

The
COMMUNIST

JULY



THE COMMUNISTS IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

BY EARL BROWDER

Political Leadership and Party
Building

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The Coming Municipal Elections

I. AMTER

Reconstructing the Y.C.L.

CARL ROSS

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Mother Bloor's Seventy-Fifth Birthday

For the United Party of the Proletariat of France



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R E A D I T E V E R Y D A Y

The COMMUNIST

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CONTENTS

Review of the Month	A. B.	579
The Communists in the People's Front	EARL BROWDER	594
<i>Report delivered to the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.</i>		
Political Leadership and Party Building	WILLIAM Z. FOSTER	628
<i>Based on speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.</i>		
Significance of the Coming Municipal Election in New York	I. AMTER	647
Problems of Reconstructing the Young Communist League	CARL ROSS	661
<i>Speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.</i>		
July 4th and the 150th Anniversary of the Constitution		668
Mother Bloor's Seventy-Fifth Birthday		672
For the United Party of the Proletariat of France		675

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Steel Strikers Make History. Browder's Report on People's Front and Party Building. Shooting Steel Workers and Shooting Roosevelt's Supreme Court Proposals. The C.I.O. and the Middle Classes. Fascist Demagoguery Raises Cry of Labor Dictatorship. Who Menaces Nation's Institutions? Farmers Holiday Wants Labor Collaboration. Labor's Non-Partisan League Can Give the Answer. The Communists' Role in the People's Front. Experiences Since Seventh World Congress. Browder and Foster Show Way to Party Building. Learning from American History. Engels on Party Building. Why We Need a Bigger Party. Lessons of Bilbao. Hitler in Spain Helps Girdler in Youngstown. What is Van Zeeland's Mission? The Soviet Fliers Made It. A Great Opportunity for Soviet-American Collaboration. Socialism and Peace. Greetings to Soviet Fliers.

STEEL strikers are making history today. The picket lines around the plants of the Republic, the Inland, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube and of the Bethlehem Steel Co.—these picket lines are in the truest sense of the word the advanced positions of the entire working class of the country; they are the advanced positions of all progressive and democratic forces.

When Girdler was shooting, gassing and beating to death our brothers and sisters, who were peacefully parading in South Chicago on Memorial Day, he was hitting not only at his "own" strikers. He was aiming at and hitting the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the industrial union in steel; he was hitting all the other industrial unions; he was raising his murderous hand against the C.I.O.

And who is the C.I.O.? It is the main organizing center of American labor today. It is the awakened working class of our country on its march to a better life for the American people. It is the main foundation of that fortress against reaction, fascism and war, which the American people are now struggling to erect.

The "unholy" alliance of the four independent steel companies, as Murray characterized it, is unholy in more than one sense. This alliance, headed by Girdler and Grace, seeks in the first instance to defeat the strike in its own plants. But not only, and not even chiefly, that alone. It is out to destroy the Wagner law and, with this as a starting point, to set in motion a general offensive against the C.I.O. and all trade unions.

Despite the friction and antagonisms that exist between the "independents" and the other Wall Street monopolies, this unholy alliance is becoming the advance guard of open-shop reaction and fascism, even though it may be so only for the moment. The defeat of this unholy alliance and the victory of the steel strike are dictated by every vital interest of the working class as a whole, and of the entire camp of progress and democracy in the country.

This is how Comrade Browder analyzed the struggle in his report to the last plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He said in substance:

"Reaction and fascism, defeated in the elections, have by no means given up the fight. Politically, they are gathering their forces ever more thoroughly and systematically, concentrating on the issue of the Supreme Court and opposing with the most extreme bitterness the efforts of the more progressive and democratic elements to reform that reactionary and archaic fortress of privilege and monopoly. On the economic field, they are organizing violent and stubborn resistance to the legitimate and elementary demands of the workers, as in the steel strike, and are preparing for a favorable moment to start a general offensive against the trade unions, first of all against the unions of the C.I.O., to emasculate and destroy them."* (Draft Resolution on Browder's Report.)

It is no accident that the massacre of the steel strikers in South Chicago is followed so closely by the infamous report of the majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee, denouncing without restraint and recommending the rejection of the President's Supreme Court proposals. In Chicago, a

* See Comrade Browder's report in this issue, p. 594.—*The Editors.*

coalition of reactionary Democrats (the Kelly machine) and orthodox Republicans (the *Chicago Tribune*), in control of a corrupt and degenerated police department, murders peaceful strikers at the behest of Girdler and Co. In the Senate, a similar coalition of Republicans and of reactionary Democrats undertakes to slash and murder a much needed and long overdue progressive measure (even though it does not go all the way) at the behest of the same Girdlers.

No, it is no accident that the two take place at about the same time. It is reaction and fascism seeking to stage a comeback. It is the unfolding of the central struggle of the day between reaction and progress *on both the economic and political fields*, a struggle in which the working class, especially through the C.I.O., is playing an ever more important and decisive role.

It is further no accident that, on June 19, the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, George H. Davis, issues a statement which shows clearly what the Girdlers and Graces are fighting for today in steel. Davis' statement puts the Chamber of Commerce on record in favor of "*outlawing strikes*" and "for public registration of all labor organizations and of those who seek to form them."

Yes, Mr. Davis wants to outlaw only such strikes as are "brought to coerce the public or public authorities." But the fact is that the people who are in a conspiracy "to coerce the public or public authorities" are not the strikers, but the Girdlers and Davises. It is this gentry that is violating every

law of the country, not the strikers and their union. It is again this gentry that is promoting the most violent incitement against President Roosevelt, the federal government and against all those state and local authorities who are inclined to enforce the law rather than help Girdler and Grace.

Who is trying "to coerce" and to terrorize public authorities and the public—the strikers or the economic royalists? The answer is clear. It is those who are promoting so-called "back-to-work" conspiracies against the Wagner law and vigilante-fascist terrorism. It is those who refuse to sign contracts with the unions. It is those who are virtually inciting violence against Governor Earle, as they do against President Roosevelt, because the Pennsylvania governor refuses to murder steel strikers at the behest of Eugene Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

The Republican *Herald Tribune*, spokesman for the Girdler-Grace combination, openly praises Eugene Grace for trying to coerce public authorities. In its gangster editorial of June 20, it brazenly congratulates Eugene Grace "for refusing to submit to Governor George Earle's demand that he close the company's Johnstown plant." The *Herald Tribune* literally bubbles over with satisfaction that Grace "has forced Governor Earle to declare martial law" and "has forced" the governor to do this and that. When a governor undertakes to use the power of government to protect the civil rights of the workers and of the people, the Republican *Herald Tribune* has nothing else to say about it than this:

"The government of Pennsylvania has gone into action in full military support of labor gangsterism on a gigantic scale. Further comment on such a situation is futile. It not only speaks for itself, it shrieks for the attention of the whole nation."

Really, not much comment is necessary on this comment of the *Herald Tribune*. Except to say: the labor movement and the camp of progress as a whole must display as much consciousness of the importance of the steel strike as do the economic royalists and the reactionary fascist camp.

It is the special task of the Communists, while fighting in the front ranks of labor for the victory of the workers, to make labor itself as well as labor's allies and all progressive forces conscious of the political importance of the strike, to mobilize and organize the widest possible support for the strikers among the democratic and progressive forces, and to make this struggle another important landmark in the march of the masses to the People's Front against fascism and war.

This will also help to recruit more widely the more advanced elements into membership of the Communist Party and to build the circulation of the *Daily Worker*.

* * *

REACTION is paying a good deal of attention to confuse the middle classes of city and country and to alienate them from labor. It follows that labor must pay progressively more attention to these groups of the population.

The fakery of so-called "citizen alliances" organized by the steel companies from their own stooges can be

exposed, as a rule, with relative ease when the glare of publicity is concentrated on these machinations. The La-Follette Committee can do the country a great service in this respect. But this alone does not settle the question. The bigger and more difficult job is effectively to combat some of the "ideological" tricks and demagoguery which the economic royalists are developing to incite the middle classes against labor. We must isolate these tricks and learn to identify them.

Reporting from the Ohio steel area to *The New York Times* of June 20, its correspondent, unwittingly perhaps, gives us a clue to such tricks.

"In steel circles the fear of any recognition of the C.I.O. is explained by those who oppose union recognition with the statement that capitulation now would make Mr. Lewis a 'labor dictator.' The employers profess to believe that with the automobile, steel, rubber, and other mass production industries formed into a solid bloc the potential political power of labor would be so great that it would menace the nation's institutions."

The hypocrisy and demagoguery of the steel barons are to us more than obvious, but it is not so to the wide masses of the middle classes, and even to some workers, for whom this semi-fascist stew was prepared. The reactionary howl of a "Lewis dictatorship" and of a "labor dictatorship" as coming from the C.I.O. and, as menacing "the nation's institutions," a howl to which the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is contributing its share—this is having certain confusing and demoralizing effects upon sections of the middle classes. The mere fact that such progressive allies of labor as the editors of the *New Republic* find it necessary to dissipate what they consider,

perhaps somewhat exaggeratedly, a developing "panic over labor" among certain middle class elements (*New Republic*, June 23), this fact alone would indicate that the fascist demagoguery of the economic royalists is having a certain effect. But there are many other indications also.

Analyzing this fascist trick, we find two elements in it. One is that Lewis as an individual may become a "labor dictator" with great power. The brazen hypocrisy of this charge becomes clear instantaneously when it is recalled, first, that those who make the charge are such people as Girdler, Grace, Henry Ford and similar champions of "democracy," by the most despotic, dictatorial and fascist-minded exploiters of labor. It is made by the same people who admire Hitler and Mussolini and for whom even President Roosevelt and Governors Murphy and Earle are too progressive, too liberal and too democratic. Second, and even more important, is the fact that those who are warning against the "menace" of Lewis as a "labor dictator" are doing so not because Lewis is trying to express the wishes of the masses and to lead them in the progressive direction in which they want to go. No, not at all because of that, *but because Lewis is not trying to curb the masses, because he is not suppressing their progressive and democratic aspirations, because he is not functioning as a strike breaker and reactionary as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is doing.* Those who make the charge want Lewis to be what William Green is instead of leading the most progressive and democratic trade union movement in the

country—the C.I.O. It is *they*, the reactionary and fascist-minded monopolies, who want labor dictators and racketeering labor tsars: to function in the unions as despots and strong-arm flunkies of the economic royalists, to sell out and betray the workers, to oppress the small employers in favor of the big ones, to work in cahoots with the corrupt and reactionary politicians in the capitalist parties. It is the Girdlers and Graces who want all that, not the C.I.O. whose chairman Lewis is, and *that* is his unforgivable “crime” in the eyes of the economic royalists. The “crime” of the C.I.O. is not that it is a “dictatorship” but, on the contrary, that it is a progressive labor movement seeking to build itself up *on the basis of inner-union democracy* as well as a force for democracy in the country. Third, small business men will always find justice and collaboration from the C.I.O., something they could never get from the “labor” dictators and racketeering tsars among the reactionaries in the A. F. of L., and this is another reason why the economic royalists are inciting against the Lewis “dictatorship.”

In view of this demagogy of the reactionaries, *Communists in the unions will exert themselves even more than before, in collaboration with all honest and progressive forces in the C.I.O., to develop further and strengthen inner-union democracy and to make the C.I.O. unions count ever more effectively in the camp of progress and democracy of the American people.*

The other element in the fascist trick is that “the potential political power of labor . . . would menace

the nation’s institutions.” What institutions would it menace? It couldn’t be the *democratic* institutions of the country since labor has everything to gain by strengthening these democratic institutions and by extending and deepening their democratic character. The C.I.O. wants more democracy in the country, not less. The C.I.O. wants the people to have a greater say in the affairs of government, not a lesser one. The C.I.O. wants to break the monopoly of the economic royalists in the political affairs of the country. It wants, and it said so in the speeches of John L. Lewis, the workers, the farmers, the middle classes—the people of America—to become *more articulate* politically, to become more assertive and influential in the management of the political affairs of the country.

Labor’s Non-Partisan League, backed by the C.I.O. as well as by unions of the A. F. of L., went publicly on record in favor of collaborating with all progressive and democratic forces for labor, farm and progressive legislation.

How then can the potential political power of labor and of the C.I.O. be a “menace” to the country’s institutions if by these is meant democracy and not the political monopoly and unscrupulous dictatorship of the economic royalists? The answer is that, far from becoming a “menace” to democracy, the C.I.O. has already become one of the chief fortresses of this democracy, its brightest hope and promise of realization. That is the message that Communists especially must spread most widely among the masses, particularly among

the middle classes of town and country.

This alone, however, will not be enough to dissipate rapidly the fascist demagoguery of reaction among the middle classes, and to cement further the collaboration of labor with its allies against the offensive of reaction on the economic and political fields. *What is necessary is that labor support more openly and more systematically the economic and political demands of the toiling farmers, the middle classes of the cities, the Negroes, the women, the youth.* That is contained in the program of Labor's Non-Partisan League. That is contained in the whole make-up and character of the C.I.O. But the middle classes do not see it yet clearly enough. They have not yet been impressed with the fact that labor is becoming the most dependable champion of the interests of the people. The surest way to make that evident to the middle classes is to realize the political and organizational decisions of the March Conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

* * *

JOHAN H. BOSCH, president of the Minnesota Farmers Holiday Association, has discussed some important angles of farmer and labor relationships at the national conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, held in Napanoch, New York, June 18-20. He urged closer collaboration between labor and the farmers. He was substantially correct when he said: "Unless labor and the farmer get together economically, they cannot and will not get together political-

ly" (*The New York Times*, June 21). We take this to mean that he was appealing for labor support for the economic and political demands of the farmers.

But he also said something else. *The Times* reports him as follows:

"Agriculturists dislike the speed with which the C.I.O. was now extending its scope, he asserted, declaring that this speed of organization was 'the greatest danger to the formation of a Farmer Labor Party.'"

It is hardly likely that Mr. Bosch would say exactly that. What he may have said was that among *certain sections* of farmers, among large groups of middle farmers as distinguished from the more exploited small farmers who are closer to labor, there exists a lack of certainty that the growth of the C.I.O. is fully in their interests. Among these sections of middle farmers there may even exist a suspicion and distrust of the growing power of labor, fanned and magnified by the fascist demagoguery of the economic royalists. Such moods and attitudes no doubt exist and, if not dissipated by a correct policy of labor and farmer collaboration, they may prove a serious obstacle to the advance of labor, to the advance of the People's Front and its eventual crystallization into a national Farmer-Labor Party.

Let us not forget that for years the toiling farmers of this country have been receiving their impressions of what labor stands for from such "labor" leaders as Green, Woll and Hutcheson, that is, from narrow, selfish and reactionary spokesmen of craft unionism who were collaborating, as a rule, with the biggest exploiters of labor both against the interests of the

workers and the farmers. Quite naturally there would still be a hangover of these old impressions among certain groups of middle farmers as well as among some sections of the middle classes in the cities. All the more reason, therefore, for the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League to make special efforts to eliminate these hangovers and to establish correct relations between labor and its closest allies.

Whether or not the mere holding of a national conference of farm, labor, cooperative and labor educational groups in the immediate future, as decided by the national gathering of the League for Industrial Democracy, will meet the bill, is a very much debatable question. It might turn out to be even an obstacle to the development of labor and farmer cooperation if such a conference should fail to secure at this time the active participation of the forces that are most decisive, the C.I.O. and the spokesmen of the middle farmers. A conference which would consist only or largely of the more advanced elements among the workers and farmers, those that are already ripe for a national Farmer-Labor Party, would not help to promote intimate collaboration between the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League with the toiling farmers. Keeping the idea of such a national gathering in the perspective, the *immediate* step should be: open and systematic collaboration between Labor's Non-Partisan League and the farm organizations, steady labor support for the economic and political demands of the toiling farmers, the same relationship to the middle classes of the cities, the Ne-

groes, the women and the youth. In short, the realization of the decisions of the March conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

If the C.I.O. could be persuaded to take these immediate steps, and do it *now*, farmer-labor relationships would be soon on the way to true collaboration, and the whole movement towards a national Farmer-Labor Party would receive a most powerful impetus. The fact is that the C.I.O. still has to be persuaded to take these steps.

There is no doubt that there exists in the C.I.O. leadership a certain reluctance to take political initiative especially with regard to collaboration with the farmers and middle classes. This is not to be ascribed to timidity or lack of realization that labor needs the friendship of these classes. Rather it stems from a feeling that too bold a political initiative on the part of the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League might strain too much the present relations between the C.I.O., the Roosevelt administration, and the progressive elements in the Democratic Party. The feeling seems to be that if these relations become jeopardized through too much strain labor will be the loser, and the farmers too will lose, and the gainers will be the reactionaries and the economic royalists.

Can we ignore this feeling or dismiss it light-heartedly? Only at the cost of isolating the advanced guard of the working class from its class. Only at the price of *abandoning* the chief task of the vanguard at the present time, which is to assist the whole class, and its most decisive mass or-

ganization, the C.I.O., to make the next step to the People's Front and the eventual organization of a national Farmer-Labor Party.

Should we capitulate to these feelings and trail behind them? Not at all. The choice is not between ignoring these feelings of labor and capitulating to them. There is a *correct policy* for the working class vanguard to adopt in the present situation. It is the policy which Comrade Browder developed before the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy along the lines of his report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This policy in a nutshell is: to help labor and its allies to maintain every gain they have made, to help them consolidate and extend these gains, to do nothing that may jeopardize these gains and, *on this basis*, to promote further the independent political action and initiative of labor and its allies; and, on this basis, to help *the whole movement* to make the next step to the People's Front and the eventual national Farmer-Labor Party.

The *consistent* realization of the decisions of the March Conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the steady unfolding of all its implications, this is the next step.

It is based upon a Leninist analysis of the present situation and was given by Browder as follows:

"Experience since the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International has proven the correctness of its decision regarding the Farmer-Labor Party as a specific form of the People's Front in the United States. At the same time, this experience has shown that the People's Front cannot now

be limited to the Farmer-Labor Party which is not yet acceptable to the most important forces essential to its success, first of all, the trade unions of the C.I.O. These forces, which still express themselves politically largely within and around the Democratic Party, are clearly ripe for inclusion in a broad People's Front movement that does not call upon them to split organizationally and to form now a new party. Therefore, at this time, the development of the People's Front can only proceed along such lines as will combine the Farmer-Labor Party form of the People's Front with simultaneous support for the development of progressive movements within the Democratic Party (in some localities, also in the Republican Party), in elections as well as in other economic and political movements of the masses. This does not exclude the eventual merger of all these forces in the more developed form of the People's Front—the Farmer-Labor Party. But to insist now that the Farmer-Labor Party is the only predominant form, would hinder the immediate broadest People's Front formation as well as delay the eventual national Farmer-Labor Party." (Draft Resolution on Browder's report.)

We have not seen yet the full text of Norman Thomas' speech at the same Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. Scattered reports would indicate that he agreed with some points of Comrade Browder's analysis, but continued to disagree with the idea of a People's Front. The class enemy, speaking through the *Herald Tribune*, evaluates Thomas' position thus:

"So it seems to us that Mr. Norman Thomas deserves great credit for going to Napanoch and saying there, with characteristic honesty and courage, that he, for one, is not going to be paraded, even in a Union Square phantasmagoria, as another simple barbarian marching humbly at a wheel of . . .", etc., etc. (June 21.)

Was it really as bad as that?

BUILDING the Communist Party into a mass party was a central point of deliberation in the report of Comrade Browder to the last plenum of the Central Committee, in the discussions and in the draft resolution. The keynote to the discussion was given by Comrade Browder in the statement that:

"A most serious situation exists with regard to the slow growth of the Party and stagnation in the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. This situation becomes particularly alarming because it arises in a period of greatest activity of the workers, in a period of growing influence and responsibility of the Party as a result of its highly successful activities." (Draft Resolution on Browder's report.)

He said: "A frank recognition of this intolerable situation is the first condition for remedying it."

The task now is to make the entire Party, *every member and organization*, recognize this intolerable situation and to step forth, creatively and with initiative, to change this condition along the lines indicated in the report and resolution.

Comrade Foster's speech at the plenum shows plainly how powerfully we can use Browder's report and the resolution on his report in order to build our Party into a mass party, organizationally and ideologically, day in and day out; how we can build the *Daily Worker* circulation among the widest masses.

The People's Front needs a bigger and better Communist Party and such a party can be built only in the struggle for the unity of the working class and for the People's Front. Both go together. One helps the other.

Let us learn something from the history of our country and its working class. Engels used to say, speaking of the peculiarities of the United States, that in no other capitalist country has the working class made so many great starts and beginnings on the road to victory as in the United States; but that in no other country has the working class movement suffered so many and such disastrous setbacks. Why? Many objective reasons go into the explanation of this well known historic fact. But from the point of view of what the advanced and class conscious workers *could do* to limit the chances of setbacks occurring (if not to prevent them altogether) and of minimizing the consequences of such setbacks when they do occur, from the point of view of the subjective factor, there is one chief explanation: the inability of the advanced workers for a long time to build up a mass party of revolutionary Marxism. Only such a mass party, constituting the advanced guard and backbone of the mass movement, working correctly with these movements in the spirit of the *Communist Manifesto*, could and can limit the chances of setbacks occurring due to objective factors; only such a party could and can minimize and alleviate the consequences of such setbacks, to overcome these consequences and to create the conditions for a new forward march.

Such a party today is the Communist Party. That's why we must build it (and its press) rapidly and energetically.

That's why we must build it into a *mass party* because only such a party can fulfil its historic role of stimula-

ting the mass movement forward and ever forward.

Some people around the Party seem to feel that there is no special need for a mass Communist Party at the present time. These people seem to think that our Party is already strong enough numerically to fulfil its historic task in the present period. They say: isn't the class struggle developing in the general direction that you, Communists, favor? Isn't your political influence already effective enough to shape affairs the way you'd like to see them? You certainly don't think that the socialist revolution is around the corner for which, if it were so, you would need a mass party. But it is not so. It is the united front and the People's Front that is the next great objective. And this you are already influencing sufficiently, with your present forces as they are. Then why do you insist upon building a mass party today? Why do you want to force the speed of recruiting instead of letting it develop in a "normally" slow way? Don't you know that too rapid a growth of the Communist Party might create uneasiness even among the progressive forces with whom you want to collaborate?

Truth and untruth are so liberally mixed in this general attitude that superficially it assumes a certain aspect of plausibility. But in reality it is veritable poison for both the Communist Party and the mass movements. Of course, the mass movements are making headway and the Communist Party is contributing to it its best and utmost. But these mass movements can be set back (they have been) if the vanguard is not strong enough or-

ganizationally, numerically and ideologically. And who will undertake to say, with knowledge and authority, that the present Communist Party, of which we are all proud, is already strong enough for that?

Besides, even if there were no setbacks caused by unfavorable changes in the relation of class forces, mass movements do not by themselves, automatically, move *forward* in the right direction. The bigger the mass movement, the more varied and, heterogeneous its component parts, the bigger and stronger must be its revolutionary vanguard to assure the cementing of its unity and the growth of its political consciousness—two prerequisites for the going forward of the mass movement. And when the mass movement does not go forward but stands still, it is in imminent danger of being dissipated, weakened and eventually broken up.

That is why we need a mass Communist Party today, *in this period*, for the united and People's Front as well as for socialism.

People seem to forget that the united working class and the People's Front are not yet a reality, much as we advanced in that direction. These historic tasks of the present period, which the vanguard is called upon to help the masses realize, have not been realized yet. We are still in the process of their realization. And history will judge us precisely by our ability to help the masses realize this objective. Only for this, we need a bigger party, one better trained in Marxism-Leninism, a mass Bolshevik party.

Master Bolshevism, said Stalin, when he spoke to the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union. This is what we need also. To bring about the unity of the working class, to bring about the People's Front, which alone will make impossible a fascist victory in this country, which will undermine the roots whence fascism grows—these are no small or simple tasks. It will take a real mass Communist Party, genuinely Bolshevik, to help the vanguard of the American working class to fulfil these tasks in the mass movement successfully and to make these achievements the transition to the socialist revolution.

That's why Browder and Foster said: Build the Party in the course of building the mass movements. Recruit new members, win new readers for the *Daily Worker*, make the lower Party organizations active political centers working on the basis of healthy inner-Party democracy, propagate Marxism widely, train the membership in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, make the masses conscious of the special role of the Communist Party and of the historic tasks of the working class in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship and for socialism.

Comrades Browder and Foster have strongly emphasized the fundamental point that—

“... the Communist Party must guard against the danger of dissolving itself in the general mass movement either ideologically or organizationally. It must aim to become more and more the initiating, organizing and unifying force of the People's Front movement and, at the same time, the gathering, organizing and recruiting center of the most advanced elements of that movement” (Draft Resolution on Browder's report).

This is a fundamental point. And

how can we best pay heed to that? The Central Committee has given the answer:

“Build the Communist Party into a mass party; carry on mass propaganda for its final aims of working class power and socialism; as the vanguard of the movement, point out the next steps of the struggle, initiating and supporting the progressive and democratic demands of the movement” (*Ibid*).

Point out the next steps of the struggle and help win the whole movement (not only ourselves) to make these next steps.

Comrades Browder and Foster called upon the whole Party to make a general review of the organizational conditions and methods of the Party. Every member should consider it his duty and privilege to participate in that work. The aim of this review is to strengthen recruiting, to overcome fluctuations and to extend the circulation of the *Daily Worker*. It is to improve radically the independent activities of the Party organizations for the purpose of stimulating and supporting the daily struggles of the masses and their mass organizations, for the purpose of raising the political consciousness of the masses on the basis of these struggles. It is to overcome the underestimation of Marxist-Leninist theory and to improve manifold the training of leading personnel for our Party organizations as well as for the growing mass movements.

A vital point in the discussion on Party building was the “burning need of winning more and more recognition and legality for the Party in all mass organizations and, first of all, in the trade unions” (draft resolution).

Finally, the task of Party building is one of tireless day-to-day work and not merely one for special occasions. Says the draft resolution:

"The task of recruiting new Party members and of extending the circulation of the *Daily Worker* cannot be considered as merely a campaign for a few weeks or any limited period. In each phase of its political work, in all mass movements and campaigns, in organic connection with them and as a most important part of all these activities, the Party must recruit new members and extend the circulation of the *Daily Worker*" (*Ibid.*, our emphasis—A.B.).

* * *

BILBAO was taken not by Franco but by an expeditionary force of Italian imperialism supported by German aviation and artillery. It was taken by the two interventionist fascist powers aided mightily by the bluff of "non-intervention."

Spain is fighting for its national independence and freedom. And on July Fourth this year, when the American people are celebrating the establishment of their own national independence, let them remember that Spain is fighting a similar battle whose outcome will affect every phase of life of our own people. Let them wake up to the shame and disgrace of our "neutrality" which has helped Hitler and Mussolini to take Bilbao.

About the facts in the case there seems to be no dispute any longer among honest people. The correspondent of the *New Statesman* (a London publication) reports from Bilbao as follows:

"In Bilbao one could watch day by day the slow strangulation of the Basque Republic, not by Franco's troops but by the Non-Intervention Committee in London. It would

have been quite possible to bring in arms by sea. . . . But the guns were kept out, not by Franco's fleet but by the non-intervention control. . . . The control system, while denying aid to Bilbao, let slip through from Germany literally hundreds of planes" (*The New York Times*, June 21).

