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REPORT

TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.
ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

BY

EARL BROWDER

GENERAL SECRETARY



SPECIAL EDITION FOR THE DELEGATES
TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

*Fractions & work in
mass organizations*

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

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Introduction

THE American people, and especially the workers and farmers, are uneasy and alarmed by the state of our country and of the world. Economic crisis is again devastating the land, before recovery from the last crisis. The mandate of the 1936 elections, for a program of democracy and peace, has been obstructed and sabotaged in a Congress overwhelmingly elected on that program. The clouds of war, already raining barbaric destruction upon the population of Spain and China, grow blacker over the whole world. Ominous signs of fascism, blood-brother to Hitler and Mussolini, show themselves within our own borders. Foreign fascism intrudes itself into the countries of Latin-America. Reaction, defying the will of the majority of the peoples, seems to sweep forward from position to position, threatening to overwhelm the world.

There is ample cause for uneasiness and alarm. Reactionary forces, moving toward fascism, within our own land, are not accepting their defeat in the last elections. They do not admit the right of the majority of 27,000,000 Americans who voted them down in 1936, to direct the destinies of America. Using their enormous powers as the owners of American economy, they have proceeded to defeat the measures proposed by President Roosevelt, to sabotage those already enacted, to split away the Right-wing section of his party and unite it in a reactionary coalition with the Republicans, to combat and divide the rising labor movement, to cut wages and reduce living standards, and by all means to break up the growing unity of the

masses of the people in their search for jobs, security, democracy and peace.

In world affairs, the reactionaries of our own land have succeeded in preventing the great potential power of America from being thrown into the balance on the side of democracy and peace. They carry through, in practice, the opposite of that policy enunciated by President Roosevelt in Chicago last October, of concerted action to quarantine the warmaking powers. They are carrying America in the wake of the Tory Chamberlain government of Britain, which is moving into the camp of the warmakers and betraying democracy into their hands. They are bringing the horrors of a new world slaughter, already begun in the invasions of Spain and China, each day closer to the shores of America.

Truly our country, together with the rest of the world, is threatened with chaos and disaster, with the destruction of the best heritage of our past, with the destruction of civilization itself.

The reactionaries, the fascists, the warmakers, have tremendous resources on their side. They have control of the great trustified industries, the heart of the national economy, in each of the capitalist nations. They are the economic royalists, the "sixty families." They control the bloody dictatorships of Germany, Italy and Japan, which regiment whole peoples into the military machine. They work internationally, in concert, despite their sharp struggle among themselves, on a worldwide plan, to gobble up and assimilate the world, piecemeal, bite by bite, leading toward world anarchy. They operate on the age-old principle of oppressors—"divide and conquer."

Democracy and progress, the camp of the plain people, the toiling masses, have the advantage of numbers—the overwhelming majority of the people. To it belongs the future. This majority spells power, but only to the degree that it is united and is aware of its enemies and how to defeat them. Within our own country, it has achieved an elementary but unorganized

unity, by rallying to oppose the reactionary offensive around the slogans and personality of President Roosevelt; it has strengthened this unity by the rise of new and powerful labor unions, and by the beginnings of independent political organization. In France, through the *Front Populaire*, it held at bay the threat of fascism's bid for power, and built a mighty movement of the people. In Spain, it united the masses for the armed defense of the Republic, and held back the invading hordes of Hitler and Mussolini. In China, it forged the national salvation front, which is bringing the Japanese armies to a halt after untold sacrifices. In America, as everywhere, the weakness of the camp of democracy and progress is division and disunity—its strength is measured entirely by the degree of unity which it can achieve.

The road to victory over fascism and war is the road of unity—unity of the working class, unity of the democratic masses of the people, unity of the nation against its exploiters and oppressors.

That is why the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States takes place under the slogan of the unity of all democratic forces—the building of the democratic front—in the fight for jobs, security, democracy and peace.

I. The Offensive of Reaction and the Building of the Democratic Front

AT OUR Ninth National Convention, two years ago, we sounded the alarm against the danger of the reactionary forces, moving toward fascism, which were attempting to seize control of our country. We raised the central slogan, "Progress

against reaction, democracy against fascism." We identified the main enemy, gathered around the banner of the Republican Party; we warned the masses, who rallied to President Roosevelt, that the standard of his party, the Democratic Party, sheltered many sinister forces which stood close to the Liberty League economic royalists who manipulate the Republican Party, which were equally enemies of democracy and the people. We declared the necessity of a new political alignment to meet the issues of the American and world crisis—an alignment of the people against the economic royalists. We called for the fullest possible use of the 1936 elections to defeat the reactionaries and build the united front of the people for democracy and peace.

Two years full of rich experience have passed since then. The people have learned through advances and setbacks, through victories and defeats. From these experiences we emerge, strengthened by a deeper understanding of our tasks, by broader organization of our forces, and occupying stronger positions from which to advance. Our difficulties have increased, but so have our capacities to overcome them. Let us review briefly the main items of our political ledger of the past two years, on both sides, advances and setbacks, victories and defeats.

In 1936 the people won a brilliant victory over the reactionary camp, in the overwhelming electoral successes of Roosevelt and the New Deal—but the reactionary camp had smuggled into Congress, under cover of formal adherence to Roosevelt, a sufficient minority which, united with the Republicans, was able to sabotage and defeat the main program for which the people voted in the elections.

In 1936 and since, the workers have broken through the capitalist strongholds of the "open shop," the basic and trustified industries, have established a strong industrial union movement, have more than doubled the numerical strength of the trade unions, and begun to build independent political organizations—but the reactionary forces have been able to split the

labor movement into two competing centers engaged in fratricidal struggle.

