

POLITICAL AFFAIRS *A magazine devoted*

to the theory and practice of Marxism - Leninism

EDITORIAL BOARD

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National Committee Names Officers

The National Committee, on July 17, after discussing the work and functioning of the national center of the Communist Party, unanimously approved a number of proposals aimed to bring about an all-around strengthening and expansion of the work of the center.

The National Committee, after hearing a report by William Z. Foster, and upon his motion, unanimously elected Eugene Dennis as General Secretary of the Party.

Henry Winston was approved as Organization Secretary, and unanimously elected to the National Board.

John Williamson was approved as Labor Secretary.

The National Secretariat was increased to five, to include: William Z. Foster, National Chairman; Eugene Dennis, General Secretary; John Williamson, Labor Secretary; Henry Winston, Organization Secretary; and Robert Thompson, Chairman of the New York State Organization of the Party.

Other officers approved included: Chairman of the Education, Agitation and Publications Department, Jack Stachel; Editor of *Political Affairs* and Secretary of the Education-Agitation Department, Max Weiss; Chairman of the Legislative Committee, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; Secretary of the Legislative Committee, Robert Minor; and Assistant Organization Secretary, Betty Gannett.

Other officers remain at their previous posts, with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as Chairman of the Women's Commission; Steve Nelson, Chairman of the National Groups Commission; Morris Childs, Editor of the *Daily Worker*; John Gates, Chairman of the Veterans Commission; V. J. Jerome, Associate Editor of *Political Affairs*; and Albert Blumberg, Washington Legislative Representative.

Pat Toohey has been given an extended leave of absence because of serious illness.

ONE YEAR OF STRUGGLE AGAINST BROWDERISM

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

*Opening remarks at the plenary meeting of the National Committee,
C.P.U.S.A., held in New York, July 16-18, 1946*

MY TASK in these opening remarks is to deal briefly with the progress of the Party since our Convention one year ago.

At the time when Browder was eliminated from the leadership, we had a very sick Communist Party on our hands, and if his opportunist regime had continued much longer we would have had practically no Party at all. What we have had to do, therefore, in the course of this past year has been literally to reorganize and rebuild our Party.

OUR POLITICAL LINE

First, let me say a few words with regard to the political line of the Party. As the comrades are aware, in ridding ourselves of Browder's revisionism we had to reshape our political line. You will recall the main features of Browder's line which were so sharply condemned by our Convention last year. Browder envisaged a postwar world in which harmonious relations would prevail among the capitalist powers and between them and the Soviet Union, friendly relations which he claimed would be dictated by the "intelli-

gent" sections of the big capitalists, particularly those of the United States. A sufficient answer to that particular illusion of Browder's is the dangerous war tension now existing in the world.

Browder also expected the United States to democratize and industrialize China, Latin America and other undeveloped sections of the world. The answer to this utopianism is the present drive of American imperialism to transform these countries into economic and political satellites on a semi-colonial basis.

Browder expected a long period of class harmony in the United States at the end of the war, from which the conclusion was drawn, logically, for a continuation of labor's wartime no-strike pledge. The answer to this political nonsense was the recent strike wave, the greatest in the history of the United States, a strike wave which is by no means finished. Precisely because we had reshaped our policies in time, we were able to make significant contributions toward ensuring the victory of the workers in these gigantic struggles.

Browder also stated, even as late

as four months ago, that President Truman was a worthy bearer of the political mantle of Roosevelt. This opportunism has been answered by President Truman's further abandonment, since that time, of the Roosevelt policies, both foreign and domestic, and by his active leadership in the campaign of American imperialism to establish its hegemony throughout the world.

At the Convention a year ago when we broke with Browder's revisionist line, we laid down a correct political orientation for the Party. A key quotation from the Resolution of the National Committee at that time reads as follows:

A sharp and sustained struggle must still be conducted to secure the complete destruction of fascism throughout the world and to guarantee that the possibilities which now exist for creating a durable peace shall be realized. This is so because the economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not yet been fully destroyed. This is so because the extremely powerful reactionary forces in the United States and England, which are centered in the trusts and cartels, are striving to reconstruct liberated Europe on a reactionary basis. Moreover, this is so because the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination in the world.

In this quotation can be found the essence of the line adopted by the Party at the Convention. The Convention Resolution indicated clearly the increasingly rapacious greed of

the big monopolists at home, and their imperialist expansionism abroad. These conclusions have been fully borne out by the course of events. However, I shall not enlarge upon this, since Comrade Dennis will make the political report for the National Board and he will dwell at length upon the application of this political line to the various problems that confront us.

RE-ESTABLISHING OUR VANGUARD ROLE

Together with changing our political line at the Convention a year ago, we also began to re-establish the independent, vanguard role of our Party. Browder, as you know, had abandoned completely the conception of the independent role of the Communist Party. He tagged uncritically behind Roosevelt, he tagged behind John L. Lewis, and finally he wound up by actually tailing behind the National Association of Manufacturers, that is, behind the most aggressive sections of American imperialism.

We have cleansed ourselves of this opportunist tendency. Our Party is once more beginning to function in an independent role, in alliance with its allies of course, in the Communist sense of a vanguard party. We can be pleased at the progress of our Party in this respect, particularly with regard to the political analysis we have made. Our Party was in the very forefront in its analysis of the increasingly reactionary tendencies exhibited, even as early as a month

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after Roosevelt's death, by the Truman Administration. We also drew the proper conclusions from Truman's shift to the Right, namely, that while it was resulting in a weakening of the democratic coalition, it was stimulating an extension and new advance of independent and progressive political action.

As for the stress we laid upon the role of American imperialism, this, in my opinion, was a real service to the American people. Our Party can be gratified by the fact that, so far as I know, we were the first Communist Party in the world to outline clearly the expansionist program of American imperialism. In view of the fact that the Party, under Browder's leadership, had been following a line in which the true role of American imperialism was practically obscured, it was no small achievement for us to have so clearly perceived and to have so boldly stated just what American imperialism was seeking to accomplish, namely, to dominate the world. This political clarity constituted a strong reassertion, politically, of the vanguard role of our Party.

At the Convention a year ago, as the comrades will recall, we laid great stress upon the danger that, in correcting our line from the revisionism of Browder, we might, so to speak, over-correct it, and make a swing into "Left"-sectarianism. Such swings have happened before in correcting a wrong line, not only in the history of our Party, but of other Parties as well. It can be said, however, that in the course of this past year we

have, by and large, avoided this mistake. Of course, some serious Leftist mistakes have been made in a number of districts and industries, and I dare say this will be discussed during the course of our sessions. But the main thing is that our Party, for the first time in its history, was able to make a drastic correction of its line without falling into the error of flying to the other extreme.

Let me add, however, that if at the time of the Convention we gave special warning regarding the danger of swinging into "Left"-sectarianism, we did not mean thereby to underestimate the danger of Right opportunism which was, in fact, the main danger, and against which we sharply polemized. It is generally easy to detect Leftist mistakes because these mistakes are often very dramatic and very obvious, particularly to a Party with our most recent experiences. But a Right mistake is much more insidious, much more quiet, much more comfortable, so to speak. We must therefore keep our eyes wide open to prevent subtle, insidious Right mistakes and practices, many of which have their roots in the past. At the same time, we must remain on guard against "Left"-sectarian errors.

BUILDING THE PARTY

During the past year, we have also had to rebuild our Party organizationally, for the Party under Browder's leadership had been dissolved into the C.P.A. and wiped out altogether in the South. We have, how-

ever, re-established the Communist Party nationally, and we have re-organized the Party in the South, doubling its membership there. We have also just concluded a general membership campaign that brought in over 15,000 new members, of whom a large percentage are industrial workers and trade unionists. Simultaneously with this, we carried through a very successful financial drive. We are now planning various other organizational tasks for building our Party. This work of Party building required a great effort on the part of our membership and shows that our Party is in a strong and healthy condition.

The difference between the old Browder revisionist regime and the Party today can be measured quite adequately by their respective attitudes towards the question of the role and the building of the Party. Browder, as you know, with the ripening of his revisionism, finally came to the conclusion that our Party was actually an obstacle in the way of the development of the progressive movement in the United States. That is why he proceeded to liquidate the Party. The Party today, however, has a proper appreciation of its vanguard role in the development of the labor-democratic coalition and the membership and leadership are bending every conceivable effort to strengthen the Party.

In this connection, one of the things we have been especially trying to do during the past year is to infuse the Party with the conception

of more or less continuous Party building. We must get away from the idea of merely carrying on a Party building campaign every year or so and then letting the matter of Party building go by the board in between such campaigns. We want to infuse the Party with the capacity to build itself all the time, as it goes along, in the various phases of its mass work. The American people need a strong Communist Party and it is up to us to build it as speedily as possible.

We are also undertaking to build our Party press. The restricted circulation of the *Daily Worker*, and its huge deficit are simply intolerable. Both these obstacles must be overcome. One of the major tasks of this meeting of the National Committee will be precisely to further this work of building the *Daily Worker*. We must put an end to the present situation and see to it that our Party puts the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* on a sound basis. This we can readily accomplish if we will but turn our hands to the task with Communist determination.

During the past year, we have made determined progress in eliminating the bureaucratic system that was characteristic of the Browder regime. In a spirit of self-criticism we are attacking every vestige of the bureaucratic practices which remain. We have re-established thoroughgoing political discussions in all our leading bodies throughout the country, and this Plenum

I am sure, will fully reflect that fact. This freer discussion that has been established in the Party has greatly strengthened its unity. We have also gone far toward building a real collective leadership in the Party. This is true of the various districts, and it is also true of our national apparatus. Departments which had been allowed to fall to pieces during the period of revisionism—Negro, National Group, Educational, Trade Union, Legislative, etc.—are all being re-established now. This will not only give the Party a richer approach to many questions, but will also help to develop a strong collective leadership throughout the Party.

OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORK

During the past year, our Party has also been radically strengthening its ideological work. Our Educational Department has checked over our schools and has helped strengthen our work on the ideological front in general.

To help rid ourselves of Browder's revisionism, it was necessary for the Party to prepare a whole series of pamphlets expressing the new line of the Party, and this has been done. In this general connection, we are now trying to improve greatly the mass agitation methods of the Party. One of our traditional weaknesses has been a lack of system and organization in our mass agitation work. This was at its worst during the period of Browderism, when so much stress was laid on one man's

voice. Now, however, we are setting out to make sure that the voice of the Party as a whole will be heard.

Plans will be brought before this meeting of the National Committee to expand the Educational Department so that it will take up, more systematically than in the past, the whole question of mass agitation. We must establish Speakers' Bureaus, nationally and in the states; we must develop a more systematic utilization of the radio; we must better organize the publication of our literature; we must survey our papers from an agitational standpoint; we must improve our publicity relations with the general press; etc.

The aim of the Party leadership must now be to get away from the hit-or-miss system of mass agitation that has prevailed up to now and to place this entire vital aspect of our work on a modern and systematic basis. Let me say just a few words about the idea of a Speakers' Bureau. I belonged to the Socialist Party many years ago, and that organization had one very important advantage over us. It was not so narrowly confined to the big cities as we are. The Socialist Party had roots in small towns all over the country and one of the principal means for developing this organization in the smaller communities was precisely the systematic routing of speakers, for street meetings as well as hall meetings, through all the localities. We must take up this kind of work in our districts and on a national

scale. To do this will be one of the major tasks for the expanded Educational Department, the plans for which, we hope, will be approved by this meeting of the National Committee. We shall reap rich rewards in the shape of a strengthened Party in the smaller communities if we take up seriously the matter of a Speakers' Bureau.

FOR A PARTY OF MASS ACTION

Of course, in a Communist Party like ours, the basic weakness is the ideological weakness. Naturally, the more we improve our theoretical understanding, the better our work will develop in every respect. To strengthen our Marxist-Leninist understanding is always our major task; but in doing so we must not forget the questions of organization and action. We have made, as I have been indicating, considerable progress in these fields during the past year, although we still suffer from grievous shortcomings. For one thing, I do not think we have succeeded in developing our entire Party sufficiently as a Party of mass action; a Party in which every district and section committee and every individual member can move swiftly into action and struggle; a Party that can stimulate into greater action, and unite, our allies. Certainly, important progress has been made in this vital respect during the past year. As a Party we have played an important role in the fight for peace, in the fight to save what can be saved of the O.P.A., in the recent

strikes that have taken place, and I think that, particularly, we have played a very important role in the fight to defend the Negro people from the persecution that is being increasingly heaped upon them.

Nevertheless, I think that we cannot remain satisfied with our achievements thus far in this respect. Sections of our Party still remain altogether too sluggish. Not every Party leader and organization has learned effectively to mobilize our membership and allies. We are still weighted down too heavily with the bureaucratic practices and the lethargy that we suffered so much from under the Browder regime. This we must end at all costs.

Another phase of our mass work in which we must make a radical improvement is in our work in the various industries. Browder was no mass organizer. He had no conception of the need for building the Party on a solid foundation in the basic industries, and we paid very dearly for this throughout the years of his leadership. In place of the methods we inherited from the long period of Browder's leadership of the Party, we must develop systematic organizational work on the basis of the respective industries, so that we may really strengthen the Party's position and influence in this field. This point, however will be developed in detail by Comrade Stachel. Suffice it to say that we must raise our trade union work to a new stage. This will make for more fraternal and solid cooperation with all

the progressive elements in the labor movement and, generally, for a stronger Communist Party.

THE TASKS AHEAD

When we sum up the work of the past year we must come to the conclusion that our Party has made good progress, both politically and organizationally. Altogether, it has been perhaps the most difficult year in the life of our Party. But the Party is rising above all its problems and displaying a new strength and fighting spirit. Of course, we are still plagued with many weaknesses and shortcomings, but these are being attacked in a spirit of appreciation of the importance and role of our Party. With a continuance and intensification of this Party building spirit and an expansion of our mass work, we can look forward to real progress in the near future in building a mass Communist Party.

We shall soon be celebrating the 27th anniversary of the founding of our Party. This will be a most important event and it should be utilized to teach the new members the history of our Party. During these 27 years, our Party has been in the very forefront of the class struggle in this country in defense of the interests of the working class and the nation. Our Party has participated loyally in the hundreds of strikes, in the struggles of the unemployed, in the defense of the Negro people, in election struggles, in the struggle against imperialism, in the

struggle against developing fascism and in the fight to win the great war against Hitlerism. Our Party has done an immense work of Marxist-Leninist education among the masses. We may well be proud of the record of our Party during the 27 years of this most stormy and significant period in the history of humanity.

The period ahead of us is one that will test all the strength and understanding of our Party. The big corporations, in order to achieve their imperialist aims at home and abroad, are more and more openly pursuing the path of political reaction, the most aggressive and chauvinist circles of monopoly capitalism driving directly toward fascism.

In this situation, Marxist clarity on the part of the workers of this country is imperative. A host of great problems now confront the American working class and the nation at large, the answers to which can be provided only by Marxist-Leninist leadership. Therefore the need for a strong Communist Party in the United States grows constantly.

Our entire Party must realize the tremendous role that our Party must play now and in the future, and must spare no effort to build the Party numerically, to strengthen its vanguard role, and to increase its ties and contacts with all other progressive forces. In this way we shall be able to help rally and unite labor and the democratic forces to defeat reaction and thus advance the struggle for security, democracy and peace, the eventual triumph of socialism.

DEFEAT THE IMPERIALIST DRIVE TOWARD FASCISM AND WAR

By EUGENE DENNIS

The text, slightly abridged, of the report for the National Board, delivered on July 16 at the plenary meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

RECENT EVENTS at home and abroad indicate that we are entering one of the most critical phases of the post-war period.

The warmongers, the extreme circles of international reaction in the United States, as well as in Great Britain, are intensely active and provocative. They are concentrating everything to further undermine Big Three unity and to destroy it completely, with the aim of forcibly imposing the rule of the Anglo-Saxon powers on the world.

As an inevitable counterpart of their evil conspiracy against the peace and world stability, the most reactionary American monopolists are launching a vicious offensive in the U.S. against labor and the entire camp of democracy.

Therefore, now as never before, the central, immediate task confronting the American labor and progressive movements—and in the first place the Communists—is to check and defeat this reactionary offensive in the field of both foreign and domestic affairs. That is why this meeting of our National Committee must center its main attention on organizing

the most powerful labor-progressive coalition and the broadest peace front so as to combat most effectively the warmongers and the growth of monopoly capitalist reaction within this country.

I. AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Since the last meeting of our National Committee in February, as we correctly forecast, world peace and the unity of the United Nations have been put to severe tests.

American monopoly capital—steering a course toward world domination—has continued to unfold an aggressive imperialist policy in international affairs. At the same time, Great Britain, its junior partner, has desperately striven to buttress its colonial empire and imperial positions.

The U.S.A. has established an obstructionist, anti-Soviet, Anglo-American bloc in the United Nations, contrary to, and directed against, the principles of Big Three unity and world peace.

In violation of the Moscow Agreements, Vandenberg and Byrnes, in unison with Bevin, wrecked the May

Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers. But because of the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union and its willingness to resolve certain apparently deadlocked issues, such as Trieste; because of the outcome of the recent elections in Eastern Europe, which strengthened the new democracies; and because of the predominant peace sentiment in the U.S. and Britain—substantial agreement on a number of questions became possible in Paris between the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers with respect to certain vital and immediate aspects of post-war relations with Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Rumania, and Hungary. Certain preconditions have been established for a positive outcome of the 21-Power Conference, starting July 29, to conclude peace treaties with the former Axis satellites. However, it is clear that Byrnes and Vandenberg, as well as the other anti-Sovieteers and warmongers, will still bend every effort to upset and wreck this initial peace conference.

Despite this significant advance toward promoting a peace settlement with the former allies of Nazi Germany, it would be folly to overlook the expansionist and interventionist role of American imperialism, its sharpened anti-Soviet orientation, and the seedbeds of future wars which it and Britain are sowing in China and Spain, Indonesia and India, as well as in Germany and Japan.

In Germany, American policy remains directed toward revising the

Three-Power Potsdam Agreement, toward preventing de-nazification and the destruction of Germany's war potential, toward safeguarding the economic base of the Anglo-German-American cartellists, and toward establishing a federation of German states dominated by the Anglo-Saxon powers.

Toward the new democracies of Europe, the U.S. maintains a hostile attitude. It continues, for instance, to restrict the scope and grants of U.N.R.R.A. aid. It withholds diplomatic recognition from Bulgaria and adequate credit facilities from Poland and Yugoslavia.

In the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, Baruch, in behalf of the Administration and Wall Street, advances a program for imposing America's will on other states and nations, for maintaining unilateral control and monopoly by the U.S. of the manufacture and use of the atomic bomb and nuclear energy.

In China, the United States continues to intervene in that country's internal affairs. General Marshall's "peace mission," coupled with the continued grants of so-called lend-lease and other credits to Chiang Kai-shek, has become a medium for attempting to consolidate the Kuomintang military-fascist dictatorship as an American puppet regime, for obstructing the unification and democratization of China, and for involving the U.S. ever more deeply in the American-Kuomintang-instigated civil war.

In Japan, General MacArthur—in

accord with State and War Department policy—has carried through premature and undemocratic national elections, highly advantageous to the Zaibatsu and the feudal dynasty. The U.S. refuses to destroy completely Japan's war potential, blocks genuine agrarian reform, and prevents Emperor Hirohito and other notorious war criminals from being brought to trial.

In the Philippines, Paul McNutt and General MacArthur helped engineer the election of Manuel Roxas, the infamous Filipino collaborator, as the first president of the Philippine Republic. Through the Bell Trades Act, the unilateral maintenance of American naval and aviation bases in the Islands, and the suppression of the Hukbalahaps, the economic and military control of the U.S. over the Philippines is still basically retained, notwithstanding the granting of formal independence on July 4.

In Latin America, especially through the medium of the newly-proposed "Inter-American Military Defense Act," American imperialism plans to subordinate the military power and apparatus of Latin America to the U.S. War Department, to strengthen feudal reaction, to retard the growth of democracy and industrialization, and to convert the Latin-American Republics into an area of unbridled Yankee exploitation and oppression, into dependencies and satellites of the United States.

As far as its main line is concerned, it is clear that, despite the great importance of the second meeting of

the Foreign Ministers in Paris, American foreign policy continues to be governed in its over-all aspects by the predatory expansionist drive of U.S. monopoly capital, by its anti-Soviet orientation, by its vast military preparations for future wars, and by its sustained efforts to attain world supremacy.

A SPECIAL POLITICAL FACTOR

The main course of the foreign policy of American capitalism is determined not only by compelling economic and social factors, such as the tremendous increase of U.S. productive capacity and labor productivity, the enormous concentration of wealth in the hands of 250 corporations and eight major vested-interest groups, the transition from wartime to drastically curtailed peacetime production, the lowered standard of living of the people, and the beginning of mass unemployment. There is also a special political factor which influences the present direction of American governmental policy in international affairs. This is the fact that during the past months the reactionary bi-partisan congressional coalition, which has been operating in domestic affairs over a long period of time, has recently attained a new power in the conduct of our foreign policy.

In line with the Administration's course in yielding to and carrying out the imperialist objectives of American big capital, and in accord with the major strategical objectives of the dominant sections of monopoly

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capital, President Truman some months ago appointed Senator Vandenberg as one of the members of the U.S. delegation to the Foreign Ministers' conference. He also appointed Dulles, Dewey's candidate for Secretary of State, as a special advisor to Byrnes, and Herbert Hoover as Chairman of the American Food Commission.

The operations of this Hoover-Republican and Byrnes-Tory Democrat combination at the helm of American foreign policy have served rapidly and increasingly to steer the ship of state farther away from the course of Big Three unity charted by Roosevelt. It has brought into the top councils of American diplomacy, not only the exponents of an "American Century," but also the chief architects of Munichism, the most rabid anti-Sovieteers.

The inevitable consequence of the enhanced role of the Hoover-Vandenberg-Dulles clique in America's foreign affairs has been a stepping up of the "get tough with Russia" policy, and the most flagrant violations by the U.S. of the Big Three accords of Potsdam, Yalta and Moscow. That is one of the reasons why Washington has been pursuing, at an ever-increasing tempo, an aggressive imperialist policy, has been provoking crisis after crisis in the United Nations, and has been encouraging the proponents of World War III.

Clearly, America's aggressive and interventionist imperialist role in world affairs has severely strained relations between the United Nations

and has accentuated the danger of new wars. Clearly, too, the most reactionary and extreme imperialist circles in the U.S., as in Britain, are hell-bent on building an Anglo-American axis directed against the Soviet Union, the new European democracies, and the colonial peoples. And the extreme warmongers, intoxicated with the atom bomb, are orienting upon provoking, at the earliest date, a new world war—a military conflict between the "Anglo-Saxon" powers and the U.S.S.R.

THE WARMAKERS CAN BE STOPPED

Yet, it is equally clear that these imperialist warmongers can be checked and defeated. While they unite and plan for World War III as the road to a new "American Century," to American imperialist world domination, they reckon without their hosts.

The peoples of the United States and Great Britain, and especially those of Europe and Asia, are war-weary, and are determined to preserve the peace. They do not want another world slaughter, will vigorously struggle against the warmakers, and can be organized to resist and defeat them.

The countries of Eastern Europe, with their new democratic regimes and economies, are potent factors in the struggle for international stability and peace. The great and rising national liberation struggles of the colonial peoples constitute a mighty and growing anti-imperialist force

which strengthens considerably the camp of progress. And, most important, the Socialist Soviet Union has emerged from the war stronger and more influential, a more powerful force for world peace.