The British Tories, who are responsible for the fake of non-intervention, and the engineers of America's "neutrality," can be proud of their accomplishment. Of course, they haven't strangled the Basque Republic, and they won't. The Spanish government spoke truly when it said:

"Bilbao has been evacuated, but Euzkadi (the Basque Republic) has not been conquered. A people which can fight to the last gasp, an army which can withdraw from a town, saving with its blood all war material and protecting with its bayonets the complete removal of the civil population, an army which falls back to the outskirts of Bilbao to reconstruct its lines and continue fighting, cannot be conquered and never will be conquered" (*Herald Tribune*, June 22).

But this is not the fault of the fascist interventionists or of the cowardly and treacherous policies of the great bourgeois democracies. The entire wisdom of the statesmen of these countries, the champions of the fakes of non-intervention and neutrality, seems to be exhausted by this plain rule: Don't make the fascists angry, even though continual concessions to fascist blackmail spell ruin for democracy and peace.

The facts are no longer disputed. The fascists themselves, especially Mussolini, openly brag about their intervention. But our "neutrality" law still applies only to the Spanish government which fights for democracy, peace and national independence (the shades of our July Fourth), but does

not apply to Hitler and Mussolini who are waging war against the Spanish people.

The other day, the British Foreign Secretary, Eden, was quizzed in Parliament as follows:

"Is there a scrap of reality about the so-called non-intervention agreement?', demanded Captain Wedgwood Benn from the Labor benches amid Opposition cheers.

"The non-intervention agreement was subscribed to by all the European governments including Russia,' replied Mr. Eden, 'and his Majesty's government as at present advised does not intend to be the first to denounce it.'"

But that is a fake again. The fact is, admitted by Eden himself, that the fascist powers have continually disregarded and violated this non-intervention agreement. And the question is—the only question in this connection—why does England allow that? Why do not England and France accept the demands of the Soviet Union *really to stop fascist intervention?* And, yes, why doesn't the American government, which gave many intimations of its desire for peace and democracy, support such a policy as that advocated by the Soviet Union?

Again about the facts as disclosed in the same session of Parliament:

"Colonel Harry Day, Opposition Laborite, asked for information regarding the nationality and types of aircraft used in the attacks on Bilbao and for the first time Mr. Eden admitted that 'such information as is in my possession' tended to show that the airplanes were of Italian and German manufacture" (*The New York Times*, June 22).

Feeding the fascist beast with concessions as the "road to peace" is about the wickedest, most cowardly, and most suicidal business that the

statesmen of the bourgeois democracies have yet been able to invent. Life proves that every day. And these concessions to fascism encourage reaction in all countries, including the United States. Let it not be considered an exaggeration when we say that the fall of Bilbao, and the resulting fascist hope of securing for Franco recognition as "a belligerent," *are encouraging the Girdlers and the Graces to defy the American government and to engineer civil strife in the country.* It is feeding the Liberty League and all fascist forces.

It is a fact that the fall of Bilbao has greatly encouraged the reactionaries and conservatives in France in their maneuvers to upset the Blum government. Of course, they have not hurt the People's Front; they cannot hurt it. The defeat of the fascist Doriot shows the growing strength of the Communist Party, which is a basic force in the People's Front of France, the People's Front which will continue to march to even greater victories.

But what is the lesson of the fall of Bilbao for the American people? It is this: if you want to be successful in your great struggle for democracy and peace in this country, you are vitally interested in the defeat of the fascist interventionists in Spain and in the victory of Spanish democracy. And another lesson: unity of all anti-fascist and liberty-loving forces to achieve this aim—unity of action nationally and unity of action internationally. This is what Dimitroff, speaking for the Communist International, has urged upon the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals. That is what we should work for and

build up in the United States.

And let us keep a close watch in the current weeks upon the negotiations which the Belgian Premier, Paul Van Zeeland, proposes to conduct with President Roosevelt. These may turn out to be very vital for the American people. An attempt may be made to get the American government to help finance the war activities and war preparations of Hitler and Mussolini. And it will be the task of all progressive forces to see to it that this does not happen.

Of course, it will not be presented in this raw fashion. The American propagandists for the British reactionaries will try to show that financial help to Hitler and Mussolini is a "peace" measure. It will be talked of as "economic stabilization." That is how the British reactionaries, who favor Hitler, will try to sell the scheme to Secretary Hull and President Roosevelt. But we must not let the American people be deceived by that as they have been deceived by the "neutrality" schemes.

A policy of peace, a policy that will effectively curb and stop the fascist aggressors, this is what the American people are interested in. And such a policy, based upon the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, can be made effective only in collaboration with all the peace forces of the world. And the place to begin to apply such a policy is Spain where the fate of peace and democracy is being decided at the present time.

* * *

A^S FASCIST airmen were raining death and destruction upon the

cities and fields of Spain, three Soviet fliers made a non-stop flight from Moscow to the United States via the North Pole. The world will not soon forget this fact nor will it miss the contrast. Fascism and war. Socialism and peace. Fascism—death and barbarism. Socialism—life and culture. Fascism—retrogression and murder. Socialism—progress and human brotherhood.

Echoing Hitler and Goebbels, the bourgeois press of this country was rather hasty in trying to write off the Soviet Union as a first class power. "Russia Is Pushed Aside." "Russia Does Not Count Much." These were some of the headlines and comments upon the fact that the Soviet Union was successful in discovering and stamping out a nest of spies in the Red Army command. What to us was a sign of health and strength, the bourgeois world thought (or pretended) that it discovered signs of weakness.

Of this fact, as of many others, the bourgeois world has still to learn the true meaning. The difference between the capitalist world and the world of socialism is not that the one has difficulties and the other has not. No, both have difficulties and contradictions; and, at times, just because it is growing so tremendously fast, the socialist world may have even greater difficulties, *primarily because it lives and develops in a capitalist encirclement.* To our shame, the U.S.S.R. is still the only socialist country, surrounded on all sides by implacable enemies. And those who sincerely wish to spare the Soviet Union the difficulty of meeting and eliminating

fascist spy-nests from its institutions have a course mapped out for them by life itself. It is to curb and destroy fascism. It is to help the forces of peace and democracy prevail in the world. *It is to change the encirclement in which the first and only socialist country finds itself.*

Now about difficulties in the capitalist world and difficulties in the socialist world. When capitalism (in its present stage of decay) tries to solve a difficulty, it invariably gets into bigger difficulties, and emerges weaker as a result, speaking of capitalism as a system. But when socialism, the new and growing system, undertakes to solve a difficulty, it invariably creates conditions for a new and greater advance, emerging stronger as a result.

The gentlemen of the capitalist world have been too hasty in discounting the U.S.S.R. The world historic

achievement of Valeri Chkaloff, Georgi Baidukoff and Alexander Beliakoff, resting on the socialist industrial might of the Soviet Union, inspired and guided by Stalin and the Party of Bolshevism, will, we hope, make the capitalist gentlemen see the world in proper balance again.

As for the progressive forces everywhere, especially in the United States, for the whole American people, the non-stop flight from Moscow to America by the three Soviet fliers will be taken as the inauguration of a new chapter in the relation of the two great countries. It will be taken as the signal and opportunity for more intensive collaboration in the fields of economics, culture and politics—collaboration for peace, progress and prosperity.

We join our people in greeting the heroic Soviet fliers.

A. B.

THE COMMUNISTS IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

BY EARL BROWDER

INTRODUCTION

THE swift rise in activity of a broad progressive and democratic movement in the U.S.A. in which first place is played by the Committee for Industrial Organization and its organizing drives, realized, even sooner than we had thought, those perspectives which we set at the December Plenum of our Central Committee. This fact becomes of major world importance in the setting of the world struggle between the forces of fascism and war on the one hand, and those of democracy and peace on the other, because it gives grounds for belief that the U.S.A. can be made one of the strongholds against world reaction, along with the People's Front movements in France, Spain, and China, and in cooperation with the greatest fortress of progress, democracy, and peace, the Soviet Union.

Reaction and fascism have received a series of defeats which, if followed up on a world scale, create the preconditions for its downfall everywhere. The smashing of the Trotskyite wrecking and espionage agencies in the Soviet Union, the halting of the fascist offensive before Madrid, the inauguration of the new Soviet Constitution—high

mark of democracy in world history—the smashing of Mussolini's brigands at Brihuega in March, the advance toward a national anti-Japanese front in China, the stamping out of the nest of traitors in the Red Army in the Soviet Union, the new cabinet consolidating the People's Front government in Spain and its quick suppression of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite insurrection—each of these major developments was a body blow to the fascist conspirators of the world. Not the least important front in this world struggle is the United States, where it is upon our still numerically small Party that responsibility rests in the first place to ensure the halting of the forces of reaction, fascism, and war. These forces in the United States are gathering, preparing a counter-offensive against the rising movement of the democratic elements in this country.

The Central Committee Plenum, meeting in the midst of events of world-historical importance, both abroad and at home, has the special task of concentrating the attention of our Party upon a few key questions, which, through our correct and energetic orientation, will place the Party in a position to meet its responsibilities most effectively in all fields. We have chosen for such points of concentra-

* Report delivered to the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.

tion: (1) the next tasks in building the People's Front in the U.S.A.; (2) the struggle for progressive industrial unionism, and for labor unity; (3) organizing the mass movement for an effective peace policy; and (4) building the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker*.

To concentrate upon these key questions, it will be necessary for this report to forego treatment of many of the most important world questions, which have been fully and correctly dealt with by our brother Parties in other lands, and by the speeches and articles of our International leadership, in the first place of Comrade Dimitroff, that have been transmitted regularly through the *Daily Worker*. There is such complete proof in life of the correctness of this line, and such unanimous confidence and enthusiasm within our Party for its international leadership, that discussion is required in this meeting only for clarifying the application of the general line to the changing situation and to the tasks coming directly within our own hands.

A few words on the economic trend and outlook may usefully preface a direct examination of our problems of concentration. The draft resolution presented to you notes that "the economic recovery, already approaching pre-crisis levels, although showing increasing signs of accumulating factors making for another crash, is on the whole continuing upward, and serves to further stimulate the organization and struggle of the workers." In this brief formulation are all the chief economic factors influencing our political problems. We are not in a position to estimate how long the upward trend of

economy will continue, whether the next big change will come through economic crisis of general war; or would any useful purpose be achieved by speculations on such questions. That increased production even above 1929 levels would still leave mass unemployment as a permanent problem is a fact accepted even by the Washington administration. Mounting expenditures for war preparations become increasingly an economic factor, even in the United States, where it is proportionally the smallest among the big capitalist powers. Rising prices and living costs, always a features of economic recovery, are accentuated by the increased influence of monopoly and the world tendency to inflation, further emphasizing the necessity for organization and struggle among the masses whose living conditions are thus undermined. The economic factors are strengthening steadily the political radicalization of the people.

I. FACTORS AND PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING PEOPLE'S FRONT

The movement for a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States represents those same social and political currents which in France and Spain have been crystallized in the People's Front.

Many are puzzled by an apparent contradiction between the clearly established growth of the People's Front sentiment in the United States, and the slowing up of the organizational realization of a national Farmer-Labor Party. Some even begin to spin new theories, to explain this contradiction, thinking that the tempo of development had been previously overestimated, or that the whole conception

of the Farmer-Labor Party has been artificially forced upon a movement which will take another direction in real life. It is my opinion that we must reject all such superficial theorizing, that we must reaffirm the perspective of a Farmer-Labor Party on a national scale which has for the past two years dominated the thought of the broad camp of the Left in American politics.

It is necessary, however, to give the gravest attention to the problem of the slow rise of the Farmer-Labor organization. This is not something to be dismissed. It must be analyzed and explained, and far-reaching conclusions must be drawn affecting the immediate tactical problems of the movement.

It may shock some persons to hear it said that, far from overestimating the tempo of development of the Farmer-Labor movement, we seriously underestimated it. Actually the rise of the new political current has been so great that many eyes lost sight of the big wave and were fastened instead on some of the small ripples in the current. It is precisely because of the exceptional breadth and speed of the rise of the Farmer-Labor movement that there has occurred what seems like a pause in organizing the national Farmer-Labor Party.

Take, as a prime example, the emergence of progressive industrial unionism as the dominant force among the workers. Surely the sweep of the C.I.O. has exceeded the expectations of most people. And this movement is the essential foundations and driving force of any successful Farmer-Labor Party. Its role is decisive, and becomes more so every day. If the national Farmer-Labor Party is not already in process

of organization, it is, first of all, because the C.I.O. is not ready for such a step, even though it is clearly moving in that direction.

Can it be said that the present unwillingness of the C.I.O. to take the lead for a Farmer-Labor Party is a sign of political backwardness? I think that would be a false answer, one that would distort most dangerously the whole problem and create a false relationship between the political vanguard on the one hand and the leadership of the great mass organizations on the other. The leaders of the C.I.O. have shown great alertness to the main political problems of the day, and a growing readiness to act upon these problems, in which they faithfully reflect the rising political consciousness of the masses whom they lead. The C.I.O. has become, not only a great force in economic life, but also simultaneously in politics. It expresses in all fields a process which may be described as the birth of the American working class as an independent and conscious force. Of course, its political role is far from being fully developed; it is only taking shape. But to describe this lack of fully maturity as "political backwardness" would lead to absurd and dangerous errors. The essential fact is the tremendous "forwardness" of the mass movement and of its leaders, compared to anything in our past history.

To what, then, must we turn to find the reason for the reluctance of the C.I.O. to step forward boldly toward a national Farmer-Labor Party? We can find the key to understand this, first, in certain immediate practical considerations, which, upon examination, lead us, in turn, to a new tactical prob-

lem created by the unprecedented scope and power of the mass movement which requires us to learn from the masses before we can teach them.

First, the immediate practical considerations. The C.I.O. is already in politics, with achievements which it does not want to endanger by any hasty and ill-considered moves. We can illustrate this by comparing the experience of the steel workers in Pennsylvania, where the C.I.O. is deeply in politics, to the experience in Illinois, where it is not. In both states there are Democratic Party administrations, both of which supported Roosevelt in the 1936 elections. In Pennsylvania, when the steel workers went on strike to force recognition of the union from the independent steel companies (Jones & Laughlin), the state administration supported the workers, and the governor went personally on the picket line to be photographed by the newspapers shaking hands with the pickets; the strike was won in a few days. But in Illinois the state administration and the Chicago city administration worked as auxiliaries of the steel corporations, typified in the Memorial Day massacre of pickets at the Republic plant, the most brazen anti-labor blow struck in America for many years. An enormous gulf exists between these two examples, both occurring under the flag of the Democratic Party.

Steel workers will not listen to anyone who wants to deliver a lecture proving that the state, as the executive committee of the capitalist class, must always be a strike-breaker until it is taken over completely by the working class; that therefore the apparent difference between Pennsylvania and

Illinois is a pure illusion; that the workers should abandon their support of the liberal Pennsylvania administration which they brought into power and come out with their own Farmer-Labor Party. Steel workers will answer that while they may know little about theory, they have learned on their own skins the difference between a liberal government with labor sympathies and participation and an openly reactionary one. They will waive all theoretical objections for the practical advantages of winning a few more strikes and consolidating their unions. We will be utterly unrealistic if we expect a Farmer-Labor Party of serious consequence in Pennsylvania until the C.I.O. is convinced that such a party will immediately exert as much political power as the C.I.O. already exerts through the Democratic Party. And, further, in Illinois the first conclusion of the main body of the steel workers and miners to be drawn from the experience of the Republic massacre is not to flock into the little Illinois Labor Party, but to demand a liberal overturn within the Democratic Party on the lines of Pennsylvania.

In this example we have the immediate practical considerations which have determined that the C.I.O. work in the political field for the immediate future on the lines of Labor's Non-Partisan League and not of a new Farmer-Labor Party.

Every proponent of the Farmer-Labor Party, whether he likes it or not, is forced to recognize this stubborn fact. The masses will change from this position, not at the call of a small political vanguard, but only through their own experience, which furnishes

ground for the teaching of the vanguard.

Let us now for a moment examine a situation where the C.I.O. has not as yet been so decisive, where the movement is rising but is more heterogeneous, namely, the State of Washington. Last year a broad progressive-liberal-labor movement arose in that state under the name of the Commonwealth Federation. Many of us thought this movement was immediately destined to come out as a state Farmer-Labor Party. It chose, however, to work through the Democratic Party, and it gained immediately such results that only the peculiar Washington ballot, which enabled reactionary Republicans to vote for reactionary Democrats in the primaries, prevented the Commonwealth Federation from getting a measure of control of the state administration. As a result of its experience, the Commonwealth Federation is less inclined now than before the 1936 elections to launch a new party.

In these examples are expressed a general tendency throughout the country to strengthen the line of Labor's Non-Partisan League against that of the immediate formation of the national Farmer-Labor Party. Two factors in this development deserve a deeper examination. First is the extreme and growing legal obstacles in the various states to the launching of a new party (in Illinois this goes to the extreme of arbitrarily ruling off parties in violation of the law and without redress from the courts, while in Florida this even results in legally excluding the Republican Party from the ballot). Second is the primary election, where-

by the governmental machinery of elections is the medium of selecting the candidates of the major parties, and even to some extent the official party committees, providing a mechanism through which the masses can and do influence these parties when they are aroused with sufficient breadth and intensity.

The present role and future potentialities of these two peculiarities of the American electoral system, the difficulties of getting new parties on the ballot and the possibilities of work in the direct primaries, have been insufficiently considered and studied by the vanguard of political radicalism in the United States. Both are being intensified by the present currents in political life. Everyone who wants to influence the political actions of millions in the immediate future will have to take these factors increasingly into account.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE OLD TWO-PARTY SYSTEM SHATTERED

For generations in America it has been an unquestioned axiom of political radicalism that progress *begins* with the organizational break with the old two-party system. The Republican and Democratic Parties were Tweddledum and Tweedledee, the Gold-Dust Twins of Wall Street. So long as the traditional party structure remained intact, that axiom was valid. The old two-party system, based upon regional interests of the main sectors of the bourgeoisie, accentuated by the federal structure based on forty-eight sovereign states and the incomplete national unification of the country, effectively prevented the class division among the

population from intruding its influence in a dominating way into the upper reaches of the political life of the country. That axiom is no longer valid, because the foundation of the old two-party system was shattered by the crisis. The Gold-Dust Twins are dead. In their place there emerge the clear outlines of two new parties, carrying over much debris of the old, but representing something new—a political alignment dominated, not by regional differences among the bourgeoisie, but by class stratification among the masses of the population. There is no longer any fixed party structure in our land. Everything is in flux. Everything is changing. Every individual, every group is in motion, trying with more or less success to find its correct position in the realignment, the dominant feature of which is class alignment.

It is in the light of this larger view of the political scene that we must estimate all the immediate factors and problems of the Farmer-Labor Party. I cannot take the time here to repeat all the evidence that validates this re-orientation toward the whole political situation in the United States. For the main features of this you must reread my report to the December session of the Central-Committee of the Communist Party, published as a pamphlet under the title of *The Results of the Elections and the People's Front*.*

Now we are at the point where more far-reaching conclusions must be drawn from our estimate that the whole country, the main mass of the

population, is engaged in a fundamental political re-grouping.

The Farmer-Labor Party, conceived as the American equivalent of the People's Front in France, is taking shape and growing within the womb of the disintegrating two old parties. It will be born as a national party at the moment when it already replaces in the main one of the old traditional parties, contesting and possibly winning control of the federal government from the hour of its birth. What particular name the caprice of history may baptize it with is immaterial to us. This new party that is beginning to take shape before our eyes, involving a majority of the population, is what we Communists have in mind when we speak of a national Farmer-Labor Party, the American expression of the People's Front.

In the light of this understanding, much of the underbrush which obscures a clear view of the political forest is cleared away, or at least we rise above it. To turn to a new metaphor, we can say that the wavelets of the relatively small Farmer-Labor Party movements are only apparently falling, that in reality they are merging with a great tidal wave of complete reconstruction of American politics. That apparent paradox, with which we began our examination, the contradiction of a rising movement and a recession of the minority attempts at establishing a Farmer-Labor Party, is paradoxically resolved into a higher unity.

If this view is approximately and substantially correct, as we maintain, it follows that all subordinate questions of tactics of organization, of relations between various groupings and

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individuals, require a substantial overhauling and re-evaluation; that they must all be adjusted to the great historical process which is going on around us, in which we are living factors, and to which it is our special role to give consciousness, self-understanding, and sustained guidance. The development of the People's Front can proceed only along the line of combining the existing Farmer-Labor Party forms with the simultaneously developing progressive movements inside the Democratic Party (in some localities also the Republican Party), in the elections as well as in all other expressions of political and economic mass movements.

These are the main considerations that determine all the chief issues of the day involved in establishing a full guarantee against the victory of fascism in America. These considerations determine the form of the broadest struggle for the maintenance of democracy and its extension. Their determining force must be equally great for all those whose chief aim for America is socialism, a new society without exploitation of man by man and without classes. The fullest defense of even the limited and undeveloped democracy of today in America, and of its best fruits in the cultural and material status of the population, coincides fully with the most direct and least difficult path to socialism.

Does this broadening out of the approach to building the People's Front change in any fundamental way our conception of the Farmer-Labor Party as we elaborated it during and after the Seventh World Congress? No, it does not. The prospects of realizing the na-

tional Farmer-Labor Party as a major party in the country are better than we saw before, but this speeding up of developments certainly does not call for any fundamental change in our whole conception. The changes needed are tactical, in the field of methods and approach, above all by a broadening out to wider horizons.

In Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Party, by now the major party controlling the state, found it necessary already in 1936 to establish this broad approach to the national situation. The Progressive Party in Wisconsin has, on the whole, the same orientation, although it is not so mature as the Minnesota party. The Washington movement is rapidly catching up with these two vanguard states. It is where the Farmer-Labor Party organizations are still decisively minority groupings, especially where the C.I.O. unions are a major factor in the region, that a tactical reorientation is required.

Insofar as the mass trade unions and other progressive groups are moving in the direction of a People's Front platform, but are not yet ready to join in the Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party forces should move toward a common political front with them. They should encourage them to systematic and organized activity within the Democratic Party (in some places, the Republican Party), making the fullest possible use of the democratic possibilities of the primary election machinery to name decisively anti-fascist and progressive candidates, and formulating a clear program of progressive social and labor legislation. The broad forces available for such movements have already been dis-

closed in the state conferences for social and labor legislation, held in about twenty states since our December Plenum. They are also revealed in the moving of the class forces towards the municipal elections now in preparation throughout the country, outstandingly we know in New York, in Detroit, in Cleveland, in Akron, and in many other cities, where the possibility already exists for a People's Front ticket.

Where the progressive forces gain the nomination of candidates and determine their platforms, there the Farmer-Labor Party minority forces, including the Communists and other Left-wing elements, can and must support such candidates in the elections.

In the municipal elections in preparation this year throughout the country, there must be a decided effort toward achieving such a common front of all progressive and truly democratic forces. What occurs in these municipal elections may well become a deciding influence upon the course of the Congressional elections that take place everywhere in 1938.

THE PATH OF STRUGGLE BEFORE US

There must, of course, be no illusions that thereby we are entering upon a broad, smooth highway with a downhill course, on which we must only coast to our destination. This policy is taking us on a path of struggle, more complicated and in many ways more difficult, with greater dangers along the way than any we have ever traveled before. Every inch of the road will be contested by the enemy, and by the inertia of the past. The complications of the daily problems

will be multiplied. From all those who are influenced by Trotskyism and opposition in principle to the People's Front, there will come a chorus of super-revolutionary wails about our betrayal of the class struggle, etc. But we, and with us all the best forces of the labor and people's movements, by a decisive course, and by constant vigilance, will prove the correctness of this policy in life, by its achievements in the organization of the masses and the improvement of their position in all respects.

Not everywhere will the success of the People's Front forces be uniform or immediate. Where the efforts to achieve such a common front fail, or where its ticket loses in the primaries, the very effort which failed must already have laid the foundation for the fullest possible use of independent tickets, Farmer-Labor tickets, and even of individual independent candidates, to register the growing progressive forces in the elections. And where even this proves impossible, the Communist Party may put up its own candidates. The governing consideration in each case must be—to secure the most rapid and permanent growth and unity among the forces making for the People's Front, and at all costs not to let the reactionary forces monopolize the elections. In this connection it has been shown innumerable times what constitutes the organizing center of the enemies that we have to fight. It is that small group recently popularized as the economic royalists that dominate the United States, otherwise known as the upper "400," also identified as Gerard's list of 59 rules of America.

This group is hostile to the national

interests, it is they who equip the potential enemies of America with military supplies—their huge shipments of steel, scrap iron, gunpowder, and military equipment to Japan. All of our work in driving towards the People's Front must be directed towards identifying these enemies, giving concrete names and addresses, nationally and in every locality. We must make a thorough survey of who these economic royalists are and identify them before the masses in the local elections, in the preparations for the Congressional elections, in the whole drive towards the People's Front in America.

Confusionists and enemies of the People's Front will try to turn the discussion of this tactic around the question of what should be the attitude toward "the Democratic Party." But the Democratic Party is not a unity which can be so discussed with any value at all. In the main this party is moving in a progressive direction, though very unevenly, under the influence of large desertions of its Right-wing leadership and upper-class supporters, and its growing support from the oppressed classes—that process which we call a "regrouping of classes." Thus, there is being formed within the formal limits of the Democratic Party a progressive wing; this wing embraces growing sections and strata of the party and its organizations. In a few cases, not yet many, these democratic progressive forces already come close to the People's Front movement. In their majority they will be allies of the working class in this movement in the near future. Strong reactionary forces within the Democratic Party fight this process tooth and nail. Others reflect

it only in a distorted way, in parts, and with hesitations and relapses.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between these conflicting forces, to have a sharply different attitude to each, to encourage the progressive elements and their proposals, to criticize the unclear and hesitating ones, and to fight uncompromisingly against the reactionaries. With such an approach, there is no question of any uniform attitude toward "the Democratic Party," considered as a whole. We Communists have, for example, criticized with full sharpness such harmful policies of the Roosevelt administration as its retrenchment on relief, its failure to shift the tax burdens to the rich, and its shameful capitulation to the reactionaries on the Spanish question. At the same time we support all measures and proposals which have a progressive character (such as the wages, hours bill; the reform of the Supreme Court; and the inquiry on rich tax-dodgers), everything which promotes the democratic rights and economic interests of the mass of the people, which is directed against reaction, fascism, and war. In this way we will exert the strongest influence upon the masses, and through the masses influence the reconstruction of the political life of the country now going on.

The issue between Roosevelt and the reactionary coalition opposing him, the issue of the relation of the national to the state governments, is of far-reaching significance. As against the reactionaries we are, of course, supporting the Roosevelt course of more power to the federal government to deal with national questions. But the issue is very narrowly posed, as yet, between the

two major groupings. For us this issue is much deeper and more far-reaching. That this issue can exist at all is a sign of the incomplete national unification of the country. The American bourgeoisie was never able fully to unite our country into one nation; it compromised with all sorts of localisms and particularisms which divide the people. These divisions, originating under the influence of pre-capitalist forces (slavery, landlordism, colonialism), have now been taken over by the upper bourgeoisie as its strongholds in the fight against the people. That is why the Republican Party, originally a party of national unity, has been transformed into the party of localism against the nation.

This setting of the locality against the nation, the part against the whole, is used to paralyze all efforts at social legislation, and to prevent further democratization. Only by fuller, more complete national unification can the economic problems of the masses be even approached; only thus can effective democracy be established. Through breaking down the judicial dictatorship and by setting up a national electoral system that guarantees in life the rights of citizenship, promised in the Constitution, can we abolish all restrictions on the franchise and provide direct and proportional representation in each state. It is toward this more complete conception of national unity that we Communists must direct the thought of the broad people's movement. In doing this we will continue under the conditions of today that democratic work begun by Washington, Jefferson, and Paine, and continued by Lincoln. We Communists

must become known as the most energetic champions of the full national unification of our country.