The workers, farmers, and middle classes were able to establish new measures of protection of their incomes and living standards, and thus ward off to some extent the miseries of a new economic collapse—but the economic royalists still retained such powers, and the Roosevelt administration proceeded with such hesitations, that a “sit-down strike of capital,” with the slogan of “lack of confidence” in democracy, was able to plunge our country into a new economic crisis of unprecedented severity and swiftness of development.

The camp of democracy advanced its positions, through its assault against the stronghold of reaction in the Supreme Court, forcing some liberalization of its personnel and policies; through its fight for the anti-lynching bill; through its exposure and fight against local reactionary machines like that of Kelley-Nash in Chicago, responsible for the Memorial Day massacre, and of the infamous Hague in Jersey City—but the camp of reaction was able to sidetrack the Supreme Court reform, kill the Anti-Lynching Bill by filibuster of a minority, and postpone the break-up of the worst local reactionary powers or substitute for them others equally reactionary.

The progressive movement has been able brilliantly to penetrate into the territory of the old “Solid South,” break up its solidly reactionary character, arouse the mass democratic movement, and already show the promise of a “New South”—but the reactionary camp still controls most of the main positions in the South, which they are trying to unite with the Northern reaction of the Republican Party.

Finally, the camp of progress and democracy has awakened to the realities of the world about us, emerged from its dreams of “isolation” in a world threatened with fascism and war, and found expression for its awakened conscience in Roosevelt’s call to “quarantine the warmakers”—but the everyday practical policy in Washington continues along the reactionary line,

giving aid and comfort to the bandit governments in their aggressions, and to Chamberlain's policy of surrender to and complicity with them.

We can sum up the main results of the past two years as follows: The camp of the people, of progress and democracy, has won some important battles and positions, has become conscious of its own existence, of its enemies, of its own potential forces, and of the main direction of the program which alone can fulfill its tasks and bring victory to the people; it has begun the first steps in the organization of its forces. The camp of reaction, of the economic royalists, has suffered some serious defeats; it is feverishly calling its reserves into action, uniting all its many armies under a single command, and preparing a desperate general attack, all along the line, against the living standards and democratic rights of the people. It follows a strategic line for division of the democratic camp and the defeat of its separate sections through concentration of the united forces of reaction, point by point, against a divided democracy.

THE REACTIONARY STRATEGY—"DIVIDE AND CONQUER"

The reactionaries have learned that when they go to the people under their own program, openly, when they show their true face, the great mass of the people line up against them solidly. The fate of the "Liberty League," with its "billion dollar dinner" staged for Al Smith early in 1936, taught them a lesson; for the "Liberty League" became overnight the symbol of the blackest reaction, the flag of the enemies of the people, openly recognized as such by everyone. The fate of Landon and the Republican Party in the 1936 elections drove home the lesson. Clear issues and a clear line-up today guarantee a solid front of the people against reaction. The reactionaries, therefore, have one main tactic and strategy today—confuse the issues at all costs, resort to demagoguery, break the unity of the democratic front, divide the people in order to conquer them.

This was also the basic strategy of the "Liberty League,"

but today it is being executed much more cleverly. It is the strategy of Hitler. "Liberty" is to be identified with reaction; everything progressive and democratic is labeled "Red," "Communist" and "Orders from Moscow." But where in 1936 this was applied openly before the world by the du Ponts, Hearst, Al Smith, and Landon, today they put into the forefront the Wheelers, the old wheel-horses of the Democartic Party machine, and the weak-kneed or weak-minded "progressives" who can be maneuvered into joining hands with th reactionary camp by all sorts of tricks and demagogy—or worse. They play upon the provincialism and ambitions of the LaFollettes, thereby hoping even to turn the aspirations of the masses for a party of their own into reactionary channels. They carry on a big publicity campaign to boom Garner as the "people's friend," and counter him to President Roosevelt. They conduct a campaign of hatred against the President unprecedented since the time of Lincoln, and direct it toward producing a modern edition of John Wilkes Booth—a campaign that has already produced candidates in the lunatic fringe of reaction and in its underworld, some of whom are already under arrest, and which found its cowardly echo in the widely syndicated column of the eminently respectable Mark Sullivan. They precipitate and intensify the economic crisis, and then try to blame it on the labor movement and the New Deal. They incite fratricidal strife in the labor movement, and try to make permanent the split begun by the Hutchesons, Whartons and Greens of the A. F. of L. Executive Council. They incite the farmers against the workers, and the workers against the farmers, and the middle classes against both, playing upon all small differences and misunderstandings. They make organized use of the Trotskyite and Lovestoneite grouplets, recognizing at once their reactionary character as specialists in intrigue, disruption and provocation. They even manipulate the legitimate grievances of the people, especially the unemployed and farmers, against the New Deal administration, which largely arise from administration conces-

sions to the reactionaries, and arouse rebellious moods and movements, which they then use to try to smash the program of concessions to the people. They seek to create an atmosphere of civil conflict, of violence, verging on civil war, and disrupt orderly processes in all social relations, especially labor struggles and issues of civil rights—outstanding examples being the steel strike massacres and the Hague fascism of New Jersey. Behind all the organized deception and disruption among the people, to confuse them and break their solid front, looms the new political coalition of all reactionary forces, the main body of which is the reactionary core of the Republican Party, to which is being attached the corrupt local machines of the Democratic Party (the prototype of which is Tammany Hall), and the bourbon democracy of the old South.