Another world war can be prevented, if, among other things, we Communists and the American people do not slacken in the slightest in the struggle against the warmongers.

The conclusion we must draw from all international factors is that very favorable conditions exist for defeating the imperialist expansionists and adventurers, especially for routing the most vicious anti-Sovieteers and warmongers, such as the Hoovers, Tafts and Vandenberges, the Bullitts, Earles and Bilbos, and their counterparts in Great Britain. This can be done only if, together with the fulfillment of the other tasks, we intensify and broaden the struggle for peace, steadfastly resist the imperialist course of the Truman Administration, and resolutely work to make the Roosevelt labor-democratic-coalition policies the operative policy of the government.

URGENT TASKS

To advance the struggle for peace effectively, it is imperative at this moment—in conjunction with mobilizing for labor-progressive victories in the election campaign—to re-emphasize that everything be done by the labor-progressive coalition to carry out the following urgent, inter-related tasks:

1. A powerful, nationwide campaign must be once again developed to frustrate the predatory designs of American imperialism upon the Chinese people. Toward this end, mass pressure must be exerted upon the State, War, and Navy Departments to halt American intervention in China's internal affairs, to force the withdrawal of American troops, and to cease giving any form of aid to the Kuomintang military-fascist dictatorship.

Closely connected with the struggle for peace and democracy in China, the progressive forces in the U.S. must also vigorously demand the withdrawal of all American armed forces from the Philippines. We must render full aid to the Filipino democrats, especially to the heroic Hukbalahaps and their elected representatives, and we must insist on the repeal of the notorious Bell Trades Act. This is required if the American people are to succeed in preventing the consolidation of the Quisling-militarist regime in the Philippine Islands, and in halting the extension of China's civil war on a scale which would not only involve the U.S. as a military belligerent in China, but shatter peace on a world scale.

2. Similarly, a national campaign must be set in motion to break diplomatic relations with Franco-Spain and to stop all economic and financial assistance by this or any other country to the Falangist government. The nest of world fascism which now exists in Spain and threatens

world peace must be smashed once and for all before it permits Spanish fascism once again to pollute the body politic of international relations. The destruction of Spanish fascism will render easier the crushing of the remnants of fascism in Germany and Japan and will undermine militarist-reaction in Latin America. The decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions to conduct an international campaign against Franco-fascism during the month of July 18—August 15, must be energetically supported by the progressive-labor forces and turned into a mass movement. Such a movement must, among other things, succeed in halting the shipment of all goods and supplies to this Nazi outpost, and bring great pressure to bear on the General Assembly of the U.N. when, upon reconvening in September, it considers the recommendations of the Security Council on Spain.

3. Serious steps must be taken to thwart and nullify the current offensive of American imperialism against Latin-American democracy. Maximum opposition must be organized in the United States and elsewhere against the adoption of the so-called Inter-American Military Defense Act. Full assistance needs to be given by all sections of the C.I.O. and other progressive forces to the C.T.A.L., and the divisive and damaging activities of the A. F. of L. in Latin America must be exposed. Full political and moral support must be organized without delay to aid the forces of democracy and national

freedom in Brazil, Chile, Argentina and elsewhere.

4. At the same time, and of key importance, an energetic, day-to-day campaign must be waged to insure the fulfillment of the Potsdam, Yalta and Moscow decisions, so as to prevent the recurrence of German and Japanese imperialist aggression. All efforts to revise and nullify these basic Big Three agreements, such as the current proposal to merge the Anglo-American zones of occupation, must be exposed and combatted in time. The proposal must be laid bare as a huge maneuver to split up Germany, with the aim of perpetuating the Nazi elements and of turning the Anglo-American occupation region into a Western imperialist base for anti-Soviet operations. The American people cannot permit a weakening of the Potsdam agreements without jeopardizing their own security and the future of world peace.

5. Finally, and above all, concrete measures must be taken to strengthen American-Soviet friendship—the heart and core of United Nations unity. The opponents of American-Soviet collaboration, especially the Hoover - Vandenberg - Earle - Bullitt clique, as well as Byrnes and Dulles, must be condemned for what they are—enemies of United Nations cooperation, enemies of America's national interests. Roosevelt's insistence on promoting friendly relations between the American and Soviet peoples and governments must be brought home to the people as a vital

heritage, to be defended and retained. We must drive home the fact of the many sided basis for American-Soviet cooperation, especially the common interests of our peoples to maintain world peace, and the compelling need for implementing the Big Three accords, which are designed to abolish the last remnants of fascism. American-Soviet friendship—the key to Big Three unity and peace—must be fought for in a new and more forceful way, as the most vital pre-requisite for protecting our national security and for ensuring the peaceful collaboration of the United Nations.

To expedite the carrying out of these urgent campaigns and central tasks, labor and all peace forces must bear in mind the following vital objectives and tactical considerations:

a. The Roosevelt policy for post-war peace, based upon the closest cooperation of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, must be restored. The current orientation of the U.S.A. towards a full-fledged Anglo-American imperialist bloc must be rejected as the antithesis of Big Three unity, as disastrous power politics, and as a Hitler-like bid for Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy.

b. This Roosevelt policy must be resurrected in Congress, in the State Department, and the White House. The anti-Roosevelt combination of Hoover-Republicans and Tory-Democrats which now dominates the conduct of our foreign affairs must be broken up and ended. Only catas-

trophe and evil can materialize out of its continued existence.

c. Labor and the progressives must fight not only resolutely but flexibly for the restoration of the F.D.R. policy of American-Soviet friendship and Big Three unity. They must endeavor to enlist, in one or another phase of the struggle for peace, even those elements and groups who are prepared at this moment to fight on only one or another anti-war issue, who are prepared to go only part of the way. With such a tactic it will be possible to strengthen and broaden the people's fight for peace, and to draw into the anti-imperialist struggle even certain church and pacifist groups which are not yet ready to break completely with the Administration or to champion a rounded-out program of anti-imperialist action. It will be possible to accomplish this broadening of the peace front if, in the first place, American labor extends its own direct anti-war and anti-imperialist activities and bends every effort to reinforce the international solidarity and cooperation of world labor, especially of its organized peace and anti-fascist center—the W.F.T.U.

II. THE GROWTH OF REACTION WITHIN THE U.S.A. AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

One of the features of current political developments within the U.S. is the marked growth of reaction. As a part of their drive for world domination, the most aggressive sections

of American imperialism have launched a reactionary offensive against the American people, directed in the first place against the labor and progressive movements.

The big corporations, especially since V-J Day, have tried to place the full burden of World War II and the gigantic costs of current war preparations upon the shoulders of the working people. They have sought to secure gigantic tax rebates and higher monopoly prices, and to curtail the living standards, trade union rights, and political strength of the workers.

The big monopolies rejected the moderate wage demands of the workers, made during the winter of 1945-46; and they provoked a series of strike struggles in order to prevent wage increases and, above all, to undermine the C.I.O. unions in the auto, steel, electrical, packing and farm equipment industries. Due, however, to the fighting spirit of the workers, the progressive policies of their unions, and the militant role of the Communists, these attacks were sharply rebuffed, and the workers secured partial and temporary victories.

In the latter part of May of this year, the railroad workers, after months of fruitless negotiations and government procrastination, also took up the battle for wage increases and a long-overdue change in their work-rules. The railroad corporations remained adamant and arrogant. After the Railway Trainmen and Engineers finally took the only recourse left open to them—strike

action—the Truman Administration mobilized the apparatus of the government for strike-breaking and sought the passage of legislation to curb and draft strikers. This coercive action was also designed to intimidate the maritime workers, who were conducting wage negotiations, and to crush their impending strike, the deadline for which was June 15.

The frenzied action of the Truman Administration in pressing for the drafting of strikers for compulsory labor, and the subsequent action of the reactionary bi-partisan coalition in the House and the Senate in adopting the repressive, medieval Case Bill and in enacting the vicious Hobbs Bill, are reminiscent of certain features of the enabling legislation which Hitler and Mussolini enacted immediately after their rise to power. In this connection, it should be noted, while the Truman government is not fascist, its own projected anti-labor legislation would strengthen imperialist reaction, just as the G.O.P.-sponsored Case and Hobbs bills would cripple the trade unions and greatly increase the power of the extreme reactionary groups within the country, would pave the way towards fascism.

This conclusion follows from the fact that these anti-labor bills are not merely aimed at restricting the right to strike and bargain collectively. They are calculated, in the first place, to destroy the trade unions as the bulwark of the people's economic welfare and democratic rights. They are designed to coerce and divide

labor, which is the backbone of the struggle against imperialism and war, for peace and progress. They are especially projected to undermine the growing independent political influence, organization and activity of labor as the most progressive class force in American political life.

Simultaneously with the drive to enact repressive anti-union legislation, and thereby to weaken all democratic forces, the big corporations, spearheaded by the N.A.M. and its bi-partisan Congressional coalition, renewed their attacks against the living standards of the workers and all salaried and low-income groups. The reactionary forces in Congress slashed away at what little price control was still being exercised by O.P.A. They passed the monstrous, inflationary O.P.A. Bill as amended by Taft and Wherry. And, after the President's veto, they adopted a mangled, pseudo-price-control bill which will manifoldly increase the chaos and misery resulting from inflationary price rises.

In setting loose the Frankenstein of inflation, Big Business aims to cancel the wage increases won by labor through its recent economic struggles, to wipe out the savings of the mass of consumers, to narrow and destroy the government's low-cost housing program, and to restrict severely the scope and amount of American relief, food, and credits to the war-devastated countries. The camp of reaction seeks thereby to give full play to the forces of "free enterprise" and economic chaos, thus

enabling the big monopolies to increase their profiteering, reduce wage and living standards, and force to the wall thousands of independent farmers, producers and small businessmen. At the same time, the monopolies hope to obtain political advantage in the November elections, by demagogically placing the entire onus for the drive toward inflation—which the monopolists themselves planned and aggravated, in conjunction with their bi-partisan bloc in Congress and with the aid of the Administration—upon the Truman Administration alone.

The drive toward reaction within the country manifests itself further in the rampant and malignant attacks of the white supremacists and various governmental bodies against the Negro people. The shameful events of Freeport, Long Island, and Columbia, Tennessee, the liquidation of F.E.P.C., the revival of the hated K.K.K., and the savage lynch attacks and incitements against Negro veterans everywhere, illustrate the fact that the reactionaries are on the war-path against the Negro people, and seek to divide the American people, Negro and white, even more sharply and dangerously than in the period immediately following World War I.

Imperialist reaction is also counting on furthering its wrecking and divisive purposes by spreading the poison of anti-Semitism and discrimination, and especially, anti-Communism. In their Red-baiting crusade, the men of the trusts do not intend to rely solely or so much

upon their Social-Democratic and Trotskyite agents. Rather, they are bringing into full play the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the top officialdom of the A. F. of L., the American Legion and the V.F.W.

At the same time, Big Business is expanding the official and extra-legal functions of Messrs. J. Edgar Hoover and Tom Clark and the Department of Justice, as well as of that notorious governmental agency, the infamous House Committee on un-American Activities. What is new in this is not only the undemocratic and unconstitutional procedures of these governmental bodies. What is new is that these government agencies are engaged in a Gestapo-like conspiracy. They are employing the authority and powers of the state on an unprecedented scale to wage a gigantic ideological and political campaign against the Communists and the labor movement. And this campaign is being launched as a prelude to instituting repressive, fascist measures against the militant trade unions, the Communist Party and some 150 progressive organizations which are charged with being "front" organizations. In other words, this anti-Communist drive is being undertaken with the aim of smashing the entire progressive movement and all democratic forces.

The growth and drive of reaction is equally evident in the sinister and bold offensive of the N.A.M., and of the du Ponts, Hearsts, Farleys, and McCormicks, and to secure a sweep-

ing victory for reaction in the November elections.

Finally, mention must be made of the unprecedented drive of reaction on the front of militarization. In conjunction with the unparalleled peacetime budget of eighteen and one-half billions for so-called "national defense," there is taking place a qualitative strengthening of the role of the military in America's foreign affairs. This is evidenced in part by the recent appointments of Generals Marshall and Bedell Smith.

Also, under the proposed legislation for civilian control of atomic energy, whatever form is adopted, the military will acquire a new voice, censorship, and control over our educational system, our universities, scientific and industrial laboratories. Then, too, the continuance of the Selective Service Act introduces a new, un-American peacetime practice of military regimentation within our public life, which threatens to establish a dictatorial, super-military caste system within our body politic.

It is clear, therefore, that imperialist reaction is growing at a rapid pace in this country. But the warning cry we must raise is that what confronts the people is not merely the growth of reaction in general, but a situation in which the most extreme reactionaries, chauvinists, and warmongers are driving directly toward fascism. Obviously, if the current offensive of American reaction succeeds, the road will have been readied for fascism's ride to power. It is, on the other hand, just as obvious that if the peo-

ple can check and defeat the present onslaught of reaction, they can also prevent the coming to power of the pro-fascist forces.

THE RESISTANCE AND COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF THE PEOPLE

While imperialist reaction is on the march in the U.S., it is also a fact that the attacks of the monopolies and the government are meeting with growing resistance. The offensive of Big Business is evoking increasing opposition on the part of organized labor, the Negro people, and ever-wider sections of veterans and other democratic forces.

The reactionary role of the Administration during the railroad strike, and the proposed anti-labor legislation of the G.O.P. and Truman, aroused the indignation and resistance of virtually all sections of the trade union movement. It heightened the fighting spirit of the workers, who quickly rallied in solidarity with the militant maritime workers and contributed to the great victory of the Committee on Maritime Unity on June 15. It gave a big impetus to the efforts of the progressive trade unionists—Communist and non-Communist—to forge united labor action. It led to joint action by the C.I.O., the Railroad Brotherhoods and the A. F. of L. in a score of industrial centers, in opposition to the Case and Truman bills. It widened the breach between labor and the Administration, and created a new understanding in labor's ranks re-

garding the reactionary course of the Truman government. It accelerated the movement toward greater independent political action. It gave new meaning to the C.I.O.'s drive to organize the South, and it rebounded against the Red-baiters within the labor movement.

The drive of the N.A.M. and its bi-partisan coalition in Congress to wreck O.P.A. and to end all price and rent controls, has been countered by the concerted action of 20 national labor, consumers, veterans and women's organizations. It has been met by a powerful and growing wave of mass labor-consumer protest actions in scores of communities throughout the nation, and by the demonstrative political action of the U.A.W.

The mounting attacks against the Negro people, and the rise of racial and national discrimination, are being opposed, not only by the courageous struggles and unity of action of the Negro people, and by those of the Jewish people and their mass organizations, but also by the trade unions, by the veterans and church groups, by Communists and non-Communists alike.

Notwithstanding the special efforts of reaction to mobilize the veterans against labor for pro-fascist aims, more and more veterans are moving in a progressive direction, are aligning themselves with labor and the peace forces. They are entering the political arena in struggle against the Bilbos, Rankins, and G.L.K. Smiths. In increasing numbers, they are calling for the democratization of the

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army and for the withdrawal of American troops from China and the Philippines. They are beginning to develop, on a mass scale, and on a community basis, broad united front actions in cooperation with labor for an emergency veterans' housing program, for an improved G.I. Bill of Rights, for jobs and security.

The struggle against the reactionary course in foreign affairs of the Administration and the G.O.P. remains very uneven and unsatisfactory. This state of affairs gives cause for great alarm. There is an obvious lag between labor's splendid struggles on the economic front and its all too insufficient alertness to the danger which the imperialist atom-bomb policy holds for the peace of the world.

While stressing this shortcoming, it is necessary to note, however, that the struggle for peace is gaining momentum. The anti-imperialist peace movement has been reinforced by the coordinated stand taken by the C.I.O.-P.A.C., N.C.P.A.C. and I.C.C. for the maintenance of Big Three unity, against Franco-Spain, against compulsory military training and in opposition to American unilateral and military control of the atombomb.

Then, too, there is the creation of the potentially powerful American Win-the-Peace movement. This is a national center for coordinating all anti-war and anti-imperialist activity, and it has already established community organizations in some-fifteen industrial centers. This important

movement has mapped out a sound united front program of action which can help check the drive toward imperialist expansion and war, and can effectively advance the cause of peace, democracy and national freedom. Although only in its initial stage, it has already attracted influential support within the C.I.O., among the Negro people and the nationality groups, and has enlisted the active cooperation of a score of progressive Congressmen.

Another barometer of the militancy of the people, of their resistance to reaction, is the growth of the Communist Party and the extension of its political influence. The initiative, correct policy, militant spirit and influential leadership of the Communists in the strike and peace movements, and in the struggles of the Negro people and the veterans, is evoking and promoting greater militancy, mass response, and unity of struggle among the working people and all progressives.

It is clear that the offensive of reaction will not go unchallenged. It is clear that it can be defeated. The American workers and progressives are in a fighting mood, have gained a new political consciousness and have the organized strength to give successful battle.

However, all this is not in itself enough to halt the drive of American imperialism toward world rule and new wars, and to stop fascism from coming to power in the United States. The democratic forces are, in the main, *on the defensive*. Labor

does not yet react in time to each act and provocation of reaction, and has not yet forged a sufficiently powerful united front of the people's forces. Above all, American labor, especially the organized trade union movement, remains sorely and dangerously divided.

The Goebbels-like issue of anti-Communism, brought forward by the monopolies, has not yet been squarely met and decisively defeated within the ranks of labor and the progressives, and the process of developing joint action between Communists and non-Communists proceeds far too slowly. Labor as a whole, as a class, does not yet pursue a course of independent and united anti-monopolist, working-class political action. Moreover, labor is in the main, still cut off from its major natural ally, the working farmers, who are thus left the prey of the demagoguery of the N.A.M. and the Republican Party.

III. HOW TO DEFEAT IMPERIALIST REACTION

To halt and defeat the offensive of imperialist reaction at home and abroad it is necessary for the labor and progressive movements to develop a great counter-offensive, to build up the organized strength of the workers and all popular forces. Above all, it is essential to weld the maximum unity of action of the political organizations of labor and the trade unions, in alliance with all anti-imperialist and democratic groups and elements.

Toward this end, it is necessary to bring about a new political understanding among the broadest sections of the American people concerning the reactionary imperialist aims of the big trusts and their political spokesmen. It is imperative to show that the drive of American imperialism for world domination is directed, not only against the fundamental interests of other freedom-loving peoples, but also and equally against the basic interests of the American people.

It must be made clear that Wall Street's drive for imperialist aggrandizement and expansion is, and can only be, accompanied by military adventures and reactionary interference in the internal affairs of other nations and by ever sharper attacks upon the living standards and liberties of the American people. It must be shown that if the ruinous policy of an "American Century" or of "Anglo-Saxon" world domination were to triumph, this could only result in catastrophe for the peoples and, not least of all, in untold casualties, mass poverty, oppression, and political regimentation for the American people.

It is not enough to point in a general way to the menace of reaction and fascism and to call for struggle against it. What is necessary is to alert the people and rally them to counteract each reactionary move of the Administration and Congress especially against each measure to cripple and destroy the trade unions and the Communist Party, to repre-

and assault the Negro people, and to lower the economic standards of all the working people.

What is necessary is to demonstrate that *democratic liberties, like peace, are indivisible*. Every encroachment on labor's rights, every attack on the Negro and the Jewish peoples, and every repressive move against the Communists, must be seen and combated as a violation of the Bill of Rights, as a dangerous assault upon the camp of democracy and peace.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION

To strengthen and broaden the people's struggle against the war-mongers, reactionaries and profiteers, labor and all anti-fascist forces must now display far greater political and organizing initiative in developing and leading mass movements and struggles in behalf of the most immediate and pressing economic and political demands of the workers, veterans, Negro people, farmers, and city middle classes.

These demands include the need for effective price and rent controls; for a decent American standard of living, that is, for wages and trade union standards adjustable to meet any rise in the cost of living; for an adequate federal and state housing program; for an improved GI Bill of Rights and a bonus; for reduced low-income and higher corporate taxes; for the enactment of F.E.P.C., anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation, and for outlawing anti-Semitism; for public operation of the major government-built war plants. They include the need for

an extensive public works, school, and hospital program; for a drastic improvement in federal and state social security and health programs; for a searching investigation and prosecution of war profiteers and pro-fascists; and for the preservation of trade union rights and civil liberties. They include the vital need for the withdrawal of American troops from China and the Philippines; for halting British imperialist intervention in Indonesia, Greece, and Palestine; for outlawing the atom bomb as a weapon of war, and for establishing civilian and non-monopoly controls over the development of atomic energy; and for honoring America's commitments at Potsdam, Moscow and Yalta; etc.

These and similar issues can become the means of rallying tens of millions of workers and common folk in mass action against the monopolists and imperialist warmakers.

The essential points of such an immediate program of action—of a positive democratic front program to promote maximum employment and security, to safeguard democracy and peace—have already been advanced by the C.I.O., P.A.C., the N.N.C., the U.N.A.V.A., the A.V.C., the Farmers Union, etc., as well as by our Party.

What must be done now is to concentrate on one or several of these issues—particularly, today, on the issues of genuine price and rent controls, adequate wage adjustments and an emergency housing program—on the issues which most deeply

agitate the masses and can arouse them for struggle. We must take this program of action directly to the people, to where they work and where they live. *We must bend every effort to coordinate the current activities of the various labor and progressive organizations which support one or another of the points of this program, and multiply the concerted actions of all workers and progressives, irrespective of political or union affiliation, on a shop, community, state, and national level.*

Special attention must therefore be given by labor and all progressives, especially by the Communists, to organize and extend the developing united front people's movement to curb the mounting cost of living, and to prepare for and give leadership to the new round of struggles, which is even now emerging, to raise the wages of the workers and all salaried employees.

The fact is that living costs are soaring to unheard-of proportions. All working and professional people are suffering, especially the low-income groups who have now received a cut in their economic standards amounting in many cases to 50%.

What is necessary now is that the progressive forces generally, the labor movement, especially the C.I.O., shall give a bold and energetic lead. The buyers' strike of the labor-consumer movement, including that initiated by the U.A.W., must be supported and extended. The anti-eviliction and rent control movement must be expanded.

But, above all else, the trade unions—the C.I.O., A. F. of L., and the Railway Brotherhoods—must now act in unison and must jointly press for vital wage increases without price rises.

In any case, the C.I.O. affiliates must work out a united wage and price control plan and strategy. They must initiate and really coordinate their struggles for higher wages and related economic demands. They must avoid isolated actions and wild-cat strikes. They must give special concern to coping with the acute problems now confronting the more than two and a half million veterans whose tenuous position on the federal 52-20 unemployment compensation plan is now coming to an end. They must champion the wage demands of government salaried employees, and enlist their active support. They must combine their economic with their political struggles.

The battles on economic issues which are now taking place, or are maturing, are unprecedented in scope and importance. They can also be of enormous significance in determining political relationships in the next period.

To reinforce and broaden the struggle for this people's program, and to extend labor's unity of action with non-labor groups, it is urgent, particularly at this juncture, that the labor-progressive movement bring forward in a new and bold way the fight for the progressive features of Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies.

It is especially urgent to re-emphasize and renew the people's struggle, not only for F.D.R.'s program for Big Three unity, but also for realizing Roosevelt's program of internal reforms as summarized in the Second Bill of Economic Rights—especially for full employment—and for actively defending all liberal, labor and social legislation enacted during Roosevelt's administration.