Upon this foundation we will direct our influence within the people's movement in the formulating of its program. That program arises out of the life of the masses; its character was fully indicated in the electoral program of the Communist Party in the presidential elections; it was further detailed in the state conference for social and labor legislation. It is a progressive and democratic program capable of uniting in the near future the majority of the population.

THOMAS' "SUPER-REVOLUTIONARY"
ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE
PEOPLE'S FRONT

Here let us turn our attention again for a moment to the arguments of those who oppose the People's Front on supposedly "revolutionary" ground. Our friend Norman Thomas, for example, has just returned from a few weeks in Europe, where he spent a week or thereabouts in England, in the Soviet Union, in Scandinavia, in Spain, and in France. Such a trip should be highly educational, especially since it was reinforced by a fascist bomb dropping a hundred yards from his hotel in Valencia. Still he brought back most of his prejudices intact, unshaken by what he saw and heard or by that bomb. We must be thankful for small gains; so it must be recorded that Thomas did understand, and so declared, that the Trotskyite uprising in Barcelona was a crime. He said on June 10 (at the Hippodrome meeting), that "to condone this uprising is to aid fascism

today." So far, so good. We can only hope that he will convince his party that those who thus aid fascism should not be allowed in its ranks. But how stubbornly Thomas clings to the Trotskyite-inspired prejudice against the People's Front which he took to Europe with him! This is shown by two more quotations from the same speech: "I would not say that Popular Fronts have aided education for socialism. . . ." "By what transition do we bridge the gap between the defensive fight against fascism and the triumph over capitalism?" At the same time Thomas admits that the People's Front has "stopped fascism."

In these quotations Thomas is repeating the same false contraposing of two parts of the one task of the party of socialism which marked the history of Trotsky's struggle against Lenin from the foundations of the Russian Bolshevik Party. Thomas has rejected the poison-fruit of Trotskyism when it appeared in the Barcelona uprising, but he continues to defend the fundamental falsity upon which it was based. Fascism, which threatens to bring all Western Europe down in ruins; which plots a war to destroy the country of socialism, the Soviet Union; which is already becoming a serious menace in the United States; which wages everywhere a war of extermination against all Socialists and against the labor movement—the progress of this fascism has been "stopped" by the People's Front, according to Thomas' own admission, but still he can deny that the People's Front which did the stopping has aided education for socialism; he still demands the immediate "transition" to socialism before he has even

decided to join the People's Front to stop fascism.

The worst aspect of the doubts and confusion of Thomas is that he has never himself, in his own programmatic pronouncements, faced the problem of "transition" to socialism. The People's Front program is not socialism. It has the great merit of making no pretensions to that effect. It is openly and frankly a joint platform of non-Socialists together with Socialists. But the realization of this program creates the most favorable conditions for gathering and organizing the forces of socialism. No one can seriously pretend to fight for socialism, without fighting stubbornly by all means to create those most favorable conditions. But Thomas wants the "transition" before he will help create the conditions for it. Friedrich Engels, confronted with a similar demand from the Blanquists,* exclaimed shortly after the experiences of the Paris Commune. "What childish naivete to put forward one's own impatience as a theoretically convincing argument."

One may be permitted to suspect that "super-revolutionary" arguments here, as in past times, cover a disinclination to participate in the difficult and arduous tasks of building a serious revolutionary movement, and of taking responsibilities upon one's shoulders.

Since the foundation of scientific socialism, all its greatest teachers have

* Sectarian, utopian revolutionaries, followers of Auguste Blanqui, who lacked the faith in the revolutionary capacities of the masses, believing that revolutions are made, under the form of a coup d'etat, by a detachment of professional conspirators in the interests of the workers.—*The Editors*.

been forced to struggle constantly against the phrasemongers of the "no compromise" school of thought, that hallmark of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Every generation must continue that struggle, for such empty bombast is constantly being generated in the minds of those who are unable or unwilling to learn from the past. The great polemics of Marx and Engels had to be supplemented by Lenin (as in that great example, *Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*), while after Lenin it was necessary for Stalin to wage the epic struggle against Trotskyism which refused "on principle" to admit the possibility of "socialism in one country," demanding the whole world at once or nothing.

The People's Front, the defensive gathering of all oppressed and suffering people against the most immediate and general menace to their well-being, is a conception inherent in all the classic literature of scientific socialism. Lenin gave it its central thought, as long ago as 1902, in his magnificent slogan: "The Social-Democrat's [the revolutionary Socialist's or Communist's] ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*."

Certainly, we are not indifferent to the problem of "transition" from a victory over fascism to victory over the whole capitalist system, "transition" to socialism. But the transition does not come from empty slogans, disconnected from everyday life. This transition arises upon the basis of the growing strength, organization, discipline, fighting power, and understanding of the working class, which gathers around itself as allies all other oppressed strata of the population—a

working class which has learned how to meet in battle its worst enemies, today, the fascists and monopoly capitalists, and to defeat them on the immediate issues of the day. It is not a discouraged, defeated and demoralized working class that will take up and realize the great program of socialism; it is the enthusiastic, victorious, and organized workers who will move forward from victories in the defensive struggle to the offensive, and finally to socialism. Every strong defense passes insensibly to the offensive. To stop the retreat means already to prepare the advance. The defeat of fascism is the first precondition for the victory of socialism.

Norman Thomas and those who think like him would reverse this formulation; they would say that the victory of socialism is the first precondition for the defeat of fascism. Thus, they would demand in the United States that no one be admitted into the anti-fascist front unless he first commits himself to socialism. The results of this in life were shown in the elections, when Thomas by this policy reduced the Socialist vote to 20 per cent of the 1932 figure, and to a fraction of Debs' vote of 32 years before, when the total electorate was less than one-third of the present. That road is surely not one of transition to socialism. I want to give you a quotation from Lenin, and recommend it to the attention of Norman Thomas, from *Left-Wing Communism*. Lenin said:

"To tie one's hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy, who is now better armed than we are, whether and when we shall fight him is being stupid, not revolutionary. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advan-

tageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and those politicians of the revolutionary class who are unable 'to maneuver, to compromise' in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle are good for nothing."

When we reject the "extremism" of Norman Thomas (an extremism in words, we hasten to add, for we would never accuse him of being extreme in deeds), we are not recommending him to return to his former playmates of the Old Guard with its opportunism in principle and its compromise of the very name of socialism. The choice is not between Old Guardism and Trotskyism, as Thomas seems to think. It is not even between Old Guardism and the Communist position, although we would be pleased to see Thomas come closer to the position of Marxism. The choice before the Socialist Party, which has already left its Old Guard behind forever, is whether it shall be disrupted and disgraced by counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, or whether it shall pass on to loyal and honorable cooperation in a People's Front with all the progressive and democratic forces in the country, and to collaboration with the Communist Party in that front for the common defense and advance of socialism.

The Communist Party works on the basis of the democratic People's Front platform. But in no way do we lose our own identity, or forget the task of strengthening our Party's role in the movement, as the most advanced and revolutionary sector of it. Working in the midst of the mass movement, the Communist Party has the task of building itself into a mass party, of educating the masses in their final aims of working class power and socialism, of

acting as vanguard in the movement by pointing out the next steps in the struggle, of initiating and supporting the progressive and democratic demands and movements. By its fully independent political position, in which it speaks frankly on all issues, on all groups and parties, in which it criticizes all measures and manifestations that are harmful to the cause of democracy, our Communist Party shall vigilantly guard itself against the danger of dissolving into the general mass movement, both ideologically and organizationally. The Communist Party, by becoming more and more the recruiting center of the most advanced elements of the movement, at the same time becomes the initiative and organizing force.

Comrade Dimitroff thus summarizes this task:

"And here it must be clearly stated that proletarian unity will be the sooner achieved, the successes in establishing and consolidating the united People's Front will be greater, the stronger the Communist Parties themselves become numerically, organizationally, and ideologically, the more they enjoy the confidence and support of the best and foremost elements of the working class and of the working people generally." *

This role must be expressed in our mass agitation, in independent activities in the most varied forms, in the *Daily Worker*. Such strengthening of the initiative and independent activity of our Party will directly contribute to the successful development of the People's Front. In turn, only the most powerful development of the people's mass movement can create the

* "Communists and the United Front," *The Communist*, June, 1937.

favorable conditions for strengthening the Communist Party.

We fully and completely reject all ideas which place the working class in *opposition* to the other class groups, farmers, petty bourgeoisie, moving toward the People's Front. Such ideas are the basic stock-in-trade of the Trotskyite disrupters and wreckers, but they also influence many, especially among the recently radicalized intellectuals, who become the most ardent champions of the workers against the bourgeoisie. This does not mean that we leave out of sight the decisive leading role of the workers. The main strategic task of our Party is the economic and political organization and unification of the working class of the United States. This is the basic, the most important, factor in the People's Front for struggle against war and fascism. Only the degree of accomplishing this task measures the possibilities of the broader People's Front.

SUSTAINED ATTENTION TO DEVELOPING THE UNITED FRONT

From this angle we emphasize again the need for sustained attention to developing the proper relations with the Socialist Party. We continue to call our Party everywhere to active work in establishing the united front with local organizations and all honest elements in the Socialist Party. We must help them to clean their Socialist Party ranks of all helpers of fascism, of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. We bring forward the establishment of the united front between the Socialist Party and Communist Party as one of the most important prerequisites for unity of the working class. Any underestima-

tion of this task can only be harmful to the cause of working class unity. Every district and locality of our Party must give this task untiring attention. This plenum must review the problems of the united front with the Socialist Party which makes progress in spite of all obstacles. A real upsurge of the Socialist Party membership to cleanse itself of Trotskyism is in the making now. We must give it sympathetic assistance. The latest events, in which the Second International has agreed to a conference with the Communist International on the question of aid to Spain, must serve as the means to intensify and strengthen our relations with the Socialists.

Among the manifold organized expressions of the growing moves toward unity, the International Labor Defense is coming forward more and more to an important role. Its historic victories in the De Jonge and Herndon cases, the innumerable local victories and instances of valuable local work, the protracted battle for the Scottsboro boys, the strengthening of the Mooney-Billings campaign, the fight for McNamara, to mention only a few factors, have really anchored the I.L.D. firmly in the affections of literally millions of people. We tend to underestimate the energetic help by the I.L.D. to the steel strikers. The aid of the I.L.D. to the strikers, assaulted in the courts of Chicago, as a sequel to the Memorial Day massacre, was warmly received, and shows how the I.L.D. everywhere can rapidly become a major help to the trade unions as well as the general progressive movement.

Unfortunately, we must say that the Communists do not properly appreci-

ate the I.L.D. or the work it is doing as keenly as the non-Communists. The I.L.D. is being mainly carried on everywhere by the non-Communists, which is very good on one side; but it becomes very bad when these non-Communists feel that we of the Communist Party are not interested and not helping them as we should. While helping more and more to establish the I.L.D. as a united front defense and solidarity organization overwhelmingly non-Communist, we must deem it absolutely necessary that our Party strengthen its help to the I.L.D. which in many places is shamefully neglected. The Washington Conference of the I.L.D. now going on marks a big step forward for this organization, and must be widely popularized in the Party ranks as well as among the masses. Comrade Anna Damon, as Acting Secretary of that organization, has done a really commendable work. It must now be more energetically extended. The I.L.D.'s relations with all organizations interested in civil rights and help to victims of oppression must be developed and consolidated as a major task of our Party.

II. THE TRADE UNION QUESTION AND THE FIGHT FOR UNITY

In our December Plenum we already made a basic estimate of the historic importance of the rise of the Committee for Industrial Organization under the leadership of John L. Lewis. An estimate of the recent events further emphasized this. We said:

"The fight for genuine trade union unity is the fight for the triumph within the labor movement of the principles enunciated and supported in action by the Committee for Industrial Organization. The establishment

of this principle is an absolute necessity for the further growth, for the very existence, finally, of the trade union movement. It is a necessary condition for the preservation of democracy in the United States, for the salvation of our country from reaction, fascism, and war. That is why we must say, without the slightest equivocation, that the struggle to realize the principles of the C.I.O. is the first demand upon every progressive worker as well as every revolutionary worker. It is the struggle for the unity of the working class."*

The rise of the C.I.O. and the struggles led by it fully justify us in adding to this basic estimate that the C.I.O. marks the emerging of a conscious working class in American life. This factor, the absence of which in the past was the central factor in the slow maturing of the basic political realignments of the country, is of central importance in all fields. All the more decisive is it, therefore, in its direct field of work, the economic organization of the workers, especially in the basic and mass production industries that were so long the unchallenged stronghold of monopoly capital and political reaction.

The shameful and stubborn resistance to this most progressive development on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has now passed over to open splitting all along the line, to strike-breaking and sabotage, and to open collaboration with the employers against the C.I.O.

It is the direct responsibility of William Green and the Executive Council, against the stubborn opposition of all progressive workers, that the unity of the labor movement has been

* Earl Browder, *The Results of the Elections and the People's Front*, p. 37. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 10 cents.

broken, that there have appeared two opposing centers of the labor movement, one progressive, the other reactionary. The attitude of the Communist Party has been at all times clear, and remains so, to combat by all means the splitting policy of the Executive Council, to maintain the unity of the trade unions and their councils, and to support by all forces the organization of millions of workers into the unions of the C.I.O. as the main organizing center of the American working class. We continue to give the strictest attention to winning the A. F. of L. unions to this position.

We Communists are a small, though important, part of this great mass movement. We are giving all our best forces and mobilizing all our organizations to assist the work of the C.I.O. We call upon the whole working class to do the same. Efforts of the employers to divide this movement by the old familiar Red herring, which they attempt to use even against Roosevelt, have failed dismally. The leaders of the C.I.O. have firmly taken their stand on the basis of full utilization of all progressive forces without exception, and without discrimination as to political opinions outside the scope of the tasks of the C.I.O. We can expect that experience has confirmed them fully in this stand, and that the loyal and effective collaboration of the Communists has fully won our position as permanent collaborators in the great task of building a powerful trade union movement. Red baiting is becoming less effective every day, and will soon be recognized everywhere as the infallible sign of the Liberty Leaguer and the fascist.

The whole future of the movement requires from all advanced and militant workers to consolidate this unity, to win the confidence and trust of the millions of workers being drawn into it, by means of their loyal, effective, and self-sacrificing devotion to its success.

It is necessary to do everything to help develop inner-union democracy which will serve to promote to the leading bodies of the unions the best, most loyal, and capable elements, which will provide the best guarantee for the development of these unions along policies of the class struggle.

Every Communist, from the Central Committee to the units, should be engaged every day in coming into close and intimate contact with the new militant and honest activists in the trade unions, who are coming forward by the hundreds and thousands. What is needed here is the most comradely and painstaking educational work, our Party comrades learning from them and in turn helping them in their practical work, developing their class-consciousness and political maturity, giving them the benefit of the collective experience of the whole movement. This must be the decisive dominating feature of our Party's contacts and work within the trade union movement.

On the whole our Party is working well along this line. But we must not have the illusion that all is well everywhere and at all times. On occasion we see developments which give rise to great uneasiness, when comrades rush into snap judgements on big questions of trade union policy, consider that the trade union leaders have been mis-

taken or have unnecessarily compromised the workers' demands, and from this conclusion pass immediately into a head-on collision with those leaders and those workers who follow them. There were dangerous moments of this sort in the Detroit district in connection with the Chrysler strike. We gave unstinted recognition to the work of our Party forces in that strike. They did excellent work. But we must speak openly of some mistakes. We must speak openly of this, as a lesson to the entire Party to avoid such dangers. We are a fully responsible Party, and our sub-divisions and fractions do not independently take any actions which threaten to change our whole national relationship with a great and growing mass movement. As it happens, in this particular instance, some comrades were entirely in error in thinking they saw intolerable compromises and wrong methods in the settlement of the Chrysler strike. There was no situation of that kind. There was merely a secondary problem of the impatience of certain leaders in dealing with the rank and file. But even if their fears had more solid foundation, it was necessary to proceed with much more tact, foresight, and consideration in establishing an attitude toward such questions. We do not attempt to estimate such difficult and complicated trade union problems by ourselves, in isolation; but only on the basis of the fullest and frankest discussion with our comrades-in-arms of the general trade union activities, on the basis of trade union democracy.

Our country is now in the midst of a rising wave of battles for the rights of labor organization and collective

bargaining, such as has never been seen before. The course of this campaign will be decisive for the whole future of labor and of our country. Our attitude and our work in the midst of this struggle must be the most sober and responsible.

Labor generally, including us Communists who approach this question with our own standards, have every reason to proceed to the particular tasks and problem facing us, with great confidence in the strategical line of the C.I.O. leadership and of John L. Lewis. The incident of the Chrysler strike illustrates and emphasizes this fact. That was one of the preparatory battles leading up to the great campaign in which we are now engaged. If we should approach that or any other individual conflict by itself, isolated from the general course of events, trying to judge it from an ideal picture of what we would like to see and not what the relation of forces requires in the whole national set-up, then we would have a distorted view which would inevitably bring serious errors in its train. The strategy of the C.I.O. has proved itself in life to be basically sound and correct. We find that it coincides with what we independently estimated as correct strategy. There is plenty of room for legitimate differences of opinion on detailed tactics and execution; but it is not our business to fall into any tendency of sniping on non-essential questions, and thereby contribute to creating an atmosphere of fault-finding and bickering. The whole line of the Communist Party has been, must remain, and must become universal, one of confidence and wholehearted collaboration in the work with all the re-

sponsible leading elements and with the rank-and-file activists who make up the core of this great historical movement of the C.I.O. An example of the opposite approach to this question is the tendency of the Socialist Party, under the influence of the Trotskyites, more and more to isolate the Socialists in the trade union movement. I just received this morning a trade union resolution that was put through at the Socialist Party Convention in the State of Massachusetts on the trade union question. Let me read it to you as a horrible example of what we should avoid in the trade union line. The resolution says:

"The party must seek to inoculate the workers against reliance on the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. It must be remembered that the officials of the C.I.O. cannot be relied upon to provide correct leadership for the progressive forces in the trade unions. It is only through accident of history that John L. Lewis and his associates appear temporarily as nominal representatives of the progressive forces by advocating what is at present progressive policies. This accident is not at all permanent. We must understand that this bureaucracy is dedicated above all to the maintenance of capitalism and the suppression of the revolutionary development of the labor movement."

The great battles to unionize steel are the very center of American life today. In these battles there is being fought out the destiny of our country, of our democracy. So long as the reactionary steel barons, those prototypes of the economic royalists, these twentieth-century feudalists, can defy the law that confirms the right of collective bargaining, can maintain their own armies and arsenals and subordinate the local authorities and police, can recruit and arm fascist vigilante bands

—all to smash by force and violence the simple demands for organization and collective contracts in the steel industry—just so long is every civil and political liberty in permanent and imminent danger in America. This struggle is not a simple trade union struggle of the steel workers. It is a battle of all progressive and democratic people to insure the future of democracy in America. It is among our tasks to mobilize all such people around and in support of the steel strike.

To what lengths of fascist desperation the steel barons are prepared to go was illustrated in Chicago in the Memorial Day massacre. The police and armed guards simply opened fire upon an unarmed procession of steel pickets marching with their wives and children. The list of the dead is now nine, with hundreds wounded, including women and children. The spirit which prepared those guns and gave the order to fire is exactly the same as that of the barbarities of Franco in Spain, of Italian submarines sinking Spanish boats, of Nazi battleships bombarding Almeria, of Hitler's airplanes destroying Guernica. The steel barons are rousing, organizing, and financing all the anti-social, criminal, underworld elements, and are fusing them with the reactionary adventurers from the bourgeoisie in that amalgam typical of fascism the world over.

To the support of the steel workers in their battle all the living forces of democracy in America today must therefore be rallied. The whole population must be roused and organized as allies and helpers. Every assistance must be given to the efforts of the C.I.O. leaders to bring reserves into

action, in the coal and ore fields, and in transportation. All workers' organization of every kind must make their voices heard and their hands felt in support of the steel workers. Every church and civic organization must be urged to speak up and act against the lawless royalists of steel. The steel workers are fighting the battle of the people; a people's movement must come to the support.

Great responsibilities lie upon the Communist Party in this fight. We are a small party, but we play a great and growing role. What we think, what we say, and especially what we do, have an influence a hundredfold, five hundredfold, beyond our membership. Large strata of the population guide themselves by what they see our Party doing. If we sit back and leave the task to others, many of these others will conclude that if the Communists do not find this important, then they also can safely pass the matter up for other things. Our example is a big and growing influence among broad masses. We must set a good and better example in the steel industry today.

At our last Plenum we spoke of the C.I.O. as bearing the future of the labor movement. Today we can already speak of it as realizing it. The C.I.O. not only embraces the most important sectors of organized labor, but is already the absolute numerical majority. The sweep of the unorganized into the C.I.O. has been joined, since the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. issued its final splitting orders, by a sweep of former A. F. of L. unions into C.I.O. ranks. During the past six weeks alone, through the direct influence of our Party's careful and systematic preparations for this event,

unions involving over half a million members have decided, with a unanimity which has astounded the reactionaries, to move over into the C.I.O. camp, which is now in every sense the chief representative of organized labor.

This complete support which we are giving the C.I.O. does not contradict or change our fundamental line in the fight for unity of the trade union movement. On the contrary, only through such support does the unification of the labor movement become a practical task. We continue uncompromising opposition to all the splitting efforts of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, whether of separate national unions, of locals, of city or state federations. Where splits are carried through in spite of all, we continue to help to consolidate all expelled unions, and continue the fight for unity and for realizing the C.I.O. organizing program, striving to win the A. F. of L. locals to support and participation in that fight. We will never cease to demand the unification of the American trade union movement.

With the Executive Council carrying through its splitting work, the question will arise of the convocation of a unity congress. To such a congress, when the time comes, all unions should be invited—C.I.O. and A. F. of L., as well as those unaffiliated to either. To such a congress let all come who stand for unity and solidarity. As for those who refuse unity, they only place themselves thereby outside the movement; but the unity congress should expel no organization of workers and should stand against expulsions and splits, but for the unification of the trade unions into a single federation. Our position

on the question of unity is clear. We want everyone to know it. We hope it will help to influence the course of events toward the widest possible unification on the basis of progressive industrial unionism.

In connection with the trade union questions, the problems of the unemployed and of their organizations, the Workers Alliance continues to hold a very important place. I shall not speak of the problems facing the Workers Alliance and its Convention which opens next weekend in Milwaukee. We shall have a special report to this Plenum on this question. I shall now speak about organizing the mass struggle for peace.

III. LET US BROADEN THE ORGANIZED STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Two days ago came the news that the Second International has agreed to meet with the Communist International to discuss united action on behalf of Spain. This is a belated recognition of almost universal sentiment among the workers everywhere demanding a common front and common action, if peace is to be preserved, if Spanish and world democracy are to be protected against the murderous assaults of fascism. How stubbornly the leaders of the Second International resisted this demand for a united front is a measure of the energy with which this demand must be pushed now, if the negotiations are to result in real unity of action. It is a step forward, however, even to have such discussions, and this can be made the occasion for a new effort toward broadening the organized struggle for peace also in the United States.

Since our December Plenum the labor and progressive movement in the United States has proved its solidarity with Spanish democracy by sending 2,000 of its best representatives to Spain in the famous Lincoln Battalion to take their place in the front lines. Several hundred of our comrades have given their lives or suffered major casualties. The Lincoln Battalion has stood in the most serious battle, has held trenches for four months without relief, has been transformed into a unit of seasoned veterans, has been a model of discipline and political morale—in short, it has written a glorious page in the history of American democracy, of which we can all justly be proud. And not the least source of our pride is the fact that over sixty per cent of the Lincoln Battalion members are members of the Communist Party. There is now being organized among the Americans in Spain a second, the George Washington, battalion.

All the more must we who remain on the American front redouble our efforts for Spain, which means for democracy and peace everywhere. The work of the North American Committee for Support to Spanish Democracy must be increased and made more efficient; the Medical Bureau must be helped to enlist ever wider support. The Friends of the Lincoln Battalion must provide more of those little necessities and comforts for our boys in Spain, and popularize much wider the knowledge of their heroic deeds. The campaign for support to the Spanish children's homes in France and Spain must be organized on the broad scale that this issue demands, really in-

volving the American people and raising millions of dollars.

Above all, we must rouse the conscience of America to the crimes of fascism in Spain. It is an indelible blot of shame upon our country that our government rushed to apply the infamous "neutrality" law to martyred Spain; but when German and Italian warships openly bombard Spanish cities and sink Spanish ships we suddenly find that it would be "intervention" to apply the same law to the fascist murderers. We can never rest until that shameful blot is wiped out. America must not be allowed to act the role of the accomplice of fascist murder and destruction.

More serious attention must now be turned toward the broader problem of organizing the overwhelming peace sentiment of Americans into a mass struggle for peace for an effective peace policy on the part of the United States government.

The most serious effort in this direction is the American League Against War and Fascism, which has three to four million adherents. This important beginning must be supported and strengthened in every way. The American League is now planning its Fourth Congress to be held in Pittsburgh on the Thanksgiving week-end, toward the end of November. The months leading up to this Congress must witness the strengthening of the American League, the rallying of new forces to it, the enlistment of the best active workers, the revival of local League Councils, the rallying especially of the trade unions, the establishment of relations with other peace organizations, the widening of the circulation of the

League's excellent magazine, *The Fight*, a magazine which is unique in the whole world for its quality and effectiveness—effectiveness largely due to the high quality of the work of its editor, Joseph Pass, and his ability to organize the widest cooperative efforts in its production. The American League is composed, in its active membership—some 8,000-9,000—of fully 90 per cent non-Communists, which is a very good thing, except that there has been a distinct falling off of the support given to the League in an organized way by the Communist Party in the districts—a defect that must be changed. We demand of every state and city organization of the Party that it shall seriously discuss and act upon the problem of giving practical help and forces to the American League, especially in the coming months before its Fourth Congress.

The problem which we set for ourselves, and toward which we worked in the American League and elsewhere, is how to embrace the majority of the American people, who sincerely desire peace, into an effective movement to this end. This problem, in the first place, is how to break up the false conception of isolation and neutrality as the road to peace. It is the problem of preparing the masses for active collaboration with the peace forces of the whole world upon a real international peace policy.

We have been given intimations of a policy of peace by the Washington administration, notably by Roosevelt and Hull, in the Buenos Aires Conference. But these are nullified in practice by Congress and the State Department. The reactionary camp is able to

manipulate the very peace sentiments of the masses to reactionary and war-supporting ends, through the neutrality slogan, applied to Spain but not to the fascist invaders of Spain.

The false neutrality policy, despite its appearance of strength, is in a crisis. It is under heavy criticism from many sides. There is growing recognition that it is unrealizable, that its attempted application makes more for war than peace. But there is as yet no generally accepted alternative clear policy of peace. The chief task in organizing a mass struggle for peace is to secure the general acceptance of such an alternative policy.

This cannot be achieved by a head-on collision with the existing mass prejudices against the League of Nations, although it must be explained that the present League is not what it once was, that the present League can and must be used for the cause of peace and democracy. But the United States is outside the League of Nations, and to advocate its entry is unrealistic.