At the heart of this political offensive of the reactionary camp is the concerted move of monopoly capital to break through wage and working standards, to use the economic crisis to smash the rising trade union movement, to maintain the level of monopoly profits at the cost of driving down the living standards of the masses of the people, making a mockery of the "American standard of living." This is the supreme goal of the reactionary camp, it is for this they grasp so desperately at governmental power, it is for this they are ready to scrap American democracy, it is for this they strive with all their power to head off and break up the gathering democratic front of the people. It is this chief goal of all their efforts that they try to hide at all costs, for their only hope of success is to divide and confuse the masses. They can conquer only if they break up the unity of the democratic front.

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT—HOW IT CAN BE BUILT—
HOW IT CAN WIN

The attacks of monopoly capital against the living standards of the masses have forced the people to organize more and more for self-protection, and to hammer out new measures to

that end. Thus the forces of democracy are more and more organizing themselves, and tending to unite in a common front. For several years we have witnessed how this struggle has cut through all the old political alignments of the masses, has shattered the old political party structure which governed America since the Civil War, and now recasts American political life into the mold of two quite new political camps. We are now approaching the climax of this national political realignment.

Of central importance is the deepening struggle of progressives against reactionaries within the Democratic Party. Already we foresaw this, and adjusted our policy to facilitate it, at our Ninth Convention two years ago. After the election, we expressed our considered judgment that "class groupings came forward as the decisive factor in the 1936 elections, sweeping over and submerging the old regional traditions and interests" . . . "this change is not accidental or temporary, but a permanent new direction of American political life." We warned that "the defeated reactionaries hope to recoup their fortunes through the Democratic Right wing, through influencing Roosevelt, through splitting the Democratic Party, and through the Supreme Court." Events have fully borne out our judgment. The class alignment that emerged in the 1936 elections forced the progressives to carry the fight into new fields—the fight to curb the Supreme Court, and to curb the power of the monopolies by taxation and regulatory measures—and crystallized within the formal limits of the Democratic Party what is really two parties, with the Right wing in coalition with the Republicans. The progressive wing won a historic victory when it abrogated the traditional two-thirds rule for Presidential nominations in the Democratic convention whereby the old South had always held a veto over the North and West, a rule which was the basis of power of Southern bourbonism. The South itself, since 1936, has been transformed, with the old guard of bourbonism on the defensive and already ousted in many places. Today, with the issues placed much sharper, the New Deal wing

of the Democratic Party holds a stronger position than two years ago. The Right wing already negotiates its formal coalition with the Republicans into a new party before 1940, while Republican spokesmen already agree that the new reactionary party shall also adopt a new name.

The New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, created under the leadership of President Roosevelt, is supported by a great following, largely unorganized, of workers, farmers, and city middle classes. It is with but few exceptions under the leadership and control of a party apparatus composed of professional politicians drawn from the middle classes and representing primarily middle class interests and aspirations. It responds to the interests and desires of the workers and farmers to the extent that, first, it finds this necessary to draw to it the support of the unorganized masses, and, second, that the workers and farmers are independently organized, vocal, and clear in their demands. With all its weaknesses and inadequacies, its hesitations and confusions, this New Deal wing under the Roosevelt leadership is an essential part of the developing democratic front against monopoly capital. Its role is not played out by the splitting away of the Right-wing Democrats to fuse with the Republicans. On the contrary, only with this split does the New Deal Democracy enter into its full development. It furnishes today the broadest framework, albeit a precarious and incomplete one, for the gathering of the full forces of the democratic front of the majority of the people in the 1938 elections.

Nor is the Republican Party one reactionary mass, as might be concluded if one judged only by its representation in Congress. In numerous localities its lesser leaders, who are closer to the masses, are growing restless under their reactionary national big-wigs, and their revolt is further stimulated by their hunger for office and its perquisites, for which they require mass support increasingly difficult to obtain except by a progressive platform. Outstanding example of this is New York City where a section of the Republicans and the Communists were united

with the American Labor Party behind the re-election of LaGuardia.

These broadest and largely unorganized progressive masses are stimulated, and drawn into closer collaboration, by the growing *independent political organizations* of the masses—of workers, farmers, middle classes, Negroes, etc.—whereby the people are entering the political arena as a conscious organized force. These independent organizations are, chiefly, on a national scale. *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, based upon and reflecting the growth of the trade unions, both the A. F. of L. (witness Green's efforts recently to draw them out of it) and of the C.I.O., the great group of industrial unions that have arisen largely since our Ninth Convention; on a state scale, the *American Labor Party* of New York, the *Farmer-Labor Party* of Minnesota, the *Progressive Party* of Wisconsin, the *Commonwealth Federations* of Washington and Oregon, etc.; and representative special groups on a national scale, the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and similar organizations. These independent political organizations of the people are the most dynamic, the most advanced, and the most solid and reliable sectors of the growing democratic front.

The building and strengthening of the democratic front, to defeat the forces of reaction, fascism, and war, require the simultaneous building of the independent political organizations of the workers, and the uniting with them of the farmers and middle classes, as the means to preserve the unity of the majority which moved against monopoly capital and reaction in the 1936 elections, and the strengthening of that majority—in order to guarantee at all costs the defeat of the reactionary forces.

That, in brief, is the answer to the question of how the democratic front can be built, and how it can win. That is the surest and quickest road to the building of the new party of the people for which all true progressives and democrats aspire, work, and fight.

A different answer to all these complicated and difficult problems was recently offered, by the action of Phil LaFollette, Governor of Wisconsin, in announcing the organization of a new party, ready made, called "National Progressives of America." Our Central Committee has already published a detailed analysis and judgment on this political adventure, which I recommend to your careful study (you are entitled to know that this was written by Comrade Bittelman, on the basis of a general discussion of our Political Bureau). It is not necessary for me to repeat here the detailed examination which we gave in that important document. Allow me to make, however, a few additional observations and a summing-up of this question.

