unemployment. In many cities, these demonstrations are being sponsored by broad conferences and committees representing the unions, progressive civic organizations and groups, as well as by the unemployed. Despite the fact that little time is afforded for preparations, these demonstrations will reflect the new mood for struggle that is developing among the masses at this time.

The program and activities developed by the Workers Alliance on the basis of a re-evaluation of the experience gained in ten years of struggle against unemployment will do much to overcome the effects of the blows to which the unemployed were subjected during the past year. By this means the Workers Alliance and the progressive forces in the labor movement generally will have better equipped themselves for the greater efforts and struggles that the present situation requires.

It is now recognized that the recent decline of the organized unemployed movement was not due to any unwillingness of the unemployed to organize and fight. It is, rather, that the organization of the unemployed failed to check quickly enough some of its serious mistakes and shortcomings, because of which it failed to give adequate expression to the needs and desires of the unemployed.

Along with its improved program, the Workers Alliance has taken steps to put into effect improvements in its policies, organizational forms and methods of work. These will be primarily designed to put masses in motion rather than depend upon the ability to convince Congress by the merit of argument. The policy will be to develop sustained struggle instead of sporadic campaigns based on immediate legislation. Instead of trying to persuade the Administration to make some modest concessions as a means of retaining the good will of the unemployed, efforts must now be directed to make clear that the masses will not tolerate half-hearted, grudging palliatives that lead to no real improvement in the living standards of the millions of unemployed and the many millions more constantly living in fear of unemployment.

The Workers Alliance has already made known in a resolution drafted by its national president, David Lasser, that it does not consider itself bound by decisions and policies adopted when the Roosevelt Administration was part of a democratic front against reaction. This reflects the trend among the unemployed to join with labor and other progressive forces in independent political action against the new political alignment of reaction which Roosevelt has formed as part of his drive towards war.

All of this must be translated into militant mass action and struggle in every community, city and state. Wherever the unemployed organization allowed itself to become dependent upon the help of liberal

bourgeois allies to the point of losing or weakening its independent role, it must now quickly return to a base of greater self-reliance. Wherever it has operated as though it were a union in a permanent industry, it must now reorganize itself on a basis that recognizes the impermanence and shifting character of whatever relief program exists. It must instead base itself on the need for struggle against the permanent condition of mass unemployment as well as on the constant needs of all the unemployed.

The Communists, who have played such an important role, as the first to launch the struggle against unemployment, as the initiators of the effort to organize the unemployed and the most dependable forces within that movement, now have the responsibility of contributing to a greater extent than ever toward the effort of the unemployed to meet their present difficult tasks.

Manifestly, the unemployed organizations cannot be and have not been "Communist organizations" as charged by the reactionaries. These organizations must be broad and inclusive of all those who want to unite for effective struggle against unemployment, regardless of their political views.

But, ten years of experience in countless struggles have proved the indispensable role of the Communists and the Communist Party in the effort to safeguard and promote the interests of the unemployed. The many anti-Communist "unemployed" organizations that have come and gone during this time prove how impossible it is for a serious and effective organization to

be built without the help of the most advanced workers, who make the struggle for the immediate needs of the unemployed an integral part of the struggle for socialism, which alone can bring an end to the misery and dread of mass unemployment.

That is why those who fear the power of a well-organized movement of the unemployed have directed their sharpest fire against the Communists within the unemployed movement. That is why every enemy of the unemployed has made red-baiting one of the chief means of disrupting the organizations of the unemployed. And that is why every serious, responsible leader of the unemployed, regardless of personal political views, has refused to join in the effort to exclude Communists from the organizations of the unemployed.

Responsible leaders of the unemployed have learned from the experience of the struggles not only that red-baiting cannot be condoned, but that it must be vigorously combated. This is and has always been the basis for the harmonious collaboration between Communists and non-Communists in the leadership of the unemployed movement.