There is, however, an established feature of American foreign policy, against which there is no mass prejudice, which provides an effective peace policy without the obstacles presented by the League of Nations. This is the so-called Kellogg Pact, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Pact of Paris, signed by more than 50 nations on the initiative of the United States, outlawing the use of war as an instrument of national policy. With provisions for implementing the Kellogg Pact in the international relations of the United States, a full program of international collaboration of the peace forces of the world would be given. Upon the de-

mand for such a policy the broadest peace movement can be built. The basis made possible a policy along the following lines we proposed in our Party's Legislative Letter at the time the Legislative bill was before Congress. We stated then that an effective peace policy for the United States could be worked out on the basis of established covenants already signed between the United States and the rest of the world, by a law with the following simple points:

"1. Require that the President shall take notice when any nation signatory to the Kellogg Pact shall violate the provisions of that pact by making war, whether officially declared or not, and shall call it to the attention of Congress

"2. That when the violation of this treaty with the United States is established, an embargo shall be placed against all economic transactions with the guilty power until the aggression is stopped and reparation made;

"3. That any government, not itself an aggressor in violation of the Kellogg Pact, but suffering from an attack by enemies from within or without, shall not be hindered in its continuance of normal commercial relations with the United States;

"4. That a violator of the Kellogg Pact should be considered to be that state which is the first to declare war upon another state; which uses its armed land, naval, or air forces, with or without a declaration of war, to invade the territory, or to attack the vessels, or to blockade the ports of another state;

"5. That a state should also be considered the aggressor, in violation of the Kellogg Pact, when it gives support to armed parties or factions engaged in insurrection against the democratically established government of another nation;

"6. That in accordance with the principles laid down in the Buenos Aires Conference, the United States shall consult with other countries in case of war or the imminent danger of war."

All efforts must be turned in this

direction of merging the movement of the American people for peace together with the international movement, against the instigators of war—which means German and Italian fascism and the Japanese militarists—and toward the creation of a united front of the democratic states against fascist aggressors.

We must use every event in the international field, especially the fascist invasion of Spain and the Japanese intervention in the Far East, for proving the true nature of the neutrality policy as an aid to fascism, as leading to war, as driving America with the whole world toward a new world war. We must arouse the masses to the nature of the work of agents of German, Italian, and Spanish fascism in America, and stimulate an effective demand for the expulsion of these rats.

This movement for an effective peace policy must penetrate into every mass organization. Strangely enough, sometimes our comrades think that in our peace movement we should go into the trade unions that are under reactionary leadership and fight to win these unions to our program, but that in a union which is under Left and Communist leadership, we don't need to do anything about it! We therefore often have this strange picture of unions far away from us becoming active in the American League, but of unions very close to us paying no attention to it whatever. Why is this? Because we don't understand that this peace movement must involve the membership of every organization. It means nothing to us so far as building a mass peace movement is concerned if the leaders of the movement give

adherence to this program, if they do nothing to involve their membership in it. We must get every mass organization, every trade union, every church, every lodge, every peace group; and these must be given organizational form in the American League Against War and Fascism and its coming national Congress in November. If, with certain organizations, this is not possible, let these then be brought into cooperative relations with the League.

IV. BUILDING THE PARTY AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

The essential instrument for carrying out every task is our own Party organization and its main mouthpiece, the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. What is the organizational condition of our Party? Are its methods of work satisfactory? What is happening in the recruitment of new members and in expanding the circulation of the *Daily Worker*? Here we must say very sharply that all is not well. A most serious situation exists in the slow growth of the membership and, for a time, until the last weeks, even a decline in the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

This situation is particularly alarming because it arises in a period of greatest activity of the workers, the growth of the responsibility and influence of our Party as a result of its highly successful activities. A frank recognition of this intolerable situation is the first condition for remedying it. As I said in February, in the special conference that we held to awaken the Party to this question, our Party elaborated certain measures required for remedying this situation. We must

mention, especially, the decisions of the Ninth Convention of our Party, of our last Plenum in December, and of the special Party conference on this problem in February. With favorable conditions among the masses, with the Party already armed with adequate policies, the answer to this serious condition therefore must be found, first of all, in the fact that the Party leadership and the Party organizations do not give adequate, systematic, and constant attention to those tasks. This work is systematically neglected. Only since the February conference do we see some sign of a serious turn to this question throughout the Party.

This beginning is still entirely insufficient. Without the thorough solution of this problem the Party cannot move forward and perform the growing tasks with which it is faced.

The problem of Party growth is, first, to recruit increasing numbers of new members and, second, to keep them actively engaged in Party work so that they will not drop out after a few weeks or months.

Does a favorable situation exist for recruiting? Unquestionably, yes. Conditions have never been so favorable. The potential members around our Party are tenfold the number a few years ago. They feel our Party as a guiding force more than they ever did before. Our Party's authority among them has never been so high. Only these potential members do not receive from the Party that final impetus which carried them over the line that separates sympathizers from Party members. The Party members, units, committees, and fractions are not conscious of their tasks as recruiting agents

for the Party. It is a very serious step for an individual to join the Communist Party. Such a serious event does not take place spontaneously or automatically. It only takes place when it is prepared and organized by the conscious work of our Party and its members.

Who must solve this problem? The entire Party without exception, from the units to the Central Committee. The problems must be concretely examined in each place and everywhere. All the imagination and initiative of the members must be brought into play to find the concrete solution. No formula worked out here can fit the thousand variations of the problem. The Central Committee can give only a general guidance, stimulate the Party, encourage its initiative. The whole Party must be creatively engaged in finding the practical solution.

How must we work? Team-work, plans, check-up, and control, with socialist competition—these are the means that must be used to organize the initiative and enthusiasm of the members, and direct their efforts to definite goals. Without resorting to assignment of quotas from above, which is too mechanical, and will not work, we must stimulate every unit and fraction of the Party to set for itself a definite number of new members which it engages to recruit within a definite time. This should not be the assignment of quotas. It should be the voluntary assumption of a task of a decision of the unit itself.

How shall the old members introduce the new ones into Party work? First of all, the old members must abandon all airs of superiority, all

remnants of that attitude of the old priest who is initiating a novice into the mysteries of a religion. If the old members want to educate the new ones—and they should want to—they must begin by learning from the new members. We shall not keep our new members unless we wipe out all traces of arrogance and know-it-all snobbishness in our approach to them. Any trace of that will only drive them out of the Party faster than we can recruit them. Modesty is demanded from old members especially. We can forgive new members for lacking this essential quality of Bolshevik modesty, we cannot forgive the old ones. The first task of the Party is to teach its members modesty. The relations of old and new members must be those of teacher and pupil on both sides, not teacher on the one side and pupil on the other. It is the new members who often have the most to contribute in this combination.

In this connection, how often we find that units composed of old members have learned that "it can't be done," learned it thoroughly, that it requires a unit of new members to come along and show in practice that it can be done. In such cases it would be just too bad if the old members had caught the new ones in time to "educate" them in their higher wisdom of passivity. This is especially true in regard to recruiting. New members recruit ten times as much as the old ones. It is especially our old members who need education on recruiting, and the new members can educate them best.

How to assign work to new members? Two widely-prevailing errors must be avoided. First, there is the error of mechanically loading up the

new members with a dozen tasks of a purely routine and mechanical character, monopolizing his free time without giving him anything that engages his interest or gives play to his initiative. That means to drive the new members away, away from the whole Party's life. Secondly, there is the error of neglecting the new member and giving him no part at all in the Party life, or so little that he is not drawn into this life and absorbed by it. That means to allow him to drift away from the Party. The new member should be officially welcomed into the Party; made to feel at home as an equal among equals, given his share of the work and of the responsibility; and given attention to engage his special knowledge, his special abilities or his special contacts, to advance the Party tasks in such a way that he can see his own contribution.

How to assist the new members in their tasks in the trade unions or other mass organizations? This is a most vital question. How many thousands of cases we have found of sympathizers of many years' standing who, when asked why they do not join the Party which they follow so faithfully, answer that they are afraid the unit discipline and work assignments might destroy their effective work in the trade unions or other mass organizations where they find cooperation with the Party so valuable in their work. In order to be able to continue cooperation with the Party they stay outside of it. What does that mean? The first task of a Party unit in relation to a new member is to learn to make use of, not to hinder or destroy, his connections in all kinds of mass organizations. The greatest

crime that can be committed against the Party is to restrict the mass activities of the new members. The Party unit must find the way to help the new member in this respect, but never on any account put any obstacles in his way.

THE SPECIAL QUALITIES OF BOLSHEVIK LEADERSHIP

How shall we develop the leading role of higher committees and the section and district secretaries? Leadership is an art which every Communist Party member must learn; but he must learn the special qualities of Bolshevik leadership. Weaknesses in leadership inevitably reflect themselves in poor and weak inner-Party life, weak recruiting, and loss of members. Examining the work of our district and section secretaries, for example, we find two wrong methods appearing time and time again. One is the method of the "strong man" who goes into his committee with his mind already made up on everything without consultation, brushes aside all discussion except by "yes-men" on the committee; who does not even bother to take a vote on disputed questions, but asserts his "higher authority" over the committee; who achieves unity of direction by what could be called intellectual "strong-arm" methods, the overriding of all critical examination of his proposals. The other wrong method is just the opposite; here there is plenty of freedom of discussion, but it is not directed toward welding together a real unity of opinion, so that every one goes out of the committee not with a united opinion but with exactly the views he brought in; divergencies are not ironed

out, every one goes his own way, and the iron unity of a Communist Party gradually disappears in a swamp of unrelated individual approaches to different questions. Neither of these methods has anything in common with the Bolshevik conception of leadership; this is always collective, the gathering and welding together of the varied and supplementing qualifications of many individuals, the arming of each one of them with the strength of all others, the elimination from each of his weak points, the development of self-criticism and mutual criticism as a system and method, and thereby the multiplication of the leading powers of the Party, a thousandfold over that which any individual, even a genius, is capable of giving.

Occasionally we still find examples, though they are now rare, of leading committees being allowed to lapse into inactivity, their places being taken by the individual "strong comrades" who assume all the duties of the committee, and, so far from calling the committee together, actually discourage it from meeting. We were recently shocked to learn that in one of our most important districts, in a period of a great strike struggle in which the Party was very active, and did very good work in some respects, the District Bureau had not met for six weeks. Comrades, has that happened in your district? I am looking around for guilty faces. We were doubly shocked to learn that the District Secretary had not found time to make a political report on these rich experiences for his membership. We were triply shocked to learn that this Secretary had found time, however, to travel several hundred miles to report

to another district. With such methods, comrades, surely the Party will not be built. We must have responsible and collective leadership; without that it is no use talking about recruiting. We are a Bolshevik Party.

How shall we select, train, and promote new leading personnel? In this matter we still have many abuses in our methods of work. We find districts where this question is the personal property of a single leading comrade, instead of the collective work of the leading committees with the participation of the membership. We usually find in such places the complaint of shortage of forces, everybody at hand, we find, is "no good" for one reason or another. Personal caprice means disaster to the direction of the work. Individuals are pushed from one post to another with no regard to their own interests or the opinions of those with whom they must work. All such carryovers from the system of capitalist factory management or from bourgeois political life must be combatted and eliminated from our methods of work, if we want to build the Communist Party.

OVERCOMING THE RED SCARE

How shall we dissipate the Red scare from among the Reds? It is a fact that much of our weakness in recruiting is due to the Red scare; not among the workers but among our own comrades, specially some of those recently emerged as mass leaders. Some of these comrades hide as a shameful secret their Communist opinion and affiliations; they hysterically beg the Party to keep as far away from their work as possible. It must be admitted that very

often this is only a wrong answer to certain wrong methods of work on the part of the Party and the fault is not always on the part of the comrade who has the Red scare; perhaps the Party has created the Red scare by wrong methods of work, or some of its leading people have brought it about. This often happens by making excessive demands and mechanical assignment of tasks, by an inconsiderate approach to the problems of the mass organizations—the idea, for example, that mass organization problems can be settled off-hand in the Party office by a decision of the Party organizer. It is such things that create the Red scare among the comrades. On the basis of a careful and considerate approach to the problems of the individual leading comrades and their mass organizations, we must now begin to demand more from such comrades on behalf of the Party. We must work out with them how to "legalize" the position of the Communists as known *Communists*, and how to make their prestige contribute to the growth and authority of their Party—how to make the authority of the Party strengthen their position as mass leaders. This can be done with full effectiveness only when the Party *helps* in a decisive way to solve the problems of such comrades, and the problems of their organizations.

All these questions involved in Party growth are detailed aspects of the development of a healthy inner-Party democracy. We can already say that the Party has learned much in this respect. We are without question the most democratic organization in the United States; there is no other organization of forty to fifty thousand members

which has even a small fraction of that active participation in the decisive questions by the entire membership as we have. But from the viewpoint of what we should be, to realize our vast opportunities of growth, we are only beginning. We must, above all, learn in this respect from our great brother Party of the Soviet Union. We must learn especially from Comrade Stalin's speech and summary at the March Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.* This will greatly help to raise the initiative and activity of our lower organizations; stimulate and promote healthy self-criticism; and bring forward new, reliable, trusted and capable comrades into the leading work. We must make ours also the slogan of *Mastering Bolshevism*, which Comrade Stalin raised. If this is necessary for the great Party of Lenin and Stalin how much more necessary it is for us. And if we must have political alertness to see the influence of the enemies in the Soviet Union, after almost 20 years of Soviet power, if we have to remember that in the Soviet Union there is capitalist encirclement, how much more in America do we have to remember, not our capitalist encirclement, but our capitalist environment in every respect. We must bring these lessons to our Party and apply under our conditions the Stalin slogan, *Mastering Bolshevism*.

MARKIST-LENINIST THEORY TO ILLUMINATE OUR POLITICAL WORK

Our practical work must be more illuminated by the theory of Marx,

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y. 5 cents.

Engels, Lenin and Stalin, those greatest educators of the people known to history, the leaders of the realization of socialism. This can be achieved only by systematic educational work, education for the masses, and especially intensified education for the most responsible leading people.

Education must become a characteristic feature of all Party life. The process of education must be continuous, never-ending. It begins with self-study and self-education in which the individual organizes his own systematic course of reading in connection with his practical work. The process of education is the process of transformation to higher capacities; the sloughing off from the past of everything that hinders this development; the radical reconstruction of the human personality; the ruthless searching out of every bad influence of the past in one's political and personal life, the burning out of such influences with a red-hot iron, and their replacement, with the living contact of the constantly growing Bolshevik. That is what we mean by education; not just the mechanical learning of repeated formulas, not the accumulation of a body of knowledge; but the reconstruction of the individual from the bottom up, his transformation into an entirely new and different kind of human being. This understanding of education must be created throughout our Party. The process of education, beginning with the conscious activity of the individual, is continued by every responsible worker establishing an educational contact with one or more others for some joint work in this field, with periodical joint discussions on related questions, even

if only across the lunch table or while waiting for meetings to open. Every responsible worker must at all costs conduct such systematic mastering of the current problems of world and national politics, buttressed by reading of the classics of socialism.

Such joint work should be planned, not left to chance, and should be continuous, as much as possible, with the same persons. Such educational preparations should immediately be reflected in the improved quality of unit discussions, speeches in mass organizations and street meetings, leaflet preparation, shop bulletins, and all expressions of mass educational work. Study classes should be planned and organized, which bring larger groups together, through the medium of units, fractions, sections committees, meeting in homes or available meetings rooms. The question of systematic educational work should be raised in every union, and the demand made for its organization as an integral part of the union life. It must be organized as a part of the union life and the union apparatus. The most important field of mass education is today the unions of the C.I.O. In the I.W.O. and similar bodies, the present neglect of educational work of high quality should be overcome by creating an irresistible demand for it. All these measures will lay the basis for lifting the whole ideological level of the daily life of the movement, and for raising higher the Party training schools, district and national, to which the Party is now going to give major attention.

In the selection of students for the full-time training schools, our districts have in the past proceeded on the prin-

ciple of choosing "those who can be spared." In the future that rule must be abolished. It is precisely "those who cannot be spared" that we are going to choose; for we do not want anybody who can be spared. The Central Committee has been too weak in capitulating before "practical" consideration in the districts on this question. Our latest National Training School, with its six-month course for sixty people, proved its enormous value to the whole Party; but it would have been much stronger if the districts had taken the selection of students in a more serious manner. The training schools are the "heavy industry" sector of our educational work; they produce the means of production in this field. You know what happens in industry if all sources are thrown into the production of consumption goods? It means production itself dies. Neglect of our training schools gives us exactly the same results. We can only expand our mass work and improve its quality by the most serious attention to the selection of our best material for the training schools. These schools are not for beginners; they are for the leading personnel of the Party.

In all the work of building the Party, concentration upon the most important points, the decisive factories and industries, must be used to produce examples which by socialist emulation shall set the standard for the whole Party. We have good examples and bad ones. We have such contrasts as the following: the auto industry, the regular functioning of an auto unit in Cleveland during the strike resulted in its growth by fourfold and in the strengthening of its ties with the

masses; in Flint we witnessed the cessation of unit meetings during the strike, and the consequent lack of its growth and the weakening of its mass ties. In spite of good union work, good union work will not replace the work of the Party unit. We have the same sort of contrasts in steel; we have it as between districts and within districts; examples of good and bad. In our discussions here, every comrade should give us a picture of good and bad examples within his direct experience, and thereby enrich our understanding of the best methods to be encouraged and the worst ones to be combated.

The main industrial centers are the first points of concentration, with key plants chosen for special attention. From this basis we must now more and more systematically take up the question of spreading our organization into every small industrial city and town, hundreds of which have not yet a single Party unit. We must discover the industrial hinterland of America long neglected by us, which the C.I.O. is opening up with such dramatic sweep, bring the breath of democracy into the stifling atmosphere of the company towns, where our units could not live before.

Our Party must be more alert to take up every new issue that stirs the masses. At this moment in hundreds of cities the swift rise of the cost of living and rent is coming to the fore. We must be the ones to organize the struggle against the high cost of living and rents, because these are serious issues to millions of people. We must not allow Communists to consider themselves above these issues.

OUR APPROACH TO SPECIAL STRATA AND GROUPS

For many years we have spoken of the need of a special approach to the problems of various strata and groups of the population, if we want to build our Party among them. A uniform, stereotyped propaganda and agitation will always miss the mark with the majority of people, because the majority is made of special groups. The general program must be linked up with the particular problems of particular groups. But in practice we seriously neglect this; even in the broadest and most obvious cases in which it is called for.

For example, it cannot be denied that the women are a rather important sector of the population; some people say an absolute majority. They have special problems, but how often do we make these special problems the center of broad mass appeals, of political demands and organized actions? We direct our whole political work to the male adult, white section of the population, with only an occasional excursion, by the way, into these special groups. In all too few cases do we seriously take up this special approach.

In too many cases, we find even the progressive union leaders resisting the organization of women's auxiliaries, and we find in our Party, too often, the attitude of "postpone this question to a more favorable moment," which never comes.

How much attention is given to the housewives? Why do we recruit so few women—why are women still fewer in our leading committees? These questions are for you to answer, comrades,

with regard to your district. I think all the answers will boil down to one word—neglect. Let us realize Lenin's slogan that "every housewife must take an active part in political work."

Among the young people there is not the problem of neglect and stagnation of work. A tremendous youth movement is sweeping America. Our young Communists are in the heart of it and doing nobly effective work. I do not need to give our youth any special advice today. They are already on the high road to mass work. But I do need to advise our Party to learn from the youth, at the same time to help educate the youth; to give more concrete help to the youth, to establish closer relations between the youth and the Party. In hundreds of towns where there are Party organizations there is not yet any Y.C.L. unit.

Where the Y.C.L. is absent there the youth movement is absent or falls into the hands of doubtful leadership. The youth is our greatest reserve. More attention to the youth!

The next largest special group requiring special approach is the Negro people. We have many outstanding achievements in our work among them. The single fact that Angelo Herndon is with us in this hall is recognized by the whole Negro people; the fact that the Scottsboro boys still fight for freedom instead of being a memory and a tradition, like Sacco and Vanzetti, is a partial victory; that the C.I.O. helps the National Negro Congress to gather representative Negroes from all walks of life to bring their people into the unions—all these things show the advance of the Negroes towards equality, an advance that penetrates and affects

the political life of our country.

But every one knows that it was the Communist Party that inaugurated this renaissance of the Negro people. Why it has lagged behind so sharply in our Party is one of the problems which every district must take up most seriously, the struggles for equality and civil rights; and one key is to reach the Negro women. It is an outstanding exception that we can speak of a Negro woman who has been in our Party for ten years and is a member of the Central Committee, Comrade Maud White. We are glad to register Comrade White's ten years in our Party, but let us determine that we will not allow her to be an exception, along with Bonita Williams, Helen Holman, Louise Thompson, and a few dozen other active Negro women comrades. We will bring hundreds, thousands of Negro women into our ranks. We will help them to make our Party their permanent political home. As one Negro comrade said at a meeting, "If you get the Negro women into the Party, the men will come into the Party too." I read recently some excellent proposals on how to build the movement of the Negroes in the locality, by a group of Detroit Negro comrades. We must learn to listen most carefully to such voices on the issues and on methods and forms of work.

Nor can we allow the farmers to continue to be forgotten in our Party. In every state there is a great agrarian population. We must anchor our Party among them. I am leaving all detailed problems of farm policy to the Agrarian Committee; but there must be demanded more attention to farm organization in every district and the re-

cruiting of farmers into the Party.

Finally, we have those many national groups in the communities—what we have been accustomed to call our language work, thus stressing only one side of a complicated problem. Our press and organization work among these national communities is stagnant. This is giving rise to false theories about the dying out of the communities due to lack of new immigration and the Americanization of the second and third generations. But we find that Americanization does not disperse these communities. The second generation of Italian-Americans, for example, are just as proud of the first part of that hyphenated name as of the second. A glaring light is thrown on this question when nationalist and fascist propaganda from their home countries grip the second generation deeper than the original immigrants; nor is it enough to say that we must engage them in the American class struggle. That is necessary, but it is not enough and does not answer the question as to how to engage them in the American class struggle. To do that effectively it is necessary to smash through the sectarian isolation of our national bureaus and national press; to throw them into the center of the community life; to utilize its national traditions, issues, and peculiarities; to appeal to its national pride and culture, to find thus the road to Americanization, Americanization in our understanding of the word; and, especially, to utilize the lessons of the blossoming of the nationalities under socialism in the Soviet Union. We must have a decided change and turn to the masses in this field. We must refresh

the leadership of this work by a thoroughgoing return to the elective principle in its selection, making the leadership directly responsible to the masses. Our special committee on this question at this Plenum must give us material for directing a far-reaching change, the beginning of a forward march among the national group, especially among the largest and most important ones, the Italians, Germans, Jews, Poles and Irish.

Our Party's legality is now established before the country as never before. This was illustrated to me, for example, in an interesting fashion not long ago when I spoke to a meeting in one of the public halls of Harvard University, with a prominent faculty member as chairman, a man without a suspicion of Communist sympathies, but of liberal democratic views. This chairman opened my meeting by citing a series of most respectable precedents, culminating in Supreme Court decisions, to establish beyond all question that the Communist Party is a legally recognized Party whose full right to be heard and have its views considered on their merits is a necessary part of the democratic tradition of America. When we are legalized before the Supreme Court and Harvard University, it should surely not be a difficult task to wipe out all the remnants of an illegal status of our Party within the labor movement, to do away with the idea that the Communist Party is something which must be shoved into the background, as being a little embarrassing to the "best people"; that its cooperation, though valuable, should be kept in the background. We must be modest, we must not try to shove

our noses into every public photograph, we must not make undue claims for ourselves—but, at the same time, we know and we must let the world know, that the Communists are not poor relations who come into the democratic house only through the back door. We want the relationship of equals among equals, to be judged on our merits the same as everyone else should be; and for this relationship we will work and we will fight. This is a foundation-stone in the building of the People's Front, and in the building of our own Party.

LET US EXTEND THE CIRCULATION
OF OUR PRESS

About the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, we are gaining some excellent experience, which at the same time shows how most effectively to bring forward the role of the Party. In the steel areas, significant increases in circulation are seen; outstanding examples being Chicago, which, at the same time, by its publication of a one-sheet Chicago supplement every day in 20,000 copies, has greatly helped solidify the strike, while simultaneously laying a solid basis for building our Party. In the Minneapolis city elections, a special edition of the *Sunday Worker* of 50,000 copies was a model of correct united front work combined with Party building.

I have been unable to find a single instance where a serious effort to extend the circulation of our paper did not achieve important results. If there is not a general and decisive forward move in this respect, it is only because there is not yet a general effort that

involves the whole Party. We are producing a paper today that wins the praise as a newspaper of the President of the Newspapermen's Guild. Can any one any longer give as an explanation of our lack of circulation that the paper is not good enough editorially. Impossible, comrades. We can still improve the contents of our paper; but it is already one of the indispensable papers of America for all people who want to be well informed. The time has arrived when we must prepare a radical step to overcome the difficulty of distance which hampers the circulation of the *Daily Worker* in the Middle West and in the Pacific areas. This Plenum should consider and give its judgment on a project to establish before the end of this year a companion *Daily Worker* in Chicago and another one in San Francisco. We are prepared to go into this project in a business-like manner. We know that all the pre-conditions for success of our paper is within our grasp. Comrade Dimitroff said,

"... correctly to combine the operations of the policy of the People's Front with the propaganda of Marxism, with the raising of the theoretical level of the cadres of the working class movement, with the mastery of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin as a guide to action—all this we must learn and teach our cadres and the masses day after day. We must not allow a situation where 'you cannot see the woods for the trees.' We must not allow practice to become divorced from theory, a gap to develop between the fulfilment of the urgent tasks of today and the further perspectives and aims of the working class struggle."

Building the Party and extending the circulation of our daily press are not a task for a few weeks' campaign;

it is the permanent task that permeates every item of Party life and work, the guiding aim of which is to build a strong, capable mass Communist Party able to meet and solve the problems and tasks of a great working class of forty million in the most powerful capitalist country, a working class which inherits a long revolutionary tradition and which today is entering the period

of history with greater revolutionary upheavals than any we have known before. It is the consciousness of this task which our present Plenum must bring to the whole Party, in the full realization that through out correct policies that meet the conditions of the day we must build the Party that will be capable of carrying out the much greater task of tomorrow.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND PARTY BUILDING

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

PART I

IN THE United States, under the blows of the difficult economic situation and the threat of political reaction, the masses are moving towards the People's Front; they are being rapidly radicalized and are breaking the leading strings that held them so long under the control of the capitalist class. There is a deep class differentiation and shifting of class forces. This is shown by the unparalleled regrouping of political and economic organizations during the past year, including splits in the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties, the rise and breakup of the Townsend and Coughlin movements and the deep split in the American Federation of Labor, and also especially by the growth of the C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League, the great peace movement, the youth and women's movements, etc. Especially are the forces of reaction and incipient fascism grouping themselves around the Republican Party, and those of democratic progress around Roosevelt.

But the Communist Party and the

* Based upon the speech delivered to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.

Daily Worker do not experience an organic growth corresponding to the expanding mass movement of the toilers. Our Party is active in every phase of the developing People's Front movement and it has greatly increased its prestige and forces in mass organizations of all kinds—trade unions, labor parties, fraternal, national, farmer, youth, Negro, women, peace, anti-fascist, labor defense, unemployed, veterans, as well as in political life generally. This lays a sure basis for future growth, but for the present the expansion of the Party and the *Daily Worker* lags badly. Thus, during the past year, a period of unparalleled mass organization and class struggle, our Party's membership has fluctuated around 40,000, and the circulation of the *Daily Worker* stagnates.

The problem of speeding up the growth of the Party and its press, of liquidating the contradiction between the rapid intensification of the class struggle and the slow growth of our Party constitutes the most urgent issue now before the Party.