Phil LaFollette is exploiting, as his main capital, the tradition of his great father, and the successful Progressive Party in power in Wisconsin. But he has made two abrupt departures from both. He repudiated the platform of the Wisconsin Party, and offered in its stead an ambiguous thing, a thing of double-meaning, intended to be understood one way by the mass of voters and the opposite way by the exploiting classes, their enemies—something which must have caused his father, plain-spoken "Fighting Bob," to turn over in his grave. And he repudiated the method, the strategy and tactics, whereby the Wisconsin Party was organized. This method was to emerge from the old parties into independent existence, at such a moment, and upon such issues, as would ensure *the unity of the progressive majority behind it* from the moment of its birth, thus avoiding the danger of splitting the progressives and handing a cheap victory to the reactionaries. Both these innovations, an ambiguous platform that departs from the experience of the living progressive and democratic organizations and movement of the masses, and a method that disturbs the unity of the democratic front, are a threat against and a danger to the cause of the people.

Phil LaFollette prefaced the announcement of his ready-made party by a series of radio speeches criticizing the record of President Roosevelt's administration. Certainly there is more than enough to criticize in that record, and it would come with poor grace from the Communists, who have been and continue to be Roosevelt's most consistent and penetrating critics, to make any objection in general to the most searching criticism. But the question is, not criticism in general, but what kind of criticism, in what direction must there be criticism? The progressive masses are criticizing the President for his *delay* in expanding relief and public works—LaFollette rejected the whole idea of relief and public works, to the applause of the *Journal of Commerce*, Hearst, Walter Lippmann, the New York *Herald Tribune*, and a whole chorus from the reactionary camp. The progressive masses are criticizing the President for the *inadequacy* of his proposals to meet the most crying needs of the fourteen millions of unemployed—LaFollette, in common with Hoover, would abolish even these inadequate measures. Thus the effect of LaFollette's kind of criticism, if it has any effect upon Congress and the administration at all, is not to remedy the weaknesses and shortcomings of Roosevelt's administration, but to intensify them, and to bring confusion into the democratic front.

LaFollette's new adventure into national politics has been received with uneasiness and suspicion by the great majority of labor, democratic, and progressive spokesmen; it was received with an enthusiasm, bordering upon the lyrical, by the spokesmen of the reactionary camp. This is the fundamental judgment of our broad democracy upon the "National Progressives." The uneasiness and suspicion of the labor and progressive camp were not the creation of the Communists. So confident were we of the Communist Party of the inevitability of this judgment, that we deliberately withheld the publication of our opinions for a few days after the dramatic pronouncements in Madison, in order that this mass opinion should already be

definitely registered before we spoke, and that our detailed analysis should already have in its support the judgment of the broad democratic front.

Some of LaFollette's friends have already complained that the adverse opinions against his adventure, so general among progressives, are motivated by jealousy of his initiative and the prominence gained by it in the newspapers. Such a complaint is really silly! Who could be jealous of any initiative which really advanced our common cause of unity of the people against the monopolists and their agents? Who would hesitate for a moment to enthusiastically support any effort which would further solidify the broadest ranks, or any section of the democratic front, or deepen our common understanding of our tasks? No one, no serious leader, and certainly no mass organization! And least of all the Communists, whose position as a small minority party, with no immediate prospects of having majority support of its special and particular program of socialist reorganization of America, makes it necessary for us to look forward to a considerable period in which we accept the discipline of a great non-Communist democratic front, the success of which is our only guarantee against fascist reaction, war and catastrophe. No, it is not jealousy against LaFollette's personality which has brought condemnation against his adventure, but jealousy for the unity of the democratic front. That kind of jealousy, vigilantly maintained, is a very necessary thing. We are happy to see it so widespread and articulate. It is one of the auguries of victory for democracy in America.

Of course, our former friend, Mr. Norman Thomas, does not agree with this general verdict of America's progressives. He sees something very "hopeful" in the LaFollette adventure, and says it is not only "left" of Roosevelt, but even of the Communist Party. But then Norman Thomas is so confused in his directions that he thought even Landon was "left" of Roosevelt. He has forgotten completely that elementary lesson of the grammar-school children, that direction is relative, not

absolute; that if you go far enough west you arrive in the Far East; and that if in politics you follow an "extreme left" line you will soon find yourself in the camp of the "extreme right." Norman Thomas has for a long time, in this sense, been far too "left" for the Communist Party, and we found it impossible to reach a common ground with him on even the simplest and most immediate problems.

The Progressive Party of Wisconsin is one of the important and advanced sectors of the national democratic front. It will maintain that position, however, only if it sticks to its really progressive platform, very much akin to the Roosevelt New Deal, and to its farmer-labor base, and not abandon them as Phil LaFollette's new adventure would call for. Anyone who knows the Wisconsin movement can predict that it will hold tight to its healthy foundations, and further strengthen them, that it will not go chasing after a semi-fascist will-o'-the-wisp.

We would give the same advice to any other state movement, whose leaders might suddenly be inspired by a messianic delusion. If the American Labor Party of New York should, through one of its leaders, suddenly proclaim a "national labor party," with a platform drawn from his vest-pocket repudiating everything that had gone before, we would join in rebuking him even more sharply than we do LaFollette—because we expect more from the Labor Party leaders. When, in 1936, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota was thinking of a national party, it called a national conference to discuss the question, and when it found its necessary allies were not ripe for the move, quite properly refrained from any Quixotic and damaging lone-wolf efforts—an example which LaFollette could well have followed, and which we of the Communist Party fully approved at the time.