The contributions of the Communist Party in the struggle against unemployment have won the respect of hundreds of thousands of non-Communists within the ranks of the unemployed organizations. Many thousands of the present members of the Communist Party came to our Party as a result of their experience with the work of Communists in the unemployed

movement and struggle. These Communists, wherever they may now find themselves, whether in industry or among the jobless, whether in unions or in unemployed organizations, can and will continue to help in the effort to organize those whom capitalism makes jobless, for the struggle to end unemployment.

The futility and impotence displayed by those charged with re-

sponsibility for the welfare of the American people have produced resentment, but not dismay. The people are again taking matters into their own competent hands. With the rich experience and added strength acquired during the struggles of the past ten years, they face the future with confidence in the power of their own independent action.

#### CHARLES EMIL RUTHENBERG

On March 2, 1927, Charles Emil Ruthenberg, foremost founder and leader of the C.P.U.S.A., died in the prime of his life and at the height of his great strength and service to the working class of the United States.

We remember this giant of our class and our Party, and regret his loss the more poignantly for the fact that he was, first and best of all, a courageous fighter against imperialist war, as all Communists and all true leaders of the workers must be. His example looms bigger now than ever, and becomes more vital at this moment of the second imperialist war.

In the April issue of *The Communist* will appear an article on "Charles Emil Ruthenberg—Fighter Against Imperialist War," by Oakley Johnson.—*Editor*.

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## GREATER ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO MASSES!

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL  
COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A., FEBRUARY 19, 1940

BY PAT TOOHEY

COMRADE BROWDER in his report made a serious estimate of the present status and activity of the mass movement of the Negro people and the work of the Communist Party among them. While noting a forward movement toward independent action by the Negro masses, Comrade Browder was compelled to register a certain decline, a sagging in Communist work among the Negro masses. Such slipping back on our part can only result in a certain decline in the vitality of the whole movement. For, the one is interdependent with the other.

I think it is fully in the spirit of the remarks of Comrade Browder for me to say that our National Committee is disturbed and dissatisfied with this situation, and deems it necessary to stress the need for immediate attention to remedy it.

A continuation of such a condition carries grave consequences for the whole of the American people, for the struggle against

the imperialist war, for jobs, for civil liberties, for the anti-imperialist people's front.

The imperialist war is already six months old. Day by day the danger increases of the United States being dragged into the catastrophe by the reactionary concentration of Roosevelt and the Wall Street monopolists. Every artifice is being employed to entrap the Negro people into supporting the imperialist war, to keep them from joining the anti-war struggle, to keep them divided among themselves and sundered from the labor and progressive movement. At such a time there is lacking a nationally organized, centrally directed campaign among the Negro people against the imperialist war. The Negro masses are in the main opposed to the war. They belong in the anti-war front of the American people which is now taking shape and solidifying itself. It is the responsibility of the labor and progressive movement, and the task of our comrades and Party organiza-

tions, to bring the Negro people into the anti-war front.

It now becomes necessary for all Party organizations to place upon their agenda, and in collaboration with the labor and progressive movement generally, take up anew the whole struggle for the rights of the Negro people; to map out and systematically carry through a joint program in defense of the fundamental interests of the Negro people; to strive for and achieve a greater white and Negro unity and to find the most effective forms of struggle against the war, for jobs and civil rights; to render most concrete support in strengthening and consolidating the progressive organizations of the Negro people, and primarily the National Negro Congress; to display greater political vigilance in raising and in helping to solve the many complex problems facing the Negro mass movement; and to combine the struggle for equal rights and national liberation with the forging of a wide anti-war, anti-imperialist people's front of the white and Negro American people.

I wish to discuss only certain aspects of this task.

#### *The Negro People and the War*

The anti-imperialist front against war, for jobs and civil liberties would be poor indeed unless it included a powerful sector embracing the Negro people.

Thus, the first concrete task is that of finding the most effective forms for mobilizing the Negro people against the war, to combat the flood of pro-war propaganda, to unite the Negro people's movement

against the war and seek to effect a close collaboration of this movement with the general people's movement against the imperialist war.