Before analyzing this problem it is necessary first to eliminate a harmful misconception. This is the opinion that the economic situation in the

United States is not favorable to the rapid growth of the Communist Party, that the Communist Party cannot grow in periods of "prosperity" but requires a situation of economic crisis or depression.

Such a notion is basically wrong. The growth of the Communist Party is conditioned by a whole complex of factors, not the economic question of industrial production alone. When as at present, with some 9,000,000 workers unemployed, with the cost of living rapidly rising, with the masses more conscious of economic and political grievances than ever, with millions of workers and other toilers organizing and fighting, the groundwork is at hand for a rapid expansion of the Communist Party's strength and influence. Therefore, if our Party and its press are not now growing faster the reasons are not to be found in an unfavorable objective situation, but in other factors which we shall develop as we go along. There is absolutely no reason in the objective situation why our Party should not be numerically several times stronger than it is at the present time.

REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS AND METHODS

That the Party as a whole needs greatly to improve its organizational work, its recruitment and assimilation of new members goes without saying. There is the grossest neglect of this fundamental question. Without definite improvement in this vital work all talk of building the Party and its press will remain fruitless.

The Resolution of the June Plenum of the Central Committee correctly

calls for "a general review of the organizational conditions and methods of the Party."* This general review and the improvements that should result from it must have as its starting point the strengthening of the Party's united front alliances, of developing the Party's contacts in the numerous mass organizations, of intensifying the toilers' struggle and raising it to higher political levels, and of fulfilling the Party's general tasks in the developing People's Front movement. Examined from this standpoint, the following can be summed up as an outline of some of the Party's major organizational tasks.

A. *A greater organizational consciousness.* Our Party needs further education in the necessity of carrying on systematic Party organizational work. Too much reliance is still placed on mere agitation, the regular building of the Party being left largely to spontaneity. This situation must be drastically corrected. The whole Party membership must be made acutely organization conscious, and educated never to forget that the building of a great mass Communist Party is the center of all of our activities. Party building must be made the central issue everywhere and at all times throughout the Party.

B. *Intensified preparation of cadres.* The cadre question also must be reshaped in view of the present situation. Our whole system of the training of cadres must be broadened and speeded up to satisfy the great demand for trained personnel created by the growing mass struggle and the multiplying

* Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 10 cents.

activities of our Party. It must be especially directed towards producing the new types of cadres demanded by the new mass organizations. All our schools must be extended.

We must especially adopt a bolder policy of promoting comrades to more responsible work, and thus bring out their latent abilities. While stressing the great importance of the cadre question we must not, however, fail to combat the wrong theories of those who try to justify inexcusable inactivity by urging a lack of capable cadres.

c. *Link together the Party's organizational and educational work.* The education and organization of workers is essentially one process, both on a Party and mass scale, and the two phases of the work must be closely coordinated. The combination of the two former separate agitprop and organization departments into the educational-organizational department is an important step forward in the methods of Party building and mass work, and the full logic of it must be developed throughout the districts. This department should study the methods of agitation and organization used by various other organizations—political parties, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc. The department should also send out instructors to the districts to check up on the carrying out of its directives.

d. *Connect Party recruiting with the mass movement.* Party building must be made an organic part of every mass campaign of the Party. The education-organization department must concern itself directly with the planning of our mass work and weave into it the various tasks of Party building.

Heretofore, Party building has been considered too much as a separate Party activity, detached from actual mass work. Thus, for example, during the recent election campaign, many big mass meetings were held; radio speeches delivered; literature distributed; etc., in which no appeal whatever was made actually to draw workers into the ranks of our Party.

The Party must also fight energetically against the "stages" theory of organization; which is, that first we build the mass organization and later the Party. Party building must be a continuous process, proceeding simultaneously with the development of the mass campaigns, and must not be the object simply of occasional Party recruiting drives. The *Party Organizer* should be broadened out from its present narrow inner-Party line (that is, its dealing almost entirely with purely Party affairs), and should also concern itself directly with all important problems of mass organization, linking Party building with them.

e. *New methods of Party recruiting.* Our methods of recruiting members into the Party should be restudied with regard to our united front situation in the developing People's Front movement. Very often prevailing methods of recruitment are too narrow, too much confined to close Party circles. We must find broader approaches to the awakening masses and develop systematic efforts to recruit among them on the basis of the shop, union, family, friends, neighborhood, fraternal organizations, etc. Special attention must be paid to developing recruiting activities by all our contacts in the mass organizations, particularly our

hundreds of new functionaries. Also, the fractions should be given more responsibility for Party recruiting. A better planning and check-up should be developed for all recruitment work.

F. Reduction in membership fluctuation. Our efforts to correct the evil of membership fluctuation, through which we lose a large percentage of the new members recruited yearly, must also be based upon the united front situation of the Party and the tasks of the developing mass movement. There must be a better distribution of tasks to new members, a more systematic education of these new members, a better dues collection system, a more thorough check-up on those who have dropped out of the Party, the raising of the political tone of the unit life, etc.

G. Connect the *Daily Worker* more closely with the mass movement. The problem of improving the circulation of the *Daily Worker* must also be examined in the light of our tasks in the growing People's Front movement. In the first place, it is necessary to link the paper up more closely with the workers' struggles. The *Daily Worker* must be not only a first-class journal of general labor information and comment; it must especially be a fighting organ and leader of the mass struggle. It must be reorganized as the main agitational expression of the Party. The paper should display greater initiative in the inauguration and intensification of the mass struggle by systematic exposures of bad conditions in plants; concentrated reporting of strike situations; specially organized circulation of the paper in struggle zones, etc. The special editions in the

auto strikes, the steel strikes and the Minnesota elections are very good steps in this general direction.

This sharpening up of the role of the *Daily Worker* as the outstanding leading fighting paper of the workers can only be successful provided it is backed up by a better organization of the circulation department. At present there is gross neglect to circulate the paper at mill gates, union meetings, and in many other situations where the workers welcome it. It is necessary that skilled assistance be brought into the circulation department to organize our circulation methods on a modern basis. There should be developed in the Party a spirit and organization something similar to the old *Appeal Army*. Circulation of the *Daily Worker* should be raised to the height of a major political task.

H. Strengthen the shop papers. Our shop papers also face new problems in connection with the organization of huge masses of unorganized into the C.I.O. unions. These papers are not prospering as they should. Some are displaying a tendency to stagnate and this must be corrected; for the shop papers can be built into powerful weapons to bring the Party's policy to the masses, and generally to show the face of the Party in the shops.

1. Self-criticism, Party democracy and collective leadership. Improvement in all these elementary respects is necessary for the strengthening of our Party politically and organizationally. There must be a better examination made of our weaknesses—a franker admission of errors, if we are to sharpen up our policies and activities; a better combination of democratic pro-

cedure with firm Communist discipline, if we are to give the workers more of a feeling of active participation in the life of the Party, and a more systematic development of collective leadership if we are to develop the best leading and working ability that our Party has in its forces.

Substantial improvement of the Party's organizational methods along the above-suggested lines is bound to result in a decided speeding up of Party building. It would result in much growth for our Party and the strengthening of its influence on all fronts. The need of the betterment of our organizational work, therefore, cannot be overstressed.

PART II

PARTY BUILDING—BETTER POLITICAL WORK

Effective political work among the masses is, of course, fundamental to the building of the Party and its press. In this sense, the resolution of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party says:

"In this way, the Communist Party must guard against the danger of dissolving itself in the general mass movement either ideologically or organizationally. It must aim to become more and more the initiating, organizing and unifying force of the People's Front movement and, at the same time, the gathering, organizing and recruiting center of the most advanced elements of that movement. This should express itself in the mass agitation of the Party, in its independent activities of various forms, and in the central organ of the Party, the *Daily Worker*. This strengthening of the initiative and of the independent political activity of the Party can be only beneficial to the successful development of the People's Front. And, in turn, only the most powerful development of the people's

mass movement can create the most favorable condition for the growth and strengthening of the Communist Party."

How, concretely, can we carry out these elementary Party tasks? How can we apply them in the present situation of growing mass struggle and utilize them most effectively for the building of our Party and the *Daily Worker*? In order to answer these fundamental questions it will be well for us to examine in detail the degree and manner in which the Communist Party is realizing, in the concrete situation of the rapidly growing American People's Front, its historic role as vanguard of the proletariat.

As our approach to this very important question which is so vital in Party building we will do well to study the experiences of the Communist Parties in France and Spain. In these two countries (not to mention China, Chile, Mexico and elsewhere) strong People's Fronts have developed and the Communist Parties have also grown rapidly. Thus, in France the Communist Party in the last eighteen months has leaped up from some 60,000 to 325,000 members and its political influence has been enormously increased; in Spain a similar development has taken place, the Communist Party there growing from 50,000 to 300,000 in ten months.

When we examine the French and Spanish situations we at once note that in France and Spain the Communist Parties are in strong positions of political leadership in the People's Front. They are real vanguard parties. This fact is of vast importance in their having achieved so much organizational growth. For by the excellent political work in their respective People's

Front by which they convinced the masses of workers of the politically advanced role of the Communist Party, these two parties have also, at the same time, laid the groundwork for easy recruitment of the most advanced elements into the Party. When the French workers once saw clearly the leading role of the Communist Party and realized how necessary our Party was, particularly in the everyday struggles for immediate demands, they readily affiliated themselves with it. In fact, it is only to the degree the workers anywhere recognized this politically leading role of the Communist Party that they take up seriously the job of building the Party on a mass basis.

Consider concretely the situation in France: In the French People's Front the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard stands out sharp and clear, although the official posts are mostly held by other parties. The Communist Party proposed the People's Front in the first place, was the main factor in organizing it, took a very prominent part in the recent victorious election campaign, was the most active force in reestablishing trade union unity and organizing four million workers and it is now the militant fighter for every step forward of the People's Front. All of which leading activity is quite obvious to great masses of workers and this, therefore, develops among them a powerful impetus to join such a politically strong party.

In Spain the Communist Party is also in a minority so far as holding official posts in the People's Front is concerned, but it has, if anything, played a still more outstanding leading political role. It, too, originated the proposal for a People's Front and was its

main organizer, and it has also taken directly the lead for nearly every important measure to strengthen the struggle against Franco, including the powerful mobilization of its forces in the army, the better consolidation of the government, a unified military command, a firm army discipline and a concentrated defense of Madrid, the improvement of industrial production, etc. The result is that militant Spanish workers see clearly the advanced role of the Communist Party and thus are ready to affiliate themselves with this powerful and intelligent political organization.

In the United States, however, the Communist Party, while moving in that direction, does not yet occupy such a definite leading political position in the various mass movements making up the developing People's Front. While the Party is undoubtedly giving the broad theoretical leadership to the growing People's Front movement, the actual and immediate and official leadership of the day-to-day struggles which are decisive in winning the general political support of the masses rests mostly in other hands than those of the Communist Party. Thus, in its Party building our Party lacks the outstanding leading mass prestige enjoyed by the French and Spanish parties, and manifestly this makes our Party recruitment and membership assimilation considerably more difficult.

The most elementary reasons why the French and Spanish Communist Parties occupy a stronger politically leading position among the masses than does our Communist Party are pretty obvious. Sound policies, militantly applied, are fundamental in their success; but underlying this is the

basic factor that the fascist and war dangers are more acute in these countries than in the United States and this inclines the toiling masses who are also more class conscious than in the United States, the readier to follow the militant lead of the revolutionary Communist Party in the People's Front.

It would be a grave political error, however, to conclude from this that, therefore, our Party is in no way responsible for its relatively weak degree of mass political leadership and can do nothing substantial about it except to plug along and await the ripening of the class struggle. Such a fatalistic passivity is groundless. It lies distinctly within the power of the Party, through the further development and improvement of its political work, and the improvement of its methods of work, greatly to improve the Party's prestige among the masses and hence to speed up the Party's growth.

PARTY MASS LEADERSHIP AND PARTY GROWTH

The direct relationship between the growth of the Communist Party and the degree of the Party's mass political leadership is abundantly demonstrated not only by the foregoing comparisons with the French and Spanish Communist Parties, but also by our own experience. Our Party history teaches us that the more clearly the workers have seen the vanguard role of our Party the more readily they have joined the Party and, what is no less important, the more firmly they have maintained their membership once they joined. And by the same token, when for any reason the leading role of our Party has been obscured the problems of

Party recruitment and membership fluctuation have always become much more difficult.

It is precisely in those districts and situations where the Party has the most political prestige that Party building is the easiest. Thus it is that in the best recruiting district, New York, where, through the broad circulation of the *Daily Worker*, the great May Day demonstrations and Madison Square Garden meetings, the independent Party activities in strikes, etc., as well as by systematic work inside the trade unions and other mass organizations, the workers are made, in large measure, to see the face of the Party and to feel its power as a leading political force. In California, the second best recruiting district, the Party also enjoys much prestige as a political leader, won during several years of agricultural workers' strikes, marine workers' strikes, the San Francisco general strike, etc., in which struggles the Party did not hide its light under a bushel, but, to a considerable extent at least, appeared before the workers as their practical, daily political leader.

To the foregoing examples could be added many more from our Party's past, illustrating the same fact. Thus, in the great unemployed campaigns of 1929-33, during which our Party occupied a strong leading position before the masses, Party building was greatly facilitated, although we did not fully utilize the favorable situation. Likewise, during the big T.U.U.L. coal strike of 1930, where the Party leadership was clearly recognized by the striking masses, 1,100 miners were recruited into the Party in the Pittsburgh district with little effort. And, similarly, one of the best periods of Party

growth was during the great strike wave of 1933-36, in which, through the wide activity of the Trade Union Unity League and our Party directly, the Party's leading role was much emphasized and made visible to the masses.

On the other hand, by the reverse operation of the same principle, our Party's history also provides many instances where Party building has been hampered by the Party's failure to develop political leadership. This was notably the case in our many "Left" sectarian enterprises of the past, including the skeleton Trade Union Unity League unions, narrow Labor Parties, etc. While in such cases the leading role of the Party seemed greatly to be emphasized, this was only in a pseudo sense. In reality, the Party was only being exposed in its isolation and its leadership lacked the necessary mass basis. Besides these sectarian tendencies which injured the Party's mass leadership, there was also in our history much Right opportunism by which our Party also obscured its leading role. Thus, in various united front mass movements the Party tended to lose its identity in the general work and consequently failed to develop the definite and visible mass leadership necessary for the most effective Party building. Evidences of this Right-tendency are especially to be found in abundance in the present great organizing campaigns in steel, auto, textile, etc., and the danger from this source increases as our united front work expands.

I have remarked earlier that it lies distinctly within the power of the Party very substantially to improve its position of political mass leadership. In-

tense mass work on a united front basis is, of course, the starting point for all growth of the Party. But in doing such work the Party must not be simply a helper or auxiliary to the various current mass movements, of tailing after them politically, of liquidating itself into them. It is not enough that the Party be active; its activities must also take on a leading character. In all these mass movements the Party must find the ways and means to stand out clearly as the most constructive force, as the real political leader of the masses in the daily fight as well as in general theory. The more the Party succeeds in accomplishing this objective, the easier and quicker it will grow in numbers and influence.

But the Party cannot improve its degree of leadership arbitrarily or artificially. It cannot be done by a grabbing for official posts in mass organizations, or by vain boasts of Communist achievements in the class struggle, or simply by putting out more radical slogans than those of the basic mass movements, or by merely insisting that our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Such mechanical attempts to win leadership can only weaken the growing united front and isolate the Party from the masses. The Party can develop leading prestige only by carrying through a whole series of practical political and organizational measures, by proving in the daily struggle that it is actually the most intelligent and militant influence in the working class.

THE PARTY'S CHANGING STATUS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

F In weighing the problem of developing and strengthening the Party's mass

leadership and thereby of building the Party more rapidly, it is necessary to consider two important changes that have been brought about recently in the Party's position in the class struggle by the developing People's Front movement. The first of these is that numerous mass movements, officially led by non-Communists (but in which Communists actively participate) have now taken up and made their own, various progressive slogans and activities in the advocacy and pursuance of which our Party had for many years a sort of "monopoly." The second important change in the Party's situation is that the Party has recently passed over from a position of relative isolation to one of broad united front action.

Let us consider first the ending of the Party's "monopoly" of various progressive slogans. It is an incontestable fact that for a long period our Party practically stood alone in defending many of the most elementary slogans and interests of the toiling masses. This was because the A. F. of L. was deeply reactionary and either ignored or fought against everything progressive and because the Socialist Party, although it had many of these issues in its program, was so permeated with opportunism and prostrated by weakness that it did practically nothing about them. But now the situation is radically changed. Huge masses of workers have become conscious of the need for measures and methods once supported almost solely by the Communist Party, and many leaders and great mass movements have developed around these issues. These slogans have passed from the stage of agitation to that of mass action. Communists can only rejoice at

this wide acceptance of our progressive slogans, that the masses are going the way we urged. It shows the role of our Party as the vanguard, that the advancing masses are at last developing a political program of their own in opposition to the bourgeoisie, and are thus laying the foundations for a great People's Front movement in the United States.

Take, for example, the question of industrial unionism. For many years the Communist Party and its immediate allies were practically the only ones to fight, both inside and outside the A. F. of L., for this measure. But the huge C.I.O. movement, headed by John L. Lewis, has now sprung up and the immediate leadership of the fight for industrial unionism has passed into its hands. The C.I.O. has also gained, at the same time, the practical leadership in the organization of the unorganized, another slogan in the application of which the Communist Party alone, for many years, did any serious work.

The same is true regarding leading the opposition against the Green reactionary officialdom in the A. F. of L. This, too, was long carried on almost solely by the Communist Party and the Trade Union Educational League in the face of great persecution; but now this important function has also fallen under the leadership of the C.I.O.

Similarly with regard to the struggle for unemployment relief and social insurance. From 1930 to 1933 especially, the Communist Party and its supporting organizations were the unchallenged mass leaders in this field, militantly conducting huge demonstrations all over the country; while the A. F. of L. leaders trailed after Hoover's

starvation program and the Socialist Party was quite inactive. But Roosevelt, the A. F. of L., the Townsend movement, and many other organizations and leaders have since stepped forth with programs of unemployment relief and social insurance and thereby the leading role of the Communist Party on this question has been greatly obscured.

The Communist Party, the T.U.E.L. and the T.U.U.L. were pioneers also for ten years in advocating a militant strike policy, while the rest of the labor movement, from the A. F. of L. to the Socialist Party, was buried deep in class collaboration and based its activities primarily on a no-strike program. For this militancy we were condemned as disrupters and wreckers of the labor movement. But now the masses in many A. F. of L. organizations, as well as in the C.I.O. itself, have adopted an active strike policy the symbol of which is the sit-down strike. Accordingly, the Communist Party's leadership in this respect is not so clearly evident as formerly.

Likewise, many other progressive economic and political slogans and programs, long advocated in the unions almost alone by the Communists in the face of great persecution by the officialdom, have now been taken over as their own by these organizations and leaders. Thus in the recent I.L.G.W.U. convention the union leaders were given big ovations and unlimited credit for the splendid success of the union, a success based on policies for advocating which the Communists were expelled wholesale from the same union by the same leaders only a few years ago.

A similar development has taken

place in the peace movement. When in the years following the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, the Communist Party called upon the masses to beware of the war danger this was condemned as absurd and our warnings were treated as "just so much Moscow propaganda." Our Party then had indeed pretty much a "monopoly" of active anti-war slogans. But now gigantic masses are awake to the war danger and huge peace organizations and movements have developed to combat it. These are extended far beyond the scope of Communist official leadership and the great masses look much more to Roosevelt (even though he has distorted the peace slogans) than to our Party as the leader of the anti-war forces.

Thus it is also in the case of Communist slogans for the struggle against fascism, for labor defense work, for the demands of the youth, Negroes, women, etc., that were once widely condemned as mere Moscow innovations without relation to American life. They have now become largely the demands and the basis of movements of huge masses, the programs of organizations and leaders who can by no stretch of the imagination be called Communist. All of which goes to show that the so-called impractical Communist Party was indeed the most practical and far-seeing organization, and that our Party has functioned, in the matter of the masses' immediate needs as well as their fundamental revolutionary objective, as the vanguard of the proletariat.

At this point we may well ask ourselves why, if political leadership is such a stimulus to Party growth, did not our Party grow more during the

years in which it had so much of a "monopoly" in the advocacy of so many progressive slogans, and why was it that great mass movements which have grown up recently around these issues have done so largely outside the scope of official Communist leadership? The answer to these questions is, first, that it was precisely in the mass struggles led by our Party around these progressive issues that the difficult task was accomplished of laying the solid foundations of a strong Communist Party in the great American capitalist stronghold; second, that the Communist Party's influence in all the progressive movements of the day, including those under the non-Communist official leadership, far exceeds what appears on the surface and cannot be measured simply by the numerical strength of our Party; and, third, that if the Party did not grow faster and develop more direct leadership in the labor movement during the period in question it was due to a complication of hindering forces, such as sectarian methods of applying mass slogans, inadequate organizational work in the mass movements, fierce resistance by the employers and the government (discharge, blacklist, arrests, clubbings, deportations, etc.), persecution by labor bureaucrats (expulsions, Red-baiting, etc.), the years' long inner-Party factional struggle, and the demoralization and passivity among the working class caused by many years of A. F. of L. misleadership and capitalist propaganda.

RAISING THE TOILERS' STRUGGLE TO HIGHER POLITICAL LEVELS

Obviously when so many of the immediate-demand slogans long advo-

cated almost solely by the Communists have been adopted by various mass movements not under direct Communist leadership, our tasks with regard to these slogans have been modified and we must reorientate our Party's policy accordingly. How then shall the Communist Party act as vanguard in connection with these slogans? The answer is that basically, the Party must develop further its leading political role by: (a) pressing for the most energetic application of these immediate-demand slogans; (b) realizing their full implications; (c) preventing their distortion; (d) supplementing them with other mass slogans of a more advanced type. In short, the Communist Party can build up the necessary mass prestige only by taking the lead in raising the whole struggle of the workers and other toilers, notably the C.I.O. movement, to higher political levels. By adopting our immediate-demand slogans the masses have taken a long step forward; it is our task now to lead them politically to more advanced stages, making absolutely certain that the whole mass, especially the C.I.O., moves forward instead of only ourselves, which would result in our breaking away from the masses and becoming isolated. Let us, therefore, examine the above-noted fourfold character of this general task.

A. *Energetic application of the immediate demand slogans.* Although the trade unions and other mass organizations adopt progressive slogans they usually apply them in a relatively sluggish manner. Not only are immediate-demand slogans thus supported halfheartedly, (such as the six-hour day demand by the Railroad Brotherhoods) but also their endorsement is

frequently of a formal character (such as the A. F. of L. demand for unemployment insurance). In general, conservative or even progressive leaders of various types of mass organizations, by their hesitancy and timidity, develop only a fraction of the power of the mass movements which they head.

In this fact, the Communist Party finds one of its most important tasks and opportunities for developing political mass leadership. The Party must be the dynamo in all movements of the workers for immediate demands. It must fight for the actual full realization of these demands. Its members must be the best leaders, fighters, organizers and Jimmie Higginsons on every front of the class struggle. They must have the answer to every practical problem as the movement develops; they must spur on the masses; they must arouse the workers' militancy and fighting spirit, they must be the leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. This intensification of the workers' struggle for immediate demands is a veritable cornerstone for Communist Party leadership and growth. In order to achieve it to the maximum possible extent our Party must be more active in initiating mass struggles; it will have to learn how more effectively to concentrate all available forces, both national and local, in a given struggle (better than we did in the General Motors strike) and also how more systematically to combine these forces in the field to carry on the mass fight (better than we did in the national steel organizing campaign).

B. *Realizing the full implications of mass slogans.* Not only do trade unions and other mass organizations, as at present led, usually apply their pro-

gressive immediate demand slogans weakly, but also in a narrow sense. Therefore, another important channel to Communist mass leadership is in broadening out the application of such slogans and the linking together of the scattered struggles around them.

Take, for example, the application of the slogan of "organize the unorganized." Today this is largely confined to the C.I.O. unions. It must also be spread to A. F. of L. and independent unions that do not infringe upon the industries being organized by the C.I.O. Communists must see to it that the "organize the unorganized" slogan is applied upon the widest possible front. There is very much room for the Party to sharpen up its work on this basic issue and in so doing greatly improve its mass prestige.

In the fight for better wages, shorter hours, etc., it is also the leadership task of the Communists to spread this struggle upon the widest practical basis, to link up the workers' scattered strikes into broad national movements, to raise these economic issues to national political questions of the first magnitude.

And, likewise, in the case of the slogan of trade union unity. The C.I.O.'s application of this slogan, by the building up of its own forces, is excellent. But the Communist unity slogan must be still broader; it must also undertake the organization of the progressive forces within the A. F. of L. actively to support the unionizing campaigns of the C.I.O., to repudiate the splitting policies and misleadership of Green and Co., and to fight for an eventual general convention of all trade unions, the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods, etc., to establish trade

union unity in the United States on the basis of the C.I.O. program. The Party has not displayed sufficient initiative on this question.

Similarly, it is the task of the Communists to broaden out the application of the industrial unionism slogan. It is well that this slogan be applied by the C.I.O. to the mass production industries. But the question of industrial unionism affects the whole working class and the fight for it must also be carried into the building trades, railroad unions, into all A. F. of L. unions, in the most practical forms adapted to these organizations and industries. Our Party has not done this sufficiently and its mass influence has lagged accordingly.

The progressive wing of the labor movement, including the Communist Party, tends also to apply too narrowly the slogan of political action by the workers and other toilers. In the matter of election strategy, it is correct, as the C.I.O. advocates, to support progressive candidates on the Democratic ticket against the danger of a reactionary victory. But we must also go much further. The Communist Party must be the leader for the placing of united front candidates independent of the old parties, for the crystallization of all the toilers' scattered political forces into a great national Farmer-Labor Party. Here too our Party, by increased activity, can win a much larger degree of mass leadership than it now enjoys. We must be especially on guard against tendencies to weaken or discard the Farmer-Labor Party slogan.

Many more examples could be cited of progressive slogans narrowly applied in the fields of labor legislation, in the fight for peace, against fascism,

for civil rights, for the rights of youth, Negroes, women, etc. It is the task of the Communists to broaden out these demands and struggles and to realize their full political implications. In the measure that the Party accomplishes this work will its leading prestige expand and the growth of its membership and press be facilitated.

c. *Prevent distortion of slogans.* The Communist Party must also fight against all distortion of popular-demand slogans, whether by progressives or reactionaries. Roosevelt's twisting of the mass anti-war sentiment into a "neutrality" resolution against Spain is an example of such distortion. Then, among many other examples, there is also the notorious demagogic use of democratic and anti-fascist slogans by reactionary elements. Fighting such distortions is a broad road to political leadership by the Communist Party.

d. *The advocacy of more advanced slogans.* Besides intensifying and broadening out the application of current mass immediate-demand slogans, and preventing their distortion, the Communist Party also has before it a fruitful source of mass leadership in putting forth the more advanced immediate-demand slogans as these constantly become necessary and capable of rallying masses in the developing struggle. This is elementary in raising the workers' fight to higher political levels and to do it as a basic function of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Our Party must constantly develop the struggle perspective of the masses; it must be the trail blazer of the exploited generally. The most fatal thing that could happen to our Party's leadership is to neglect this most vital task, and thus to fall politically in the

wake of the various sections of the general mass movement.