The building of the democratic front of the majority of the people cannot proceed according to a blue-print, no matter who draws it. It must find room to accommodate the widest variety of initiative and organization, and make all of them contribute

to the common goal. The Democratic New Deal wing, the progressive Republicans, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, the Commonwealth Federation of Washington, the American Labor Party, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. trade unions, the American League for Peace and Democracy, the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress, fraternal organizations, farmers' organizations, the Communist Party—all, all, have something vital to contribute to the building of the democratic front, and all must in some way be brought into effective collaboration. Yes, even the Socialist Party, in spite of its catastrophic collapse, if it can cure itself of the sickness of Trotskyism, can give something to the great crusade to save America for democracy and peace. But the condition of all contributions is this: we must follow the guiding principles of democracy and more democracy in our common efforts, and of unity, ever more unity, in the fight for democracy and peace.

It is because Phil LaFollette, with his "National Progressives," departed from these basic principles, that he found it possible to "pull a Lemke" on the American people; that he won the applause of the camp of reaction; that he has carried his brother Bob with him into a political blind alley; and that the LaFollette contribution to the democratic front, which might have been great, has been compromised. In the progressive movement of America it is not possible to play with fascist ideas, symbols, and methods. They are completely alien to American traditions, to American thought, and to American trends and moods today.

The LaFollette adventure is unfortunate, and in some ways tragic. Let us, however, salvage from it as much incidental gain as possible, by making it an important chapter in the political education of the American people.

UNDERSTANDING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The economic crisis in which America is again engulfed has

become, necessarily, the crux of all political problems. A correct understanding of its causes, and of its effects, is a precondition to any effective program for the people; a false understanding and estimate of these questions can be found at the bottom of Phil LaFollette's mistakes, as also in the gyrations of Norman Thomas.

When the economic crisis returned upon us in the summer of 1937, we of the Communist Party issued the slogan: "Break the sit-down strike of capital." That slogan was profoundly correct, not merely in the narrow sense that monopoly capital has deliberately precipitated the crisis, and intensified it beyond all precedent, but in the more fundamental sense that the capitalist class, and in the first place monopoly capital, is responsible for this crisis and every crisis of the capitalist system, and especially for their catastrophic effects upon the population. Every economic crisis is the result of the policies of the capitalist class, for which the capitalists must be held responsible. Especially is this true of the era of monopoly capital. Today this has resulted in the emergence of the "sit-down strike of big capital." And the problem of emerging from the present crisis is, for the people, for the toilers, in the first place a problem of breaking the "sit-down strike."

Pseudo-Marxists like Norman Thomas, and professional disrupters like Lovestone and the Trotskyites, join hands with the open apologists of monopoly capital like Walter Lippmann in repudiating all responsibility of the capitalists for the economic crisis. Phil LaFollette also, significantly enough, saw fit to clear the capitalists of all responsibility for the crisis in his Madison speech. And all who take this position, whether they call for return to the "normalcy" of unrestrained exploitation as the way out, like Lippmann; or whether, like LaFollette, they cover the nakedness of this proposal by mysterious hints of some "new" program to be revealed at a later date; or whether, like Thomas, they say nothing will help but the immediate establishment of socialism—one and all proclaim the uselessness

or harmfulness of all measures to protect the people from the results of the crisis and all attempts to force monopoly capital to pay the bills of the crisis. Their common denominator is a rejection of the progressive and democratic struggle of the people to escape the miseries of the crisis and to make the capitalists pay.

What causes mills and factories to shut down? It is because they have produced more than they can sell—that there is “overproduction.” Of course, there is not too much wealth produced above what the people need and could consume; on the contrary, the standard of living, never above subsistence level for the masses, has gone down in the last ten years, not up. But there is overproduction in terms of what the market will absorb, in terms of what buyers can or will pay for.

And who are the buyers who make up the market? They can conveniently be dealt with as two main groups; first the mass of the people, who buy articles of consumption, the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter, and a margin of the amenities of modern civilized life; second, the capitalists who buy commodities destined for further production, machinery, building materials, and raw materials for all commodities.

What governmental and social policies, directed to stimulating both major divisions of the national economy, will seriously revive economic life? The first division, commodities of consumption, has declined, but relatively much less than the whole economy; and it is clear, this group could not decline much more without wholesale starvation, because the mass of the people already lived close to the minimum line. It is the second division, commodities of production, capital commodities, which declined catastrophically, and which is dragging down with it the commodities of consumption. Here, in the field of purchase of capital goods, the field of capital investment, is one of the important keys to economic recovery.

But new capital investments must themselves be designed for further production, either of articles of consumption or

further means of production. We already have production machinery far beyond the capacity of the market to keep busy. Before more means of production can be economically justified, we must first put back to work those means of production already existing and standing idle; what is the sense of building new factories when those we have are standing idle? The revival of production is clearly dependent upon a great increase of consumption.

Is the number of consumers declining? Or is their appetite for commodities decreasing? Of course, neither is true. Our population steadily increases, and their appetite for goods mounts steadily, their desires increase. But their capacity to demand those goods in the market is limited by their income, and their income has been going down. The only way to expand this market is to increase the income of the mass of the consuming population, both absolutely and in relation to the total production of the economy as a whole.