The Negro people generally are opposed to the war. However, this opposition is not clear and there is to be found considerable confusion. Nevertheless, they have given repeated expressions to their opposition to the war, to a deep desire to keep the country out of it. They have not been swept off their feet by the Hoover campaign to give aid to Butcher Mannerheim. Of the whole population, I think, the Negro people have manifested the most general opposition to aiding White Guard Finland. Expressive of this attitude are a large number of editorials in the Negro press opposing the proposed loans and contrasting the proposal with the treatment given to Ethiopia.

The deep-seated anti-war feeling is reflected in a whole series of smaller newspapers, and by one large paper, the *Chicago Defender*. But so far this sentiment for peace has not been given an organized character, nor has it been sufficiently articulate, except here and there.

This is undoubtedly due to the weakness of the broad national Negro people's organizations which at the present time have not the ability to give national guidance to the anti-war sentiments. This is so especially with the National Negro Congress, which has a correct attitude to the war but has far too little organization below, in the communities and cities, to act as an effective organizing and leading

force in uniting and guiding the anti-war sentiment into correct channels. In those localities where local organizations do exist and function, their activities are not of a specific and concrete character. Consequently they fail to serve as organizers of the sentiments against the war.

I think the problem is clear: it is necessary to build and strengthen the national, state and local form of united organization; to undertake most concrete methods of organization and struggle in the communities and neighborhoods on the basis of issues that are of especial meaning to the Negro people themselves.

That is why it is fundamentally necessary to extend the greatest assistance to building the National Negro Congress as the broad expression of anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle on a local, state and national scale. That is why it is necessary to speak to the Negro people about the war on the basis of their tragic experiences in the last war; to prove that the war will not bring jobs and prosperity but tragedy and death and greater oppression; to destroy the legend of the "anti-fascist" and "democratic" and "freedom for small peoples" character of the imperialist war waged by British, French and German imperialism; to organize and unite the existing sentiment against war; to combat the demoralizing propaganda of enemy ideologists and the activity of the pro-war forces now working among the Negro people.

This can be started by helping to strengthen and build the progressive and anti-war organizations of

the Negro people; by helping to assure the success of the coming Third National Negro Congress in Washington on April 26-28; by helping to draw into the Congress the trade unions, civic, church, fraternal and community white and Negro organizations; by helping to build locally the National Negro Congress through stimulating and encouraging the greatest united activity on a local scale around the specific issues affecting the Negro people and the multitude of common issues affecting all white and Negro people.

The pro-war forces realize the importance of the Negro people. They are exercising diligent efforts to confuse, divide and mislead them. The pro-war, pro-Anglo-French forces, aided loyally by the despicable Lovestoneites and Trotskyites who operate through certain circles of the Negro petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, are attempting to exert a definite pro-war influence upon the Negro people, their organizations and leaders. One must admit that this pro-war activity has not been without certain effect. Many of the large Negro newspapers are echoing the pro-Allied propaganda and publishing the anti-Soviet and pro-war propaganda of the big capitalist press and news associations.

Mr. William Pickens would have the Negro people support the British and French colonial oppressors in their fight "against Hitlerism." He says they are the lesser of two evils. And incidentally this theory of the "lesser evil" is somewhat prevalent among certain Negro leaders who have failed to discern the

real character of the present imperialist war. And Mr. Roy Wilkins expresses disappointment at the "betrayal" of the Soviet Union and feels that the Negro people have been gypped something awful because the U.S.S.R. refuses to be a pawn in imperialist conflicts.

Hence, the struggle against imperialist war must be on the basis of combating all such confused attitudes by militantly struggling against all pro-war influences, ideologies and propaganda aiming to lead the Negro people to doom.

Hence, it is necessary to strive for an inner unity of the Negro people's movement, to unite and lead it in the struggle for peace, for jobs, for civil rights, in collaboration with the general front of the American people against imperialist war.

The American people's day of struggle against imperialist war, April 6, the declaration of the National Negro Congress, the position of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, provide splendid opportunities for the undertaking of real anti-war activity among the Negro people.

### *Negro and White Unity Being Forged*

What are the prospects for a greater white and Negro unity? What forces have emerged to make this the broadest unity ever achieved? What perspectives appear to encourage the belief that an anti-imperialist front of the Negro people is entirely possible?