Our Party's experience offers many examples where we properly take the lead in initiating new, practical mass slogans. An excellent case in point was our launching of the general strike slogan in San Francisco, a step from which our Party gained much real leadership prestige. Our present advocacy of the slogan of the People's Front is another example of good political leadership. But there are also many examples where we have failed to show alertness and where other parties and groups issued burning necessary slogans that won them broad mass support. The Party, to win the maximum mass political leadership, must greatly improve its work in this very important respect.

Our Party must also more energetically show leadership in educating the masses. Especially is this necessary and important in the case of the huge numbers of workers who have recently joined the C.I.O. unions. We must not stand around and wait until other people take the lead in this trade union education work, and it is precisely the *Daily Worker* that must be developed as the Party's chief instrument in this great work of mass education.

In connection with the general question of advocating advanced slogans and educating the masses the Party must also lay stress upon the mass propagation of its revolutionary objectives. Recently there has been considerable slackness in this respect. The teaching of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist principles of socialism is not merely an inner Party affair; it is basically a matter of broad mass agitation. Failure militantly to advocate socialism for

the United States would weaken our Party's leadership, both among the large numbers of the more militant workers who provide the membership sinew and bones of our Party and also among the broad masses who are more and more losing faith in the capitalist system and are groping for the revolutionary way out. We must remember that the Communist Party is not only a Party of progressive immediate demands, but also the Party of the proletarian revolution. Any tendency to neglect active propagation of our revolutionary slogans plays directly into the hands of the Trotskyites and others making demagogic use of Left phrasemongering. The development of the maximum Communist mass leadership and Party growth imperatively demands an aggressive propagation of socialism, closely linked up, of course, with the immediate fighting slogans of the toiling masses.

In this brief survey of the Communist task of raising the toilers' struggles to higher political levels it is evident that our Party is not making the fullest use of the broad opportunities for mass leadership lying wide open before it. It must, therefore, consciously sharpen up its work in this whole matter. The reward for so doing will be a far greater political following and a much easier and more rapid Party growth.

TWO MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS

In carrying out this central task of raising the toilers' struggles to higher levels, to the level of proletarian unity and the People's Front, by militantly intensifying the fight for their immediate demand slogans; by broadening

out the application of these slogans, drawing their full implications, preventing their distortion and by initiating new and supplementary slogans of a more advanced type, two elementary considerations must be constantly borne in mind by the Party.

The first is that all this activity must be based upon the principle of strengthening the united front between the Communists and progressives, anti-fascist forces and, thus, upon advancing the growing People's Front movement. This consideration cannot be emphasized too much. The very heart of Communist policy is the Leninist strategy of the united front for the mobilization of the masses. Only by strengthening the united front can the Communist Party itself become strong and the stronger the Communist Party the stronger the united front. It is precisely because the French and Spanish Communist Parties were the best, most militant fighters for the People's Front that they, themselves, grew so powerful. When we speak of Communist Party political leadership in a practical sense, therefore, we mean Communist leadership in building the united front. The Communists must be the greatest fighters against any and all tendencies to split or weaken the united front, which is the basis of the broad, growing People's Front movement.

The second elementary consideration to bear in mind in the strengthening of Communist leadership and, hence, of Party building, is that the work of the Party must be carried on so openly that the masses can clearly see what the Party is actually doing. The French and Spanish Parties are

not only the best builders of the People's Front, but they work in such a way that the masses can plainly recognize their activity. But with us, hiding the face of the Party is one of our greatest present-day weaknesses. It is a major obstacle to developing the Party's mass leadership and growth. It also seriously exposes the Party to demagogic attacks. This concealment of the Party's face is brought about in many ways, such as failure to circulate the *Daily Worker*, neglect to cultivate independent mass activities by our Party in struggle situations, by prominent mass workers using undue caution in making known the fact that they are Communists, by ultra-sensitivity to Red-baiting and by otherwise making it impossible for the workers to perceive clearly our Party at work.

Through such face-hiding practices our Party is prevented from getting due credit for very much of the effective work it is doing in the class struggle and thereby serious barriers are erected against the Party's growth. Workers cannot be expected to join a Party which they do not see definitely in action as a Party, nor do they want to affiliate themselves to a semi-underground organization. Face-hiding tendencies in our Party are a harmful Right-sectarian hangover and outgrowth from past persecution experiences and are out of place in the present broad united front mass movements. The development of the Party's leading prestige and growth imperatively demands that all such tendencies be liquidated and that our Party be fully legalized in the labor movement.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF GROUP RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT

In the preceding section of this article I have dealt with problems of Party mass leadership confronting us with respect to the first element of the recently changed position of our Party in the class struggle; that is, the fact that the developing People's Front movement has taken up and made its own various slogans of immediate demands, the advocacy of which long has been a sort of Communist "monopoly." Now let us consider some of the major problems of Communist leadership arising out of the second element of our Party's newly changed position in the class struggle, namely, that the Party in the last couple of years, through a successful application of its basic policy, has largely advanced from a status of relatively isolated action to one of intensive united front movements.

We have seen that the united front is our Party's line of action in support of all immediate demands of the masses and that all Communist policy is based on strengthening the united front. But to carry on the united front successfully requires a whole series of complex conditions. The Party can grow in numbers and political mass leadership only if it meets successfully these conditions. That it has not yet thoroughly adapted itself to its united front tasks we shall see at a glance.

Let us see more concretely, then, how the Party should develop its political leading prestige and thereby accelerate its growth under the expanding united front conditions.

A. *The full Communist program. In*

his recent speech to the Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin forcefully pointed out the danger of Communists getting so buried in economic work that they overlook other vital political tasks, in this case the fight against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. Stalin's warning is full of meaning also for the American Communist Party. For there is a broad tendency throughout the Party, especially in the centers where the C.I.O. is working, to devote the Party's forces to the task of trade union matters to the exclusion of many other important activities. A classical example of this tendency was recently seen in Flint, where the Party became so immersed in the strike and union building that it paid little or no attention to the local city elections, and the Republican Party managed to sneak into power without serious opposition.

Obviously, with this "bogging down" tendency, the Party cannot function as a real political leader. To develop such leadership it is necessary for the Party to present its whole political program. As things now stand, in various places and with many individuals, there is a tendency for the Party to fall into a sort of trade union economism. This tends to liquidate our Party into the mass trade union movements. The cure is not, as some comrades say, to do less trade union work. But in carrying out this important work the Party must so conduct its activities that the whole Communist program moves forward and not merely a part of it. Failing to bear this consideration clearly in mind definitely limits our political mass leadership.

B. *Criticism of united front allies.*

Constructive criticism of those groups and parties with whom we are formally or informally cooperating in united front mass movements is also fundamental to the development of our Party's mass political leadership and growth, as well as to the health of the mass movement generally. This criticism must not be merely negative in character, that is, by pointing out the shortcomings of our allies; it must especially be positive by the assertion of our own constructive proposals and program.

But here, again, in this constructive criticism our Party suffers grievous weaknesses. In some cases (Detroit, for example) Communists have too sharply and also incorrectly criticized the progressive elements and thereby needlessly alienated great masses of workers. But in the main our weakness in this general respect consists of making too little criticism of progressively-led movements. This Right tendency is manifested, among other examples, by inadequate criticism of Roosevelt and Lewis, and by a failure to put forward our own program (including our revolutionary slogans) in the mass movements led by these men.

The general effect of failure to criticize constructively is to blunt our Party's line, to fail to make our Party's program stand out distinctly in relation to those of the various mass movements that we are supporting. This blunting of the Party's line is all the worse when our revolutionary slogans are also soft-pedalled. In consequence, the leading role of the Communist Party is hidden, and the incentive of militant workers to join our Party or remain within it is not stimulated; for

why should they affiliate themselves to our Party if they cannot see the advanced character of its program and activities?

c. *The independent role of the Party.* In mass movements of various kinds based upon the united front of progressive and Left elements it is not enough that the Party support activities conducted solely under the banner of the united front. It must also develop its own activities as a Party, both in support of the united front line, and also of its own more advanced Communist Party program. This is good for the mass movement and good for our Party. In all situations the Communist Party must come forward with its own proposals, press, literature, meetings, etc., and thus show its face clearly to the masses. Only when this is done effectively will the masses appreciate the role of the Party as a leading force and be really impelled to join its ranks.

But we neglect all this grievously in the practice. Too often we do all our work under the official auspices of the mass organization and next to nothing under our own Party's banner. This is a definitely liquidatory tendency which must be changed. The Party must function independently as a Party, as well as jointly with other groups within the united front. To do it is a prime necessity for it to develop political mass leadership.

d. *A militant Party initiative.* The Party must also display a strong initiative, both in furthering the accepted program of the united front and in blazing the way to higher forms of struggle. How this can be done effectively is shown by the daily practice

of the French and Spanish Communist Parties, whose militant initiative in the shaping of policies and the inauguration of united front actions is a prime basis of their mass leadership. They are the driving force in the People's Front; they lead it from ahead, push it from behind, build it up from the bottom. It is obvious that our Party must cultivate more of this militant initiative and fighting spirit. In too many cases Party forces accept the initiative as resting more or less automatically in the hands of others. There is too much routinism in our mass work; too much tailing after various mass movements. In the days of the T.U.U.L. our task was to cultivate the initiative of the Red unions which were somewhat overwhelmed by the Party's militancy; but now our task is to develop the initiative of the Party within many vigorous mass movements. More militant initiative and a more active and fighting spirit will do very much in winning added mass leadership and increased numerical strength for our Party and the *Daily Worker*.

E. *Organizational leadership.* Communists must not scramble for official posts in mass organizations, as this can only alienate us from valuable mass elements. It is, of course, necessary that we Communists acquire our organizational share of leadership in the People's Front. But this can be accomplished only by superior work in the class struggle. Our advance to greater official leadership must be primarily on the basis of agreement and joint slates with our progressive united front allies in common struggle against the reactionary elements. It is no serious

problem for Communists to become officials in this way if they show themselves to be the best workers and leaders in the daily fights around the immediate issues of the workers.

In this matter our Party practice displays many errors and weaknesses. There are some comrades who, with a fear of Red-baiting, are satisfied if they get "recognition" from their united front allies and passively allow the latter to occupy more than their fair share of major official posts. This is wrong; for Communists are no "blushing violets" that stand modestly aside while others assume responsibility in the class struggle. Then there are other comrades who, with a narrow sectarian line, make the worse error of failing to make proper united front alignments with the progressives especially in union elections, and thus they carry on needless struggles against our potential allies for control, which tend to isolate the Party from the masses.

The Communist Party is not out to "capture" the mass organizations, and it by no means assumes that all competent and honest leadership is contained in its own ranks. It works for a People's Front based on a joint leadership by all progressive forces. Communists must use restraint, flexibility, and good judgment in building up the official mass leadership. We must learn to work cooperatively and in confidence with all progressive anti-fascist elements throughout the mass movements. We must ever bear in mind that the strengthening of the united front is the immediate goal of every step we take throughout the mass movements. This is a vital necessity for the development of the Party's maximum politi-

cal leadership and to facilitate the Party's growth.

IN CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have undertaken to analyze the problem of building our Party from the standpoint of the specific conditions confronting us in the growing People's Front movement in the United States. I have tried to show:

1. That the objective situation is highly favorable to the growth of the Party and that if our Party is not growing faster the cause is to be found elsewhere than in the objective situation.

2. That all our organizational methods need to be restudied and modernized in the light of the situation of united front, mass radicalization, and sharp class struggle in which the Party finds itself in this period of the birth of the People's Front movement.

3. That the degree of political mass leadership exercised by the Communist Party is a basic factor in Party building and that we must improve our work in this respect.

4. That our Party can definitely improve its position of political mass leadership by overcoming various erroneous theories current in the Party, that objective conditions are unfavorable, by sharpening up its work in the advocacy of immediate demands and

revolutionary slogans, by showing its face more clearly to the masses and by generally improving upon the Party's independent activities, concentration and initiative.

5. That the development of Communist mass political leadership can only proceed upon the basis of strengthening the united front with the progressive elements and intensifying the mass struggle of the toilers and for the creation of the People's Front.

The sum and substance of the article is that we have in our hands the possibilities of greatly increasing the Party's tempo of development and growth. By adopting the suggested improvements our Party can make real progress towards its goal of becoming a broad mass Communist Party.

Our Party should bear in mind Stalin's timely statement (*Foundations of Leninism*, p. 162):

"The Party should march at the head of the working class, it should see farther than the latter, it should lead the proletariat, and not lag behind. . . . Only a party which is conscious of its function as vanguard of the proletariat, which feels itself able to inspire the masses with a proletarian class consciousness, only such a party can lead the workers out of the narrow path of trade unionism and consolidate them into an independent political force. Such a party is the political leader of the working class."

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMING MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK

BY I. AMTER

PROGRESS AGAINST REACTION

THE coming municipal and state elections in New York are of the greatest significance to us. Just as that which is taking place on a national scale, the reactionaries of all political affiliations are uniting their forces and concentrating upon New York. They do this in the hope that if they are able to win the elections this year, with the reactionary Tammany Hall as their base they will have moved forward very far in strengthening reaction throughout the country.

The workers of New York, as throughout the nation, have adopted as their slogan the phrase used by President Roosevelt on the eve of the national elections, "We have just begun to fight."

A very militant movement was in progress at the time of the elections, that of millions of workers led by mass organizations. Encouraged and stimulated by the Committee for Industrial Organization drives in the Midwest, especially in the steel and auto industries, and particularly inspired by the sit-down strike in General Motors, the workers of New York have proceeded to the most energetic organizational

drives and are building up the trade union movement. If a worker is going to speak seriously of organizing the unorganized in New York this means supporting the C.I.O. Many workers who have been fooled by the racketeering which exists under reactionary leadership in the unions and which had been countenanced by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and who have seen the rackets uncovered in various unions in New York, in food and other industries; and old timers who used to belong to the A. F. of L. and have seen their struggles and strikes betrayed by such leadership in the past, and even some workers who have never been in a trade union organization before, will not listen to the pleas of the A. F. of L. organizers to join a trade union. *It can be said without question that the great majority of the tens of thousands of workers who have joined the trade unions have joined the C.I.O. movement, in the main; and a smaller number that have been recruited into the craft unions have joined only because the organizers have been progressives, sympathetic to the C.I.O., or because the workers themselves feel that they soon will be in the C.I.O.*

MILITANT ORGANIZATION DRIVE
IN NEW YORK

The building of the Transport Workers Union, and the securing of agreements on most of the subway, bus and street car lines (perhaps by the time of the appearance of this article there will be agreements on all the lines); the building of the National Maritime Union and the securing of agreements by this union and the American Radio Telegraphers Association with the most important steamship lines; the drive among the metal, utility, office, department store, food, needle, building trades, and hospital workers (the securing of the eight-hour day)—these drives involving also large numbers of Negroes, women and youth—show that the masses of workers of New York are on the move and are really beginning to fight.

If we include the workers in the cities upstate, which are in the midst of an intensive organizational drive—Schenectady, with its General Electric and locomotive workers, setting the pace for 100 per cent trade union organization; Buffalo with its steel mills now on strike, its auto plants, etc.; and even such small towns as Hudson, Kingston, Newburgh, Yonkers, and Amsterdam, falling in line with the same gusto, we must say that November 3 was a victory for the working class and pro-people forces, a victory that has been capitalized in the form of militant, progressive trade union organization and in the struggle for more democratic rights.

UNDERSTANDING OF INDEPENDENT
POLITICAL ACTION GROWING

This has been stimulated still further by the stand that has been taken by the C.I.O. leaders, John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, etc., against the reactionaries and fascist-minded people, not only abroad but in the United States. The struggle for independent political organization and for political power, simultaneously with the building up of militant industrial unionism, is sinking into the consciousness of the workers as a necessary corollary if trade union organization is not only to be built up but also to be maintained, if the conditions won by the struggles are to be secured and upheld.

As a result, Labor's Non-Partisan League, which was organized before the national elections of 1936, has come more effectively and energetically into the field, with the aim of building up independent political organization in all states of the union. Labor's Non-Partisan League has been a major factor in developing the campaign in support of Roosevelt's proposal on the Supreme Court.

The American Labor Party, New York section of Labor's Non-Partisan League, although somewhat dormant immediately after the November elections, has gradually appeared upon the political scene in connection with all outstanding issues. These involved issues before the State Legislature, such as child labor, restriction of electoral rights, as proposed in reactionary bills, the Supreme Court, etc. The American Labor Party, expressing the political will particularly of the organized workers, has developed into a real power

which has tremendous possibilities.

This sentiment toward independent political organization will be sharpened as a result of the expulsion of the C.I.O. unions from the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York. Two hundred and fifty thousand workers have already been expelled from the Central Trades and perhaps before this article appears they will have formed their own Central Trades Council. Undoubtedly large numbers of both organized workers in the A. F. of L. Central Trades and unorganized workers will gravitate towards the C.I.O. Central Trades and thus give the firmest basis for the progressive movement in the city of New York. Owing to the tactics of the reactionary A. F. of L. Council and its chief, Joseph P. Ryan, a conflict, no doubt, will take place between some of the unions affiliated to the two councils. Ryan has already indicated this, not only in the decision to form a "National Maritime Federation," but also in strike actions that are being pulled on the waterfront. These methods can only antagonize the workers in the craft unions and draw them closer to the industrial union movement and to the methods of the C.I.O.

The development of fascism on an international scale and the growing danger of reaction in the United States have also stimulated the building of the movements for the support of the Spanish People's Front government and against our native budding fascism.

The growing movement for peace, the developing prestige of the American League Against War and Fascism, the movement towards unity of the

Negro people, the development of the American Youth Congress—are expressions of the desire of the masses, both the proletarians and the middle class people, towards unity of action in behalf of their economic and political rights, for democracy and civil liberties.

REACTIONARIES RALLYING AGAIN

The developments throughout the country have led to a new rallying of the forces of reaction. The November 3 elections showed that the reactionaries were not completely defeated, but had suffered a serious set-back. The activities of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Manufacturers Association and other reactionary capitalist organizations in an effort to cut down federal relief and abolish the W.P.A., in order to lower wages and drive the workers into jobs that do not exist, the efforts to balance the budget at the expense of the unemployed, the farmers, etc., while rich tax dodgers are robbing the United States treasury of hundreds of millions of dollars—show that the reactionaries have not modified their program, but are carrying on their campaign inside and outside the United States Congress, through the reactionary United States Senators and Congressmen and their allied forces, to defeat the New Deal program. The violence of the attacks on the reformation of the Supreme Court, an issue fundamental in character, even though the solution proposed by President Roosevelt does not squarely meet the question; the howls that have gone up from the big capitalists of this country against the sit-down strikes, have brought together reactionaries of both

major political parties in an effort to block all progressive social and labor legislation.

REACTIONARY LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK

In New York the situation is not at all different. Although in the main the last session of the State Legislature had some progressive features, and went so far as to adopt a "Little N.R.A.," which protects labor even beyond the provisions of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, nevertheless the reactionaries did not hesitate to introduce and also adopt some most reactionary legislation.

Senator James J. Wadsworth, reactionary Republican Senator from upstate, introduced bills, the aim of which was completely to hamstring the progressive trade union movement. He introduced one bill requiring trade unions to render an annual accounting of their finances and membership to the government. He introduced a second bill which provided for notification to the industrial commissioner before a strike could be called; for compulsory arbitration; for outlawing sympathy, solidarity and sit-down strikes; requiring workers to handle scab goods; providing that the commissioner should establish rules and regulations governing the peaceful and orderly conduct of strikes; and prohibiting unions from contributing any money "to aid or support any political party, or purpose, or any candidate for public office." The aim of the last proposal was to force the progressive trade unions to cease giving financial support to the American Labor Party. The aim of both bills, however, was to outlaw strikes and put the unions com-

pletely under the control of the state government. This move is very definitely in the direction of fascism.

Owing to the pressure of organized labor and the progressives, both bills did not even reach a vote.

In addition, there were introduced by the Tammanyite Joseph Berg bills making it very difficult for minority parties to get on the ballot, requiring a municipal increase in signatures, with various other complications. Another bill was directed towards making it possible for Tammany Hall to influence the choice of candidates designated by the American Labor Party in the coming municipal election campaign, in view of the fact that the A.L.P., being less than a year old and its supporters not yet being registered for the A.L.P., Tammany supporters would be permitted to participate in A.L.P. primaries and thus perhaps determine the candidates of the A.L.P. The Berg bills were passed by the State Assembly and Senate, when not even a quorum was present. Again, owing to the pressure of organized labor, the American Labor Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and other progressive groups, Governor Lehman vetoed these bills.

However, to the everlasting shame and disgrace of the state of New York, which pretends to be progressive, the Child Labor Amendment was defeated. This was due to the mobilization of the reactionary farm organizations upstate, the reactionary employers and the hierarchy of the Catholic church.

Thus it is clear that just as in the United States Congress, so too, in New York state, reactionaries, both Demo-

cratic and Republican, are working hand in hand, supporting the legislation of either party in order to defeat all progressive legislation.

The most outspoken example, however, of the uniting of the reactionary forces in the state was demonstrated at a meeting held in the month of May at the Hippodrome in New York. This meeting was organized by the American (Catholic) Committee Against Communism. The speakers at this meeting were Alfred E. Smith, Liberty Leaguer and leader of Tammany Hall; Alfred Desvernines, Republican lawyer and advisor of the Liberty League; George U. Harvey, Republican Borough President of Queens, the man who proposed that each policeman be given three feet of hose to drive the Communists out of the city, Father Curran, one of the organizers and leaders of the American Committee Against Communism, and the reactionary Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L. Here was a line-up of the black reactionaries of the country. The purpose of the meeting was not merely to assail Communism. On the contrary, the song of each of these gentlemen was an attack upon the Communist Party, the Workers Alliance, the relief set-up, the C.I.O. and the progressive trade union movement, Mayor La Guardia and the "unwashed liberals" of the city.

Thus, through this meeting was made manifest the line-up of the reactionary forces.

CATHOLIC WORKERS AWAKENING

With New York as a concentration point for the attack of reaction, we find the reactionaries coming forward

more boldly and on a broader scale than ever before. The top functionaries of the Catholic church are closely allied to Tammany Hall. The close contact of Cardinal Hayes with the Tammany Hall-controlled Democratic Party has long been known. But owing to mass unemployment among Catholic workers generally and especially the Irish workers; to the tremendous urge for trade union organization among all sections of the population, including the Catholic workers and especially because of the successful drive of the Transport Workers Union, the building up of the progressive National Maritime Union and a campaign now being conducted in the utility field, which includes large numbers of Irish workers, the hierarchy of the Catholic church has found it necessary to come forward more openly in the struggle against progress. Thus, not only in New York City but throughout the country, the church is using its mass organizations, the Knights of Columbus and the Holy Name Society. Catholic Legion posts are being used against the Communists, the Workers Alliance and the progressive movement. A Catholic Colored Committee Against Communism has been set up, using the most vicious methods of slander and distortion against the Communist Party and the progressives.

The American Committee Against Communism has been infuriated by the refusal of the Catholic masses of New York to accept its position in regard to the assault of fascism upon the democratic people of Spain. This is the result of the agitation and propaganda which our Party has carried on

through forums, leaflets, open air meetings, etc., exposing the actions of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain, the program of Franco, and particularly broadcasting the pleas of the Basque nationalists after the destruction of Guernica and Almeria.

A new stage has been reached in our approach to Catholic workers, especially the Irish and Italian workers, who no longer can be led by the nose, but are thinking for themselves as a result of our Party agitation.

**GERALD K. SMITH MAKES NEW YORK
HIS STAMPING GROUND**

Simultaneously there is being built up a so-called "Committee of One Million." Gerald K. Smith, successor to the late Huey Long, has entered the field in New York with his propaganda against Communism and everything progressive. He is enrolling in his ranks middle class and wealthy people and arousing them to a fury against the Communist Party, the C.I.O., the Workers Alliance, etc. Such people as Merwin J. Hart of the New York State Economic Council; James Wadsworth, son of the reactionary state Senator Wadsworth; George Sokolsky, the semi-fascist who aided the General Motors corporation in every way against the workers when they were on strike; R. Smith Payne, director of Cluett, Peabody and Company; Lewis K. Comstock, president of New York Merchants Association, Harold Lord Varney, former I.W.W. and bitter enemy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union; and Reginald Boote, chairman of the Association of Remington Rand Employees, the company union outfit of that company, were

the speakers at a recent meeting at which Smith hoped to enroll thousands of supporters—in which he failed.

Thus in New York we have an aggregation of reactionaries who are coming out into the open in preparation for the election struggles of 1937, 1938 and 1940.

**POLITICAL REALIGNMENTS
DEVELOPING**

On a national scale it has been observed that especially on the Supreme Court issue, realignments are taking place. On this issue the so-called liberals, such as Senator Wheeler, took up the battle against Roosevelt's proposal. Then the reactionary Democrats, such as Senators Byrne, Glass, Clark, Van Nuys, etc., took the field. The Republican Party quite conspicuously remained in the background, although they are open foes of Roosevelt's proposal.

A deep chasm exists inside the ranks of both the Democrats and Republicans. The Democratic Party contains in its midst a broad progressive wing and a reactionary wing. The latter is represented by the bulk of the Congressmen and Senators from the South, as well as reactionary Congressmen from the North.

The Republican Party is going through a similar struggle. In this struggle, manifesting itself particularly on the Supreme Court issue, old-guard Democrats and old-guard Republicans meet on common ground. This led some months ago to a proposal by Mark Sullivan, leading Republican commentator in the case, for instance, of Senator Van Nuys (Democrat, Indiana) who stands for re-election in

1938, that the Republicans of Indiana shall not name a candidate against Senator Van Nuys but support him against any New Deal candidate.

This line has become a policy to be adopted on a national, state and local scale. On May 6, Senator Borah made a speech in the Senate against German and Italian fascism and the danger of fascism in the United States, declaring that:

"I doubt very much if we are fully aware of the insidious, subtle effort being constantly put forth in this country by the advocates of that theory of government called fascism. It has far more supporters in this country than Communism and they are much more active and much more adroit in the manner in which they are accomplishing their end."

On the very same day, the *New York World Telegram* declared that Senator Van Nuys, Democrat of Indiana, Gillett, Democrat of Iowa, and Clark, Democrat of Missouri, opponents of the Court measure, were in agreement with Senator Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, who declared:

"I have been approached recently by several groups of leaders in both major parties for discussion of either a coalition of Republicans and Constitutional Democrats, or a new party with the present Republican Party as a nucleus."

The *World Telegram* reports that such people as Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, Senator Nye, Republican, North Dakota, and Representative Fish, Republican, New York, are interested in a coalition organization. Senator Nye declared:

"Nothing can be done under the present [Republican] leadership and I would be in favor of discarding the name Republican Party. There is no hope of attracting votes in

the South, for instance, unless a new Party label is selected."

Thus, on the very day that Senator Borah attacked fascism here and abroad, Senator Nye, who claims to be an enemy of fascism in the United States, proposed a coalition of Republicans and Democrats against the New Deal. What must be emphasized is particularly that Senator Nye hopes to "attract votes in the South" through a new party organization. These votes are likely to represent, as far as people are permitted to vote in the South, the most backward section of the population.

OLD GUARD IN BOTH PARTIES UNITING IN NEW YORK

On a state and citywide scale similar positions are being taken.

Speaking at the convention of the Young Republicans of New York State, at Syracuse, on May 15, Frank E. Garnett, publisher, according to *The New York Times*, "urged support for Senator Copeland and other Democrats who have opposed the President on the Supreme Court issue." Mr. Garnett said:

"Democrats have led the way. The Republican Party has wisely refrained from anything to make the fight appear a party contest. They have stood firmly behind those courageous Democrats who have taken the lead and they will give full credit to those Democrats when the victory is definitely won. . . . I hope and expect that the Republican Party will show its appreciation of what these Democrats and the others who have opposed the President have done by endorsing the re-nomination of and working for their re-election when they come up before the voters."