Roosevelt's program, it is true, has definite limitations. Yet it embodies vital points of a democratic foreign and domestic policy. It is a program which is close to the hearts of tens of millions of American workers and progressives, including millions of independent voters and the mass of the electorate who supported Roosevelt. It is high time that this program for peace and democratic reforms be revived and stubbornly fought for within the organizations of the working people and the ranks of the independent voters, within the halls of Congress, and among the rank-and-file who traditionally vote Democrat.

Toward this end, we Communists—in accord with our consistent efforts to weld the united front of labor and the broadest democratic front of all progressives and peace-loving forces—will be second to none in advancing this immediate program and in mustering active popular support for the progressive features of Roosevelt's liberal reforms and anti-Axis policies. In so doing we will work to implement and round out this partial program

and will systematically bring forward and champion our full program of action for immediate demands, as well as our fundamental aims.

THE PEOPLE MUST ORGANIZE TO ROUT REACTION

As we have emphasized, a successful struggle against reaction requires that the organized strength of labor and all popular forces, and the political influence and leadership of labor in the nation, must be consolidated and greatly expanded.

This necessitates a rapid strengthening, not only of the independent political organizations of the working class—especially of its vanguard party, the Communist Party—but also of the mass economic organizations of the workers, and particularly those of the progressive labor movement crystallized in the C.I.O. The mass trade unions are a great economic bulwark of the people's welfare; they are the foundations of our democracy and the mass instruments for advancing the anti-imperialist struggle for peace.

That is why, for instance, everything must be done, not only to bolster the strength of each individual C.I.O. affiliate, but also to ensure the success of the new C.I.O. drive to organize the South. Just as the earlier organizing drives of the C.I.O. enhanced labor's economic and political strength nationally, and helped bring about a new relationship of class forces within the coun-

try—as reflected in the Roosevelt-labor coalition and the emergence of P.A.C.—so today the unionization of the unorganized Negro and white workers in the South can give new vigor to the entire trade union movement. It can help wipe out Jim Crow and the poll-tax, as well as the retrogressive Southern wage and freight differentials. It can advance the economic welfare and democratic well-being of the American people as a whole. It can undermine the power of the Southern Bourbons and reaction generally.

It is to be hoped that the entire C.I.O. will finally grasp the full significance of the Southern drive, will overcome their penny-ante approach to this drive, and will really summon their full force to help guarantee the attainment of the major objective of "Operation Dixie."

High priority in the building of the progressive mass organizations of the people must also be given to strengthen and expand the National Negro Congress, as well as the N.A.A.C.P.; to support and develop not only the progressive rank-and-file movement in the Legion and the V.F.W., but likewise determinedly to build the A.V.C. and U.N.A.V.A.; to aid the growth of the militant, anti-imperialist A.Y.D. and the unity movement among all democratic-minded youth; to extend the base and mass activities of the Win-the-Peace-movement everywhere and to assist in the development of the American Congress of Women, the Farmers Union, the Civil Rights

Congress, as well as of all progressive nationality groups.

The growth of these progressive organizations, and of their mass work in fulfillment of their democratic aims, will increase the fighting capacity and political strength of the entire camp of democracy and peace. Therefore, it is the common concern of all labor and anti-fascist forces that these and all other progressively-inclined groups shall flourish, implement their programs, acquire a broader base, and concert their activities for common democratic and anti-monopoly ends.

UNITY IS THE NEED OF THE HOUR

Last, but not least, the most decisive precondition for waging an effective struggle against imperialist reaction is the forging of the widest unity of action of labor and all peace-loving groups, the organization of the broadest front of struggle of all opponents of monopoly, imperialism and war.

A correct program is in itself not enough. Stronger labor and progressive organizations are in themselves not sufficient. What is additionally required is the broadest, united, anti-fascist and anti-war actions of the workers and all progressives, of Communists and non-Communists, allied with all other democratic elements. Only in this way will it be possible to check and rout reaction and the warmongers.

Time does not permit a full and rounded-out exposition of the many

problems which must be solved if labor's unity of action and a powerful, democratic peace front are to be established. Therefore, we will limit our remarks at this point to some general, though key questions.

As is well known, the C.I.O. is the most progressive and powerful wing of the American trade union movement. It is also the organized mass base for the most effective independent mass political action by labor. Hence, everything possible must be done to cement the unity and strength of the C.I.O.

The camp of reaction understands this too. That is why the most reactionary forces in American political life concentrate upon dividing the C.I.O., upon launching a Red-baiting campaign in the C.I.O. and particularly upon engendering conflicts between the Left-wing and the Murray-Hillman forces.

Unfortunately, not everyone in the Left wing grasps this. Unfortunately, there are even some Communists who have a cavalier attitude with respect to the relations between the Center—the Murray-Hillman forces—and the Left wing in the C.I.O. Unfortunately, even some Communists in the C.I.O. misjudge and distort the middle-of-the-road, though generally progressive, position of the Murray-Hillman forces.

Instead of seeking to resolve tactical and similar differences in a friendly fashion, as between allies, some Left-wingers are frequently inclined to blow up each point of disagreement and every divergence of

views into a major conflict, into a head-on collision, with Murray and all non-Left-wing forces in the C.I.O.

This meeting of our National Committee must declare war against such attitudes. We affirm that the C.I.O. headed by Philip Murray, is the most progressive trade union center in the U.S. We affirm that the basic policies of the C.I.O. are progressive and today are vital to advancing the struggle for economic welfare, democracy, and peace.

We declare that the relations between the Left wing and the Center are decisive for the future of the C.I.O. and must be firmly consolidated. We state further that our attitude toward the progressive policies of the C.I.O., and our relations with the Murray-Hillman forces, are not temporary, are not based on transitory considerations, but are based on a long-range perspective of friendly collaboration for progressive aims, without which there can be no substantial progress of the C.I.O., the American labor movement, and the developing unity of action of Communists and non-Communists.

We similarly take this occasion to restate the deep interest of all progressive workers in promoting a militant program and unity of struggle within and among the C.I.O., A. F. of L. and the Railroad unions. The time is here, and the need is great, for advancing unity of action among the railroad crafts and Brotherhoods for their common demands—equitable work-rules and a national wage agreement. The time has ar-

rived for taking definite steps toward establishing a united metal trades federation and an all-inclusive maritime federation, embracing all C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions directly involved in these industries.

At the same time, the over-all and most pressing need is to bring about a further extension of joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. action against anti-labor legislation, as developed recently in Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Consequently, the C.I.O., nationally and locally, must display greater initiative in approaching the A. F. of L. organizations and in convincing them to take parallel or united action. This particularly requires that the progressive forces in the A. F. of L., and in the first place the Communists; take the issues to the membership, pursue a bold policy of united front action from below, and rely and orient themselves upon the militant moods of the A. F. of L. workers as expressed in the recent solidarity action of the A. F. of L. longshoremen, seamen and teamsters with the C.I.O. maritime workers. Such unity of action for immediate economic and political demands—carried forward as well in united labor political action in the '46 and '48 elections—provides one of the most important keys to victory for the democratic camp.

In like fashion, labor, and especially the progressive labor movement, must cultivate far closer ties with the progressive forces and organizations of the Negro people, the

veterans and farmers, as well as with the intellectuals and city middle classes. Labor must strive to achieve the widest common action with its natural allies.

At the same time, it must work to bring about even temporary and limited alliances and cooperative relations with all peace-loving elements, no matter how unstable and vacillating they may be, who for one reason or another desire to advance the cause of peace and democracy. For example, in the struggle for peace, labor and the Communists must not hesitate to develop joint action with numerous groups and individuals who still support the Administration, and especially with various pacifist and church groups who are willing to oppose this or that phase of the government's militarist and interventionist program.

Furthermore, in the struggle to defeat reactionary anti-labor legislation, the militant workers must enlist the aid of certain political figures and groups who also happen to support various features of the Administration's imperialist foreign policy. This tactic is an anti-fascist axiom which now, particularly, must be utilized and brought into practical operation in the day-to-day struggles of the people.

While boldly promoting and entering into such temporary alliances, and in forging a broad, stable, progressive coalition and militant, united front, working-class action, our Party, the Communist Party, must champion and promote its own sound

working-class proposals, its Marxist point of view, on all current questions, as well as bring forward its fundamental program for the eventual socialist reorganization of society. It is likewise essential that we retain at all times complete freedom of criticism of our allies, and freedom of action to develop our independent Communist policy and mass activities. But, in so doing we must work in such a way as to strengthen our ties with the broad masses who are under non-Communist influence and leadership.

We must build our firm working-class base and independent political strength. However, in doing this, we must reject the sectarian concept and practice that the maintenance of our independent position means, or must result in our self-isolation, the separation of the Communists from the masses of the working class, or the alienation of us Communists from our progressive non-Communist allies, especially in the labor movement.

At the same time, we must make clear that without the participation of the Communists, there can be no powerful and stable anti-imperialist democratic coalition. Without the inclusion of the Communists, any such coalition will be torn asunder by Red-baiting and other divisive moves, and will be deprived of its most resolute and consistent anti-fascist and anti-monopoly component. Therefore, we must convince the decisive participants and leaders in the developing labor-progressive coalition that it is vital, and in the com-

mon interest, that this coalition include, as a recognized component, a strong and growing Communist sector which can contribute its maximum strength to the unity and welfare of the common people, to the cause of peace and progress.

IV. THE CRUCIAL 1946 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Among the most immediate and important battles in the struggle against imperialist reaction are the political contests now taking place in the Congressional and state primaries, which will culminate in the crucial November elections. As we have emphasized time and again, the outcome of the '46 elections will exert a marked influence on the Government's foreign and domestic policies and will profoundly affect the course of political realignment within the country.

Most of the primaries are over and we are now entering the last stage of the election campaign. The outlook for November is by no means too favorable. Nevertheless, it is still possible for the labor and progressive forces to win a series of important Congressional contests and to organize a fighting, progressive coalition.

With a few notable exceptions, the primaries have resulted so far in the nomination of the present Congressional incumbents, foreshadowing on this basis no decisive change in the over-all composition of the next Congress. While in the majority of the primaries voting was extremely light, the reactionary Republicans in most

instances polled a larger primary vote than the Democrats. This is being widely interpreted as presaging a G.O.P. landslide in November.

But on the positive side of the ledger, it should be noted that the progressive, pro-Roosevelt forces have achieved a number of significant primary victories in the South, as in Alabama and Florida. In all probability the same will be true in Texas. Furthermore, there has been an unprecedented upsurge in Negro registration and voting in the South, and a marked increase in labor-progressive political action, embracing wide sections of both the Negro and white masses. Indicative of the new role of the Negro people in the Southern elections is the fact that 116,000 Negroes have registered in Georgia, 160,000 in Texas and 55,000 in Tennessee.

The popular forces have also gained certain important triumphs in the primaries in Idaho, North Dakota, Washington and Minnesota.

The outcome of the primaries indicates that it is still possible to achieve the minimum electoral objectives set by numerous progressives, including P.A.C., *i.e.*, to re-elect a majority of the incumbent progressive Congressmen and to defeat from 25 to 50 reactionary Democratic and Republican Congressmen.

LESSONS THAT MUST BE GRASPED

However, this opportunity — or fighting possibility — will not be forthcoming if some of the costly

lessons of the primaries are not quickly grasped.

The unfavorable outcome in a number of primaries was due in no small measure to the extreme slowness of labor and other anti-fascists, including the Communists, in entering the primary campaigns, in intervening in the selection and nomination of candidates, in formulating and popularizing a sound democratic front program, and in mobilizing the active support and unity of action of the progressive forces for the primaries.

By and large, in most primary contests, labor and its allies dragged at the tail of electoral events and in most cases followed after the state and county organizations of the Democratic Party. They failed to develop in time their own independent role, position, and activities, so as to influence developments and forge a broad electoral coalition. They did not explore and utilize all opportunities for bringing forward, in the primaries, people's and independent candidates, backed by a broad progressive coalition.

The adverse results achieved in many of the primaries were due, furthermore, to the sectarian and one-sided position which sections of the progressive labor movement, including certain Party forces, developed toward all Democrats, including progressives like Kenny and Paterson of California, and toward other and more conservative, middle-of-the-road or wavering, pro-labor Democrats.

Increased indignation toward, and correct opposition to, the reactionary course of the Truman Administration and to the most consistent adherents of its anti-Roosevelt foreign policy, blinded certain labor and progressive groups to the need for simultaneously unmasking and opposing the most vicious political spokesmen of the N.A.M., gathered around the reactionary Republicans. It also resulted in a confused state of thinking on the part of many progressives. They failed to differentiate between the Farleys and the Kennys, and lost sight of the urgent need for the labor-progressive coalition to influence, win over, and give critical electoral support to certain wavering, pro-labor elements in the Democratic Party.

It should not be overlooked that a number of progressives were defeated because they failed to dissociate themselves decisively from the imperialist course of the Administration, and from the sabotaging and disruptive attitudes of several of the Democratic state machines toward the C.I.O. and P.A.C. Closely connected with this, a number of progressive, pro-Roosevelt Democratic candidates, such as Kenny in California, were defeated, in part, because of the growing opposition of labor and the people to the Administration's policies, especially as expressed in Truman's reactionary role in the railroad strike. This, in turn, created apathy among certain sections of the Democratic voters and influenced others to cast a "protest" vote for Warren.

If these and other vital lessons of

the recent primaries are taken to heart, it will be possible, even at this late hour, to effect a favorable outcome in several of the remaining primaries, especially in New York, to win a series of important Congressional and state victories in November, and to prevent the grave danger of an electoral sweep by the reactionary Republican Party.

It is possible to do this if all the existing conditions are utilized to turn the election campaign into a people's crusade for peace, security and democracy, and to build the independent political organization of labor and the progressives in the course of a vigorous fight on these central issues.

OBJECTIVES TO BE REALIZED

It will be possible to achieve certain important partial electoral victories and to speed the movement toward a new party alignment if we firmly orient ourselves in the 1946 election campaign upon the realization of the following concrete tasks and objectives:

a. A resolute effort must be made to defeat the Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg crowd—the foremost representatives of the du Pont clique dominating the N.A.M.—who are pressing the Administration to move faster and farther along the path of reaction.

b. The election struggle must be waged so as to mobilize full resistance to the imperialist policy of the Truman Administration, which is

carrying out the program of Big Business, and to rally full support for the defeat of all Democratic candidates who consistently support those reactionary policies.

c. Everything must be done to weaken, undermine, and defeat the reactionary G.O.P. and Tory-Democrat bi-partisan coalition in Congress and all members and supporters of this sinister combination.

d. On the other hand, it is necessary for labor to influence the wavering middle-of-the-road and pro-labor Democrats and Republicans and to draw them into the orbit of the labor-progressive camp. In most cases, qualified electoral support should be given to such candidates, especially when the running of an independent candidate would ensure the election of a reactionary Vandenberg, Dewey, or Farley candidate.

e. Finally, and of increased importance now, particularly after the primaries, it is vital to put forward a greater number of independent people's candidates, including a series of Communist candidates, supported by a representative people's coalition.

Above all, it is essential to consolidate, expand and coordinate the independent political organizations and united front actions of labor and the progressives, including the Communists. P.A.C., N.C.P.A.C., and I.C.C. should coordinate their activities on a precinct, ward and township level, as well as on a Congressional district and state-wide basis. The joint election platform of C.I.O.-P.A.C., I.C.C. and N.C.P.A.C. should

be popularized and translated into a fighting program of common action.

The developing third party movement should be consolidated, under working class leadership, and developed as a potent and integral part of the labor-democratic coalition now working for victory in the Congressional elections, and capable of moving forward to a new stage of independent political action after November. Also, our Party, the Communist Party, must strengthen itself, multiply its activities, expand its mass work in behalf of the day-to-day demands of the people, and infuse all its work with its long-range perspective of socialism.

The achievement of these major, immediate election objectives can be facilitated if certain key questions are constantly borne in mind and if the tactical conclusions which follow from these concrete tasks, serve as a serious guide to day-to-day action.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

As recent events and the course of the primaries demonstrate, the Republican Party is and remains the main party of reaction and monopoly capital. The Congressional spokesmen of the G.O.P. have the dubious honor of having secured a commanding position in the government's foreign policy and of having dictated the most reactionary features of this policy. They have the questionable honor of having originated and passed the most vicious of all recently proposed anti-labor legislation, the Case Bill. And they have the odious

honor of having scuttled O.P.A., of having ended the limited price and rent control proposals previously advanced by the Administration.

No genuine progressive anywhere will question the fact that the G.O.P. is owned, lock, stock and barrel, by the most extreme reactionaries, by the Hearsts, du Ponts and McCormicks. No progressive will dispute the fact that the dominant control of the G.O.P. machine is in the hands of the Pews and Grundys, the Tafts and Brickers, the Vandenberg, Hoovers and Deweys. However, there are many progressives who are still unable fully to understand the reactionary aims and tactics of the G.O.P. and the N.A.M. Nor do they see that these reactionaries are now resorting to extreme demagoguery, and are seeking to present a liberal front, using for this purpose the Warrens, Stassens and LaFollettes.

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION

As far as the Truman Administration is concerned, the following bears repetition: the Administration is zealously carrying out the program of Big Business, in both foreign and domestic affairs. To demonstrate its complete departure from Roosevelt's foreign policy, the Administration brings into government service Vandenberg, Dulles, and Hoover. It steers a bellicose, anti-Soviet policy and increasingly reneges on the Big Three agreements entered into by Roosevelt.

To emphasize its nebulous adher-

ence to, and increased repudiation of, Roosevelt's progressive domestic program, the Administration advocates the Truman draft-labor Bill, approves the Hobbs Bill, knifes F.E.P.C., and brings Southern Bourbons like Clark and Byrnes into the highest government circles.

Nonetheless, the Truman Administration still pays occasional lip-service to Roosevelt's domestic program. It is still influenced by certain partisan and sectional interests. It is still sensitive to certain mass pressures. It still wavers and hesitates whenever labor and the people aggressively assert themselves, as reflected in Truman's veto of the Case Bill. It is still influenced by the conflicting trends, groups, and opinions within the Democratic Party. However, as we have emphasized repeatedly, the Administration is not a part of the labor-democratic coalition, and cannot be relied upon to advance, adhere to, or consistently support any progressive aspect of Roosevelt's program. The Administration carries out the chief features of the program of the monopolies, even though it is the Hoovers and Vandenberg who press it to move more rapidly and brazenly along the path of reaction.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Insofar as Truman's party, the Democratic Party, is concerned, it is undergoing certain changes. This bourgeois party has been a coalition of diverse political groups, ranging from the reactionary Southern Bourbon poll taxers to the Roosevelt New

Dealers, a party which has attained national electoral victories in the past decade only by entering into a loose, though fairly close alliance with the progressive, labor and independent citizens' movements.

Now the Democratic Party is in the process of sharpened inner-strife and realignment. The most reactionary wings, controlled by the Southern oligarchy and by the reactionary Catholic hierarchy, are pursuing a de facto electoral alliance with the G.O.P. and plan ultimate fusion with it. In this connection, powerful Democratic machines, like those led by Farley, want to terminate all dependence upon labor, and are willing to lose the coming elections, if necessary, in order to break up the remnants of the former Democratic-labor coalition.

Then, too, there are influential forces within the Democratic Party, and among its adherents, who support the chief features of Truman's imperialist program, but who are nonetheless disposed, for reasons of political expediency, to continue some sort of collaboration with labor. But there are also still other Democratic circles, represented by the Peppers, Kennys and Sabbaths, who genuinely desire to implement Roosevelt's program and seek to maintain a coalition with labor and all popular forces. In addition, there is the new labor-progressive upsurge in the South, which is influencing certain progressive and potentially far-reaching political regroupings within the Democratic Party.

Labor and the progressives cannot remain indifferent to these struggles, rifts and realignments within the Democratic Party organizations. *In fact, it is essential that—while pursuing an independent working class policy and expanding its independent political organizations and activity—labor help influence a progressive regrouping within the Democratic Party.* It is necessary that labor encourage and aid the organization and activation of the pro-Roosevelt forces, influence them to fight for F.D.R.'s program and on the issues of the day, and achieve a working agreement with these forces for the November elections and the post-election period.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Of cardinal importance, is the need of promoting the independent political action of labor and the progressives, including the Communists. This must be done on the basis of consolidating the unity of action of the broadest coalition of all democratic forces in the 1946 elections to prevent a reactionary Republican victory, which now looms as a distinct possibility, as well as to defeat the reactionaries and allies of the G.O.P. in the Democratic Party.

To this end, the Left-wing forces must enhance their independent positions and influence, must systematically bring to the fore the vital issues and a constructive people's program. At the same time an all-inclusive Left wing must reinforce

and weld the alliance between the Left-wing forces and all other progressive groups.

This last point is of crucial importance, though its realization is fraught with many difficulties. For example, it is a fact that the Murray-Hillman forces in P.A.C. and N.C.P.A.C. are generally hesitant and reluctant about pursuing a full and completely independent policy. They are prone to drag after the Democrats, to adjust themselves to the Democratic Party organizations and decisions, and to follow the electoral pattern of '44. Such tailist tendencies and inclinations must be overcome and offset by clarifying the issues; by reaching and influencing the membership of the C.I.O., P.A.C., N.C.P.A.C., etc.; by energetically building the A.L.P. as well as all mass, united front coalitions; by actively supporting the progressive candidates brought forward by the A.L.P. and by various other independent labor-progressive coalitions and electoral alliances; and by strengthening our own independent positions and influence.

But, in doing this, it must be remembered that without the close cooperation and alliance of the Left-wing and the Center groups in the C.I.O., P.A.C., etc., a broad labor-progressive-democratic coalition cannot be achieved. It must similarly be borne in mind that the decisions and blessing of the Left-wing are not the only prerequisites for the successful running of independent candidates and tickets on a representative and

effective basis. What is also required is the collaboration and active support of the Murray-Hillman forces and other progressive elements, including the cooperation of certain conservative-progressive groupings now associated with the Democratic and Republican parties.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE ELECTIONS

A vital key to the outcome of the November elections is the position which the Negro voters will take.

In recent years, the Negro people have been one of the most dependable sectors and supporters of the Roosevelt-labor coalition. They have also been one of the first major sections of the popular forces to realize that the Truman Administration has moved steadily away from Roosevelt's policies. They have been among the first to oppose the current reactionary course of the Administration and to favor a more determined independent political stand by labor and the progressives.

Endeavoring to exploit the anti-Truman and anti-Bourbon sentiments of the Negro electorate, the Republicans are making a demagogic play for the Negro vote and are expending huge sums to buy up the Negro press and spokesmen.

But the progressive Negro leaders and organizations understand that their fate is inseparably bound up with labor and all peace forces. What is necessary now is that the progressive labor movement and the Communists champion even more vigor-

ously the demands and rights of the Negro people. What is equally necessary is that the Negro people, in alliance with labor, develop to the utmost the independent, anti-imperialist, political organizations, activity and unity of the Negro people. In rejecting Truman, the Negro people must also unmask and oppose the G.O.P. demagogues, and find the ways and means of asserting the full strength of the Negro voters, North and South, in unshakeable cooperation with the C.I.O., P.A.C., the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, and all other democratic movements.

THE VETERANS

A unique role in the coming elections will also be played by the veterans.

The Republican Party has been unusually sensitive to the question of exploiting the grievances of the veterans for electoral advantage. The G.O.P. has nominated scores of veterans as candidates, and is making every effort to appear as the champion of their needs.