All of the conditions are present for the Negro people to unite and to advance together with the whole

labor and progressive movement along the path of united action, of independent political action, of unity in the struggle against war and for progressive domestic policies.

Wherever we look we can see significant new developments in this respect. The struggle for Negro rights is not a movement of the Negro people alone but is involving new and powerful forces. Consider the big and growing movement in the South for the right to vote, which includes both Negro and white organizations. Consider also the impressive list of Southern organizations, in which white Southern women are quite prominent, among those forces which today are actively supporting the Anti-Lynching Bill. Also consider the trade union support being given to the Anti-Lynching Bill, especially by the C.I.O. Of tremendous importance is the conference in Washington, reported in today's newspapers, to plan support for the Anti-Poll Tax Bill introduced by Representative Geyer. There we find Paul Scharrenberg, Legislative Representative of the A. F. of L., Lee Pressman, counsel of the C.I.O., Gardner Jackson of Labor's Non-Partisan League, representatives of Negro organizations, of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and others.

A truly historic development has been the growing awareness of the need of Negro and white unity by the trade union movement, especially as expressed by John L. Lewis. Only last week, in an interview with the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Lewis declared:

"I am sure that you will agree with me when I say that Negroes as a group have made far more progress since the formation of the C.I.O. than at any time before. This has been because of the uncompromising stand which the C.I.O. has taken against any form of racial prejudice or racial discrimination. This is not, in my opinion, a special privilege to be given to the Negroes. It is rather that we believe in treating everyone in the same way because we all have the same problems. No group of workers can succeed if it leaves its fellow workers behind. We have adopted this uncompromising attitude toward racial discrimination because we know that it is the only way to deal with the problem which concerns us all."

Yes, comrades, large and influential forces which encourage a greater white and Negro unity have emerged, have demonstrated their readiness to struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Yes, there are emerging the forces for a powerful anti-war, anti-imperialist unity of the white and Negro people. With good work such forces will expand, and will undertake united struggles as never before known. The task is to encourage, help and speed this most significant development by intensified activity in the trade unions, in the people's mass organizations, everywhere.

#### *Issues Around Which to Rally*

Now, are there issues of struggle and the elements of a program to forge this anti-imperialist unity of the Negro people? Does there exist an actual basis for the building of

a real and enduring unity of white and Negro people through joint action for common democratic objectives? Can we consider as realizable the appearance of a united Negro people's movement for peace, jobs and civil liberties, a strong section of the anti-imperialist front of the American people as a whole?

Yes, comrades. There are such issues. There are very definite elements of such a program. And the perspective for its realization is opened. The issues abound in every city, in every community where Negro people live.

The main thing lacking in the broad mass movement, it appears, is a correct political understanding of the role of the Negro liberation struggle today, in the conditions of imperialist war; and the absence of systematic and persistent attention to remedy the present organizational laxness.

Upon what basis should such a movement be constructed? On the basis of a program which defends the fundamental interests and needs of the Negro people.

First, are the conditions of the Negro masses which have become greatly aggravated since the outbreak of the war. The present attacks upon the American people are being felt even more sharply by the doubly-oppressed Negro masses. All advances made under the New Deal before Roosevelt deserted its objectives are now threatened with utter destruction.

Consider merely the problem of jobs and relief. As a result of the Woodrum Amendment 257,000 Negro workers were laid off W.P.A. and thrown again into the ranks of

the fully unemployed. Now, as a result of the Roosevelt war-and-hunger budget, another 75,000 will be laid off. And relief for the Negro people becomes increasingly difficult to obtain. No one knows exactly how many scores of thousands have been thrown off relief. There is not a Negro community in the nation where hundreds of families have not been cut off relief and face utter destitution.

Does not this situation call for immediate struggles against the W.P.A. and relief cuts? Does it not call for action everywhere through committees, petitions, demonstrations? Such struggles can be organized everywhere. They must be organized everywhere. And branches of the Party must take the leadership.