Similarly in New York City, facing the municipal elections, Jacob A.

Livingston, Republican leader of Brooklyn, declared that:

"If the Republican Party obtained the same vote polled for Governor Landon in the presidential elections last fall, in addition to the votes of the Democrats dissatisfied with the New Deal administration in Washington, there would be no question of a party victory."

Kenneth Simpson, Republican county leader in Manhattan, declared that:

"If there is to be a realignment of parties, it may be brought about by their [Republican] supporting Surrogate Foley, Frank Priol and former Mayor John O'Brien [all Democrats] on a real fusion of anti-New Deal and anti-LaGuardia voters."

Thus, the line of the reactionaries throughout the country, now being adopted particularly in New York, is for a *reactionary bloc against all the progressives in the country, city and state.*

OUR TASK: UNITE ALL PROGRESSIVES AGAINST REACTION

Facing this situation, what is our task? The Seventh World Congress made it clear that in the struggle against reaction it is the duty of the Communist Party to agitate for and make the greatest efforts to build the People's Front as the barrier against fascism and war. The reactionaries have stated their position. Our task is clear. As against reaction in New York, as represented by Tammany Hall with its graft, corruption and terror against the workers, *our task is to build a coalition or bloc of all progressive forces, groups and elements, in order to prevent Tammany Hall and its allies from coming back into power.* The return of Tammany means the cutting down of relief, abandonment of efforts to re-

move the slums, an end to the building of schools, play and recreation grounds. It means a return to the graft and corruption that have blackened every Tammany administration. It means the police brutality recommended by George U. Harvey and as amplified by George F. Torsney, Tammany Assemblyman of Queens, who recommended "a company of marines with fixed bayonets." It means a drive against the unemployed who are accused by Victor Ridder, State Relief Director, of contributing "nine million dollars a year to the treasury of the Communist Party," through the relief that they receive!

It must be the aim of the progressives of New York to prevent a return to such conditions.

The task will not be easy. In the last elections in New York City, Roosevelt received 2,041,000 votes. Landon received 655,000 votes. It must be remembered that the chiefs of Tammany Hall did not endorse Roosevelt until a few days before election day. This shows clearly that they were ready to knife Roosevelt in the back, as did Alfred Smith and the Liberty League. *But the mass of the voters were for the New Deal—against the position of Tammany Hall—and hence voted for Roosevelt.* A deep-going struggle is now taking place in Tammany Hall for control and patronage and for the selection of officials and candidates.

The 655,000 votes for Landon do not represent a homogeneous mass. On the contrary, the Young Republicans represent the more forward and progressive group that does not take the position of Landon and the Old Guard Republicans, and both in the State

Legislature and in the Board of Aldermen make progressive proposals as, for instance, Newbold Morris in the Board of Aldermen.

When one considers that in New York City the American Labor Party received the splendid vote of 239,000 on November 3, the Communist Party 65,000 for its local candidates, the Socialist Party 60,000, it is clear that if one sees as the progressives only those in the three last-named parties, there would be no hope of stopping the re-entry of reactionary Tammany Hall into the city administration. If, on the other hand, there is a realization of the danger of reaction again coming into power in New York City, and the necessity of bringing together into a *broad coalition all progressives*, then we must take a much broader view of the forces available for this coalition.

WHICH ARE THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES?

What are these forces? They are (1) the American Labor Party; (2) the Fusion Party and the Progressive Committee, which are made up of liberal and progressive elements, who in 1933 broke away from both the Democratic and the Republican Party in support of La Guardia; (3) the Negro people; (4) the Socialist Party; (5) the Communist Party. But these are not all. Inside the Democratic Party and Republican Party, *not yet crystallized in organization nor yet perhaps fully prepared to break with these parties, are masses of progressive-minded people. It must be our aim to win these people for the progressive bloc as against reaction, for the defeat of Tammany Hall, the main enemy.*

The American Labor Party is based

upon the militant progressive trade unions of New York. Now with the strengthening of the C.I.O. movement and with the addition of the progressive forces remaining inside the craft unions, the A.L.P. can move forward with tremendous speed in the affiliation of trade unions and in the building up of clubs in all Assembly Districts. The 239,000 votes that the A.L.P. received in its first efforts as a party can and will be multiplied in the coming elections.

WILL THE SOCIALIST PARTY FURTHER ISOLATE ITSELF?

The Socialist Party, torn with strife by the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, has a progressive following. But what the policy of the Socialist Party will be, no one can tell as yet. If the Trotskyites prevail, they will disrupt the People's Front—the progressive coalition—thereby helping the reactionaries in Tammany Hall, as they are doing in Minneapolis or Barcelona and Valencia. Has the S.P. learned the lessons of the elections of 1936? The convention in March does not demonstrate it. However, there are indications that elements within the Socialist Party now feel the isolation of the Socialist Party and wish to line up with the organized labor movement and in the elections with the A.L.P. Thus it may be possible that, recognizing that the danger of reaction and fascism is the most important question before the people of this country and this city, the Socialists, like the Communists, will make that the central issue and unite with all progressives against reaction. If not, they will only play into the hands of Tammany Hall and will

be more and more deserted even by those workers who still have faith in the Socialist Party.

COMMUNIST PARTY WILL MARCH
WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

The Communist Party polled 65,000 votes in the last elections. May Day, with its high political slogans of industrial unionism, unemployed relief, defense of loyalist Spain, defense of the Soviet Union, etc., shows that the workers and progressives are not afraid of the Communists. On the contrary, the demonstration made it clear that the 200,000 workers who marched in the line and the hundreds of thousands who witnessed the parade, no longer fear the Communists but recognize the correctness of our line which has brought us into contact with and made friends for us of hundreds of thousands of people in the city of New York. Thus it is clear that Communist support will be greatly magnified over last year.

NEGRO PEOPLE—POWERFUL FACTOR

The Democrats, and especially Tammany Hall, are trying to inveigle the Negroes into support of Tammany Hall in the coming elections. They are using as one of their main weapons the fact that the Tammany Congressman Gavagan introduced the anti-lynching bill in Congress. But the conditions of the Negro people of Harlem through mass unemployment, miserable housing conditions, high rents, etc., are such that, even though they appreciate the importance of an end to lynching in the country, they cannot so easily be enticed again into sup-

port of a Tammany Hall administration. The Negro people realize what their condition under previous Tammany administrations was. It will be our task to win the Negroes to the progressive coalition.

Will the united action of these forces be sufficient? Or can we be satisfied even if they should be sufficient to defeat Tammany Hall? Neither will they be sufficient nor shall we allow the masses of dissatisfied Democrats and Republicans to remain in the ranks of these two parties, since they can be won over to the broadest possible People's Front or progressive coalition in order to render a smashing defeat to Tammany Hall and its allies. This is the outstanding task that we have in the coming elections.

PROGRAM OF PROGRESSIVE COALITION

What will be the program of such a coalition? The program of the American Labor Party in the last elections, although very general, nevertheless in its tendency was acceptable. The program of a progressive coalition, which would be made up of different classes and groups, perhaps will be even vaguer, although showing a progressive character. We must strive towards having the *program broad enough to embrace all the united groups*. Similarly the candidates, although in the main progressive trade unionists, should be representative of the various groups involved. Some may not have broken completely with the capitalist parties. *The character of the program, however, and the nature of the candidates, will depend greatly upon the campaign that we Communists unfold.*

OUR WORK WILL HELP DETERMINE
CHARACTER OF PROGRESSIVE
PROGRAM

The Communist Party will march shoulder to shoulder with the organized workers represented in the American Labor Party and this movement. The Communist Party has its own program—a more concrete, more militant, program—a program meeting the immediate and pressing needs and desires of the working people and the progressives. It will be to the Left of this progressive program. *The more we Communists work among the masses in the unions, mass organizations, and in the neighborhoods, where pressing problems face the whole toiling population; the more we bring forward our Party leaders as champions and fighters for the needs of the working class and of all progressives, the more to the Left will the program and the more progressive will the candidates of the progressive coalition be.*

While carrying on the fight for the building of the progressive bloc and for the victory of this bloc, we Communists will conduct an *independent campaign* on our own platform and will point out to the masses, through literature, speeches, meetings, leaflets, the *Daily Worker*, etc., that, besides the need for immediate demands, the aims and desires of the people will be finally achieved only through socialism.

We can and must be the most energetic fighters for the People's Front as we have proved in the past to be. The campaign of 1937 will be one of the sharpest in the history of New York. It is the testing ground for the con-

centration of all reactionary forces. There is no more important task than that of uniting all the struggles of the workers and all the movements among the population, through a widespread campaign for the building of the progressive coalition, for the defeat of Tammany Hall, and for the building of a broad People's Front locally and nationally against reaction and fascism.

What are, therefore, our tasks?

BUILD THE A.L.P.

1. In all organizations, trade unions, unemployed, fraternal, cultural organizations, we must carry on widespread agitation for the necessity of building the progressive bloc. We must reach the people in the Fusion Party and progressive organizations. We must reach the workers, progressives, small businessmen, etc., in the Democratic and Republican organizations and clubs, who are discontented but do not yet understand what to do.

2. We must get all unions to affiliate to the A.L.P., build the A.L.P. on a broader trade union base, induce the members of the unions to join the assembly district clubs in order to reach large sections of voters in the assembly districts. In the trade unions affiliated to the A.L.P. and in the assembly districts we must propagate the idea of a progressive bloc and take such steps as are necessary to reach the other political groups, Fusion, Progressives, the progressive Democrats and Young Republicans.

3. In order to induce the other groups to enter into the election coalition, it is necessary to bring forward the program of the A.L.P., not only for

the city elections as a whole, but in view of the proportional representation plan on which the municipal elections will take place, the issues in each assembly district (this in view of the fact that there are also elections to the State Assembly). The issues for the coming election campaign are clear—relief, housing, high cost of living, child labor amendment, right of organization, right of picketing, the extension of civil liberties, against discrimination toward Negroes, Jews and other nationalities, etc. These issues apply to members of *all* political groups and on these issues a broad coalition can be formed.

4. The Communists will carry on their campaign independently as above stated. This makes it necessary that each branch and unit in the assembly district carry on work in the *election districts*, reaching the numerous political, fraternal and other clubs and organizations in the assembly district and rallying them for a united front on the above issues.

LANGUAGE GROUPS MUST BE REACHED

5. Work among the language and mass groups is of tremendous importance in a city like New York. There are in New York approximately 2,000,000 Jews, 1,000,000 Italians, 625,000 Irish, 600,000 Germans, 350,000 Negroes. These five groups represent the dominant groups in New York City. If an approach is made to these individual groups on the basis of their needs, plus national and religious questions that must be brought forward in a specialized and individualized manner, then there is no question whatever that we can swing large sections of them to

the progressive bloc. For instance, anti-Semitism is growing even in New York City with its large Jewish population. This is directed not only against the immigrant Jews but also against the sons and daughters and grandsons of these immigrant Jews, who are American Jews, and are being officially or unofficially barred from the professions. The Italians, who were not so accessible to progressive or Communist ideas during the Italian-Ethiopian war, because of a strong upsurge of nationalism, now, after the defeat of Mussolini at Guadalajara and a growing questioning of the right of Italian fascist troops and airplanes to be in Spain, together with the growing crisis in Italy, can be reached on the question, not only of their immediate needs but of their lack of adequate representation in legislative bodies. The Germans, after the bombardment of Guernica and Almeria, and particularly after the attack of Hitler upon the Catholic priests and youth of Germany, and especially after the eloquent answer by Cardinal Mundelein and Reverend Macfarland, are more receptive to Communism and radical propaganda.

Thus it is clear that if we Communists adopt this individualized, specialized approach to the various groups, *finding points of agreement rather than disagreement*, we will be able to make big inroads among them and form a broad progressive coalition.

There are thousands, if not tens of thousands, of language organizations under the control of reformists and even of fascists. Our task is to reach these organizations, both political, social and fraternal, carrying on our

propaganda and proposing the united front on concrete issues.

YOUTH AND WOMEN VITAL TO CAMPAIGN

6. The youth will play a vital part in this campaign. Newton D. Baker asserts that there are still five million unemployed youth in the country. Although hundreds of thousands have secured jobs, nevertheless each year brings forth a new crop of youth that fills up the ranks of the unemployed. Totally inadequate provisions are being made for these youth and National Youth Administration funds are being reduced. The youth are militant, forward looking and willing to fight. Many of them are in the progressive organizations. They can be drawn toward the A.L.P. and be made part of the progressive coalition.

7. Women, both working women and housewives, facing the questions of work, the home and the child, can be won for the election campaign on the basis of the immediate conditions facing the home. The capitalist parties, and especially the reactionaries, pay major attention to the women, knowing that through the women they can wield influence over a large section of the population and win them over for the reactionary program. We must counteract this influence and point the way to progress for the women.

8. In all the struggles that take place, we must raise the question not merely of economic organization and improvement of economic conditions, but also of political action and the necessity of building the progressive coalition for the coming election campaign.

9. Our Party, immediately prepar-

ing its municipal and state platform, must begin a campaign of widespread agitation, of open air meetings, leaflets, shop gate meetings, shop papers, the *Daily Worker* and literature distribution, to popularize the idea of a progressive coalition. Everywhere we must try to form the united front in the neighborhoods and in the assembly districts so that through action the people will understand the value of united effort and of progressive ideas. We must concretely expose the role of Tammany Hall, the Old Guard Republican aldermen and state legislators, broadcast the platform of our Party, popularize it, bring forward leading Party members as champions of the rights of the people. In this way, from the bottom up, we will influence the character of the program and the candidates of the progressive coalition, weld together broad forces in the coalition and thus help to insure a victory of the progressives over Tammany Hall in the coming election campaign.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CAN EMERGE AS MAJOR PARTY IN NEW YORK

Our aim must be to fuse into the A.L.P. all the elements that enter the progressive bloc to fight together in the election campaign. If this aim is kept in view, if real efforts are made, then it will be possible not only to score a smashing victory in the election campaign, but to have the American Labor Party emerge as the *strongest political party* in the city of New York.

The situation is ripe. The possibilities are given. The reactionaries are united. The progressives can and must be united. This is our main task in the coming election campaign, in the

building of the People's Front in the United States.

Similar situations, on a different basis, exist in other cities in the state. Upstate, the Republican Party is in control, even though in various large cities in the last elections, Democrats were elected. There, too, the Communists must analyze the situation, build up the A.L.P. and the progressive bloc. There is no reason whatever why, in such cities and towns as Hudson, Schenectady, Jamestown, etc., Labor Party or progressive administrations may not be elected. The conditions are there. The people are looking for a way out and are seeking leadership. This leadership we Communists can provide.

**BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND
THE "DAILY WORKER"**

The only safeguard that these tactics can and will be put through is also by building the Communist Party and increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and our Party press and literature. Many workers and other progressives have learned of the sincere, earnest, energetic and responsible position taken by our Party. They saw our Party in action in the last election campaign. They have seen our Party members help to build the trade union movement, fight for relief for the unemployed, fight for every progressive

issue in the United States. Many of them are ready and willing to join the Communist Party.

In preparation for the election campaign and during the campaign itself we will be in contact with many new forces. Our task is to build our Party into a mass Communist Party. The possibilities exist. With the proper attention to this aspect of our work, we will draw the militant workers and progressives into our Party, build our Party into a mass Communist Party, transform the life of our units, many of which still work incompetently, into live centers of political activity, involve them in discussions of political importance and carry on actions in accord with these discussions.

Similar steps must be taken for building the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, our best organizers and agitators.

The 1936 elections were of great strategic importance to the United States. The municipal elections of 1937 in New York City will point the way for the rest of the country. Is New York to be put back into the hands of the reactionary Tammany Hall and its allies or is it to march forward under the banner of a progressive coalition? That is the question. For the solution of this question on the side of progress, we Communists must mobilize and throw into the struggle all of our forces.

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTING THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

BY CARL ROSS

A FEW weeks ago, the Young Communist League held its Eighth National Convention. This convention which was attended by 539 regular delegates, 76 fraternal delegates and 270 visitors, representing 33 states, opened with a great Madison Square Garden meeting, such as few youth organizations in America could arrange. A lasting impression was left with the many outstanding youth leaders who attended the sessions of the Convention as visitors.

Since the convention, a discussion concerning the aims and program of the League has developed among the leaders and members of the Y's, churches and other groups of youth. Without doubt, this convention marked the emergence of the Y.C.L. as a fully recognized and respected organization of youth.

It is necessary that we have a clear understanding of the far-reaching changes in the character of the League proposed by this convention, so that we can correctly proceed actually to carry through the reconstruction of the League and solve the many and dif-

ficult problems we face. In the discussion following the convention and in the work of reconstructing the League, a fuller understanding of these changes is already developing, but with these first steps, new problems arise.

The present-day conditions, the task of rallying the youth against fascism and war, require that the work and organizational forms of the League be radically changed. From a narrow duplicate of the Communist Party, copying all the methods and forms of the Party, the League must become a broad mass organization of youth.

In the words of the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Y.C.L., the League "should be adapted entirely to the desires and requirements of the youth themselves so that while learning, organizing and fighting for the vital interests of the toiling masses, the youth would become educated in the spirit of the fight for freedom, for socialism, against reaction, against fascism, against imperialist war."

THE BASIS FOR A RECONSTRUCTED LEAGUE

A basis for such a transformation of the League exists in the great move-

* Speech delivered to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937.

ment for industrial organization led by the Committee for Industrial Organization. Thousands of young people are finding their first jobs in industry and are entering the ranks of the trade union movement for the first time. They are learning lessons in militant trade unionism that is shaping the outlook of a generation of industrial youth. In Philadelphia 1,000 boot-blacks from nine to fifteen years of age are the proud possessors of C.I.O. buttons at least four inches in diameter. Even the children are going C.I.O.

Among the student youth, a united movement for peace of all important national student organizations has been established. Its work was so effective that 1,000,000 students participated in the annual student strike against war on April 22. That was double the number that were involved a year before. The American Student Union has grown into a strong student organization but has not yet reached the limits of its present influence in its growth.

A Southern Negro Youth Congress has been built and is becoming a recognized factor in organizing the tobacco workers of the South and in unifying the Negro youth.

These and other movements such as the American Youth Congress involve great numbers of young people in progressive activities.

A large section of these youth desire a movement of a definite anti-fascist character. We must ask if the most advanced of these youth are prepared to join the Y.C.L. as it is today. If we ask this question we will see that a radical reconstruction of the League is necessary. The doors of the League must be opened to these anti-fascist youth, to

all young people ready to work with us as well as to the Communist youth. A policy of reconstructing the League will facilitate closer unity with all anti-fascist youth and their organizations and will make easier cooperation with all progressive groups of youth.

A PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION AND SERVICE

This necessary new content and character of the League are stated in the newly adopted declaration of principles which defines the Y.C.L. as an organization whose first task is education of the youth and service to the labor and progressive movement. By this we mean education as was taught by Lenin which is combined with practical activity in the labor and progressive movement.

The League has as its basic principle the education of youth for internationalism, for support to the Soviet Union, for struggle against Trotskyism which is the ally of international fascism. The branches have combined their education in internationalism as taught in books, lectures and classes with practical aid to the Spanish people in the form of money, clothing, and other assistance. The League has helped to build and supports fully the United Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

The Y.C.L. educates youth for loyalty to the labor movement, in the history and principles of the trade unions and thus becomes an aid to the labor movement, and particularly to the C.I.O.

The Y.C.L. is an organization for service to the labor and progressive

movement. As its most important service to the labor movement it has today the task of helping to organize in the trade unions and especially in the strike areas such activity as sports which will attract youth to the unions and activate them on the picket lines. Such service as supplying food and recreational facilities to picket lines has raised the prestige of the League among the trade union youth.

The Y.C.L. is an organization for service to the youth that will aim to provide the youth with facilities for education and recreation. Recreational and social life will play a big part in the activities of the Y.C.L., as these are the activities that interest and attract young people to organizations.

Naturally, these fundamental changes in the character of the League and the introduction of new types of activities into the League will require many changes in the organizational structure of the League and its branches. The new by-laws adopted by the convention are the basis for a new, more democratic, more flexible organizational structure for our League.

It would be interesting for us to know what a branch of this new type looks like and how it works. The Brighton Beach Branch of the League in New York is such an organization. Its 150 members have opened up their own three-story "Youth House," remodeled it and fitted it with equipment for sports, for a library, for a recreational room and for dance and social activities. Such a center is really a prerequisite for a good branch. This branch has established committees for education, social activity, a committee for the publishing of a branch bulletin

and has organized groups for athletics, dramatics, art, and physical culture. These are the varied activities necessary for a real live branch of the League. Such activities combined with education and with participation in the struggle against fascism, with support to the labor movement and the people of Spain will really educate its members "in the spirit of the fight for freedom, for socialism, against reaction, against fascism, against imperialist war."

A POLICY OF BUILDING LEADERSHIP NECESSARY

An organization of this character cannot be led in the old way and with the old methods. The League today requires trained leaders for all of its activities. Above all it requires branch presidents, capable of giving leadership to all these forms. Undiscovered talents among the members of our League must be found and put to the best use. In our Party there are many trained youth leaders, teachers, athletic coaches, settlement house workers. They should be made available for assisting the League in developing its activities and in providing this necessary leadership.

In order that the branches of the League will really be educational in character and not merely social clubs, it is necessary that in the League we have a core of Communist youth and members of the Communist Party who can teach and interpret events in the light of Marxism-Leninism and who can teach Marxism to the more advanced youth. There is a place in the League for more developed youth, for

trade union leaders, for those who are interested in fundamental questions. While education in the League consists mainly of activities of various types, of lectures, movies, and so on, there should also be a place for classes in Marxism to those that want advanced Communist education.

None of the members of our Party who work in the youth movement should develop the theory that they are no longer needed in the League, that their days of usefulness are ended, and that they must now look for the shortest possible path—to work in the Party and among adults. Such a policy would deprive our League of its best trained and most devoted leaders. Our League needs leaders who are sports directors, dramatic directors, people who can organize social and other activities. But are these the only kind of leaders we need? Of course not! Some of our comrades feel that the job of leadership in the League is now only a matter of organizing athletics or dramatics and that political matters no longer concern the Y.C.L. leadership and should be relegated to the Party or that some sort of Party youth department is needed to substitute. Such a tendency can result only in having our most experienced leaders and our best trade union leaders feel that they are no longer needed in the League. On the contrary, these are precisely the people, who by changing their own activities and the character of their own work, can contribute the most to reconstruction and to building a mass League. These comrades are the backbone that our League must have if it is really to broaden out and win mass influence.

THE LEAGUE IN INDUSTRY

It is most important that we discuss some of the problems of building the League in the basic industrial centers, in the steel and auto industries. How should we proceed to reconstruct the League among these basic working class youth, who are joining the trade unions by the tens of thousands? Let us take an example from the Detroit district, bearing in mind that problems vary considerably from district to district. In this district, as in others, many of the leading members of the League are active and leading members of locals, giving most of their time and energy to this work of building the C.I.O. movement. They are leaders of thousands of young auto workers in the union, but in spite of this good work, they have not yet found a way to build a League at the same time. Most of these comrades are members of our Party, working in the youth movement with the responsibility of building our League among the young auto workers. It is necessary that they see that there is no contradiction between their responsibility as union leaders and their task of building the Y.C.L.

In the M— Plant, there are thirteen members of the League. Surely these thirteen comrades could reconstruct their methods of work in such a way as to build a really mass branch in that neighborhood. It would be composed not only of the auto workers, but of their wives, husbands and closest friends. Such a mass branch would no longer be like a unit of the Party, as the present group is. It would be in every respect a reconstructed League with new and varied activities. The

Party in Detroit has taken an excellent step in helping our League, by deciding to enter into a three months' membership drive to help build the League. One of the Party units in the Ford plant, which has pledged to recruit ten members to the League, has indicated how the Party can correctly proceed to help the League. If Detroit continues to work along these lines of taking what we have today and reconstructing it, it will rapidly meet with big successes.

A flexible approach is very necessary. In Johnstown, Pa., our small League branch of seven or eight members correctly drew the conclusion that they could reconstruct their own activity and the League by helping to build a mass progressive youth club which is becoming the center of all progressive youth activity. This club is not affiliated to the League, but is based on the same principles as our League. This is also reconstruction of the League into a new type of mass organization.

However, our comrades in Pittsburgh began to draw from this the conclusion that the League should proceed in the same way in every industrial town. Such a conclusion would mean that we would overlook in industry any possibility of reconstructing our existing branches. It would mean in effect that we would have no Y.C.L. branches in the basic industrial centers. Such a policy of building progressive youth clubs of young workers must be combined with a policy of reconstructing the neighborhood branches of the League and, wherever possible, building broad industrial branches.

The most important thing and the

first task is the reconstruction of the work of our comrades. Such a group of eight or nine League members as we have in the Jones & Laughlin mill in Pittsburgh, where they are also the unit of the Party, have a double responsibility. They have the task of reconstructing their work in such a way as to build a mass progressive youth club of young steel workers in South Pittsburgh and of continuing their function as the Party leadership in the mill. Such a dual role as this presents a certain contradiction, which results from the fact that the League is yet in a period of transition from that of a narrow Party organization to a broad mass League.

In these industrial centers, our League and Party have definite responsibilities for developing these progressive youth movements and such organizations as the I.W.O. youth sections. In Western Pennsylvania, where we have no Y.C.L. to speak of, the anti-fascist youth among the young miners are joining the I.W.O. youth section. In these areas, this is our main responsibility in building a youth organization of a new character.

Y.C.L. TASKS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Naturally, in these industrial areas, as well as among all industrial youth, the tasks of our League in the trade union movement are also of a new character. It is not the job of the Y.C.L. to determine policies for the trade unions. It is rather the task of the League to provide assistance to the trade unions and to develop youth activities in these unions. The Party members in the League will continue to work with the fractions of the Party

and will convince the members of the League of the correctness of those policies determined by the Party which are in the best interest of progressive trade unionism.

Comrade Foster has indicated what the main task of the League should be in the trade unions. He has discussed this with our League and helped to work out a policy for building a mass labor sports movement. He has pointed out to us that this is necessary in order to smash the company sports set-up and to win the youth to the unions. Even during the present strikes, the organization of sports can be an instrument for bringing the youth into the strike activity. Why can't sports activities be organized by the unions in such a manner as to bring thousands of young people to the picket lines? This would greatly strengthen the entire strike movements. Sports has its place as a part of our strike strategy. This may well raise new demands for the trade unions, the demand that the company make available for the use of the union teams the sports facilities of the old company sport teams and that the company furnish additional facilities in the form of empty lots, sports equipment and so on.

For a long time we spoke of building youth sections of the trade unions. Here we actually have the development of a youth movement within the trade unions. This sports movement can involve thousands of youth. In one local in Detroit, 80 ball teams have been built. The organization of sports activities and a broad labor sports movement in the unions in cooperation with the trade union leadership and the Amateur Athletic Union is the

most important trade union task for the League. Would it not be well to make of Labor Day a huge labor sports day in every big trade union center? If backed by the C.I.O. and the existing sports movement in the trade unions, a plan for making Labor Day a day for sports and youth activities would certainly go over big.