But precisely that is what monopoly capital has *deliberately prevented*, and thereby deliberately intensified the conditions for the new crisis. Instead of allowing an increase of income for the toiling masses of the population, they have driven down this income both absolutely and relatively. At the same time, the income of capital has been increased both absolutely and relatively. A few figures, taken from official statistics, will illustrate this sufficiently:

The index of factory payrolls for 1929 was 106.4 but in 1937, after all the recovery under the New Deal, it was still only 93.2, or a decline of 12 per cent. But the index of corporate dividends, taking 1929 as 100, had increased to 111.1, or almost the same percentage increase as factory payrolls showed a decline. If that 12 per cent had gone to payrolls, instead of to dividends, it would all have been spent and put more factories back to work, while the capitalists would still have been as well off as at the peak of prosperity; but because it went to dividends, and the capitalists wanted higher profits before they

would reinvest, that 12 per cent was withdrawn from circulation, and the factories rendered idle. The workers were getting less than ever, the capitalists more than ever, both absolutely and in relation to total national income. Precisely that was what created the immediate preconditions in the consumption industries for the renewed economic crisis.

And precisely that was the way *the capitalists had planned it*, that was their program, they openly declared that this was the condition they demanded before they would allow the industries to operate at all, that wages should go down and dividends should go up. The figures prove that they got what they wanted—and that as a consequence we all got the economic crisis.

At the same time, while labor income declined 12 per cent, the productivity of that labor had increased more than 15 per cent. Thus labor had contributed to the capitalist plan for prosperity, not 12 per cent but 27 per cent more than in 1929 prosperity. Still this was not enough for the capitalists. But the more labor contributes to the capitalist plan, the worse is the crisis that ensues.

Monopoly capital's spokesmen, the big newspapers, the National Association of Manufacturers, Hoover, Glass, Vandenburg, and others, try to hide these simple and outstanding facts, and draw a picture exactly the opposite. They say that in 1937 capital stopped working, not because it wanted to go on strike, but because higher wages forced upon them by the C.I.O. and higher taxes by the Federal Government had made it impossible to *continue production at a profit*. They say that what is necessary is lower wages, (and therefore the smashing of the C.I.O. unions), and lower taxes (therefore more taxes upon the masses of the people), before capital can go to work again. They cry out that high wages and high taxes have so impoverished the big capitalists that the poor fellows are really helpless unless they are relieved of these burdens. They say if the mass of the population receives less, and the capitalists receive more, that will produce the necessary conditions for prosperity

to come back and the industries to run full blast again. But they lie when they say it, and today most people know they are lying. The crisis arises not because the capitalists didn't get enough of the national income, but because they got too much, and it is the accumulation of their unearned riches, stacked high throughout the country unused, that is condemning 130 million people to starvation in a land of plenty.

If the big industrialists, bankers, and monopoly capitalists generally, have their way, this condition will be intensified, not relieved. The only possible way to improve the situation is to go the opposite way to that the capitalists want, to reduce the capitalist share in the national income and divert more of it to the masses of the people.

So long as we remain within the limits of capitalism, it will remain true, however, that increasing the share of the masses in the national income will not suffice alone to restore production, which requires more direct stimulation to capital investment of the accumulating profits, the share of monopoly capital, which cannot otherwise be put back into circulation again. In past, or "normal," crises, the basis for recovery was reached largely through deflation of watered capital, through bankruptcies, and through extension of the field of monopoly control by squeezing out large numbers of lesser capitalists and middlemen. Today these factors can operate but little; watered capital is "fixed" so that it cannot be squeezed out without catastrophe for the whole credit structure, so that the Government itself engages in maintaining it with subsidies; monopoly already controls so much of the national economy, that the small bankruptcies have but small effect on the whole structure. In 1933, the first New Deal based itself entirely upon a new method of capital deflation, namely, devaluation of the dollar, but the effects of that measure have long worn off, and it can be repeated only at the serious risk of uncontrollable inflation. Foreign investments are precluded by international chaos. There are only two ways, therefore, in which capital investment can

be greatly stimulated today; by the government itself undertaking great building projects of public works, housing, etc., and, possibly, by government engaging in large-scale loans to China, for example, which should be expended in the U. S. for our industrial products. But in all cases, private individual investment is incapable of restoring activity to the basic industries, the production of the means of production. That requires large-scale governmental intervention.

So much for the basic problem involved in the first approach to finding a democratic program to meet the crisis. The simplest examination reveals that it is the capitalist class, and first of all the monopoly capitalists who dominate all economic life, who are directly responsible for the crisis and for all its ill effects upon the population. *They planned it that way.* It was the direct and inevitable result of their publicly-declared program.

The capitalists do have a plan, but not a planned economy. Their planning is for cutting one another's throats, for anarchy in production, for anarchy in the national economy, and for exploitation of the people. Their plans are incapable of restoring economic activity in any fundamental sense, but are capable of producing enormous damage.

It is true in a much more direct and immediate way, however, that capital has gone on a sit-down strike. There is a mounting volume of evidence, from the mouths of capitalists themselves as well as from economic statistics, that the crisis would not have broken out in 1937, and could never have gone so deep in such a short time, except for the deliberate and planned action of decisive sections of monopoly capital, *action which was motivated by political and not by purely economic considerations.* This is summed up in the slogan of monopoly capital that what is needed above all is a "return of confidence." They have declared their lack of confidence in the Roosevelt Administration, which rejects their immediate and direct domination in all details of policy. They have declared that they will not have confidence in anything but a national set-up directly and entirely under

their domination, and that they will not return to work until they get what they demand. This slogan of "lack of confidence" in Roosevelt (and above all in the rising mass movement for democracy in the country) is a *political slogan*. Its economic consequence in the sit-down strike of capital is a *political strike*. No other conclusion can be drawn by anyone who is willing to face the facts, and who is not motivated by a desire to conceal the facts in the interests of monopoly capital.

FACING THE CRISIS—IN 1929 AND IN 1938.