Secondly, there are the many issues connected with the struggle for civil rights, for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

The whole cause of Negro rights, and civil liberties in general, is symbolized in the necessity to strengthen these Amendments by compelling passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill and the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

The Southern bourbons and the Republican reactionaries are striving to stifle these measures, to deny American rights to the Negro people, and to weaken and annul the civil liberties of all. The fight for these measures is a responsibility of the whole labor and progressive movement. Certainly, here are common objectives, common issues in behalf of which the labor and progressive movement should take a

leading part, together with the Negro people.

The reactionaries are doing everything to defeat the Anti-Lynching Bill. Senators Connolly and Ellender, Vice-President Garner, and others are openly trying to block it. Even Senator Van Nuys, ostensibly a sponsor of the Bill, is actively hindering its passage. Van Nuys is cooperating with Senator Connolly, leader of the reactionary Southern bloc which is fighting anti-lynching legislation, by keeping the Bill pigeon-holed as long as possible in the Judiciary Committee. Van Nuys, who heads a Judiciary Sub-Committee, has followed the procedure of convening the sub-committee now and then and adjourning it indefinitely. He has given the widest latitude to the opponents of the Bill, browbeating and insulting witnesses, white and Negro, who appear in its behalf. They are trying to shut off hearings. That is why Van Nuys declares that he does not intend to answer the two telegrams of Comrade Browder, that he will not invite spokesmen of the Communist Party of the United States to speak on the Bill.

It is necessary to rally real support at once from the labor and progressive movement. The reactionaries must be prevented from knifing and stifling the Anti-Lynching Bill. Moreover, unless such support makes itself felt, it is not out of the question that the reactionaries, failing in their effort to pigeon-hole the Bill indefinitely, may try to amend and adulterate it in such a way that the final product would be an anti-labor, anti-progressive measure. The lack of real

support behind the Bill has already allowed the reactionaries to tack on several objectionable amendments. But the Bill, while not a fundamental solution in itself, while falling short of what is really necessary, does tend to strengthen the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, and can be a deterrent to lynching and mob terror, can stimulate the whole national liberation struggle to a higher level. That is why we must fight for it.

The sensitivity and response of the labor and progressive movement in defense of the needs and civil rights of the Negro people must be aroused to a higher level.

The speech of John L. Lewis before the American Youth Congress was a dynamic declaration in behalf of these rights. His words were a spur to every trade union man, every progressive. And every progressive, labor and liberal organization should respond to it, and follow it up. In that speech Mr. Lewis said:

"There are at least eight Southern states that deprive Americans without money of the right to vote. They levy poll taxes against the poor Negroes and whites, and they cannot vote in the elections unless they pay their poll tax, and in addition to that, if through a period of years they have been so poor that they could not either pay or vote, whenever the time comes when they can pay, they have to pay for all the defaulting years in order to vote.

"There is not any politician in this country, there is not a lawyer or an economist or a sociologist or an ordinary citizen who does not understand that those laws and

those poll taxes are levied against the people of those states in order to impair their Constitutional rights as native American citizens.

"I am in favor of the President and the Attorney General of the U. S. instructing the Civil Liberties Division of the Department of Justice to bring in the Federal Courts in this country a judicial proceeding and carry it to the Supreme Court, a judicial proceeding to attack and strike down those damnable provisions inflicted upon the citizens of those Southern states in these iniquitous poll taxes. . . ."

Certainly these words rang the summons for a united struggle for white and Negro rights, for common democratic objectives, for civil and political liberties.

But was this ringing call adequately responded to? Did trade unions and other mass organizations immediately come forward sufficiently with resolutions in support of this declaration? On the basis of this call was the fight for the Anti-Lynching Bill and the Anti-Poll Tax Bill carried to a higher stage? It is true, a certain response did follow, but not corresponding to the need. How can this be explained? Does it indicate political insensitivity to the whole struggle for Negro rights? Clearly, such a condition should be changed.

Let us take several other serious examples to show that the necessary responsiveness to the struggle for Negro rights is lagging.

Recently a veritable wave of attacks has been launched against the Negro people. A survey by the International Labor Defense shows that there were seven outrages in October, thirteen in November,

fourteen in December. Last week there was the outrageous kidnaping in Maryland of a Negro woman and her young daughter by a mob, and the hunt for the husband whom the mob sought for lynching.