But in the fight for homes, for price and rent control, for jobs and decent wages, for security and peace, hundreds of thousands of veterans are becoming keenly aware of the fact that the G.O.P. offers no more, and perhaps even less, than the Democrats and the Truman Administration.

Ever wider numbers of veterans are looking to labor and its advanced political organizations to advance

their rights and aspirations. The progressive labor movement must now more consciously and consistently recognize this tribute and obligation, and far more energetically champion the just demands of the veterans. The C.I.O., P.A.C., N.C.P.A.C., I.C.C. and all other independent political instruments of labor and the progressives must campaign for and among the veterans, reach and influence these articulate voters and citizens, and take special steps to organize the most active veterans as whole-hearted fighters for "Operation November."

THE THIRD PARTY QUESTION

Since the Truman message to Congress dealing with the railway workers and emergency anti-labor legislation, the sentiment for a third party has grown. The railroad, teamster, and auto workers, as well as the Negro people, have widely expressed themselves in favor of a new party alignment. Other and broader sections of the labor-progressive movement have been impelled toward various forms of independent political action.

Recent political developments, including this noticeable trend toward a new party grouping, thus make it incumbent upon the progressive labor movement and us Communists *more effectively to promote the movement for a new people's party, led by labor, and energetically to work for its realization.*

By and large, the conditions have not yet matured at this time for cry-

tallizing third parties organizationally on a state or local scale. However, the conditions are ripe for, and the situation demands that, broad *political support for a new people's party be organized*, that the mass sentiment for a new political alignment be channelized and further stimulated.

One of the most essential steps which must now be taken is to raise publicly the need of preparing the way for, and laying the mass foundations of, an anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist people's party, led by the working class. It is particularly important to do this in the various trade union locals, committees, Councils, etc. A wide discussion must be undertaken in all trade unions and people's organizations regarding the need for a new party and the character and program of such a party. Wherever possible, authoritative centers should be established to carry on mass educational work for, and to help direct the mass movement toward, a third, a people's mass party.

Furthermore, it is necessary to build P.A.C., N.C.P.A.C., I.C.C., and similar committees and movements everywhere, both to advance the interests of labor and the progressives in the coming Congressional elections and *to organize in the course of the '46 elections, and immediately afterwards, a grass-roots political machinery and foundation for the new people's alignment and party which are now in the making*. In this connection, it is high time that the Left-wing unions overcome their lethargy

and move ahead into action under full steam ahead.

In so doing, it is imperative that the most politically alert and active forces take into account, and combat, the narrow, premature, and divisive third-party moves which are now being originated by the Social-Democrats and Trotskyites. This is true of the recent Chicago third-party provocation, headed by A. Philip Randolph, as well as of the projected national adventures of the misnamed Liberal Party of New York State and of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. These disruptive and bogus third-party ventures are lightning rods set up to misdirect the genuine people's movement, toward a new and progressive political realignment, into sectarian and anti-Communist third-party channels.

In connection with the increasing sentiment for independent political action, a trend of opinion is coming to the fore which challenges the basis and outlook for a new party alignment. Wallace and Ickes, as well as certain C.I.O.-P.A.C. leaders, represent such points of view.

These prominent spokesmen, who definitely favor the development of activity along the lines of P.A.C. or I.C.C., are taking sharp issue with the concept of, and trend toward, a third party. They recommend increased independent, progressive, political action on the part of the labor movement and its allies, but solely within the framework of the two-party system. They consider that a

third party would, ipso facto, become a minority party and would inevitably ease the way for the coming to governmental power of the most reactionary forces. Hence, they advocate a course of independent political action which, in terms of party alignments, would be designed to win control of, revamp, and revitalize, one of the existing major parties, *i.e.*, the Democratic Party.

Such viewpoints, obviously, work against the trend for a new people's party. They are based upon the status quo of present-day independent political action, and not upon its dynamics. They ignore the fact that the third party issue is not just a question of tactics, a question to be raised, moreover, only in the future. The fact is that labor and the people are already building the foundations for a third party. The fact is that a new regrouping of the people's forces is already taking place, accelerated by the practical activities of the C.I.O., P.A.C., I.C.C., N.C.P.A.C., and of all the pro-Roosevelt peace forces.

However, the advocates of an anti-monopoly party of the people can neither ignore nor dismiss the viewpoints of such honest, though confused, progressives. Least of all can they develop a head-on collision with the leading spokesmen of such outlooks, who, in the main, favor and advance important, though limited, forms of independent political action.

In fact, the movement for a new party alignment necessitates that those who advocate converting the Demo-

cratic Party into a people's party increase their strength and multiply their independent pro-Roosevelt activity within the Democratic Party. Yet these people must be shown that their orientation and activity cannot make serious headway unless the trend toward a progressive regrouping in the Democratic Party is accompanied by the growth of all independent labor and progressive organizations and activities outside of, and quite independent from, either of the existing major parties.

Therefore, while taking issue with, and criticizing the anti-third party views of the Wallaces and Ickes, the Left wing in the labor movement should combine the organization of independent political action in all forms—including the promotion of third-party coalitions, tickets and movements in the Congressional elections—simultaneously with encouraging the growth of pro-Roosevelt committees and activities within the Democratic Party and of opposition movements and anti-Old Guard groupings within the G.O.P.

In no case should the struggle for a third, a people's party, be developed so as to weaken the cooperation of all progressives in the 1946 elections, or so as to launch a major and frontal assault against the advocates of limited independent political action, such as the Wallaces or the Ickes. Serious and legitimate differences regarding the future course of labor-progressive political action must not divert the Communists and other militant workers either from ad-

vancing a new progressive party alignment—based on the trade unions and the other mass organizations of the people—or from cooperating with, or seeking out and cultivating, allies and associates from among the followers of Wallace, Ickes and other independents. Such differences must not hinder the development of the widest common political action today of all progressives against the common enemy, the trusts and the warmongers.

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

As we enter the final phase of the Congressional election campaign—a crucial battle in the struggle against reaction and war—we Communists are faced with enormous responsibility.

We are called upon to help clarify the central issues in the campaign, the issues of security, democracy and peace. We are called upon to help develop a people's movement, a crusade, on these issues, and to wage a popular, and yet basic, political and ideological struggle against the apostles and demagogues of reaction. We are called upon to expand our Communist mass work and voting strength, widely to popularize our immediate, as well as our ultimate socialist program, and to build up our Party organizations and mass influence.

We are especially called upon to give labor and the progressives a realistic and self-confident perspective, to overcome existing moods of fatalism and defeatism in labor's

ranks, and to imbue the people with the will to win and the know-how to forge victory.

Hence, one of the most indispensable contributions we can make is to strengthen the independent organizations and activity of labor and its allies, and to bend heaven and earth to crystallize the widest democratic coalition. We should remember at every moment that the decisive issue is not whether the independent and democratic coalition forces will put forward many or few *independent* candidates and tickets of their own. The decisive thing is to organize that kind of progressive coalition, including the Communists, which, irrespective of the number of candidates it nominates or elects, will crusade for a people's program, will resist and curb the offensive of imperialist reaction, and will advance the urgent and immediate, as well as the fundamental, long-term interests of the working people.

No matter how the elections finally turn out, labor and the progressives must and can emerge with a broader, more powerful and all-inclusive anti-monopoly and anti-war coalition. Such a coalition alone can and will safeguard the welfare and interests of the people, can and will advance the cause of security and jobs, democracy and peace.

V. CONCLUSION

One year has passed since our last and crucial National Convention. The main political line and decisions

of that convention have thus had sufficient time to be tested in the crucible of political life.

Marxists must not only analyze the significance of current developments; they must also find out where and in what direction events will develop in the future. From this point of view, we can state that our convention, on the whole, met the challenge of history, of future developments. Repudiating Browderism, rejecting revisionism, we correctly foresaw the postwar drive of American imperialism for world domination; we noted in time the growth of imperialist reaction in both foreign and domestic affairs; and, on this basis, we warned of the mounting dangers besetting Big Three unity, and hence world peace, as well as the economic security and democratic welfare of the American people.

However, Marxism teaches that the future must not only be foreseen, but must also be fought for and mastered. Sound foresight must be combined with effective practical activity.

Even the most profound and letter-perfect analysis cannot change the course of events unless it leads to the adoption of a realistic program of mass action. And such a program will come to naught unless it is resolutely advanced, unless it is coupled with flexible tactics, which concentrate major fire against the main enemy, relies on the working class as the basic force, and simultaneously enlists the broadest support of all progressive forces in society.

The growing strength of our Party,

led by our National Committee—at the head of which stands Comrade Foster—is due not merely to our ability to foresee events and map out correct perspectives. It lies in the fact that our Party is also beginning to acquire the ability to organize the masses to struggle for the realization of our program—a program which corresponds with their most vital immediate interests and future aspirations.

It is true that we still have more than our share of weaknesses and shortcomings. We are still a long way from eradicating all vestiges of Browderism and from becoming a mass party with decisive mass influence.

Yet, as recent experience demonstrates, we have been able to implement important aspects of our program and policies. We have been able to help in the organization and leadership of a number of major strike struggles, to spearhead the struggle for Negro rights, for the needs of the veterans, and for effective price and rent control, as well as to help set in motion a sturdy anti-imperialist peace movement. We have succeeded, too, in taking the first steps to reorganize and build our Party in the basic industries.

Nonetheless, in the course of applying our convention decisions, in expanding our political influence and mass work, we still find ourselves hampered with right-opportunist hangers, especially with tendencies to tail after events and the masses. At the same time, we are being in-

creasingly menaced by a new and equally fatal sickness, with the cancerous growth of left-sectarian views and practices. This is especially the case with regard to how we apply the united and democratic front policies which our convention correctly outlined for the 1946 elections, for our trade union work, and for the struggle for peace.

To make more rapid headway in our mass activity, and in building our Party as a mass party—which we can and we will do—we must now reinforce the struggle of the entire Party on two fronts, against infantile leftism and right opportunism.

We must greatly enhance the fighting capacity and practical, day-to-day leadership of our Party in all of the mass economic and political struggles of the people. We must help organize a resolute and powerful struggle of the people against the trusts, and a mighty anti-imperialist peace movement.

We must increase our vigilance and fortify our Marxist-Leninist struggle on the ideological and theoretical fronts. We must vastly improve every aspect of our mass agitation—our press, our use of the radio

and our meetings—so as to reach and convince millions of workers and progressives and set them in motion.

We must raise our political-organizational sights, and boldly pass over from recruiting thousands of workers to organizing tens of thousands of militant workers and progressives speedily and directly into the ranks of our Party, the Marxist party of the American working class.

We can carry out these tremendous tasks because we are Communists. The leaders and ideologists of the capitalist class, as Marx expressed it, worship the past, are frightened by the present, and are disoriented by the future. But we Communists are the vanguard of the working class, the only class which can connect and harmonize our proletarian past and our Marxist ideology with future developments and our historic mission.

We can accomplish our objectives because we are adherents of scientific Socialism, because we draw our strength from our working class and native land, and because we draw inspiration for our struggles, and deepen our knowledge, from the wellspring of the Marxists and workers of all lands.

IMPROVE AND BUILD OUR COMMUNIST PRESS—THE NEXT STEP IN PARTY BUILDING

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

*Report delivered July 18, at the plenary meeting of the
National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.*

I. PARTY RECRUITING

AT THE LAST MEETING of the National Committee it was decided to launch a Party building campaign, with the main aim of improving and changing the industrial composition of our membership. The results achieved demonstrate that the decision was a correct one.

We now have 15,000 new members in our Party. We now have—and this is of equal importance over 400 shop and industrial branches, of which approximately one hundred are composed exclusively of new members. It is a measure of the new spirit which fills the entire Party that this campaign was carried through at the same time that we were participating with greater intensity in various mass struggles, engaging in a completely successful *Daily Worker* Fund Drive, and achieving definite increases in dues payments within the Party.

The fact that we were able to carry through simultaneously these and other activities reflects the growing

improvement of our Party clubs, which are learning to work like real Communist organizations. It reveals that, in the main, we have been able to reconstitute the Party on a Marxist basis, in terms both of ideology and organization. Much remains to be done, as we are only too well aware, but the advances we have made during this past year demonstrate that with clarity of thought and tenacity of purpose we can make that greater advance in building our Party which is demanded of us at this grave moment in the life of our country.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CAMPAIGN

In a statement on the Party building campaign issued by the National Board, which should be considered part of this report, its political significance was estimated as follows:

This growth of our Party is an index of the growing political maturity and mood to struggle of the American

working class. Fighting militant determination and greater unity characterized the recent wage and strike struggles. The organized resentment and indignation of the workers developed into an avalanche of protest against the repressive measures launched by the bi-partisan bloc in Congress and the Truman Administration to weaken the ranks of labor. A rising people's movement is developing around many issues—for price control, for democratic rights, for world peace, for the needs of the veterans, against the reactionary-inspired attacks on the Negro people. All these bear witness to the fact that the American working class and people, Negro and white, are on the move against the reactionary war drive of American imperialism at home and abroad.

A clear and unmistakable answer to the reactionary offensive of monopoly capitalism, to their renewed Red-baiting and anti-Communist activities, which found expression in some sections of the labor and people's movement, was the growth of our Party in recent months, proving that vast and far-reaching possibilities exist for the further rapid strengthening of our Party in the period ahead. . . .

These advances made by our Party during the Party building campaign are of decisive importance, emphasizing the serious manner with which the Party approached this task. The lag in Party recruiting reflected in a number of districts cannot be attributed to our over-estimating the possibilities for the growth of our Party in this period. Instead, the results achieved throughout the country, the fact that we surpassed our goals in a number of areas and districts, prove conclusively that the objectives originally set were fully realizable.

MORE COULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED

It is true that we did not fully succeed in reaching our goal of 20,000 new members. We did, however, achieve definite results in terms of industrial composition by maintaining continued emphasis on that aspect of the campaign. Still better results would have been obtained if our members in such industries as electrical, steel, and auto had worked better. Representative national Party conferences should have been organized in these industries, with the purpose of mobilizing all our forces for the Party building campaign. The work of our comrades in the maritime industry, organized in precisely such a way, achieved good results, and can serve as an example for our comrades in every other industry.

Much more could also have been achieved if our policy of concentration had been effectively applied by all Communist clubs, by the entire Party. We cannot say that our concentration policy became the concern of all Party clubs. In fact, in some districts the work of the community clubs remained especially weak during the entire campaign, because they were not actively involved in helping to realize our concentration objectives.

It is also a fact that we did not make sufficient headway during the campaign in legalizing our Party in the trade union movement, in making known among the masses of the workers the constructive con-

tributions to the labor movement made by our Party through our members who are trade union leaders. There is no question but that this weakened our recruiting results.

Mere talk and little action will not help to solve this problem, but will only serve to discredit us. We must reaffirm what we have previously stated, namely, that while collaborating with all forces on common policies, Communists in the trade unions, on all levels of leadership, must more and more explain their Communist affiliation; and they must show that this does not conflict with the interests of their unions, but enables them to work with greater determination and understanding for the carrying out of their union's progressive policies.

The intimate connection between successful Party building and our ability to contribute to effective leadership in mass struggles stands out boldly in our experience in the maritime industry. The recruiting of nearly 1,000 new members from among the maritime workers, the printing and immediate sale of a special booklet, *Communists on the Waterfront*, and other activities, made it possible for us to strengthen our relations with non-Party maritime workers and leaders and to contribute, in no small degree, to the victory of the maritime workers.

Such fruitful experiences must be particularly borne in mind when we consider our weaknesses in a number of key industries. To the extent that we are able to build the Party in

certain selected plants, adopt a correct policy, and follow a correct tactical line of close working relations with non-Party-progressive forces, we will be able to make a contribution which will extend far beyond these plants.

In an important industry, for example, we have a fairly good Party organization in one of the big companies. True, we need further to build and consolidate it. We must find more effective forms of Party organization to activate many more of our members in the political-educational work of our Party as distinct from their activity in the unions, where they, like all other members, are subject to the union discipline and decisions. The fact is that in this section of the industry our Party organization, with all its shortcomings, exerts an influence on the general political thinking of the workers and represents the type of organization we should like to see in all plants. We can make further progress in this particular industry only if we also extend our influence and organization into the most important company, which has numerous plants throughout the nation.

In another important concentration industry, where there are serious economic problems troubling the workers and where attempts at Red-baiting were recently defeated, it is highly urgent, in the interests of the strengthening and unity of the union itself, that our Party grow substantially. Yet in precisely some of the most important areas of this in-

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dustry, our recruiting was extremely unsatisfactory.

In all concentration industries, we must work to establish strong Party organization in the key plants and then extend our influence from them to the areas which surround them.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

Our experiences in the Party building campaign indicate that increased possibilities exist for further extending the numerical strength of our Party if we pay special attention to a number of important questions.

The first of these is the consolidation and further building of the Party in the South. The new opportunities which exist are indicated by the fact that in the South, where we reregistered 1013 members, we recruited 1146 new members. This was achieved by our Party in the South in the course of active participation in mass work, including the C.I.O.'s organizing drive, the various primaries, and the resurgent political movement among the Negro people. It was also achieved in the course of an unceasing struggle for correct Party policy on the Negro question, particularly in Florida, the Carolinas and Texas. The new developments in the South, which made it possible for us to double our membership, now make it both possible and necessary for us to think in terms of a much larger Communist Party in the South in the not too distant future. To reach such a goal requires, among other things, that

we launch a weekly Party paper in the South; that we issue special literature and organize many more schools for the training of Party functionaries; and that we establish a closer link between the national leadership of the Party and our organizations in the South.

It is especially necessary that the Party be built rapidly and firmly in all the Southern shops and mills, so that we can make our contribution to the great political upsurge of organization and activity now developing in the South. This is in the interests of the Southern workers, as well as of the workers nationally.

The second point that needs to be stressed is that one-third of all our new recruits are Negro men and women, most of whom are industrial workers. Significant lessons may be drawn from this insofar as Party tasks are concerned. The Negro people are the most consciously anti-imperialist section of the population. They are a reliable sector of the anti-imperialist peace front, and one of the cornerstones of the broad movement for independent political action that must be built. A great responsibility is therefore placed upon us to spread an understanding of the true role and importance of the Negro people among the white masses. We must particularly strive to influence the trade unions, including C.I.O. unions, to defend more resolutely the interests of the Negro workers, and to establish, not merely in print but in practice, the full rights and equality of the Negro

workers within the unions themselves.

A third question of importance is that of Party influence and activity among A. F. of L. workers. The general underestimation of Party work among A. F. of L. workers was dramatically revealed in the Party building campaign. Only 14 per cent of those recruited were A. F. of L. workers, the percentage being even lower in such important centers of A. F. of L. strength as Illinois, New Jersey, Connecticut, Philadelphia and New England. This does not mean that great possibilities do not exist. Nor can the solution of this problem be found in organizational measures alone. We must fight for a correct estimate within our ranks of the political importance of influencing and working among the A. F. of L. workers if the entire labor and democratic movement is not to be held back, if progress is to be made toward greater unity of action against the offensive of monopoly capital.

INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION

The statement of the National Board on the Party Building Campaign deals with the over-all aspect of the industrial composition of the 15,000 new recruits. It will be sufficient, therefore, merely to touch here on some points not developed in detail in that statement.

The improvement in the industrial composition of the Party can be seen if we compare the figures for the Party registration, as of Jan-

uary 1, 1946, with those of the Party building campaign. On January 1, 39 per cent of the Party consisted of industrial workers generally and 19 per cent of workers in basic industry specifically. The corresponding figures for the recruiting drive are 57 per cent and 34 per cent. The real character of the improvement can be seen if we examine the recruiting figures for specific districts, for example, the four main industrial districts.

District	% Industrial workers	% Basic industry
W. Pa.	85	71
Ohio	72	55
Michigan	70	60
Illinois	64	49

It is also important to note that the three big districts which revealed during the registration that they had the lowest percentage of industrial workers, showed some improvement during the Campaign. The percentage of industrial workers recruited was 46 per cent for New York, 66 per cent for Philadelphia, and 55 per cent for California.

While some headway was made in all the concentration industries, we did not quite achieve our very modest goals in the steel, auto, electrical-radio, lumber and rubber industries. In the coal industry, we fell far short of our goal.

Obviously, it is necessary to achieve the objectives we previously set for ourselves in these industries, and it is possible to do so. This requires an examination of our concentration

policy in each selected plant and industry, implementing it, where necessary, in order to achieve results more speedily. It should be made emphatically clear to the entire Party that we must hold fast to our concentration policy if the shop and industrial clubs are to become, in quantity and quality, the strongest basic organizations of the mass Communist Party we are determined to build.

ACTIVATE AND EDUCATE THE NEW MEMBERS

It would be the greatest mistake, either for this Plenum or the Party as a whole, to believe that the Party building campaign ended with the recruiting phase. In the final analysis, the true test of its success will be determined by our ability to keep the new members we have recruited. Hence, a necessary slogan to be issued now is, "*Complete the Party Building Campaign by Activizing and Educating the New Members.*" On the basis of this slogan, we must organize a campaign reaching into every club and every Party committee, which will guarantee that equally great attention is paid to the problem of holding the new members as was paid to that of recruiting them.

We have issued a lengthy document on this question, which should also be considered a part of this report. Let me urge that, in organizing this work, we think less in terms of what we think and what we are going to tell the new member, and

more in terms of what he is thinking and what he has to tell us. We must remember that very often the new member will hesitate to attend a class if he merely receives a formal letter telling him to do so; and he may even be reluctant to attend his first club meeting when he knows in advance that all those whom he will meet will be strangers. Mere letter-writing will not keep the new member in the Party; and our membership work must be organized not on a statistical basis, but on a personal one, with the original recruiter playing a special and important role.

The new members, whom we want to involve actively in the work of the Party, do not enter our ranks with a full knowledge of the Party's program, theory, tactics, or method of work. This they will achieve, ultimately, in two ways:

1. Through active participation, under the guidance of the Party, in the activities and struggles of the masses. (The key to this is the Party club.)

2. Through systematic and organized education and self-study—guided not only by the club, but by the Section or County Party Committee—as well as through regular reading and study of the Party press and literature.

We must not forget that the key to the holding of the new members remains that of rapidly involving them in the mass activity of the Party.

In concluding this brief summary of the Party building campaign, it should be urged that we utilize the

experiences of the Campaign to develop the recruiting work of each club as a day-to-day activity tied up with every phase of mass work. The key to the further extension of Party influence and strength in the communities lies particularly in the ability of our Clubs to develop mass work and struggles.

We have devoted insufficient attention to teaching our clubs how to conduct their own independent political activity around an issue such as O.P.A., and to combine it simultaneously with acting as the spark plug for a broad consumers' and tenants' movement, in the same way that the Unemployed Councils in past years used to function in relation to relief, evictions and insurance. The main orientation of the districts and sections must be precisely that of helping the clubs become initiators and leaders of mass struggles.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In addition to the suggestions made in the statement which has already been presented to you, the National Board recommends action at this meeting of the National Committee on the following proposals:

1. That each district undertake to overcome its outstanding weakness in the campaign, for example, in the recruiting of textile workers in New England and New Jersey; steel workers in Illinois; auto workers in Ohio and Wisconsin; coal miners in the anthracite areas and Western Pennsylvania; lumber workers in the Northwest; longshoremen in Phila-

delphia, Seattle and New Orleans; railroad workers in Ohio, Minnesota and Connecticut; and that we reach the original goals we set for ourselves in the concentration industries by Labor Day.