All the problems of acute crisis face the workers, farmers, and city middle classes of the United States. Although the economic index has not reached the low point of early 1933, unemployment already approaches the peak figures, due to the rapid increase in productivity of labor especially in the last few years.

Comparing the situation in the worst years of the last crisis, from 1929 to 1932, with that of the new crisis of 1937-38, it is necessary to note some important changes in the relation of forces, changes which give the possibility for quite a different and more favorable outcome of the present situation.

In the period 1929-32, the trade unions were stagnant and on the retreat, while the basic and mass-production industries were largely unorganized. In 1938 the trade unions have more than doubled their membership, have broken through the anti-union barricades of monopoly capital, and are filled with fighting spirit and a consciousness of power.

In 1929, the labor movement was unconscious of the need and possibility of organizing the unemployed and caring for their needs. In 1938, the unemployed have an important organization and movement of their own, the Workers' Alliance, working with the most important trade unions which are keenly alive to the needs of the unemployed and are learning how to care for them.

In 1929-32, the working class was dominated by a leadership that looked upon the catastrophic collapse of living standards as

unavoidable in the conditions of the crisis; in 1938 the working class is conscious of the power to halt the collapse of their living standards, and are determined to do so.

In 1929-32, the Federal Government and most State and local governments were unconditionally in the hands of monopoly capital and executed its policy of placing the crisis burdens completely upon the shoulders of the toiling masses. In 1938, the Federal Government and an increasing number of State and local governments are the scene of struggle against the complete domination of monopoly capital, have assumed the obligation to guarantee that no one shall starve, have established the principle of unemployment and old-age insurance, have guaranteed the right of the workers to organize in trade unions, and have established the principle of governmental aid to the youth for work and education.

In 1929-32 the toiling masses were almost completely without political representation or independent political organization. In 1938, the toiling masses in their large majority have broken with the political leadership of monopoly capital, have brought about a basic political realignment, with monopoly capital and its agents and dupes on one side, with the masses of the people on the other, and are rapidly building their independent organizations, and moving toward a united democratic front.

In 1929-32, the *dominant political trend of the country* was represented in the figure of Herbert Hoover. In 1938, the dominant trend is symbolized by the figure of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

All these changes represent a shift in the relation of forces in favor of the workers, farmers, and city middle classes against their exploiters.

On the other hand, must be registered the undoubted fact that monopoly capital has strengthened its hold on the economy of the country, extended its field by squeezing out most of the remaining small people, increased its share of the national income, and is moving rapidly toward a concentration of all its political forces with the determination to regain complete and

direct governmental power at all costs, as under Hoover, even to the destruction of our traditional democratic system. Meanwhile, the democratic front has not been fully united and stabilized, its unity is threatened from many points, and the independent political organization of the workers and their allies is only in its first stages.

All of which sums up to a higher stage of struggle, in which the battle lines will be more far-flung, and their issues more decisive for the whole future of our country and of the world. The toiling masses have won important positions and advanced their lines, they hold important levers of power in their hands. But the enemy is calling up all reserves, is more united, and filled with a desperate determination to break up and disperse the democratic camp before it can realize and use its tremendous potential power.

The very fact that the democratic mass movement of the people has advanced, at the cost of monopoly capital, renders more acute the danger of the reactionary camp, with its enormous reserve forces, moving to fascism.

The danger of fascism, that is advancing outside the borders of the United States, is arising with extreme acuteness within our country.

That is why the resolutions before this Convention place in the very center for your consideration the following:

“The chief task before the working class, and therefore, above all, before the Communists, is to defeat the offensive of finance capital and block the road to fascism in the conditions of the developing economic crisis. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to unify and consolidate all labor and progressive forces into one single democratic front. This demands the strengthening of all economic and political organizations of labor; the building of the C.I.O., the organization of joint action between the unions of the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods, especially in the forthcoming elections, leading toward the achievement of full trade union unity, labor’s initiative in gather-

ing the farmers, the middle classes, and all progressives into the general democratic front; and to defeat all efforts to split this front by reactionary Republicans operating behind a progressive shield."

THE PROGRAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The democratic mass movement arising in the United States must not only be organized, it must also know quite definitely where it is going. It must have a program. A mass movement without a program would quickly be divided and smashed by the forces of reaction, operating with demagoguery, terror, and Red-baiting, and brought under the control of the fascist elements. The program of the democratic front is of the most vital importance.

Such a program that the democratic front requires cannot be merely the random gathering together of the demands of particular groups, but must be hammered out into a consistent set of measures which are adjusted to one another, and meet the national situation as a whole. At the same time the program must base itself upon the most deeply-felt needs and demands of the various strata of the population, the workers, farmers, and city middle classes.

The program must be such as the majority of the people already understand and support, must be capable of rallying the majority of the people behind it *now*. That means it cannot be a fundamental program of the socialist reorganization of American society, for which as yet not even a considerable minority of the masses has been won, not to speak of the majority. The socialist reorganization of our country is not yet on the order of the day as a practical political problem for the majority of the people. What is required, therefore, is a systematic series of measures, of a progressive and democratic character, which can be formulated and put into operation within the limits of the present capitalist society.

Several points of such a program have found expression in

recent speeches of President Roosevelt, and some are formulated more or less adequately in measures adopted or before Congress, although it must be emphasized that Roosevelt's administration is far from realizing a rounded program, and even falters and fails on many points of its own pronouncements. The legislative platform adopted by the C.I.O., and favored in whole or part by most of the A. F. of L., coincides with and fits into the conception of such a rounded program as we seek. The platforms of the various independent political organizations of the broad democratic movement furnish additional material for such a unifying program for the whole democratic front.