Was there a national protest against the outrage? I saw reports only of the action taken by the Maryland C.I.O. Council, the Maryland Communist Party and the statement of the International Labor Defense.

Or consider a still more outrageous action. A decision of February 9 by the Mississippi Legislature epitomizes the whole system of discrimination, Jim Crowism and denial of rights to the Negro people. According to the Associated Press:

"The Senate yesterday passed a bill, 37-9 (a rewritten version of one passed by the House), providing free textbooks in the first eight grades, but adopted an amendment which its education committee said would eliminate from the civics text for Negroes instructions in such principles as voting . . . the Senate also voted to keep free textbooks for Negroes in separate warehouses."

Senator Davis, a planter, expressed the Southern lynchers' position in defense of this monstrous measure, by saying:

"Under the Constitution the Negro is a citizen, and of course we know and accept that. But he can never expect to be given the same educational and social privileges with the white man and he doesn't expect them. The best education we can give him is to use his hands, because that's how he must earn

his living. It always has been and always will be so."

While countless thousands of people were indignant over this action and Davis' statement, unfortunately there was no organized national protest.

In the press, over the radio and in the movies, exemplified by films such as *Gone With the Wind*, there has been a barrage of slanders and hate poured out by reaction against the Negro people. And there has been an inadequate counter-attack, a lack of sensitivity by the labor and progressive movement, an impermissible marking time by many Communist Party local organizations.

What must be done? It is necessary to assure greater political vigilance to the problems of the Negro people, to secure immediate response and counter-attack to the attacks of the reactionary forces, to develop a real struggle and movement behind the Anti-Lynching and Anti-Poll Tax Bills.

Thirdly, there is the question of slums, rent sharks, the mounting cost of living, the higher prices for inferior foods dumped into the Negro communities. These indignities cry to high heaven for common struggle. Take the case of St. Louis, which is typical of the conditions imposed upon the Negro people in all large centers. According to a leaflet issued by the Party there, "75 per cent of the city's Negro population live in slums that are worse than horrible."

Isn't this a task for every progressive organization? Doesn't it call for organization of tenant com-

mittees, of rent strikes; of a struggle for the housing bill; of building committees of action on the food, health and sanitation issues?

Fourthly, consider the problems of health, hospitals, clinics, medicine. Isn't it time for a real struggle for hospitals, for dental clinics, which are notoriously lacking in Negro communities?

These, and other specific issues, taken together with the general progressive program, provide the basis for a united and militant struggle in defense of the interests of the Negro people, and provide the link to the anti-war, anti-imperialist struggle of the American people as a whole.

These issues must be made the concern of the labor and progressive movement. They are issues of peace; of jobs, relief, security, housing, health, food, clothing, education, equal opportunities, the right to vote, an end to Jim Crowism and discrimination, abolition of the poll tax, an end to the horror of lynching. They are issues of organizing the unorganized, trade union equality, the preservation and greater unfolding of the cultural heritage of the Negro people.

The understanding of the labor movement as to the supreme importance of the Negro people's struggle must be raised to a higher level; the labor and progressive movement must make this cause its own.

There is need, in order to assure white and Negro unity, of a renewed offensive against white chauvinism wherever it may appear.

These things, comrades, will serve to draw the Negro people into

active struggle against the war and the pro-war forces, draw them closer to the anti-imperialist movement, and be a great stimulus to the Negro people and their cause of national liberation.

And with our comrades in the forefront, the influence of the Party will rise to even higher levels, and the best sections and representatives of the Negro people will enter our Party.

But in striving to develop the mass movement of the Negro people to a higher stage and to improve the work of our Party among the Negro people, no good will come if we simply wait for "something" to turn up; for an "issue" to rise. I regret to say that here and there one finds a very curious reason being given for the decline in this movement. In the past, we are told, there were national, all-mobilizing issues, such as the Scottsboro case, the Angelo Herndon case, but today there is no such all-embracing issue, and "hence" the decline in the movement.