2. That we undertake to extend our influence and organization during the next months especially among A. F. of L. workers.

3. That the National Committee and the State Committees pay even greater attention than previously to the cities which were selected for concentration work. Leading comrades have already been sent to such key areas as Flint, Youngstown, Toledo, Chester and Kansas City. However, we must learn how to give much more well-rounded assistance to those working in this field, and, in turn, we should expect still better results.

4. That we approve the decisions of our comrades in the maritime industry to continue their organized recruiting activities; and that we urge the leading comrades in the auto, steel, electrical-radio, and leather industries to re-examine their work and outline immediate tasks for themselves in Party building.

5. That during the next period, including that of the election struggles we conduct another Party building campaign, with the aim of recruiting 10,000 more members.

6. That since the percentage of dues payments for the first half of this year was only 68 per cent due to neglect during the first quarter—special measures be adopted to main-

tain a high percentage of dues payments during the third quarter.

If we combine consistent recruiting with ever-increasing independent activity, with greater initiative in participating in mass struggles; if we apply correctly our tactical line of simultaneously developing the independent political activity of the Party and cementing more firmly our working relations with all non-Communist forces in the trade unions and the political mass movements—we will be able to look forward with confidence to the further building of our Party in the period which lies ahead.

II. OUR PARTY PRESS

In accord with the broad concept of Party building outlined at the last meeting of the National Committee, we wish this committee meeting to center its attention on two other aspects of Party building. The first of these is the role and effective building of our press; the second is the struggle for the extension of the Marxist-Leninist education of our membership and leadership, the energetic struggle for Marxist-Leninist ideology among the workers. This latter question will be dealt with in detail in a separate report by Comrade Weiss.

Why do we place the question of the press on our agenda? Because there is a great need for our Party to learn once again what Lenin meant when he said that "a Communist newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective

agitator, but also a collective organizer."

Our press is an important aspect of the independent, vanguard role of the Communist Party. The fight to build the circulation of our press is part of the fight to bring forward the face of our Party in the public political life of our country. The press is our chief propaganda weapon in the struggle against the imperialist policies of monopoly capitalism in the field of foreign and domestic policy.

It is the main instrument through which we bring the program and policies of our Party to the people, not just occasionally, but regularly, 365 days a year. It is, furthermore, an important medium through which to present correct working class tactics, avoiding the twin pitfalls of right opportunism and left sectarianism. Our press, in fact, is one of the chief links between the Party and the labor and democratic masses. The manifold increase of the circulation of the press is, therefore, an important aspect of completing the re-establishment of our Party as the Marxist vanguard of the American working class.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS

It is worth while to examine for a few moments certain changes which have taken place in the capitalist press. The process of consolidation has transformed it into one of the most powerful monopolies. It has become an even more corrupt and deceitful instrument of bourgeois

propaganda than in the past, trying by ever more subtle methods to play upon the backwardness and confusion of the workers.

The "freedom of the press" under capitalism is, of course, a myth, which can and must be exposed. But what we have to point out is that this "freedom" has become even more "free." For example, while at one time it contented itself with establishing centers for anti-Soviet propaganda and lies in such fringe cities as Riga, Ankara and Stockholm, today it demands the right to establish centers of struggle against democracy within the new people's democracies of Europe. In this, it is openly supported by the capitalist governments. It has developed a new breed of "experts" on labor and Communism in order to be able to operate within and against the labor movement itself. While the capitalist press has always exerted a powerful ideological influence because of the character of their papers as a whole, today its organized reactionary propaganda role is asserted chiefly through the "all-wise" columnists who fill its pages. Today, the capitalist press is changing more and more from a general propaganda and agitational instrument into a direct arm of struggle of the bourgeoisie against the working class and the democratic forces as a whole.

Obviously, this development must be countered with the necessary measures by the labor and democratic press. Above all, it requires a new appreciation by our Party of the

importance of our Communist press, and a sharp reorientation of our attitude toward it.

In a country as large as ours, the Party needs many newspapers even though the *Daily Worker* must remain our central organ. The *Daily Worker* and the *Daily People's World*, cannot possibly service every section of the Party or reach the masses of potential readers. They therefore cannot and should not try to compete with the capitalist press, or use its standards of news and sensationalism. Our Communist press must devote its major attention to the actual lives, conditions, and thoughts of the workers and the common people generally. Our over-all outlook, today, must be to improve politically the content of the *Daily Worker*, *The Worker* and the *People's World*, and to increase their circulation substantially. As an immediate objective, we must strive to establish two new Party weeklies, in Michigan and in the South.

It should be mentioned that, in stressing the need for building our own Party press, we should in no way diminish our support of any truly anti-fascist, pro-labor paper now being published that recognizes the Communists as an integral part of the anti-fascist camp. It is in that sense that we greet the launching of such a new weekly newspaper as the *Chicago Star*.

THE ROLE OF OUR PRESS

Since the *Daily Worker* is our central organ, the paper that sets

the political line, the unifier of all our activities, it is necessary that we establish a common approach and understanding on the role of the *Daily Worker*, indicate its major weaknesses and show how it must be further improved.

The first and main point to be established is that the *Daily Worker* is the official organ and spokesman of the Communist Party.

What does this mean?

The *Daily Worker* must interpret events, through its editorials and columns, on the basis of the Party's analysis and estimate of developments. But that in itself is not enough. It must also become a fighting crusader on the burning issues confronting labor, the people, and the nation at each given moment. In this connection, the paper must learn to develop more consistently such crusades to new and higher levels, setting ever larger sections of the working class and the people into motion, indicating the most effective methods and forms of struggle. Above all, the *Daily Worker* must learn how to become an organizer of the daily struggles and mass campaigns. It is the main weakness of the *Daily Worker* that it often does not fulfill its organizing role of helping to tie together isolated actions into general struggles, of providing the necessary guidance, not only to our Party clubs and members, but to the many non-party militants who look to us for leadership in their shops, local unions and communities.

In the words of Lenin, the *Daily*

Worker must more and more become "a part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would blow every spark of class struggle and popular indignation into a general conflagration."

Certainly today, the entire country is smoldering under the attacks of monopoly capital aimed to smash the labor movement, drive down wage standards, wreck price control, and intimidate and terrorize the Negro people. This is the reflection on the home front of the war policies of American imperialism, its scheme to replace Big Three unity by an Anglo-American war alliance. Let us use our *Daily Worker* as the blacksmith's bellows to blow the smoldering fire of the people's resentment into a fighting flame of struggle and independent political action that will sweep America from coast to coast.

The *Daily Worker*, in addition, should carry as a regular feature fundamental Marxist-Leninist articles which polemicize against and combat all the ideas and arguments of the bourgeoisie aimed to influence the workers ideologically. While consistently fighting for the every-day demands of the workers, regularly exposing how the workers are robbed, exploited and oppressed by capitalism, helping the workers to learn how to fight back more effectively, our press must simultaneously point out the limitations of the immediate struggles, developing an understanding of socialism. Our press must help to kindle the workers'

hatred of capitalism, strengthen their confidence in their own abilities, and create faith in the inevitable victory of socialism—in a new socialist America.

This conception of the role of the *Daily Worker* should be discussed here; if accepted by the National Committee, it should then become the guide for the Editorial Board and Staff of the *Daily Worker*, and be reflected daily in the paper.

IMPROVEMENTS NOTED

It is the judgment of the National Board that there has been a definite improvement in the *Daily Worker*. It reflects the Party line more sharply, in an interpretive sense. It sounds a note of struggle. It is beginning to learn how to organize campaigns of struggle such as, for instance, the current fight for price control. However, it has not yet made the full turn necessary for it to be truly the central organ of our Party.

I know that, recently, serious efforts have been made to establish control over all material coming into the *Daily Worker*. But I believe it is still necessary to drive home the point that more effective use must be made of this wealth of material pouring into the *Daily Worker* office. Once that is done, we will be able to develop the necessary intimate connection between the Communist press and the workers; we will develop a real flow of Workers' Correspondence, without which a Communist paper cannot be a real Communist paper; we will have the

richest and best coverage of any newspaper in America, as far as the conditions, and thinking, and actions of American workers are concerned.

While correctly making this criticism of the *Daily Worker*, it is necessary to make similar criticism of the leadership in the districts who, upon receipt of wires and letters for news, just ignore them, removing themselves from any responsibility for the further improvement of the *Daily Worker*. This is also seen when districts utilize *Daily Worker* correspondents for other work.

A function of any newspaper, including the *Daily Worker*, is to provide service to its readers. The capitalist press uses many pages for this. *PM* does a big servicing job for women in its shopping pages. With the *Daily Worker*, servicing its readers is a secondary but nevertheless necessary responsibility. The special features on veterans problems, sports, culture and women are all good and should be further extended. However, the main service the *Daily Worker* can give to its readers is to provide them, in the first place, with news on the activities of labor, the people's mass movements, the veterans, etc., and of our Party as well.

A CORRECT ATTITUDE IS NEEDED

While emphasizing certain improvements that have been made in the *Daily Worker*, I have, at the

same time, been quite critical. But this has been constructive criticism, made within the framework of the positive achievements of the paper and the realization that it is *our* paper. However, one sometimes hears criticisms of the *Daily Worker* that are purely destructive. Terms are often used that one does not associate with something that is precious to the Party. We must emphatically reject such type of criticism.

How can we explain this negative criticism? In part, it flows from the weakness of the paper itself in performing its role as the official organ of the Party. It also reflects an inadequate loyalty and love for the paper. It reflects insufficient attention to, and emphasis on, the *Daily Worker* by the national leadership of our Party.

Thus, we have a two-fold task. First, further to improve the paper along the lines indicated; and, secondly, to conduct a tireless struggle within the Party for a proper understanding of the relationship and responsibility of the Party to the *Daily Worker*.

What about this question of the relationship of the Party to the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker*? Who can say that our membership does not show great understanding of the need for our *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*? For 22 years the *Daily Worker* has never missed one day of publication. Year after year, large sums are raised to cover deficits. The raising of \$150,000 this year was an outstanding accomplish-

ment. Similarly, over the years, we have seen enthusiastic response to all organized campaigns for the building of circulation.

Yet we must recognize that something is missing. Something is missing in our relationship with the *Daily Worker*, in contrast with the relationship established between the Party and the *People's World* in California, or the relationship between the *Freiheit* and its readers.

The fault lies not with the Party membership, but with the Party leadership on all levels.

The example of California is well worth examining. There, a great feeling of love for the *People's World* is demonstrated. The Party has the paper on the agenda at every meeting. It has its own full-time State Press Director, and similar directors in the main counties. The paper has its own agents in each community, who are directly responsible to the *People's World*, although, of course, they also serve on Party press committees if they are Party members. The Party combines circulation work with Party building and fund raising. It directly honors the best circulation builders of the paper, and pays them special attention. A close relationship also exists between the *People's World* and the trade union movement. However, an improvement might be shown by involving more trade union leaders in the work of writing for the paper. Furthermore, the editors of the *People's World* manage to participate actively in Party work, whether in commit-

tees, as lecturers or speakers, or in mass work. The result of this is that a more intimate relationship is established between the reader and the paper, between the Party and the paper.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN

To overcome the situation where the *Daily Worker* is often viewed as a burden instead of our best Party instrument, we should take heed of some of the following measures:

1. The *Daily Worker* must become the official Party organ in the all-around political sense we have outlined, with the *Daily Worker* Board and its staff members reflecting this to a greater degree in their writing and in their daily activities as Party members.

A Marxist paper cannot work correctly if it is separated from the everyday thinking and practice of the Party and its leadership. Moreover, the comrades who edit the *Daily Worker* are themselves leaders of the Party, and the responsibility which this entails means that the Editorial Board must become more and more of a political force to unite the thinking and activity of the entire editorial staff. It should be remembered that the delegation of the authority of the National Board is through the Editor and the Executive Committee of the paper to the Editorial Board.

As far as the staff of the paper as a whole is concerned, no one can be a member of that staff who does not love the paper and have an attitude

of pride at being given the opportunity to work on the official organ of the Party. The discussions which take place in connection with the production of the paper should be a means of further educating the staff as to its role and importance. Furthermore, the practice of some staff members in participating in one or another phase of Party activity should become the general practice of all. All staff members must strive, through a combination of political development and participation in the life and struggles of the Party, to develop themselves more fully as Communist journalists.

One further thing should be done in order to raise the authority of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*: the entire leadership of the Party, especially the members of the National Board, trade union leaders, and district organizers, must write for, and actively participate in the life of, our papers. Each district organizer, for example, should welcome the opportunity to speak directly to his membership on the burning political issues in their state. Too few district organizers east of the Rockies, to whom such an opportunity would be most advantageous, utilize it.

2. Just as it was essential to develop a consistent struggle to establish both in theory and practice the correct vanguard concept of the Party, so today we must recognize that it is necessary to wage a prolonged and sustained political struggle to establish clarity within the Party on the role of the *Daily Work-*

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This is the particular responsibility of the National Committee, the District Committees, as well as of the editorial staff of the paper. This does not mean that we first wait until the paper is improved and then work to build its circulation. It is clear, of course, that we must improve the paper, and we have indicated the lines along which it must be done. But we must take the *Daily Worker* as it is—and with all its shortcomings it is a good paper—and, while improving it as we go along, think of it in the terms which Comrade Stalin applied to all Communist papers when he said:

The press is the only weapon with whose aid the Party every day speaks to the working class in the language of the Party. You cannot find in the world another such flexible apparatus as the press and there are no other means through which the Party can so well connect its ideological threads with the working class.

3. We must make clear to the Party that the *Daily Worker* is a paper for the workers—true, for the advanced workers. We must reject any concept that considers the paper one exclusively for leaders or Party actives. The *Daily Worker* is a paper for all our members and for the tens of thousands of non-Communists who look to us for guidance, who want to know the viewpoint of the Communists. The paper has the big task of taking our political thinking and judgment, and translating it

into popular, fighting language which the masses can understand and apply.

In dealing with circulation, concretely and not generally, the *Daily Worker* must become such an effective newspaper that the Ford workers who win a local union election victory, the New York workers who organize a magnificent May Day parade, or the maritime workers who attain a substantial economic gain, identify their victories and activities with the *Daily Worker*.

This, of course, puts the main responsibility on the editors, who must strive to produce the kind of paper that will both appeal to the workers and serve to educate and organize them for struggle. But there is also another responsibility. This rests upon the Party, its leadership and membership. It is our task to build the circulation of the paper systematically, reinstating the old practice where a Party club or section would no more think of going into a campaign without ordering a *Daily Worker* bundle than holding a meeting without a speaker.

4. Lastly, the *Daily Worker* must learn how to promote itself more effectively. It is hard to understand why there should be such resistance to the idea of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* promoting themselves and building their own circulation, instead of leaving it almost entirely up to others to do so. Such a situation can only arise because the *Daily Worker* has not, up till now, viewed itself as being a Party organizer and

agitator; and also because there is too often a feeling that the Party should be relied on to mobilize its membership independently for circulation and fund-raising drives.

OBJECTIVES AND TASKS

On the basis of this general analysis and perspective, we should like to outline certain objectives and tasks.

Whom shall the *Daily Worker* serve? It is clear that, as a daily newspaper, serving all Party members and reaching out to the broadest circle of non-Party workers, its main base must be New York City and the East Coast. Here it must secure a mass base, in the first place among substantial sections of workers in the electrical, maritime, transport, needle, fur, food and building industries, while not neglecting to establish its influence among the white collar, professional and middle-class sections of the population, now influenced by *PM* and the *Post*. In the rest of the country, up to the Rocky Mountains, the *Daily Worker* must be considered as indispensable for all Party members, who must read and study the Party policy presented in its columns and editorials, responding to the mass campaigns it advances. This is equally true for districts which now issue their own weeklies, which cannot and must not substitute for the *Daily Worker*.

If we agree with this orientation, then it should be understood that the Daily Worker, in its one-star

edition, must carry more out-of-town news, making the two-star edition into a New York and East Coast paper primarily.

On this basis, we propose that, starting with the election campaign and extending until the end of the year, we strive to achieve a minimum goal of 35,000 average circulation daily, of which at least 20,000 shall be in New York City.

Whom shall the Sunday *Worker* serve? Our objective here must be to transform *The Worker* primarily into a popular mass Communist weekly, with emphasis on the most popular features. Only incidentally shall *The Worker* be the seventh-day edition of the *Daily Worker*. For the year 1946 we propose to set a minimum goal of 100,000 readers of *The Worker*, of whom at least 50,000 shall be in New York City.

To achieve these realistic objectives, we must agree that the job of building the circulation of our press is primarily a Party task, not the task of the post office, nor the distributing agency. Only in this way can we realize these objectives. This necessitates that we establish a press apparatus in the Party from top to bottom. In order to guarantee that the highest level of leadership has the direct responsibility for building the paper, it is our proposal that the organization secretaries in all districts, counties and sections shall assume this specific responsibility. Of course, full-time press directors may be assigned, but the organization secretaries shall politically supervise

and direct this field of activity. This is a necessary step to show that we mean business.

To attain the general goals we have indicated, the following points must receive special attention:

1. Energetic steps must be taken to ensure the renewal of the 11,000 Sunday *Worker* subscriptions which have already expired, or will expire, during the months of June, July, and August. (In June, out of 4,251 expiring subscriptions, only 1,519 were renewed.) The New York district has the biggest task in this respect.

2. At present in New York City, where we have several hundred Party clubs, only 30 clubs (Manhattan 19, Bronx 1, Brooklyn 6 and Queens 4) take copies of the *Daily Worker* to sell each day. This will have to be changed, and a majority of clubs will have to assume responsibility for the sale and distribution of at least several thousand copies daily. This means that systematic attention will have to be given to night sales, shop and local union hall sales, as well as to organizational work in specific areas to increase newsstand sales.

3. Throughout the country and in New York, all clubs must consider the procurement and sale of a bundle of the Sunday *Workers* as the most elementary Communist task. *We must fight to instill the idea that there must be no activity of the Party—whether of a club or District—of which the sale of our papers is not an integral part.*

4. Outside of New York, the main emphasis should be on securing

Daily Worker club subscriptions as a means of increasing and maintaining the circulation of the *Daily Worker*.

5. In each concentration area, the building of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* must be a central feature of the work of the Party; and the concentration organizers and industrial coordinators must assume specific responsibility for this task.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

With regard to our financial responsibilities as far as the Party press is concerned, it is good to be able to note that the work of our Party in the present Fund Drive was excellent in nearly every district. The reason for the increased deficit is primarily due to the increased cost of producing the paper—including increases in the cost of paper, labor power, telegraphic services, etc. Moreover, we have plans under way to increase the size of the *Daily Worker* to 16 pages starting Labor Day. It is also planned to increase the staff in Washington and to try and have correspondents abroad. All this will cost money, and will further increase the deficit next year, but it is necessary if we are to carry through our political objectives and increase the circulation of our press.

However, if it is at all possible, we should like to avoid the necessity of having another drive like the one which was just concluded, in which much pressure had to be put on some districts to raise their quotas in order

to guarantee that the *Daily Worker* would be able to continue publication. The projected deficit for 1947 is \$222,000 and the only effective way to reduce it is to increase circulation. A memorandum has already been submitted to you, outlining the problem and several alternative ways of solving it. Even if we completely fulfill our circulation objectives, a deficit will still remain. If we continue, as in the past few months to improve the management of the papers and to eliminate further all waste and carelessness, we can further cut the deficit.

However, to meet whatever deficit may remain—and if we fulfill our circulation objectives it can be cut to approximately \$50,000—we can follow either of two alternative plans instead of conducting a fund drive as in the past. The first of these plans is a permanent, year-round Press Fund Appeal, organized through the columns of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, with reports of contributions being printed weekly. In this case, we would model ourselves on the experience of the British *Daily Worker*. It is the plan we tend to favor, since it would make possible the broadening of our appeal so as to reach other than Party members, and would require the establishment of an apparatus which would be of great use to our press in many other ways. The other alternative is an assessment on every Party member, to be paid at the same time dues are paid.

Whichever of these two plans is adopted, results will be registered only if definite and concrete organizational steps are taken and followed up by the Party from top to bottom. However, if for any reason the plan adopted proves unworkable, we would have to go back once again to a national *Daily Worker* Fund Drive.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be called to your attention that this is the first plenary meeting of the National Committee in many years at which we have placed the question of our Party press on the agenda; and today we specifically place it on the agenda as one of the general problems of Party building.

We have done this because we are convinced that without a radical increase in the circulation of our papers, the Party cannot make real progress in the future in influencing the toiling masses, in helping to develop and lead their struggles against monopoly capitalism, and in achieving substantial advances in Party building.

Our press, together with the Party as a whole, helps plow the ground, sow the seed of Marxist-Leninist understanding among the masses. Without such work, our Party will not be able to speed the growth of a class-conscious, united working class, schooled in struggle and theory, and led by a strong Communist Party.

THE DAILY WORKER—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

By MORRIS CHILDS

*Report delivered July 18 at the plenary meeting of the
National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.*

THE SMALL CIRCULATION of our press has become a brake holding back the further expansion of the Party's influence. We have the urgent task at this meeting of the National Committee of organizing our membership and all Party committees to assume responsibility for a speedy increase in the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *the Worker*.

The main political reports given at this meeting have amply demonstrated the necessity for this mobilization of the Party. The question of circulation is not merely an organizational but most important political problem. My supplementary remarks on our press, although mainly from an editorial viewpoint, are intended to help achieve a bigger circulation.

The *Daily Worker*, during the period of revisionism, did not speak as a Party organ. Our Party thinking was dulled and the paper, more often than not, replaced Marxism with liberalism and progressivism. In the last analysis, it gave voice to the diplomatic doubletalk of re-

visionism, in place of the clear call for action. The paper took a sort of standoffish attitude toward the Party, and instead of militantly voicing the policy of the Party and fighting for it, it treated it, at best, sympathetically. The paper, even if its line coincided with that of the organization, was semi-independent, only vaguely representative of the Party.

The paper, of course, suffered the consequences of this liquidationism. The Party membership ceased to look upon the *Daily Worker* as its responsibility. The membership was not organized to circulate and spread the paper. Now we have the task of convincing the Party that it is our paper, that we have a responsibility toward it. Besides setting up an organization for the distribution and support of our press, we will have to prove its political value and cultivate love and loyalty for the paper. We must create such an atmosphere in the Party that no member or organization can possibly think of working in a community,

factory, or union without at the same time spreading the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*.

The excellent response to the financial appeal shows that we will not have to begin from scratch, but that a large section of our membership already appreciates the value of our paper and is ready or willing to circulate it.

Without in any way ignoring or minimizing our shortcomings; which I will deal with later on, I want to state that the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* have been carrying through the basic line of the Party as advanced by our leadership. We have been unmasking the role of American imperialism and its drive to dominate the world, exposing all its aggressive moves, its war preparations, and its imperialist diplomacy. If at the beginning of the year there were some hesitations in our paper regarding the Truman Administration, these have been overcome. Truman cannot be measured by each separate speech or pronouncement he makes, but by the over-all policy pursued by his administration. Today we carry on a consistent and systematic editorial campaign, based upon our Party's policy, exposing the imperialist character of the Truman administration's policies.

SOME IMPROVEMENTS

It is not my intention to catalogue the accomplishments of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, but, while

recognizing shortcomings, there have been certain improvements, such as, for example a quicker response to daily issues and events.