WORK AMONG FARM YOUTH

Not the least of the problems of our League is the development of a progressive anti-fascist movement among the farm youth. Our League is practically non-existent in the large farming areas of the country. However, there are many progressive organizations of farm youth of considerable size, such as the Farmers Union Juniors, which have begun to take an increasingly progressive position on many issues. It is to the best interest of our League that in these areas we make every effort to help build these organizations and develop more progressive policies. In large sections of the country, these organizations can become the organizations of the anti-fascist youth on a program similar to that of our League.

THE COMING Y.P.S.L. CONVENTION

Our League is transforming itself into a mass organization and winning influence among the youth in sharp contrast to the sectarian policies of the Trotskyite-influenced Y.P.S.L. Much to our regret, the Y.P.S.L.'s under the influence and leadership of the Trotskyites and people influenced by Trotskyism has declined from several thousand to a few hundred and has practically succeeded in isolating itself

from the broad progressive youth movement. It becomes increasingly clear that if the Y.P.S.L. is to be a healthy mass organization of Socialist youth, rather than the narrow sect that it is becoming, it must rid itself of this Trotskyist poison.

This will be the main issue placed before the coming National Convention of the Y.P.S.L. in September. Our League and Party will extend every assistance to the enemies of Trotskyism and to those honest Socialist youth who want to build the Young People's Socialist League in conducting a struggle against Trotskyism and its counter-revolutionary policies.

FOR ALL SUPPORT TO THE AMERICAN
YOUTH CONGRESS

The reconstruction of our League is being carried through at a time when the League participates with other progressive youth organizations in building a great unified movement of young people. The Fourth American Youth Congress will be a large step ahead towards making this a center of collaboration of youth groups far greater

even than it is today. The setting up of the American Youth Congress as a congress of Young America modeled on the United States Congress and the establishing of local and state movements parallel to the legislative structure of state and cities will help to overcome the chief shortcoming of the American Youth Congress—the fact that it does not yet reach the millions of rank-and-file members of the local organization of those national groups which are cooperating. This kind of a set-up will capture the imagination of Young America and will win for the Youth Congress a real place as a recognized movement in each community. Our League may well be proud of its record in helping to achieve this greater unity of young people.

These are some of the problems our League faces in carrying through the decisions of our Eighth National Convention. We do not attempt to draw a blueprint of methods for reconstruction, but rather we will look for the most flexible approach which will guarantee that in every district we have positive results.

JULY 4th AND THE 150th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION

ON JULY FOURTH we celebrate the spirit and achievements of the American Revolution in which we won our freedom from colonial suppression and exploitation by British rule. We celebrate also the democratic rights and civil liberties won for ourselves within the country, those rights which received expression in the Declaration of Independence, signed in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776.

The basic law of the United States was evolved over a period of time through a series of outstanding events. Among these are the Declaration of Independence, the drafting of the Constitution and the successful struggle for the inclusion of the Bill of Rights into the Constitution.

The Declaration of Independence was drafted by Thomas Jefferson, its contents inspired by that champion of liberty, Tom Paine, whose pamphlet *Common Sense* issued in January, 1776, reached the then unprecedented circulation of one-half million copies.

The premise and philosophy of the *Declaration* were concisely stated in the following words:

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are in-

stituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The next part of the document proves that English rule had not secured "these rights." From these propositions the *Declaration* draws the inevitable conclusion that the colonies are and ought to be free and independent of such rule. It declares:

"That these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the States of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all of her Acts and Things, which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

But the fight for liberty within the country was not over with the end of the revolutionary war. The reactionaries at home were at work. They tried to entrench themselves in the

original draft of the constitution. And although they were held in check by the more progressive leaders of the convention, it took the full power of our revolutionary founding fathers after the convention to force through the adoption of the Bill of Rights as part of the constitution in order to maintain those rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.

The reactionaries still did not give up, no more than they have given up today after the resounding defeat in the November elections. They tried to entrench themselves in governmental office, with some success, until the election of Jefferson and later Jackson opened up a fuller expression of American democracy. We have had to continue to fight against the reactionaries to maintain our civil liberties all through our history.

Today we are also engaged in the most severe struggle against reaction and incipient fascist forces which are mobilizing themselves to usurp power and use the Constitution and the Supreme Court to abrogate the democratic rights of the people.

* * *

The American masses today demand many important changes in our social conditions and constitutional and legal set-up, but are not yet ready for a basic change in the whole system of society. The changes which are popularly demanded are of a progressive character. The fight for them is having a healthy, enlightening effect on the masses of workers, farmers and lower middle class people of the country.

As on previous occasions, reaction

is trying to use the Constitution to prevent these forward moves. The reactionaries claim that progressive proposals now put forward are unconstitutional and contrary to the clear intention of the founding fathers.

Communists, the champions of all progress, must ally themselves to those progressive movements, and must expose the reactionary falsehood cited above both because it does not jibe with the actual facts, and is a slander against the early American revolutionaries, as well as because it is harmful to the present-day interests of the American masses.

Although the Constitution could not have other than the general character of serving bourgeois society the clearly expressed intention of the founding fathers (among the founding fathers must be included the masses of the revolutionary colonials who helped to force through the Bill of Rights as a part of the Constitution) was that it should not safeguard the rich and reactionary forces, but should rather defend and further the interests of the common people.

In the Constitutional Convention there was a reactionary group, headed by Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris, who were opposed to this idea. Hamilton declared that "people are seldom right." He championed giving the Supreme Court the right to veto Acts of Congress. He proposed the election of a Senate for life. He highly praised the institution of a House of Lords and advocated the setting up of hereditary autocracy. He championed the establishment of property qualifications for electoral candidates. He proposed the election of a

President for life. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 decisively rejected Hamilton's program. It is well known that after the Constitution was adopted, Hamilton was openly doubtful about it.

Although the Jefferson-Paine group, which had inspired the writing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, had, by 1787, been pushed into the background, yet the progressive forces in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were led by lesser known figures and given the powerful support of Benjamin Franklin, who, on the Convention floor, opposed the reactionaries and their proposals. He ridiculed Hamilton's talk about turning over the government to the "well born." He declared that "some of the greatest rogues" he "was ever acquainted with, were the richest rogues."

The full force of the will of the people, however, was not felt in the Constitutional Convention, because, through the intrigues of the Hamilton-Morris group, property qualifications had been set up in the election of delegates to the Convention. The Constitution adopted in the Convention itself was not satisfactory to the people, and had to be amended.

Therefore, after the seven articles which comprise the Constitution had been adopted by the Convention of 1787, the mass of our revolutionary forefathers demanded that the Constitution be more plainly made a document for the protection of the people's rights against the usurpers of power.

It was because of this that the first ten amendments constituting the Bill of Rights were added to the Consti-

tution, guaranteeing free speech, the right to assemble, to bear arms, etc., completing the defeat of the reactionaries.

Thus, with all its limitations, (not only regarding the social order for which it was set up, but also in relation to the Declaration of Independence), the United States Constitution is, in fact, a document intended by our revolutionary forefathers for use, not by reaction of that day or of the present-day, but to protect the interests of the people.

The adoption of the Constitution, and especially its Bill of Rights, represented the defeat of the attempt to entrench reaction by basic law. Just as the progressives of that day fought against and defeated reaction, so we must today mobilize all progressive forces for this struggle for progress against reaction. Today it is to the interests of the working class, the farmers and the lower middle class, to use the Constitution to defend itself; to prevent reaction from using it; and to construe the Constitution in the most democratic sense as a guarantee of the right of the people against the encroachments of the rich, just as our forefathers fought against the attempts of the reactionaries of their day from usurping power and using the Constitution for their own reactionary interests.

The one hundred and fifty years of the history of the Constitution has shown that under it, the exploiting class has often found it possible to put through its anti-people, reactionary program (such as the Dred Scott and numerous other decisions). For this reason, until the time when the masses

of the American people are ready to establish a really, broad, socialist democracy, we must support every amendment to the Constitution calculated to strengthen its utility as a pro-people, democratic weapon. We must fight against the adoption of reactionary election and other laws under the present Constitution, such as discrimination against the producing classes, Negroes, etc., curtailing the franchise and other important questions. We must fight for such laws as will help to put the most democratic construction upon the Constitution, and which will extend its democratic features. We must fight to prevent state laws which in effect nullify the Bill of Rights, especially those provisions that bear upon free speech, the right to assemble, bear arms, the inviolability of the home, etc.

We hold that the present attempt to misuse the Constitution by the reactionary forces of the country constitutes a corruption of the people's rights and is therefore a betrayal of our rights.

The previous misuse by reaction of the Constitution against the people (Dred Scott decision) has brought bloodshed and Civil War to the country. To avoid this, we must defeat reaction and fulfil the intentions of the colonial peoples that the Constitution shall be a force for progress.

At the same time, we must utilize the existence of the new Soviet Constitution to show the great advantage and the basic class structure of the Soviet Union as compared to the United States; broader channels of democracy possible under the Soviet

Constitution; and the advantages of a socialist society and its basic law, as compared to a capitalist society and its basic law.

It is possible to contrast this or that separate article or section of the United States to the Soviet Constitution, yet we must remember that the basic task is to show that, while we fight to broaden every right guaranteed by the American Constitution, for a basic solution we must defeat capitalism for socialism.

We must fight to strengthen by every channel possible, the utilization of the United States Constitution as a democratic weapon in the hands of the masses; we must show that the attempt of the reactionaries to utilize the Constitution is in effect an attempt to bring the United States on to the path of fascism; and at the same time we must systematically educate the people to the limits of the Constitution, and the need for a basic reorganization of society.

The Fourth of July will be used to explain the meaning of this heritage of our people. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution which falls in September will be utilized nationally, by our Party in all districts, and especially in the main cities. We should organize historic pageants, meetings and programs to bring before the American masses our attitude toward the Constitution, the American Revolution, etc., and the tasks of today. September 18, the Saturday of the week in which the anniversary comes, should be set aside all over the country as Tom Paine Day to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Constitution of the United States.

MOTHER BLOOR'S SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

GREETINGS TO MOTHER ELLA REEVE BLOOR

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party extends its heartiest greetings to our beloved comrade, Ella Reeve Bloor, on her seventy-fifth birthday. Her remarkable ability to merge completely with the masses, her staunch loyalty and devotion to the working class over a half century of struggle and her faith and confidence in the final achievement of socialism have endeared her to hundreds of thousands. She stands in the front ranks in the great struggles of the working class today against fascism, and in the building of a People's Front. We hail our comrade, who, along with the great forces of the Communist International, is leading the working class to freedom and a new life.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

WM. Z. FOSTER, *Chairman*
EARL BROWDER, *General Secretary*

A TRIBUTE TO MOTHER BLOOR

ELLA REEVE BLOOR, the oldest Bolshevik and one of the most beloved members of our Party, is now seventy-five years old. For nearly a half century her life has been inseparably

bound up with the class struggle in America. To many thousands of workers and farmers, to whom she is linked with strong ties of affection, she is known as "Mother." For them she has become a symbol of revolutionary courage, determination and faith in the final victory of socialism.

Ella Reeve Bloor typifies the best of America's revolutionary heritage. Born at Staten Island, the daughter of an enlisted soldier in the Seventh New York regiment during the Civil War, she is the descendant of a long line of fighters for the cause of freedom and democracy. Her forbears settled in America in 1600. Some of them fought for independence in the American Revolution. She has continued the tradition of 1776 and during her fifty years of activity in the Socialist and Communist movements in America, she has struggled steadfastly against the economic tyrants and the oppressors of the masses.

Mother Bloor's activity in the labor movement reflects an epoch of labor history. Since the 1890's when she first became identified with the labor movement, American capitalism has run its gamut of development. During this period, the frontier was closed, large-scale industry extended its grip over the economic life of the country, and American imperialism in the time

since the World War had started on its path of decline.

Mother Bloor is today witnessing the fruition of many of the objectives for which she fought: the strides of the American workers towards powerful industrial organization, the increasing class consciousness of the masses. She is seeing today what Engels once visualized when he said: "When the Americans once begin, they will do so with an energy and virulence, in comparison with which we in Europe will be children."

And she is seeing the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, a land of hope and inspiration for all toilers.

It is significant that Ella Reeve Bloor came to the labor movement through her intense belief in equal rights for women. With that boundless energy and indomitable spirit which are characteristic of her, she resisted a life confined to *kuche, kirche und kinder*. When still very young she defied the conventions and pressures of the society about her and decided to take the path of economic independence and social participation.

Like the militant women fighters for equal rights before her, Ella Reeve, an ardent advocate of woman suffrage, identified the political and economic inequalities of women with the oppression of the working masses.

In 1897 Mother Bloor already had become interested in the works of Marx and Engels. She joined a group called the Social-Democrats, organized by Eugene V. Debs. She gave considerable thought to the problems of the underpaid women in industry and of liberating women from the kitchen to enable them to work and participate in

the socialist movement without anxiety and fear for the safety of their children. Writing in Wilshire's magazine in 1903 she proposed a plan of cooperative housekeeping and said:

"Many of the evils of domestic life can be traced to the economic system which is so badly out of joint. While the greater problems still clamor for solution and the class war that may be more than a thirty years' war wages around us, may we not in all good faith make our tents on the battlefield a little more comfortable and spend more time on the physical development of our soldiers in the class struggle?"

Today she has seen the realization of her dream of equality for women in the Soviet Union.

The Social-Democrats were absorbed in colonization schemes. Recognizing the importance of organizing and arousing the class consciousness of the workers, Ella Reeve left the Social-Democrats and joined the Socialist Labor Party under De Leon's leadership. Although she was then a mother of six children she became a county organizer of the Socialist Labor Party in New Jersey. Later, when she had differences with De Leon over his policies, Ella Reeve joined the Socialist Party where she was once again associated with Debs.

With all the power characteristic of this dynamic woman, she bent to the task of organizing the workers, of doing the "preparatory work" of the future. Taking her children from place to place, as organizer of the Socialist Party, she led picket lines, organized strike relief, ran as candidate on the Socialist ticket in many campaigns and participated in some of the major strike struggles of her period.

In the "trust busting" campaign,

Ella Reeve Bloor did her part in exposing the miserable conditions of work in the trustified industries. Mother Bloor gathered much of the material which Upton Sinclair used in his realistic picture of the stockyards, *The Jungle*, a book which aroused the conscience of the country.

From her entrance into the Socialist movement to the present her life has been inseparable from that of the struggles of the toilers of the United States. Few struggles have occurred in which Mother Bloor did not play a part. In 1913 and 1914 she participated in the strikes of the metal miners of Calumet and the coal miners' battle against Rockefeller in Ludlow and Trinidad. In many of the miners' struggles to organize the United Mine Workers of America, Ella Reeve Bloor worked together with that other great woman leader, Mother Jones. There are many trade unions today which were founded and built with the aid of Mother Bloor. She is flesh and bone of the trade union movement.

During the war, when hysteria was at its height and the terror intense, Ella Reeve Bloor organized and led strikes of munitions workers. She raised funds for the defense of Earl Browder, Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood, Harrison George and other Socialists imprisoned for their anti-war activities.

At the age of 57 together with many of our present Party leaders she helped organize the Communist Party. Her spirit young, she threw herself into the task of building the Party. Since then age has never interfered with this intrepid spirit. No obstacle has been too great to prevent her from being with the masses wherever they have

needed her. On every front of struggle, from one end of the country to the other, Mother Bloor has helped to build the Communist Party and is today working for the People's Front.

In 1935, the ruling power of the State of Nebraska, unmoved by nationwide protests, confirmed a thirty-day sentence on Mother Bloor for leading a farmers' strike. At the age of 73 she went to jail, still a powerful force, feared and hated by the oppressors of the people and loved by the masses. Despite her 75 years, she is still an active Communist leader and organizer, a member of the Central Committee of our Party and an inspiring example of a life rich with purpose and direction.

The Communist Party salutes our Comrade Ella Reeve Bloor on her seventy-fifth birthday and cherishes her sterling Bolshevik qualities which have inspired thousands to join our Party and carry on the fight for a socialist America. Throughout the country, during July, birthday celebrations will be held for Mother Bloor. In New York, on July 18, a celebration in which several districts will participate will be held at Mother Bloor's birthplace at Staten Island. The proceeds will go towards establishing a Workers Center on Staten Island in her honor. The occasion should serve to inspire the entire Party membership with the objective for which Mother Bloor has worked: to build the Communist Party. We can pay tribute best to our grand old Bolshevik, Mother Bloor, by recruiting thousands of workers, especially women, into our Party.

WOMEN'S COMMISSION
OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

FOR THE UNITED PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF FRANCE

TWO DOCUMENTS ON UNITY

[At the initiative of the Communist Party of France discussions for unity were begun between it and the French Socialist Party. As the statement below explains, the Communist Party proposed a charter for unity. After repeated requests this was followed six months later by the Socialist Party submitting proposals, but without having answered the questions raised in the Communist draft. The Communist Party, insistent upon securing unity, has amplified its first proposals and submitted this new draft for unity to the Socialist Party for consideration and discussion. The text of the first proposals of the Communist Party was printed in The Communist, February, 1936 (p. 171). The amplification of this, as well as the Socialist Party's proposals are printed below, preceded by an explanatory excerpt from a popular appeal for unity by the Communist Party of France. Discussions are continuing.—The Editors.]

FROM one end of France to the other, the working people are waiting for the establishment of the unity of the working class; they are waiting for the establishment of a united party of the proletariat, to follow the establishment of the united General Confedera-

of Labor. The French Communist Party, which is proud of having, by its perseverant efforts, brought the triumph of unity of action and the People's Front in France, is at the head of the struggle for the unity of the working class. As early as 1935 the Communist Party put forward a proposal for a conference to prepare a National Unity Congress, for joint meetings of Communists and Socialists and for the transmission of the texts, submitted to the Unification Commission, to the organizations of both parties, in order that the members of both parties could be able to discuss with each other the great problem of unity which they have to solve and which they will solve. The meetings of this sort which have been held have given the best results, and have greatly advanced the cause of unity.

Convinced that democratic discussion by the memberships will advance the creation of the united party of the working class, the Communist Party desires to present to the workers the documents which may serve as a basis for discussion on unity. On May 29, 1935, the Communist Party presented a proposed Charter of Unity to the Unification Commission. After repeated requests on the part of the Communist Party, and without having answered those questions raised in this

draft, the Socialist Party, on November 21, 1935, submitted a draft for harmony and unification. Insistent on continuing its efforts for unity, the Communist Party in its turn drew up a new draft for harmony and unification, which was submitted to the Socialist Party on December 29, 1936.

* * *

PROPOSED CHARTER FOR HARMONY AND UNIFICATION SUBMITTED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON DECEMBER 29, 1936,

(*Amplifying the proposed charter of unity of the Communist Party, submitted May 29, 1935.*)

I. GOAL AND METHODS

The United Party of the Proletariat adopts as its goal the socialization of the essential means of production and exchange, that is, the transformation of capitalist society into collectivist or communist society.

The United Party of the Proletariat works towards the abolition of the dictatorship of capital and the establishment of a state assuring power to the working class in order to smash the efforts of counter-revolution and to prepare the march towards classless society.

The United Party of the Proletariat defends not only the immediate and future interests of the workers; it also defends the day-to-day interests of the toiling peasants, the small shopkeepers, the intellectuals and the office workers. It works to unite the whole of the toiling population in a single struggle against capitalism and for the advent of a society in which man

will no longer be exploited by man.

The United Party of the Proletariat, which works to fight and destroy the capitalist system, the generator of poverty and wars, cannot allow within its ranks a policy of Sacred Union, which consists in abandoning the interests of the masses of the people for the greater profit of the capitalist oligarchies. None of its members may participate in a government of Sacred Union, and members elected to office are obligated to refuse to vote for military credits destined for the preparation of imperialist wars, as well as to refuse to vote for the budget as a whole requested by a government of this nature.

II. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ACTION

The United Party of the Proletariat proclaims the indispensability of international cooperation and action of the workers. It is a member of an international organization whose goals and methods correspond to its own, and whose members everywhere wage a struggle conforming to these goals. It scrupulously applies the decisions adopted by international congresses.

The United Party of the Proletariat fights chauvinism and wages its struggles with the peoples of all countries, not only of the white race, but of all colors. It desires that the proletarians of various countries, united into the same international organization, practise the same policy of defense of the present and future interests of the working class.

The United Party of the Proletariat considers itself a part of a single party of the working class.

III. THE DEFENSE OF PEACE

The United Party of the Proletariat, an implacable defender of peace, proclaims that in case of imperialist war there is no national defense for the proletarians. In case imperialist war does break out, in spite of their efforts, they are duty-bound, in the spirit of the Stuttgart Resolution, to work to make it end in the defeat of the capitalist war-instigators and the advent of proletarian power.

The United Party of the Proletariat places the struggle for peace in the forefront of its political tasks; it wages a campaign against international fascism, the instigator of war, and proclaims that in the case of a war directed against a country in which there is a proletarian government or a democratic government, victim to a fascist aggression, the toilers must refuse to fight against their attacked brothers. They must fight against every attempt to deprive the armies of freedom of the means of self-defense, and they are duty-bound to join their efforts with the efforts of these armies.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION
AND REPUBLICAN SPAIN

The United Party of the Proletariat supports the whole of the conquests of the great October Revolution of 1917, the first victorious socialist revolution in the world. It fights against those who slander the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wherever they are, and does not admit them into its ranks.

The United Party of the Proletariat supports with all its might every movement for the liberation of the peoples.

It likewise supports the action of the peoples against fascism, and proclaims it to be the duty of the toilers to support with utmost energy the Spanish people in its defense against the attacks of international fascism, whose victory in Spain would imperil world peace.

V. GENUINE DEMOCRACY

The United Party of the Proletariat, taking into account the lessons of the history of the labor movement of the last twenty years, and of the example of Soviet power, considers the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the only means of wresting mankind from the horrors of capitalism and of preparing the movement forward to classless society. In contradistinction to the fascist dictatorships, which mean the subjugation of the masses of the people, the dictatorship of the proletariat means the establishment of genuine democracy for the toiling masses. This democracy assures to all toilers of both sexes from the age of eighteen years on (workers, peasants, office employees, intellectuals, soldiers and sailors) the right to representation and to be elected to the organs of power, which must be the direct expression of the masses of the people of the city, the countryside, the factories, the yards, the shops, the farms, the schools and universities, the units of the army and navy.

The United Party of the Proletariat will call the toiling masses to the administration of public affairs, in order to prevent any offensive return of the money powers, and for the purpose of creating the conditions for the development of a true parliamentary democ-

racy. Thus it works to prepare the progressive disappearance of the state with the goal of a communist society in which each, working according to his abilities, receives according to his needs.

VI. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The United Party of the Proletariat, in order to be fitted to fulfil its historic mission, adopts a centralized structure. Discipline is the same for all. No case can be allowed of violation of Party law, neither by parliamentarians or prominent leaders, nor by rank-and-file members.

To be a member of the Party, it is not enough to declare one's agreement with the goals and methods of the Party, one must work for the application of all decisions of the Party; dues must be paid regularly, and one must not belong to any other political organization. Decisions, taken after absolutely free discussion, are obligatory for all.

The United Party of the Proletariat is founded on democratic centralism. Its policy is determined in congresses by the whole membership. The leading organs are elected by general assemblies and congresses. They are required to give periodic reports of their activity to their constituents.

The decisions of the higher organs of the Party are obligatory for lower organs.

The central committee of the Party directs the whole of the Party, the parliamentary group, the press, and is duty-bound to require from all the fulfillment of decisions. Since ideological unity is indispensable, all Party members must defend the same policy.

The working class, to achieve and consolidate its unity, must liberate itself from the influences of the capitalist enemy.

Members of the United Party of the Proletariat are those who have resolved to fight in the vanguard of the toiling population under the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism.

The United Party of the Proletariat, desirous of organizing the defense of the toilers at their place of employment, adopts a form of organization corresponding to the needs of action of the masses of the people in the enterprises as well as locally.

The United Party of the Proletariat, respectful of the independence of the trade union movement, is duty-bound to defend trade union unity and to take the severest measures against those of its members who in their writings or actions harm this unity.

The United Party of the Proletariat carries on its activities in the sphere of legality, but if the furious onslaughts of fascist reaction should prevent normal activity, it adopts forms enabling it to continue its work of emancipation.

The United Party of the Proletariat, the inheritor of the traditions of struggle of the French people, places itself on the terrain of revolutionary Marxism, enriched by Lenin and Stalin. It proclaims openly its objective as the liberation of all mankind from capitalist slavery by the establishment of collectivist or communist society.

It inscribes on its banner of struggle for liberation the immortal watchword of the *Communist Manifesto*:

"Workers of all lands, unite!"

THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL
OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
FRANCE OF NOVEMBER 21, 1935,
FOR HARMONY AND
UNIFICATION

The United Party of the Proletariat is a class party whose aim is the conquest of power for the purpose of socialization of the means of production and exchange, that is, the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society.

The United Party of the Proletariat, while working for the winning of immediate reforms demanded by the working class, is not a party of reform, but a party of class struggle and revolution.

The United Party of the Proletariat works to fight and destroy the capitalist system. It cannot admit a policy of permanent and organic collaboration with bourgeois parties. It cannot seek participation in the government in bourgeois society. It rejects every effort to mask the constantly growing class antagonisms for the purpose of facilitating an alliance with bourgeois parties.

Even when it utilizes secondary conflicts within the possessing class for the benefit of the toilers, or when it combines its action with that of another political party for the defense of the rights and interests of the proletariat, it always remains a party of fundamental and irreconcilable opposition to the whole of the bourgeois class and to the state which is its instrument.

It rejects methods which tend to maintain the ruling class in power and thus assure the rule of the bourgeoisie;

consequently, it refuses to vote bourgeois governments military credits, credits for colonial conquest, secret funds and the budget as a whole.

The United Party of the Proletariat knows that its goal can be attained only through conquest of power by extreme struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Only in this way can the bourgeois state be destroyed and replaced by the proletarian state, through which will be expressed the dictatorship of the working class for the entire period necessary to crush the counter-revolution.

The United Party of the Proletariat accepts the Marxist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as it figures in the *Critique of the Gotha Program*: between capitalist and communist society lies a period of revolutionary transformation of one to the other. There corresponds also to this a political transition period during which the state can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, an indispensable stage towards the social revolution, towards classless society, assures to the revolutionary forces the totality of political power. It must mean a considerable extension of democracy for the people, and at the same time a limitation of the freedom of the exploiters and the oppressors of the people.

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The United Party of the Proletariat rejects all policies of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, during war-time as during peace-time. It will not take the path of National Union or Sacred

Union, in any case or under any pretext.

Its action continues to be guided by the general principles included in the Stuttgart resolution.

It will always be determined by the higher interests of the world proletariat.

* * *

The United Party of the Proletariat is based on democratic centralism.

The policy of the *United Party of the Proletariat* is determined by the Party itself deliberating in its congresses.

These congresses are formed by delegates from the entire Party membership; their discussions are free, as are those of the members themselves in the local or regional groups.

Leadership is exercised within the framework of the policy determined in this manner, by the central organs elected by the congresses.

The organs of various ranks are

elected by the corresponding assemblies.

The decisions of the central organs of the Party are binding for the regional and local organs.

The action of the parliamentary group, of all members elected to office, and of the press, must be in conformity with the policy determined by the Party. The central organ is instructed to assure this conformity.

Freedom of discussion is complete within the Party; for all forms of publication, there is only one policy: that deliberated and decided upon by the Party.

While utilizing all legal methods for its deliberated action, the Party will never let itself be halted in this action by the fetters of bourgeois legality. It must adapt itself to all the tasks which present themselves to it with the idea of raising to the maximum the revolutionary combativity of the working class.

(Translated by HERBERT ROSEN)

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