Such argumentation is nothing but groping in the dark; it spells failure to see what has to be done; it means falling victim to the theory of spontaneity; it means evading the actual situation that exists now. How must we answer? There are such "national" issues everywhere, in every city, in every group of streets where Negro people live. The job is: let us get moving on to them!

Comrades, the Negro people are ready to enter into the anti-war struggle. There are issues and forces that make possible an anti-imperialist mass movement of the

Negro people. Joint action and unity of white and Negro people are today possible of rich fulfillment. All conditions are present, especially in the 1940 election campaign, for the Negro people to unite with the labor and progressive movement and advance along the path of independent political action.

The pro-war policy of the Roosevelt Administration cannot but serve to broaden and deepen the desire of the Negro masses for greater resistance. The desire will grow for moving forward to an anti-imperialist position, in alliance with the labor movement. But the Negro masses will not move to this position automatically. Their advance will be greatly stimulated to the extent that the labor movement and our Party work to assist them to reach this position.

Finally, the special contribution that the Negro people can make toward building the anti-war, anti-imperialist front depends on the achievement of unity within their own movement on the basis of such a program, on making their movement a leading and integral section of the great camp of democracy and peace.

#### *The Negro People's Movement and the Communist Party*

The success of the enumerated tasks depends vitally upon the role and the activities of our Party.

The weaknesses indicated are undoubtedly due to the fact that Party branches in some places have not yet fully adapted themselves to the new situation, have not developed forms of struggle required in the conditions of imperialist war. Thus,

it becomes necessary for all Party organizations to carry through their work concretely in accordance with the present conditions. First and foremost is the development of initiative to a higher stage, the initiative not only of branches and units, but of every Party comrade.

It is necessary for the Party organizations everywhere to examine in great detail their work among the Negro masses, and to follow that up with all necessary political and organizational measures to improve their work.

It is necessary to develop within the Party the widest education on the Negro question, to bring about a fundamental understanding of the Negro question as a national question.

It is necessary to see that the general program of the Party be applied concretely on the basis of the specific problems of the Negro people, in the given area of activity; that while taking the general problems to the people, the Party at all times strive to create the broadest form for this struggle to guarantee the largest mobilization of the Negro masses and for recruiting Negro proletarian men and women, trade unionists, etc., into our Party.

On the basis of mass activities among the Negro people the comrades should take every step to integrate fully into Party life the problems of the Negro people; and to integrate the Negro comrades with the whole of the Party leadership, by a policy of boldly bringing forward the Negro comrades into the leading work of the Party in all spheres.

Moreover, in regard to the re-

sponsibility of leadership and the training of new Negro forces, it becomes essential seriously to carry out the suggestions of Comrade Browder which he brought forth in detail in his report to the National Committee in December, 1938,\* as well as his suggestions made to the present session of our National Committee. In addition, there are the many splendid directives and points of guidance of Comrade Ford on all these vital questions.

It is now more than ever before necessary for the whole Party to give detailed attention and sustained effort to develop Marxist-Leninist education among the Negro comrades, systematically to train in the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin a whole corps of leaders for the Negro liberation movement and for the work of our Party. This calls for the fulfillment of the directives of Comrade Browder made in his report to this session on the matter of classes, literature, discussions and development of self-study, of schools and a wide educational program, effectively utilizing the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* and the experiences of the Bolshe-

vik Party on the national question, in the struggle to root out chauvinism, the struggle for national self-determination, and the development of the national culture.

The activity of the pro-war forces and the existence of confused elements among the Negro people render the more vital the task of giving fundamental answers to the Negro people. That can be done only by organizing the widest sale and distribution of the writings on the national question and on the question of war, especially the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

As an inseparable part of our activity among the Negro masses it is ever more necessary to organize the widest sale and distribution of the Party press, particularly the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker*.

Finally, as part of our entire activity we must constantly hold in mind the responsibility of seriously recruiting into the Party on the basis of a steady, systematic approach.

These are the imperative steps towards strengthening the anti-war, anti-imperialist movement of the Negro people, impelling forward the national liberation struggle, and building the Party of Lenin-Stalin among the Negro masses.

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\* Earl Browder, *Social and National Security*. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1938.

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