The paper has been carrying on a number of consistent campaigns, the most notable being around the Freeport case. The *Daily Worker* took the initiative on this issue, being the first to raise publicly the demand for the punishment of the police slayer of the Negro servicemen in Freeport. It published and distributed 200,000 copies of the pamphlet dealing with this case. Governor Dewey's appointment of an investigator to look into the Freeport situation is in no small measure due to the dogged fight carried on by our paper. The *Daily Worker's* coverage and exposé of the terror in Columbia, Tenn., and the reporting of the trials has won for it much sympathy and support among the Negro people. Many important Negro newspapers have used the *Daily Worker's* coverage of the trial.

CHANGES THAT MUST BE MADE

The *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* have also been carrying on a stubborn and organized campaign for O.P.A. For months now, we have regularly, without pause, kept the question of the struggle against the high cost of living before our readers. In these campaigns we try to go beyond the news. We endeavor to set people in motion, to get them to organize and to act.

While we have been campaigning on many issues, we have yet to learn how to carry on crusades. It is not enough to unearth an injustice or to raise an issue. We have to learn how constantly to urge the Party into action and to arouse the people to organize themselves to achieve some aim in a particular campaign. We very often start a campaign, but do not follow it up or set a minimum goal to be achieved before its conclusion. We still have a great deal to learn regarding this form of work. Of course, we want to keep in mind that a newspaper crusade, no matter how long it is carried on, cannot be an aim in itself. If the masses of people are not stirred into action, or if the Party organization does not take up the fight and thus advance the campaign or crusade, repetitive articles, scareheads and editorials will not achieve very much for the paper, the Party, or the people. Therefore, action of some kind by the people is a necessary perspective.

Crusading and fighting for certain immediate demands will not distinguish our paper or our Party from others. Let us take the question of exposures. Some newspapers, like *PM* and the *New York Post*, are, technically speaking, better able to raise some immediate grievance or issue. We are no match for them when it comes to coverage, scoops, photography, illustrations, etc. In addition, of course, their circulation is wider and larger than ours. What is it then that can give us the edge

over them, even in the face of the greater advantages which they enjoy? What it is that can distinguish the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* from these so-called progressive and liberal papers? *Our clear-cut and militant fight against capitalism is what can set off our paper from all others.* This does not mean that we put less stress upon immediate demands or that we underestimate the need for unity with non-Communists in the fight for this or that issue. Our Marxian understanding must be utilized to dig more deeply into the causes of the class struggle in order to explain the immediate issues confronting the people. While fighting harder than all others for the people's daily needs, we must teach the workers the basic reasons for the evils of capitalism and the need for socialism. The paper must speak so clearly that workers will unmistakably recognize that it is the voice of the Communist Party.

In addition to presenting issues in a militant fashion, we must deepen the thinking of our readers. We must learn how to expound Marxism, not through generalized essays about Marxism, but through a popularization of its theory and practice. We must learn how to make clear to the workers, on the basis of their own experiences in the class struggle, the nature of capitalist exploitation, the meaning of imperialism as reflected in the foreign policy of our country, the question of inflation and its relation to wages, the coming

economic crisis, the meaning of discriminatory practices and national oppression, etc.

In *What is to be Done*, Lenin said:

Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all cases* of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected. . . . The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events, *every other social class* and *all the manifestations* of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes . . . a workingman must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord, of the priest, of the high state official and of the peasants, of the student and tramp; he must know their strong and weak sides; he must understand and expose all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish strivings and its real 'nature'; he must understand what interests certain institutions and certain laws reflect and how they reflect them.*

In this same work, Lenin further shows that this consciousness cannot be obtained from books, but only from living examples, from events, and from exposures based upon occurrences at a given moment. During the recent railroad strike the Amer-

ican workers obtained, in a matter of days, a decade of knowledge about the strike-breaking role of the government. Our paper must draw Marxian political lessons from the people every day and it must not do this by a mere repetition of generalities. For example, the average American, who associates imperialism only with the possession of colonies, is not convinced that the United States is an imperialist power, and it is our job, on the basis of concrete events, to enlighten the American workers as to the true character of American imperialism. In other words, we have to draw lessons from the concrete conditions of life in our country.

We must be careful that the average American worker does not regard our paper as merely the political mouthpiece of a narrow group. We want the worker to regard our paper as his own, as something closely associated with his daily life.

I should like to remind you again that the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* are not papers published for a small group of functionaries. We must aim to reach the average working man and woman. The papers must be so written that they will be understood by people who are not yet acquainted with the Party's program and work. The papers must take into consideration not only the most advanced workers, but also the many thousands of our new Party recruits who have still to learn many things about the Party. This

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. II, pp. 88-89.

means that we must get rid of our formalism in writing about issues and activities. This means, looking more to the masses and less inwardly. There is no journalistic, or Marxist contradiction for that matter, between simplicity and political content.

We want to produce a fighting paper, a crusading organ of the Party. We want to improve the handling of all questions that concern the working class. We can draw political and social lessons from everything that happens around us. Sometimes, however, when the *Daily Worker* makes an effort to deal with a question that superficially seems remote from politics, we receive critical letters from some of our readers of long standing. It seems to me that our paper does not give itself to sensationalism, and, therefore, there is little cause for such criticism. We should loosen our joints a bit and use our imagination more. I think the London *Daily Worker* is a good example of a people's paper in the English language. It deals with all kinds of problems in its few pages, even with murders. It maintains the most serious political news, popular features, and even columns on "advice to the lovelorn." It even prints advertisements on its front page. Printing advertisements on the front page of a newspaper is a British custom. We do not propose to do that, any more than we would expect the British to print baseball scores on the front page. On the

other hand, there are certain features of American life that never find room in our press, and we will have to see to it that room is found. We want our readers to begin to depend upon our paper, to look upon it as a complete paper. We must assume that a good number of workers, particularly outside of New York, do not read more than one paper, as is the custom here.

The comrades who think that our Sports Column is a waste of space, given to flippant things, are wrong. We need more sports news—more human interest stories—more satire and humor. We should also use the typical American comic strip technique in our fight against capitalism.

PROPOSALS

Some comrades are carried away by the idea of length and think that unless an article takes up at least a half page or more in our paper it is of little value. We believe that except for the more serious and important documents which we must, of course, publish from time to time in our paper, the value of an article declines with its length. We must, therefore, practice brevity for the sake of getting the ear of the people. The editors and staff of the paper will pledge themselves to follow this rule, to write policy articles and editorials so that they will be clear and readable.

We suggest to the Party, for consideration, the finding of other

means of distribution for lengthy speeches and reports. We propose to summarize these reports and documents, to talk about them in the news. The French Party and the British Party publish special bulletins, pamphlets, etc., for the specific purpose of distributing inner party organizational documents, as well as reports, speeches, and directives.

As the comrades know, at the present time we publish a 12-page tabloid paper. This gives us less space than the former 6-page, full-size paper. Some space is taken up by advertisements, an absolute necessity if we are to keep down the deficit. Even if we enlarge the size of our paper, as is proposed, we will still have this problem of space.

A little over a month ago, we changed the form of the paper. In spite of technical difficulties, we have divided our paper into sections, concentrating news on given pages and columns. This is not a mere technical change. The *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* cannot compete with the average newspaper in presenting the news. We concentrate on labor, national, and international political affairs, and on local and state affairs in New York. Nevertheless, we do want to give our readers as much of the important news as possible, even if only in a brief form. This in no sense means neglecting important events. This change makes it possible for us to concentrate on, and give more space to, the issues of the day and the campaigns. In the past

we used to print many United Press reports; today, nearly every bit of news is rewritten and edited, so as to be more in keeping with our point of view. This entails much additional work, but our news is now more well-knit as compared to the past, and even the unintentional errors that formerly used to creep in have been, to a large extent, cut down.

While the paper should report and deal with politics in every state, it must place its main emphasis upon New York news so that it can directly influence events in this city and state.

Without neglecting news of national significance and news of interest from the rest of the country, it is essential to pay special attention to New York. This naturally means that the greatest stress must be placed on increasing the circulation in New York.

RELATIONSHIP WITH DISTRICTS

Some criticism has been made of our contact with the districts. There is no question but that we have to improve our relationship with all districts. We welcome articles dealing with political events and struggles in the various states. I personally do not know of articles written during the last few months by any district Party leader and submitted to us that we have not printed. I know, on the contrary, that many telegrams and letters asking

comrades in the districts to write on or analyze a particular event, have, in most cases, remained unanswered. This is especially true in connection with the primary elections, the Party building campaign, and even in connection with the struggle against the high cost of living.

A CORRECT ATTITUDE NEEDED

We plan to strengthen our connections with the State organizations through the establishment of a number of bureaus, but this should in no way exempt the leading comrades from writing these political articles for us, of which we are so badly in need. In most instances the editors and the management of our paper are able to straighten out whatever difficulties or problems may arise in our relationship with the districts. We already have an arrangement with a number of districts for the publication of special pages each week in *The Worker*. The districts, on their part, have pledged a bigger circulation. In the very near future we intend to publish a special page for New Jersey and for the South, and to give more space to the Eastern Pennsylvania district. We are also ready to issue special editions for any district if we are guaranteed a good distribution. We recently tried this in connection with Detroit; and we know that cooperation between the districts and our staff can result in meeting the needs of the

Party in every respect, including increased circulation.

I should like to make a few remarks about the general attitude which prevails toward the paper and its effect upon circulation. In spite of all its shortcomings, our readers say that our paper is improving, and, judging by the many letters that we receive, there is a better feeling toward it. While we will admit that the content of the paper has much to do with circulation, we do not believe that its content is the main reason for its present small circulation. I want to give a fact that backs up this point of view. During the first quarter of this year our circulation increased. But precisely during the period of the great strike struggles when we were publishing a 16-page paper and had, generally, made some improvements in the paper, our circulation declined. The response to special editions dealing with such important questions as the situations in the U.A.W. and in the steel and coal industries did not bring the results we had anticipated, for very few orders were received.

In most instances, the Party organizations today do not even assume responsibility for the distribution of more than a handful of papers. A half dozen Party organizations can be cited which have many thousands of members but order only a bundle of six papers. Of course, as you already know, in most cases we are not organized for the distribution of the paper. This has

been again confirmed by the new drop in circulation which occurred in recent weeks. The newstand circulation, however, went up, *i.e.*, that part of the paper's circulation for which the Party assumes no responsibility. The decline resulted from lapses in bundle orders and failures to renew subscriptions. This shows dramatically the need for a Party distribution organization. Whenever comrades conscious of the need of using our press in their work give us special material, we print it; they distribute and thus increase the sale of the paper. We have such an arrangement with the waterfront section in New York, and it works.

What do I mean by the "attitude" toward the paper? I certainly did not mean that it is to be exempt from criticism, or that shortcomings should not be pointed out. There is vast room for improvement in the paper and suggestions are welcome. I refer to a negative attitude toward the paper that is very often destructive in its effect. There are comrades who measure our paper in the light of the *New York Times*, the *Herald-Tribune*, *PM* and the *Post*. In many instances, comrades leave out of consideration the politics of these papers, make only technical comparisons, and thus satisfy themselves that these other papers are superior to ours. I have even heard of discussions in Party organizations where the paper was actually condemned as if it were a paper belonging to the enemy.

I have attended a number of press conferences in preparation for the Fund Drive and noted that the delegates to these conferences were, in most instances, not the most active comrades. Even the few Left trade unions sent only secondary people. I pondered over this question when I read that the editor of *PM* had been invited to address the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. I wondered how long it would be before one of the editors of our paper would receive an invitation to address a union under the leadership of Communists. I do not want to magnify too greatly this question of criticism, but I do want to say that if responsible people, including Party leaders, take such a negative attitude towards our press, it will not be particularly inspiring either to our membership, our sympathizers or our staff.

Let the criticism come, but it would be borne out by facts and should be given in a comradely way. We will then be able to make corrections and at the same time the paper will not be hurt.

THE DAILY WORKER STAFF

The *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* are in a better position to fulfill the obligations demanded of them than they were six months ago. Like all Party organizations and institutions, the paper was subjected to the influence of revisionism. Six months ago the paper was reor-

ganized. The Party leadership took the necessary steps to eliminate the remnants of revisionism.

As in all Party organizations, some comrades on the paper are more developed than others. The main body of the staff still needs to acquire a better education in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We are trying to pursue a systematic and planned personnel policy, to choose people more carefully for special attention and additional political training. We are striving to convince the comrades that their journalistic function is an important Communist task, and that it is being appreciated. We are seeking to involve the comrades in the work of the branches, sections and Party committees. We are establishing classes in Marxism for the members of the staff, as well as setting up classes in the technique of journalism to improve the work. We aim to cooperate more closely with the educational department of the Party and to assign staff members to full-time Party training schools. The strengthening of the staff through these measures should result in a better paper, and will certainly aid the circulation campaign.

NEW PLANS

Together with our National Board, we have worked out a plan of improvement and expansion for the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*. These improvements are calculated

to give us a better paper, a more influential paper. These plans took into consideration the important elections this fall and the use of our press in the electoral campaign, during which we will have the opportunity to reach thousands of new readers.

After Labor Day, we will begin the publication of an enlarged 16-page *Daily Worker*. This will not be a temporary enlargement, for we hope to make it permanent.

We will strengthen a number of departments, such as the labor department and the foreign department. We hope to send correspondents abroad and increase our cable coverage. We also intend to add to our Washington Bureau and increase our coverage of the activities of the Negro people. In a number of cities, such as in Chicago and Atlanta, we will establish or reestablish bureaus, not only to secure news, but to organize the increase of our circulation.

We hope, with the strengthened staff, more space, and the utilization of additional features, to give our Party members a paper that they will be eager to sell, a paper that the masses will look forward to receiving. The paper itself will have to work actively to secure additional readers and to boost itself. This fight for circulation will bring us closer to the Party organizations. We will coordinate our plans with the efforts of the Party organizations in concentrating on a given factory or community. In this way, we can utilize

special stories, workers' correspondence, and other features for securing new readers, and for special distributions.

But the paper cannot distribute itself. And the commercial circulating agencies will not give us the tens of thousands of new readers we must secure. I want to emphasize again that the Party organization will have to assume this great responsibility. I know that in France, England and other countries, where the press circulation of the Communist Party is many times greater than ours, the distribution is carried on by the Party's membership and its sympathizers.

Our press should serve as a reserve

force for Party building. But if it is to serve the Party, its circulation should be much larger than our membership—many times larger. This is not an impossible goal, for it has been achieved by the Communist press in many countries.

The role of American imperialism places upon our press, as upon our Party, a special and most important responsibility. On behalf of our entire staff, I pledge that we shall leave no stone unturned to give you a better paper. I feel equally confident that, as a result of the discussion at this plenum, the Party will do its utmost to bring the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker* to ever larger masses of the American people.

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THE STRUGGLE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

By MAX WEISS

*Report delivered July 18 at the plenary meeting of the
National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.*

IT IS NOW one year since we reached and overcame the sharpest point of the crisis in our Communist ideology which had developed as a result of Browder's revisionist theories.

If we consider this crisis from one of its most fundamental aspects, it reveals that the Party leadership had not absorbed and assimilated the teachings of Marxist-Leninist theory. As a result, the political leadership of our struggle on the ideological front had weakened and disappeared over the years. There developed in its place a narrow practicalism, a departmentalization of concern with the struggle on the ideological front, which led to the liquidation of our educational apparatus, a thinning out and dispersal of our educational cadres, and the gradual stultification of theoretical work.

In the past year, since the rejection of Browder's revisionism, there has been the beginning of a reversal of this process, both in the center and in the districts. But it must be said that this is still only the beginning of a reversal. Only a light-minded evaluation of our tasks could lead anyone to speak of a basic and fundamental change in the actual

practice of the Party in this most decisive field.

Together with these very real beginnings, there has also been developing another and different tendency. To some extent, and in some sections of the Party, the fine enthusiasm which was manifested in the Party leadership before, during and immediately after the Convention for the mastery of Marxism-Leninism and for the fight to win the masses for Marxism, has been diminishing.

We must under no conditions allow this tendency to continue unchecked.

That there are and will be such tendencies is understandable, in view of the whole history of the Party. The mere recognition of the importance of the ideological struggle does not in itself constitute a change in the deep-seated tradition of narrow practicalism which is an historic weakness of our Party and the American working class. The struggle against such tendencies is one of the most vital aspects of our struggle on the ideological front. It is a struggle against the pragmatic attitude, against the empiricism which

is the hallmark of the ideology of the American bourgeoisie.

Marxism-Leninism is not an abstract science. It is a theory which is developed out of the experience of the class struggle, it guides our Party and the masses in the struggle. Our tasks in the struggle on the ideological front flow directly from our political tasks. When these political tasks grow in importance, proportions and complexity, so do our ideological tasks. Today we face unprecedented political tasks. There must be, consequently, an unprecedented and unrelenting mobilization for the struggle on the ideological front.

The bourgeoisie, despite its emphasis on inculcating a pragmatic contempt for theory among the masses, does not rely upon it. In fact, one of the new features of the present situation is the development of a tremendous, well-organized offensive on the ideological front by the American bourgeoisie. This does not mean that the bourgeoisie has ever underestimated the importance of ideology as a means of maintaining its rule. But it has, so far as the masses were concerned, in the past relied to a large extent on indirect methods. It did not engage on a mass scale in the battle of ideas and theories to maintain its hold upon the consciousness of the masses, a consciousness fashioned from early childhood through the school system, movies, press, etc. Today, however, it fights openly and on a gigantic scale for the maintenance of its

grip upon the consciousness of the masses.

In 1944, the National Association of Manufacturers spent approximately \$1,000,000 for propaganda purposes. During 1945, this sum was almost doubled. In that year, the NAM spent more than ever before in its history—\$1,736,808! A significant feature of these expenditures is the fact that a large part was devoted not to the usual platitudinous glorification of free enterprise, but to the battle of ideas over such questions as the theory of wages, prices, profits, productivity, class struggle vs. class collaboration, etc. We may expect that the scope of this struggle by the trusts and monopolies will increase.

This decision of Big Business to expand the scope of its ideological offensive is also reflected in the expansion of the activity, according to the division of labor long ago established for them, of the Social-Democrats and the Trotskyites.

MAIN CONTENT OF OUR IDEOLOGICAL WORK

What must be the main content of the ideological work of the Party?

The answer to this question must be sought in the political tasks of the Party.

The political tasks of the Party are what determine the tasks of our Party in the struggle on the ideological front.

Our main political task today is the struggle against the drive of the American trusts and monopolies to

ward world domination abroad and toward fascism at home, toward war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Europe, toward suppression of the national liberation movements in the colonies. It is the fight for peace and against capitalist reaction.

This drive of American imperialism toward world domination is accompanied at every step by a drive to win the minds of the masses, to shape their thinking, to win them ideologically for the nefarious political aims of American Big Business. Hence, the fundamental task of the Party in the struggle on the ideological front is to arm our Party with Marxist-Leninist science, to help the masses with the aid of this science to see clearly through the ideological smokescreen behind which America's Sixty Families prepare their gruesome plan for success where Hitler failed.

The propaganda of the American trusts and monopolies has begun to unfold itself according to the pattern set by Hitler and only with those modifications which are required by the new features of the world situation today and the special position of American imperialism as compared to German imperialism under Hitler.

The clearest expression of the ideological pattern with which the trusts and monopolies seek to impregnate the masses has been given by such voices of imperialist, pro-fascist circles of American life as

Virgil Jordan, President of the National Industrial Conference Board, William Bullitt, John Foster Dulles, and Henry Luce.

According to these gentlemen, America emerged from the war encircled by socialist states; this socialist encirclement threatens free enterprise in America, threatens American economic and political institutions. American imperialism must destroy this encirclement and impose its institutions upon the rest of the world, or else the rest of the world will engulf America and impose upon it the socialist institutions which prevail in the rest of the world.

Says Virgil Jordan:

If anyone complains that the dilemma implies or drives us to a type of imperialism which must end as all other have ended, though its purpose be different, let them make the most of it, for this time we have no other choice, and we will not have that one much longer unless we make it now. We must ask the world that surrounds us not merely to accept our power, but to accept our purpose of peace and freedom for our own sake as well as its own, and use it to that end. . . .

Let us first offer the utmost capacity of our economic power for reconstruction to every people who will undertake to abolish all national military expenditures and disarm down to the level of the local constabulary. Let us, secondly, demand the unlimited right of continuous inspection and control of every industrial operation and process or every public policy which may have

the most remote relationship to armament and warfare. And finally, let us make, keep and improve our atomic bombs for this imperative purpose; let us suspend them in principle over every place in the world where we have any reason to suspect evasion or conspiracy against this purpose; and let us drop them in fact, promptly and without compunction wherever it is defied. (Speech to Union League Club of Philadelphia, Lincoln's Birthday, 1946.)

Here we have, in all its brazenness, the authentic voice of the trusts and monopolies, the voice of fascist, imperialist reaction, issuing its call to mobilize the resources of our country for fascist dictatorship at home and world conquest abroad, for the establishment of a world wide Pax Americana.

This is the resurrection, swathed in American trappings, of Hitler's slogan for world conquest by German fascist imperialism: Save the world from Bolshevism!

From this flows the counterpart to the German race theory, the theory of "Anglo-Saxon" superiority, of the supremacy of "Anglo-Saxon" institutions, which must be imposed on the rest of the world.

In the light of this naked statement of the policy of American imperialism, we can much better understand the peculiar variant of Jordan's thesis by John Foster Dulles, the braintruster of the Republican Party. Mr. Dulles is afraid that so direct a presentation of the purposes of American imperialism

might be rejected out of hand by the masses. He therefore holds a mirror up to Virgil Jordan and presents the reflection in reverse form.

According to Mr. Dulles, it is the Soviet Union which is encircled by capitalist states. Since, according to Mr. Dulles, the Soviet Union cannot be secure so long as its institutions do not prevail in the world, it is driven by an inner compulsion to break forcibly through this capitalist encirclement in an effort to refashion the world in its own image. Hence, Soviet policy is an expansionist one, a policy for the domination of the world which it tries to effect by establishing all kinds of zones—inner zones, outer zoner, intermediate zones, upper zones, lower zones and just plain zones. According to Mr. Dulles, America just wants to be left alone, but is not allowed to by the alleged "expansionist" policy of the Soviet Union. Hence, America must "get tough," must resist this alleged "expansionism."

Now, this presentation is merely the obverse side of the same coin which Virgil Jordan held up to light. It is the old familiar technique of shouting: Stop thief! American imperialism is out to dominate the world and hopes to rally the masses for support of this objective by shouting to the high heavens about an alleged drive by the Soviet Union to dominate the world.

Fundamentally, this attempt to corral the masses for support to the aggressive plans of American trusts

and monopolies depends for its success upon a twofold deception. It rests, first of all, upon a misrepresentation of America as a non-imperialist country and, secondly, upon a false portrayal of the Socialist Soviet Union as an imperialist country.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

This obliges us to bring our Marxist-Leninist analysis of the United States as an imperialist country to the widest masses of the people. The trusts and monopolies count heavily upon the widespread misconceptions, assiduously cultivated by their ideologists and their Social-Democratic agents, that imperialism is a policy, or that imperialism is colonialism. On this basis, the ideologists of American imperialism, the most powerful imperialist country in the world, parade, no less, as anti-imperialist! Since, according to them, America has no colonial empire, as have Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, it is not an imperialist country. Of course, even with respect to colonial possessions, the colonial subjection of Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands is conveniently "forgotten." The granting of formal independence to the Phillipines on July 4, at the same time that its complete economic subjugation was perpetuated, was the occasion for a most nauseating display of hypocritical "proofs" that America is not an imperialist country.

The special characteristic of American imperialism, that it has grown

and developed to date without the building of a colonial empire, is also a feature of Earl Browder's "theoretical" service to American imperialism. According to Browder, the fact that American imperialism has developed without a colonial empire is a mark of the progressive character of American imperialism. According to him, American imperialism is developing a "new pattern of empire," based on a policy of decolonization and industrialization of the backward countries which is historically progressive, and which finds a point of support in the colonial revolutionary movements to which it, in turn, gives support. In other words, American imperialism has become the Good Samaritan of imperialism, the big brother of the colonies and small nations. It follows from this that British imperialism, French imperialism, Dutch imperialism, Belgian imperialism, because they possess extensive colonial empires, are reactionary imperialisms; while American imperialism, because it does not possess a colonial empire, allegedly plays an historically progressive, in fact, a revolutionary liberating role as far as the colonies are concerned. The trusts will surely forgive Browder when he quotes Lenin—and of course distorts his meaning in so doing—to differentiate colonialism from imperialism, so long as Browder gives American imperialism a clean bill of health. British imperialism, in turn, will forgive and forget all about the al-

leged "anti-colonialism" of an American imperialism which gives it money and guns to slaughter the colonial liberation fighters in the Dutch East Indies and elsewhere.

Only our Party can bring to the masses a Marxist-Leninist understanding of imperialism as a special stage in the development of capitalism, a stage characterized by the fact that monopoly becomes dominant; that banking and industrial capital have merged to form finance capital, which reigns supreme; that the export of capital becomes dominant; that the entire world, apart from the Soviet Union and the new democracies, is completely divided up, economically and territorially, among the great imperialist powers. Only in this way will the masses fully understand the processes that have made America the most powerful imperialist country in the world, an imperialism which has undergone an accelerated process of trustification during the very course of the war itself. Only in this way will the masses be brought to understand that the foreign policy of the trusts and monopolies is directed to the same reactionary aims to which its policies are directed at home.

THE SOVIET UNION

The second aspect of the ideology under cover of which American imperialism is driving to war is the attempt to portray the Soviet Union as an "expansionist" country, a country of "Red imperialism" which is

out to dominate the world. This Hitlerian slander can succeed only to the extent that the nature of the Soviet Union as a socialist country is not fully grasped by the masses. The Socialist Soviet Union is by its very nature anti-imperialist. Imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism. But the Soviet Union is the only country in the world where capitalism has been abolished. To talk about "Red imperialism" is the same as talking about a square circle. The labor movement especially should have learned from its own experience how the trusts and monopolies traditionally try to square the circle in their struggle against the labor movement. The labor movement has been and is fighting for laws and regulations to curb and control the gigantic monopolies which dominate American economic life; the unions are anti-monopoly. But what do the monopolies say? According to them, the trade unions are "monopolies" because they fight for closed shop agreements. On this ground the monopolies and trusts want the labor unions curbed and subject to restrictive legislation. But labor knows that a trade union and a monopoly are about as related to each other as a square is to a circle. "Red imperialism" and "trade union monopolies" are both contradictions in terms. They are both examples of the technique of squaring the circle and dividing the people.

Who gave to American imperialism the ideological weapon with

which it now attacks the Soviet Union on the grounds of its alleged "expansionism"? It was the Trotskyites, with their counter-revolutionary theory of "permanent revolution" who first advanced the thesis that the Soviet Union cannot exist or build socialism within its own country so long as the rest of the world is capitalist. The theory that the Socialist Soviet Union must by its own inner compulsion be "expansionist" is the theory of the Trotskyite enemies of the Soviet Union. This theory was fought and crushingly defeated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin. Today, this theory is one of the cornerstones of the ideological edifice reared by the trusts and monopolies to collect and house the forces they hope ultimately to let loose against the Soviet Union. The struggle against the Trotskyites is an integral part of the struggle against the drive of American imperialism for world domination.

"PURE DEMOCRACY"

The drive of American imperialism toward world domination is also carried out under the banner of "pure democracy." The trusts and monopolies, which plan to subvert American democracy and establish a fascist dictatorship in the United States, nevertheless don the mantle of "pure democracy" in their struggle against the Soviet Union and the new peoples' democracies of

Eastern Europe. The core of this ideology is the falsehood that bourgeois democracy is the absolute and sole form of democracy, that socialist democracy is totalitarianism, that the new non-socialist peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe are simply police states across which an iron curtain has been drawn.

The rise of the new peoples' democracies in Europe, involving the formation of new governments, the role played by U.S. imperialism in attempting to determine the character, of those governments has projected this basic question to the fore in the political consciousness of the country. In some respects, of course, this is not a new question. The reactionary circles in all countries, led by the ideologists of Social-Democracy, have used the concept of "pure democracy" in their struggle against the Soviet Union from the very moment of its birth in 1917. In fact, it was Karl Kautsky, the theoretician of international Social-Democracy, who gave international reaction its ideological weapon by attacking the young Soviet Republic from the standpoint of "pure democracy" immediately after the October revolution. It was German Social-Democracy which suppressed the German socialist revolution after the last war under the slogan of the "pure democracy" of the Weimar Republic. Today, the ideology of Social-Democracy in its struggle against Communism has been taken up by the trusts in their struggle against the

Soviet Union and the rising peoples' democracies everywhere.

In the new situation in which American imperialism, with British imperialism as its junior partner, is driving toward world domination, this traditional Social-Democratic deception of the masses has been given a special twist. Not only is bourgeois democracy identified with "pure democracy," but in its turn the only genuine form of "pure democracy" has become Anglo-Saxon democracy, with the Magna Carta and the Constitution the only measuring rods of democracy.

This gigantic chauvinist deception of the masses by the trusts makes it obligatory for our Party to bring our Marxist-Leninist teachings on democracy and the state to the masses. There was a time when clarity, above all on such questions, was essential to the vanguard in mapping its strategy and tactics for leading the masses to socialism. But today things have changed. If we want to put it in its sharpest form, we can say that our Marxist-Leninist analysis of democracy and the state has today become a question of international politics.

It is of equal importance in the struggle against capitalist reaction at home, against the drive of the trusts and monopolies to establish a fascist dictatorship in the United States. For it is under cover of demagogic slogans of protecting "democracy" from the encroachments of "state regimentation" that fascism in the

United States seeks to come to power. In contrast to German fascism and Italian fascism, the trusts and monopolies in the United States do not denounce "democracy" as decadent or degenerate. On the contrary, they seek to destroy the democratic rights of the people in the name of democracy; they pose as the champions of democracy and freedom—"free enterprise," "the free individual against the regimented state," "the free press," etc.

Hence, the struggle against capitalist reaction and the drive of the trusts and monopolies to fascism makes it imperative that we unmask the demagogic manipulation of democratic slogans by the trusts and monopolies. We must teach the masses that peace and democracy are both imperilled by monopoly capital which breeds war and spawns fascism.

A SECOND GREAT TASK

A second great political task of the Party which determines the content of our struggle on the ideological front is the leadership of the masses in the struggle to defend their living standards against the assault of the trusts and monopolies.

The great economic struggles in which labor and the people have been engaged since the end of the war have thrust to the fore a whole series of theoretical questions which go to the very roots of the economic system under which we live. For the first time in the history of the

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gigantic economic struggles waged by labor in this country, questions of theory and the struggle for theory have intruded themselves insistently as a feature of these struggles. The strike wave brought to the fore such questions as the relation between wages and prices, between wages and profits, between wages and productivity. The fight for price control has brought to the fore the question of prices and supply and demand, the question of competition and monopoly. The growing sentiment for nationalization of certain key monopolized industries has raised fundamental questions connected with the theory of the state. The specter of mass unemployment and inevitable economic crisis, and the measures proposed to meet them as embodied in the Murray Full Employment Bill, the Wallace plan and other projects have projected for public discussion the fundamental laws of motion of the capitalist system.

All this dictates to us the imperative necessity of bringing Marxist-Leninist clarity to labor and the people in order to equip them for the daily struggle for bread and butter. The mastery of Marxist-Leninist political economy by our Party and by broad sections of the labor movement and its leadership, is an urgent necessity if the struggle for the economic welfare of the masses is to be conducted successfully.

We have long been aware that the historic task of the Communist Party

in the United States is to transform the militancy of the American workers into class consciousness, to transform the ideology of pure and simple trade unionism into socialist consciousness. The struggle on the ideological front which develops out of the economic struggle of the masses is a most important element in the solution of that task.

THE PRODUCTIVITY "THEORY" OF WAGES

When the trusts and monopolies, aided by such friends of free enterprise as Woll and Green, carry on extensive propaganda against connecting wages with profits and try to convince American labor that wages are tied to productivity, it is, of course, in the first place an argument against struggles for an immediate wage increase. But it is also a form in which the trusts and monopolies are struggling to prevent labor from becoming class-conscious, from developing a socialist consciousness. It is in this connection also that Reuther's advocacy of the wages-productivity theory must be understood.

Henry Hazlitt, economist for the *New York Times*, recently delivered a speech before the Economic Club of Detroit in which he tried to prove that high wages could come only from greater productivity. He quoted from a British magazine which stated the following:

It is a lifetime of socialist teachings

that is coming to roost on the heads of labor ministers, that the wage earner, who believes that all his demands can be met out of the surplus value accruing to the exploiter of labor, is beyond the power of being convinced that there is any connection at all between his own efforts and his rightful deserts. So long as there is a single capitalist left in the country, the workers will go on believing what the labor movement has always told him, that he is morally right and economically sound to work less and demand more wages.

Then Hazlitt goes on to say:

Now this is the situation in which the British find themselves at the present time. Our own picture, fortunately, is not nearly so extreme. We can prevent it from becoming so only by dealing with first principles and trying to establish ourselves on the basis of them.

Hazlitt then goes on to develop the productivity theory of wages.

In other words, the only theoretical explanation of labor's fight for higher wages is that given by Marx. The bourgeoisie is alarmed at the turn of events and wants at all costs to prevent the labor movement from drawing the full theoretical conclusions from its struggles. It wants to prevent the American labor movement from developing a socialist outlook. It therefore teaches the productivity theory of wages. If we want to arm the workers for their immediate struggles and on the basis of those struggles help develop their socialist consciousness, we must go to the

masses in the labor movement with the political economy of Marx.

"MANAGEMENT"

We often ask ourselves how it is that, with all the hatred of the trusts which exists among the American workers, there is no popular identification of the Sixty Families as the hated enemy of labor and the people as there is, for example, in France, where the men of the trusts are personified as enemies of labor and the nation.

We ask that question. But, at the same time, some of the very comrades who ask that question talk about "management," about negotiating with "management," about the attitude of "management" to labor. But what is this management? It is a word—but it carries a whole ideology of class collaboration with it. This should not be misunderstood to mean that those comrades who use this word are class-collaborationists. No, they are militant fighters, class-conscious fighters, not only those in our own ranks, but many other trade unionists as well.

But the fact is that the men of the trusts have succeeded to some extent in removing themselves from the picture with this ideological mechanism of "management."

Charles Wilson of the General Electric Company has this to say:

There was a time, when large industry began to take shape, when most businesses were owned by single individuals or families. The owners did not

take much interest in the people who worked for them, and the workers had just as little interest in what made the business tick, in its costs, prices, markets and future plans. This is not a criticism, because it was typical of the age. But those days are gone forever—just how far gone you may not have realized.

People don't use the expression "boss" any more, except as a colloquialism, because there aren't many old-fashioned full-powered bosses left. They all have a managerial function, and each in turn is answerable for his proper performance to someone above him or to several people.

In other words, there are no longer any "bosses"—only "management," a term which conceals the rule of the trusts and monopolies.

The widespread use of the term "management" conceals the real extent of the hatred which the masses have for the trusts and monopolies. It blunts the developing class consciousness of the workers. It is time we threw off the "management" veil and helped the workers uncover the face of the enemy—the trusts, the 60 families!

CHANGING MASS ATTITUDES

Big changes have taken place in the thinking of the masses, in the attitude of the masses to the trusts, to "free enterprise," to capitalism.

The gigantic experience of the labor movement during the New Deal period, during the war against

fascism, have had a profound effect on their thinking and attitudes, which we must fully appreciate if we are to carry on our ideological struggle effectively.

These experiences have deepened the hatred of the trusts which has always existed among the workers. Three factors must especially be taken into account. First, the fact that the organization of the C.I.O. in all the basic, trustified industries of the country has brought together into a single army a mass of workers whose every struggle brings them up against the gigantic trusts. Secondly, the effect of the changes abroad as a result of the war—the nationalization of trustified industries, etc. Third, the scandalous profiteering of the trusts during the war in contrast to the freezing of the workers' wages. These changes in attitude to the trusts by labor are also reflected in the attitude to Big Business by the general public, as revealed in the recent Roper poll which showed a big shift of opinion against the trusts in the course of the strikes.

"Free enterprise" has very few defenders today in the ranks of the labor movement—chiefly the Lewises, Wolls and Greens. As far as the masses are concerned, the necessity of government intervention to regulate and curb the trusts and monopolies is daily becoming more firmly established. Under the impact of their own experiences and the experiences of most European countries, the idea of nationalizing certain of

the key monopolies is gaining headway in the labor movement.

Of course, it would be wrong to think that the masses have already concluded that the capitalist system must be replaced by a new social system, by socialism. But it would be equally wrong to think that their attitude to the capitalist system is exactly the same as it was in the past. The masses do not have the same blind faith in, and attachment to, the capitalist system which Browder has.

During the late 1920's, at the height of the "boom," the masses were largely deceived by talk about a "new capitalism" which had found the secret of prosperity and which had abolished crises and unemployment. The Social-Democrats maintained that Ford had replaced Marx.

Today nobody believes this. There is everywhere now the universal expectation that the old "boom-bust" cycle is under way again. The overwhelming majority of bourgeois economists freely predict the coming cyclical crisis; they differ only as to their prediction of the time of its occurrence within the next few years. The masses look forward with great anxiety to the growth of mass unemployment, to the inevitable cyclical crisis. And this expectation is attributed by them not to accident or to sun spots, but, in some vague way, to the workings of the capitalist system.

It is owing to this that the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois liberals, have brought forward Keynes as the

apostle of a new capitalism, a controlled capitalism, which is falsely promised as capable of being purged of unemployment and crisis without the abolition of the profit system. The slogan of Social-Democracy today is not that Ford has replaced Marx but that Keynes has replaced Marx. And Browder also attempted to replace Marx with Keynes—the economist of an "enlightened capitalism."

We are in the midst of a gigantic ideological ferment which is going on in the minds of the masses. Only if we equip the entire Party with the science of Marxism-Leninism, only if the Party fights to bring the teachings of Marxist-Leninist science to the masses will this ferment result in a leavening of the masses, in raising the masses to the level of class consciousness, to the level of a socialist ideology.

The development of a socialist outlook among the masses also requires a struggle against the organized drive which gathers momentum everyday to besmirch the great achievements of the socialist Soviet Union. The attacks against the Soviet Union have significance not only as part of the war drive of American imperialism, but also as a struggle against the development of socialist consciousness among the masses. It is calculated to cancel out the power of attraction which the land of Socialism has for the masses who are beginning to question the eternal character of capitalism in the

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United States. Hence, the scurrilous campaign about the conditions in the Soviet Union reminiscent of the worst days of the Riga lie-factories—the vile outpourings of a Brooks Atkinson and others of his ilk.

In the development of our struggle on the ideological front we must be constantly on guard against the right and left danger.

In what way does the right danger express itself in our ideological work?

It expresses itself, above all, in very pronounced tendencies to narrow practicalism, to an empirical, pragmatic approach—shallow approach to the fight for policy—in a fear and hesitation to bring Marxism-Leninism to the masses, in a reluctance to bring our Marxist-Leninist teachings into the trade unions in connection with the problems confronting the unions, in adaptation to bourgeois-liberalism and Keynesism in approaching the issues of unemployment, wages, crisis, etc. In broad non-Party Marxist schools, it expresses itself in a conception that Marxism can be taught “implicitly,” or in a “non-partisan” fashion, through a kind of “expository” teaching which does not make the polemical struggle against all enemies of Marxism, especially the Social-Democrats, the Trotskyites, and Browder, an integral part of such teaching.

In what way does the “Left” danger express itself in the ideological struggle?

It expresses itself in an exaggeration of the changes that have taken place among the masses, an exaggeration of the rapidity with which the masses are breaking with their capitalist ideology. It expresses itself in a certain infantile Leftism which thinks that the struggle to win the masses for Marxism-Leninism consists in the doctrinaire statement of principles about the nature of the state or of monopoly capital, or the two-party system—a statement of principles without relation to the level of development of the mass movement, the stage of the struggle, the degree of consciousness of the masses.

We are confronted on every hand with both dangers and must fight both simultaneously.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The first and most basic task of the Party in developing the struggle on the ideological front is for the political leadership of the Party to take the guidance and development of this struggle in hand, beginning with the National Committee and National Board, on down through the State Committees, State Boards and Section Committees. Our leading committees and individual leaders of the Party must set the example not only by attention to and direction of this work, but also by their personal participation in the ideological struggle. We must make Marxist ideology at home in our or-

ganization, so to speak, by creating the proper atmosphere for its study and for the grounding of our cadres in Marxist theory. We must ourselves take the leadership in the fight against narrow practicalism, against any manifestation of contempt for theory.

Secondly, we must organize the training and development of a whole cadre for educational work. This does not simply mean a corps of educational directors in the districts, sections and branches—although this is one of the most essential prerequisites. It means that we must draw the full conclusions from our recognition of the fact that ideology is a field of the class struggle, that this struggle has many aspects, for each of which we must train specialists—educational directors, press directors, literature agents, teachers, pamphleteers, leaflet writers, lecturers, research workers, theoretical workers, experts in the field of visual education, etc. But this requires, in keeping with a full recognition of the importance of this work, the assignment, nationally and in the districts, of forces and money for this activity. We will get these forces when we elevate this work to the front-rank status which it should occupy and put an end to a situation where good teachers are assigned to become bad organizers and where first-rate propagandists become second-rate mass workers. We must put an end to the gross misuse of the educational forces of the Party and de-

velop the practice of cultivating, encouraging and helping them in the field in which they can make their best contribution to the Party. We must achieve a gigantic mobilization of all the intellectual forces of the Party in order to make a new step forward in the advancement of our Marxist-Leninist theory. Our task is not only to master Marxism-Leninism, but on the basis of such mastery and as part of the process of acquiring this mastery to carry it forward in the field of political economy against the Keyneses, the Hansens, the Chases; in the field of philosophy against Dewey, Hook and the whole pragmatic and instrumentalist school; in the field of history against the anti-Marxist historians like Schlesinger, who now crowd the field; in the pedagogical field through the preparation of adequate textbooks for the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party membership and the masses on political economy, American history, labor history, the Negro question, the Soviet Union, the State, the history of the Communist Party of the United States.

The end of 1947 will mark 100 years since the Communist Manifesto was written by Marx and Engels. Next year, therefore, will be celebrated as a centennial of Marxism. This centennial will really be a jubilee year, for it will be the centennial of a science which has triumphed over all its enemies and which is leading humanity all over the world to sure emancipation. It

is therefore proposed that this National Committee meeting authorize the launching of a nation-wide campaign celebrating this centennial of Marxism to last over a whole period climaxing in a centennial celebration next year under the slogan: Bring Marxism-Leninism to the masses!

PROPOSALS

As part of a plan for such a campaign around the centennial of Marxism, the following steps are proposed:

a. A political-ideological campaign within the Party to be conducted in all organs of the Party press and through all possible forms of Party and public discussion on the significance of the centennial of Marxism.

b. To work to enroll the bulk of the Party membership, and especially the bulk of the 15,000 newly recruited members, in a two-stage system of classes to be specially organized during a three-month period—November, December and January. Those who have no Marxist education, or very little, to be enrolled in an introductory course; those who have already had certain elements of Marxism to be enrolled in a secondary course. In preparation for this three-month period of classes, the National Educational Department should prepare centralized curriculums. Between now and October the districts should organize the mobilization and preparation of teachers through seminars to be con-

ducted for the political leadership in the districts and sections, as well as for the propagandists not in the leadership who will teach the classes. Needless to say, special measures will be required to reach those members who do not attend club meetings.

c. During November, following the elections, to organize three regional conferences on Party education which shall embrace not only educational workers but district leaderships. These conferences to be held on the west coast, in the mid-west and the east, to be regular two or three day conferences which shall cover all phases of the educational work of the Party.

d. Organize for mass sale the chief Marxist classics: *The Communist Manifesto*; *Socialism—Utopian and Scientific*; *Wage, Labor and Capital*; *Value, Price and Profit*; *Lenin's Imperialism*; *Stalin's Foundations of Leninism*; *History of the C.P.S.U.* To prepare for each of these a self-study guide, including a glossary of terms, control questions, supplementary facts, etc.

e. Intensive mobilization for mass enrollment of Party members and non-Party workers in existing non-Party Marxist schools in those cities where they exist. Active steps to help organize such schools in main cities where they do not exist with the aim of building them in all places into mass institutions.

f. To carry through a nation-wide mobilization and planned direction

of the theoretical forces of the Party in order to prepare in time for the centennial celebration a whole series of basic contributions to Marxist theory including: America's contribution to Marxism, Marxism and bourgeois political economy, Marxism and philosophy, new data on American imperialism, Marxist studies of unanalyzed periods of American history, a whole new literature on the Negro question, a history of the Communist Party of the United States.

g. Organize new and additional forms for bringing Marxist-Leninist theory to the masses: to prepare popularizations of basic theory, e.g. shop talks on economics, and prepare materials on theoretical questions adapted to special needs of our Party press; to organize lecture tours, for-

ums, institutes on theoretical questions; to explore the possibility of issuing a special publication addressed to labor leaders, editors of the trade union press, Negro press, trade union educational directors; to work out methods of using the radio, similar to those of the Cleveland Marxist School of the Air.

h. To develop further the beginnings which have been made in improving the quality and content of *Political Affairs*; to organize a decisive expansion of its circulation.

i. To expand the scope of the full-time leadership training school program already under way, both nationally and in the largest districts.

j. To climax the observance of the centennial of Marxism in 1947 with a National Conference and mass meetings all over the country.

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SPEECH IN NOMINATION OF EUGENE DENNIS FOR THE GENERAL SECRETARYSHIP OF THE C.P.U.S.A.

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

National Committee meeting, C.P.U.S.A., July 17, 1946

COMRADES:

You have before you, among other organizational proposals, the recommendation of the National Board that we should elect a General Secretary at this meeting of the National Committee. This decision was taken upon my initiative. The National Board is of the unanimous opinion that this action is necessary in order to normalize our set-up of national officers and to strengthen generally the work of the Party's national center.

The selection of a General Secretary is a most important step in the life of our Party. Consequently, the National Board gave careful consideration to this matter, and, as a result, it has commissioned me to present to you its unanimous choice for this important post. You will not be surprised, I am sure, to learn that the comrade so honored by the board's recommendation is Gene Dennis. Inasmuch as Comrade Dennis, for several months past, has already been performing much of the work of

General Secretary, his election will, in fact, be a recognition of a situation already existing.

Comrade Dennis is well qualified to fill the high Party post for which the board recommends him. He is a worker, born and bred in the class struggle. He was formerly a teamster and an electrical worker, and he was an active participant in the unions and struggles of the workers. Dennis, who has been a member of the Party for 19 years, has also had very wide Party experience, as you all know, in almost every phase of its political work. He was a district organizer in Wisconsin; he has worked many years as a highly responsible leader in the Party's national center, directly responsible for political action and the mass campaigns of the Party, and as Editor of *Political Affairs*.

Possessed of an extensive knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, both in theory and practice, Comrade Dennis is a good political analyst. He is also a realistic tactician in the formulation and carrying out of Party policy.

The high quality of his reports to the last several meetings of the National Committee is known to all. He is a growing, developing leader, and, with increased responsibility, he may be depended upon to measure up to the big tasks that he will have to face as the Party's General Secretary.

At this point, I would like to state that Comrade Dennis was among the Party leaders who were least affected by Browder's revisionism. As I pointed out at our 1945 convention, his tendency to diverge from Browder's opportunistic conceptions was well illustrated by an incident that took place at the National Committee meeting just prior to the arrival of the Duclos article. Browder, in his report to that meeting, developed the opportunistic theory that American reaction was suffering shipwreck along with Hitler, and the inference he drew was that reaction was no longer a real danger in this country.

Dennis, however, in his report, presented a quite different perspective of sharp struggle ahead. The difference between the two reports was so marked that a Canadian comrade, a visitor at the plenum, sagely remarked that while from Browder's report he had gathered the impres-

sion that the fight against reaction in this country, as well as abroad, was just about won, from Dennis' report, on the other hand, he had gotten the idea that the main struggle was still ahead of us. The sequel, of course, showed that Browder was wrong in seeing a long period of placid political development ahead of us, and that Dennis was right in anticipating a perspective of sharpening struggle.

Among his many qualifications, Comrade Dennis is a capable mass organizer. This he has demonstrated in the various campaigns that he has led for the Party. In these days of active mass struggle and systematic Party building, Dennis' abilities as an organizer will, with his added responsibilities, be a real asset to our Party.

In view of Comrade Dennis' various qualifications, therefore, the National Board gives him its nomination. To this recommendation of the board, let me add my own hearty personal endorsement. I hope that the National Committee will concern in the board's action and will unanimously elect Comrade Dennis as the General Secretary of the Communist Party.

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TOWARD A PROGRAM OF AGRARIAN RE- FORMS FOR THE BLACK BELT

By HARRY HAYWOOD

THE NEGRO QUESTION in the U.S.A. is basically agrarian in origin and, thanks to imperialist policy, remains largely so in its present setting. At bottom, it involves the problem of a depressed peasantry—share-cropping, chronic land-hunger and dependency—in short, the plantation system, a hang-over of chattel slavery. In all, the question presents the curious anomaly of virtual serfdom in the very heart of the most highly developed industrial country in the world. Slave-whipping barbarism at the center of “enlightened” capitalist culture—that’s America’s “race” problem.

In 1940, nearly 10,000,000 of the country’s approximately 13,000,000 Negroes (77 per cent) lived in the South. Two-thirds of these (6,400,000) lived in rural areas, *i.e.*, they were classed as rural inhabitants; 4,500,000 on farms and the rest in small rural communities. Thus, *nearly one-half of the country’s entire*

Negro population lives in rural areas and over a third of this population gains its livelihood directly from the land.

At least four and one-half million Negroes still live in the Black Belt, an area of contiguous Negro majority, which today, more than three quarters of a century after the abolition of slavery, still retains the largest concentration of Negroes in the country—a *population half again larger than the whole Negro population of the North, and a third of the entire country’s Negro inhabitants.* Embracing the central cotton-growing region of the South, the Black Belt is the area where plantation economy is most firmly rooted, where the peon farms of today coincide with the slave plantations of yesterday.

The Black Belt is the center of America’s Negro problem, the area of its greatest concentration. Here is the seat of the infection from which the virus of Negro persecution spreads throughout the country, contaminating all areas of Negro life. Here, in the status of the Black Belt, is the clue to the economic, social, and cultural inequality of America’s Negro population.

The Black Belt is likewise the matrix of the nation’s “Number One Economic Problem”—the cradle of Southern economic and cultural lag. The standards of living of the South’s white population cannot escape the influence of this area of deterioration. Says Arthur Raper,

"There are literally millions of farm laborers in the Black Belt who are eagerly awaiting an opportunity to work for wages even smaller than are now being paid textile and steel workers in Southern cities.**"

According to the 1940 U.S. Census, the Black Belt contains 172 counties of proven Negro majority. The population of the counties of absolute Negro majority in 1940 was 4,107,248; of this 2,594,660, or 63 per cent, were Negroes. However, the territorial extent of this majority is by no means limited to these counties which represent only the core. It overflows to 368 adjacent counties with a population 25 per cent to 49.9 per cent Negro. A true picture of this area must include these peripheral counties, inasmuch as their boundaries arbitrarily cut across a naturally contiguous Negro territory. Reckoned on this basis, the *real Black Belt spans 540 counties*. In 1930 the Negro population of this area was 4,790,049.**

* Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry*, 1936.

** This estimate, based upon an analysis of the 1930 U.S. census, is given by James S. Allen in his book, *The Negro Question in the U.S.A.* (1936), which contains the only thorough Marxian analysis of the Black Belt. The contention of many liberal scholars and Southern regionalists that the Negro majority of this area was rapidly disintegrating as a result of "huge migrations" amounting to a veritable "mass exodus" of Negroes, especially during the war, is refuted by all authoritative data including the latest statistical information released by the Department of Commerce on Negro migrations during the recent war. An analysis of these reveals no substantial reduction of the Black Belt Negro population over the period of the last fifteen years. The 1940 U.S. census shows a 4.5 per cent absolute decline of the entire Negro agricultural population (approximately 200,000) during the decade 1930-40. This figure embraces the entire agricultural South. Moreover, it can be safely assumed that a large part of the migration of that period was to South-

The Black Belt counties trace a crescent through 11 of the 13 Southern states. Sloping downward from its eastern point in Virginia's Tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North Carolina, embraces the whole of South Carolina and most of Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the Louisiana Delta, wedges into eastern Texas and southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in southeast Arkansas.

This huge territory, spanning the heart of the South, with a population larger than that of Norway or Switzerland and nearly as large as that of Chile, lies screened behind a maze of State and County boundaries, artificially maintained by the South's rulers with an eye to perpetuating the political impotence of its predominantly Negro population. The social and political problems posed by the continued co-existence of this great community of people, shackled by a common slavery and bound by a common history, ethnic origin and aspirations, are matters of

ern urban centers, many of which are in the Black Belt itself.

Wartime estimates of Negro migrations during World War II vary, ranging from half a million to a million. The U.S. Bureau of Census in its "Special Wartime Survey" of non-white resident population in ten congested war-production areas, gives a total of fewer than 300,000 Negro immigrants. Significantly, three of these areas were within the Black Belt. The Survey further shows that not all of the Negro migration was from the Black Belt or even from rural areas of the South. It reveals, further, that a new feature in Negro migration of World War II was the break-away from the South-North pattern which had characterized Negro migration since the Civil War. The migration during the recent war had its origin in the South but ended in war-boom cities without regard to geographical location.

growing import, not alone to the South but to the whole country.

PLANTATION SYSTEM—
GENERAL FEATURES

The general features of the plantation system can be summarized as follows:

The plantation system rests on large-scale commercial farming, with cotton as its chief money crop. Cotton is likewise the leading income crop of the whole country. The central cotton-growing regions are coterminous with the Black Belt region of Negro majority. In 1929, 3 out of 4 Negro farm operators, as against 2 out of 5 whites, received at least 40 per cent of their gross income from cotton.*

The profitable production of cotton under the plantation system demands an abundant supply of cheap labor. Labor must be subservient, dependent—that is, unfree. The most intensive exploitation of labor is assured by a combination of legal and extra-legal pressures rooting back into slavery.

Cotton is cultivated by the most primitive labor-consuming technique, which has not essentially changed since slavery. The archaic methods of cotton cultivation prevailing in the Black Belt plantations operate to maintain labor standards lower than anywhere else in the country. The result is that the cotton-growing area has become a base

for a huge depressed agricultural "reserve," pulling down the standards of the whole South.

The United States position on the world cotton market is being increasingly undermined by the growing competition of other cotton-producing regions and in late years by a number of cheaper substitutes. This means a growing intensity in the exploitation of the working cotton farmer, who is forced to compete with imperialism's colonial serfs in other parts of the world.

The South's one-sided dependency upon cotton gives rise to some of that section's major ills. Says the National Emergency Council, "No similar area in the world gambles its welfare and the destiny of so many of its people on a single crop market year after year."*

Inherent in the plantation single-crop system are its uneconomic and wasteful production methods, characterized by some authorities as the "most reckless exploitation of natural and human resources known to history." Soil decadence is far advanced in all cotton areas. A sample study in 1933 suggests that at least one-third of the Southern land was eroded and that half of all the eroded land in the country was in the South.

The single-crop system robs the tenant farmer of home-grown foods; the dearth of essential food crops in this area poses one of the South's

* U.S. Census Bureau, *Negroes in the United States*, 1930-32.

* The National Emergency Council's *Report to the President on Economic Conditions of the South*, July, 1938.

main problems, pointing up dietary deficiencies and the prevalence of diseases of malnutrition endemic to this region, such as pellagra and hookworm. The denial to the share-cropper of the right to plant gardens is a component of the system of plantation usury.

Agrarian overcrowding assumes a degree unmatched in other agricultural sections. It is inherent in the plantation system with its outmoded and uneconomic methods of land usage. Gunnar Lange reports that "the Negroes in the Old South have less land to support themselves on than they had a generation ago."* This fact, viewed in the light of the increase of the population dependent upon the land which has nearly doubled since the Civil War, gives the picture.

These economic and social flaws in the South's agrarian structure left the region peculiarly vulnerable to the ravages of the world-wide agricultural crisis, chronic since 1919, and from which Southern farming has suffered more and recovered less than any other sector of the nation's agrarian economy.

THE PLANTATION'S SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CONTROLS

The key to the understanding of the Negro problem, as well as that of Southern ruin and poverty in general, must be sought in an analysis of

agrarian relationships in the plantation regions of the South.

Land Monopoly. The best land of the region is tied up in the iron-clad monopoly of a feudal-minded and parasitic planter caste, with the great mass of working farmers and farm hands deprived of access to it by all sorts of social and legal restrictions.

The concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few big white planters was revealed by Davis, Gardner and Gardner in a study of a typical Black Belt county in the Deep South. Of the nearly 2,000 farm operators in the county (nine-tenths of whom were Negroes) fewer than 400 owned any land in 1933; of these 400, 36 persons owned or controlled practically half of the land and almost a third of the cultivable land. Seven of these 36 persons owned or controlled 22.2 per cent of all the land, although they constituted but a third of one per cent of all farm operators. Taking the farm-owning unit as the family and not the individual, one would find as much as *three-fourths of all the land in this county owned by 36 families.***

Tenancy, Dixie Style. The agricultural ladder on the plantation has the following rungs: landlord at the top, then cash renter, share-cash tenant, share tenant, cropper, with the wage hand at the bottom. Between these various types of tenants there is con-

* Gunnar Lange, *Trends in Southern Agriculture*, Unpublished MSS prepared for the Myrdal Study.

** Davis, Gardner and Gardner, *Deep South*, 1946. A similar picture is presented in Arthur Raper's study of 2 typical Georgia Black Belt Counties. (Cited Work.)

siderable difference in economic status and degrees of dependency.

On the highest rung of the tenants is the cash renter, who rents his farm for a fixed sum of money. In this category may be included the standing-renter, who pays rent with a fixed quantity of the crop. In all other categories, the landlord gets a certain share of the main cash crop; e.g., one-fourth, one-third, one-half, and in some cases even three-fourths. Those receiving half the crop or less are share-croppers, while the cash tenant and standing-renter owns all his work stock, furnishes feed, fertilizer and tools; the other groups furnish less and less, the lower their tenure status, with those lowest on the ladder differing little in status from the wage hand. It can be seen that the cash-renter most closely approaches the tenant in more developed capitalist areas. He supervises his own farm and in some cases hires labor or even rents out a part of his tract for sharecropping. His social status and relations are therefore on an entirely different basis from those of the crop-sharing categories.

In 1940 there were 1,449,000 tenants in the Census South, and of this number 506,638 (a little over a third) were Negroes. Forty-one per cent of the South's white farmers as against 75 per cent of its Negro farmers. On the basis of color and tenure, they were divided as follows:*

	White	Negroes
Cash	189,667	64,000
Share-Cash	132,131	6,547
Share	389,561	89,483
Croppers	242,173	299,118
Others	89,123	46,806

This table shows that the great bulk of the South's tenants fall into the crop-sharing categories. The Negroes, comprising one-fourth of the South's population, constitute *nearly a half of all its tenants, and more than one-half of the crop-sharing groups*. The higher the ascent on the agricultural ladder the fewer the Negroes; e.g., they comprise only one-third of the cash tenants.

Thus, share-cropping is the most typical form of Southern tenancy—a form peculiar to the plantation. Share-cropping is a hybrid form, combining features of both capitalism and chattel slavery in the exploitation of the soil tiller.

The share-cropper is not really a tenant in the modern capitalist sense, but a laborer paid with a share of the crop, lacking the legal rights of the tenant as well as the laborer's right to collect a cash wage and spend it on the open market. They are, as Lenin observed, "semi-feudal, or what is the same in the economic sense, semi-slave tenants." Share-cropping and related forms are direct survivals of chattel slavery, with the "rent in kind" (the landlord's share of the crop), permanently and arbitrarily fixed independent of market relations. In many Southern states the

* Adopted by the author (H.H.) from Bureau of Census, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *Agriculture*, Vol. III, Chap. III, 1940.

cropper has no legal right to the crop.

The essential features of sharecropping can be inventoried as follows:

1. To a large degree it rests on the family system, *i.e.*, the unpaid labor of women and children.

2. It is characterized by landlord or riding-boss supervision of the crop as well as of the labor of the tenant.

3. The landlord or time-merchant designated by him is the sole source of credit, with the landlord keeping the books. Cheating and usury are inherent in the system, with interest rates on "advances" and "furnishings" in some cases as high as 50 per cent.*

4. Legal controls—"crop lien laws" which give the landlord a prior claim on the crop are in force in 9 cotton states; "false pretense" statutes, which make "contract jumping" a felony or a misdemeanor—still exist in some states. Vagrancy laws are prevalent throughout the South.

5. Peonage, though outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court, is inherent in the plantation system in which there has been no change in recent times.

All this adds up to a chronic and growing dependency indebtedness and impoverishment of the Negro cropper. In a study of 700 Negro cropper families in Alabama in 1935, Harold Hoffsommer estimated that they "broke even" during 45 per cent

of the total years, lost money during 30 per cent, and cleared some profits above all expenses in 25 per cent. Of 3,000 current cropper families, the author found 40 per cent indebted to their present landlords with a debt of more than one year's standing, averaging about \$50.* These were the facts noted by the late President Roosevelt who wrote that "the economic ladder of these American citizens has become a treadmill."

The Plantation Wage-hand. The 1940 Census gave 470,000 Negro agricultural workers in 13 Southern states as against 495,000 whites, a number altogether out of proportion to the Negro population. These figures do not include the large group of unpaid child laborers below the ages of 14. Moreover, these workers are scattered throughout the South and work under varying conditions. In this study we are primarily concerned with the plantation laborer, about whom no adequate information is given in the 1940 Census returns. However, on the basis of separate studies one can get a fairly good picture of his position. He is subjected to the same social and legal compulsions as the cropper. He is deprived of even the latter's tenuous security, that is, all-year-round work. He is essentially a "seasonal" worker. On the plantation, he usually gets his wages in terms of credit. His hours are just as long as those of the cropper, his wife and children are forced

* Harold Hoffsommer, *Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama*, No. 9, F.E.R.A., Washington, D. C.

* *Ibid.*

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Small Owner of Family-Sized Farms. The plantation regions also contain a number of small farm owners. In the main, these belong to the marginal farming class, relegated to the poorest soil, whose farms are usually highly mortgaged. The 1940 Census gave 174,000 Negro farm owners, a drop from 220,000 in 1910—almost a 20 per cent decline. The position of the Negro small-owner is shown in the following figures: The average size of a farm operated by Negro owners (60.4 acres) is about the same as for white sharecroppers (58.9). The mean value of land and buildings of Negro farms (\$1,443) is lower than that of even the white sharecropper's plot (\$1,908). The value of implements and machinery of the colored owner was given as \$90—only a fraction of that which the white owner has at his disposal (\$322).

The "Color Caste System." The most malignant and far-reaching of all evils spawned by the plantation is its system of color caste. Without an understanding of the race factor, its tremendously important role in shaping and perpetuating the status quo of Negro-white relationships, it is impossible to get at the real core of the Negro problem.

This system is founded upon spurious race dogmas which depict the Negro's servile status in American life as not the result of man-imposed proscription, but as a condition fixed

by nature with Negro inequality supposedly due to natural, inherent differences. In this credo, Negroes presumably are a lower form of organism, mentally primitive and emotionally under-developed. "Keeping the Negro in his place," a place assumed to be fixed by holy writ, is thereby justified. Color of skin becomes an index to social position. The biological category becomes a social factor, and is used as an instrument for perpetuating and intensifying Negro subjection.

This hideous shape, which has its antecedents in ante-bellum times and beyond in the primitive era of mankind, permeates the entire cultural pattern of the South; it is fixed in its folkways and customs, sanctioned in its laws, and, in the last analysis, is buttressed by violence and lynch terror. From its base in the semi-feudal plantation system, anti-Negro racism has spread throughout the country, shaping the pattern of Negro-white relationships in the North as well. With the clandestine encouragement of Yankee financial power and its controlled agencies of public opinion, the dogma of the Negro's "inherent inferiority" has been cunningly infiltrated into the national consciousness of the American people; it has become part of the "American way of life."

Race and Nation. In reality, the so-called racial persecution of the Negro is a peculiar form of national oppression, used by the ruling classes of the U.S. in much the same manner in

which their counter-parts of other oppressor nations use such social and cultural differences as those of language and religion to preserve the isolation and oppression of subject peoples. America's rulers, in the absence of such socio-cultural distinctions between white and Negro and language and religion, have endowed the factor of race—a purely biological concept—with social meaning by means of fictitious and utterly unscientific race theories. However, in the ideology of race the dominant classes have a much more potent weapon at their disposal than even religion or language. These latter as social phenomena are historically transient; whereas race, a physical category, persists.

The Race Differential in Southern Agriculture. In the South the color-caste system is used by the imperialist oppressors and their Bourbon henchmen to blur fundamental class relationships, to obscure the deep social fissures in Southern society, and above all to conceal the socio-economic nature of the Negro question which is *fundamentally that of a subject nation.*

The anti-Negro differential in Southern agriculture finds its fullest expression in landlord-tenant relationships on the plantation. Here it operates to reinforce the legal and social restrictions imposed on the Negro by virtue of the economic survivals of slavery, with the extra-economic element of racial coercion. The result is that the process of class

differentiation becomes warped, distorted, and one-sided. The great mass of Negroes are literally frozen at the lower tenure levels, there to form a virtual "Fourth Estate," with movement up the ladder into the higher tenure groups effectively barred.

A striking example of the operation of the race factor as a brake upon the Negro's social advancement is to be seen in the obstacles placed in the way of his acquisition of land. Says Raper:

Whether a particular Negro can buy a particular tract of land depends upon its location, its economic and emotional value to the white owner and other white people, the Negro cash and credit resources, and doubtless most important of all his personal qualities in the light of local attitudes; he must be acceptable . . . considered safe, know his place. . . *

The stifling effects of the race factor is most strikingly illustrated by the drastic difference in the economic and cultural status of Negro and white on the same tenure level. This contrast, which runs the whole scale of the agricultural ladder in the Black Belt from landowner to the lowly cotton cropper, is fully documented by the same author in the same work, containing a study of two of Georgia's Black Belt counties.

Imperialism and the Plantation. The secret behind the stubborn persistence of the plantation system in modern economic life is to be found

* Arthur F. Raper, Cited Work.

in Wall Street control and support of plantation credit. Yankee gold, symbolized in the financial power of Wall Street, is the hidden hand behind plantation medievalism. This is the sacred shrine at which worships the "Yankee hating" Bourbon landlords. It is the great Moloch to which is offered up the blood, sweat and tear-soaked sacrifices of the Negro bondsman and the great propertyless mass of Southern "poor whites."

The penetration of big Northern money into the South's plantation economy dates back to the period of slavery. Even at that time, plantation financing depended upon outside credit sources in the North and in England. But the real big invasion of Northern capital could begin only after the Civil War. The victory of the North in that war fully established the claim of the newly ascendant capitalist class to complete and undisputed dominance of the Southern market. In destroying the chattel slave system, the main obstacle to capitalist penetration of that region was removed.

From Reconstruction onward, the South's agriculture was subjected to a sustained and continuously accelerated penetration by Northern capital.

With the advent of imperialism, *i.e.*, the stage of monopoly capital, in the U.S., the newly concentrated power of finance capital, streamlined for better and more efficient plunder, was turned with full force upon the South. The rain of golden manna

supporting the decadent plantation economy swelled to the proportion of a veritable flood. Northern finance capital, seeking outlets for gigantic capital surpluses, turned increasingly to the plantation, attracted by its cheap semi-feudal labor and its cheap cotton. The usurious grip of big capital on the plantation became a stranglehold. All this added up to a manifold increase in the oppression of the basic mass of the South's agricultural population, particularly the Negroes, to whose already onerous burden was added the weight of increased exactions by the imperialist plunderers from the North.

In summary, the transition to the imperialist stage meant that the plantation, its color-caste system and its political and legal controls, had become an integrated part of American economic and political life, inextricably interwoven into the structure and sub-structure of American monopoly capitalism. The status quo of Negro inequality becomes a rigid pattern from which escape is possible only on the basis of anti-imperialist struggle.

Wall Street, Usurer Supreme. Finance capital's domination of plantation economy is exercised through its control of plantation credit. The credit chain extends in a direct line from the counting room of Wall Street down through the regional and country banks, and is anchored in the crop lien system. The whole Wall Street credit structure is based upon the maintenance of crop lien.

The landlord's prior lien upon the tenant's crop is the essential collateral demanded by the big credit institutions of the North. If he also has a lien on livestock and other property of the tenant, so much the better; his credit facilities are thereby enhanced. Just as in ante-bellum times the chief consideration for planter loans was the number of slaves he owned, so now, in modern times, the extent of his credit is based upon the number of tenant liens he holds. And, as we have seen, the crop lien is the central cog in the plantation system of legal controls—the legal sanction of plantation landlordism and Negro serfdom.

The holding of these liens as collateral is not only the essential demand of private institutions, but of the Federal government as well. A Works Progress Administration study of 646 plantations showed short term interest rates of 10 per cent on

government loans, 15 per cent on bank loans, 16 per cent on merchant accounts.* These exorbitant interest rates are of course passed along the line to the share-tenant in the form of usurious credit charges on "furnishings" and "advances."

Finance capital functions as an oxygen tent, preserving and continually reviving the antiquated tottering plantation economy and bolstering its decadent landlord class. It is the main force in preserving Negro oppression, and in retarding and distorting the modern development of the whole South.

(This is the first installment of Comrade Haywood's article on agrarian reforms in the Black Belt. The article will be completed in the October issue—The Editors.)

* T. J. Woolter, *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, 1936, W.P.A. Division of Social Research, Washington, D. C.

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