In the resolution presented to this Convention we have endeavored to bring all the essential features of these various expressions of the democratic mass movement into a systematic skeleton program capable of rallying the majority now. We have gathered the chief measures that would constitute such a program under four main heads, which I want to discuss briefly.

Under the first head are measures to protect and improve wages, hours, and working conditions of the industrial workers and all wage-earners. This is the necessary starting point for any consistent progressive and democratic program. It is already established, in its essential features, as national policy with the support of the overwhelming majority, although its realization is only begun. It requires the self-organization of the workers themselves in trade unions of their own choice, the right to which must be more effectively protected by law. The National Labor Relations Board must be protected and strengthened, and its powers more clearly defined, in order to stop its emasculation by a reactionary judiciary. The principles of the Wages and Hours Bill, now before Congress with the support of the entire labor and progressive movement, must be established in law, and the "floor under the wage level" systematically raised higher while the "ceiling over hours of labor" is systematically lowered in accordance with increasing productivity and the necessity of putting more unemployed back to work. Such measures already

have the support, in their direction and main features, of the majority of Americans.

Under the second head are measures to utilize the nation's huge accumulation of available wealth, now lying idle, for providing work or relief to the jobless, to improve and extend the social security laws, farm relief, and the promotion of social improvements such as slum clearance, protection of home owners, building of playgrounds, schools, hospitals, community centers, public works, parks, low-cost housing, public health services, etc. The size and scope of such a "public spending program" should be limited only by the number of idle hands that need to be put back to work, and the amount of idle wealth that now is choking our economic life and which must be put into circulation in order to create greater wealth for the nation. Such measures, conceived in this sense of utilizing all the idle resources of the country, must also contain a *financial program* which really goes after the idle wealth and finds it; it requires the full application of the principle of *taxation based upon ability to pay*, which means that taxation must be lifted off the consuming masses, and placed upon capital and income, especially upon idle capital and income in the higher brackets. Already such measures have the support, in their main features and direction, of the great majority of Americans.

Under the third head are measures to defend and extend the democratic rights of the people, to make them more effective, to develop democracy further, by promoting national unification and strengthening the powers of a national democratic government, and to *reclaim for democracy an economic foundation* by limiting the power of big capital in the government and economy of the country, by extending democratic control over economy. Such measures would operate through curbing the autocratic power of the Supreme Court and the judiciary generally; legislation to control the trusts and monopolies; stock exchange control; nationalization of banks, railways, and munitions; moratorium on debts of farmers and small property owners which

threaten their expropriation until other measures to relieve them are found; price regulation under democratic control; public and cooperative marketing facilities; improvement and democratization of the agricultural, farm, and soil conservation laws, and so on. Under this head also come the anti-lynching bill, abolition of poll taxes and other forms of disfranchisement, and the establishment of national electoral standards. Already such measures, in their main features and direction, have the support of the great majority of Americans.

Under the fourth head are measures whereby the United States would assume her responsibility for world leadership in organizing world peace. By utilizing our present privileged position of immunity from danger of immediate attack, by blocking the road to fascism within our country through the measures outlined under the first three heads, by throwing into the scale of world affairs the unexampled economic resources of our country, which approximately equal those of all the rest of the world combined—by such measures our country can vindicate its proud claim to leadership in world progress, can best protect its own democracy and peace, and can prevent the threatening world catastrophe. The first steps in such a positive peace program, sufficient to decisively improve the whole threatening world situation, are well expressed in the O'Connell Peace Act now before Congress. It provides, quite simply, for the implementation of the Kellogg Peace Pact, solemnly pledged by all the governments of the world, by distinguishing between those governments which observe that pact and those governments which violate it, denying to those who violate the pact all access to American economic resources while keeping American markets open to all who observe their obligations under the Pact. Such a policy was given historic expression in the famous speech of President Roosevelt in Chicago, last October 5, in which he called for the "quarantine of warmaking governments" which are endangering the peace of the whole world, although the practical policy followed in Washington

continues along the bankrupt and discredited line of isolation and a false neutrality. There is every sign that such a positive peace policy is gaining the support of a great majority of Americans; among such signs are the Gallup polls on the Japanese invasion of China and showing 75 percent support to Loyalist Spain, the broad sweep of the boycott movement against Japanese goods, the tremendous wave of mass demands for the lifting of the embargo from Loyalist Spain, the mass popularity of the Lincoln Brigade volunteers in Spain, the *Nation* poll, the statements and resolutions of the A. F. of L. leaders and the unions of the C.I.O., resolutions of the majority of church organizations, with the exception of the Catholic Church, and so on. Within the past year, there has been an enormous swing away from the old isolationist moods among the masses; there is now sharp realization among the majority of the people, that the only sure way to keep America out of war is by asserting American leadership in organizing world peace. Such a peace program is a necessary and inescapable conclusion to the general program of the democratic front.

Such a rounded-out program contains all the elements immediately necessary to meet the problems of the nation, by maintaining and improving the standards of life of the whole population, defending and extending their democratic rights, and defending and organizing world peace. There is an essential harmony between all of its parts, which do not contradict or defeat one another, but on the contrary become each more practical and fruitful when supplemented by the others. And, above all, such a program has the enormous advantage of already having the sympathy and support of the great majority of the American people.

What is still missing is the existence of broad mass organizations of all the workers, farmers, and city middle classes, comprising the progressive and democratic majority of the people, *to enunciate and fight for* such a program. The people have a right to demand and they do demand such a program. But that

is not enough. They also have the duty to fight decisively for such a program.

Under the conditions prevailing in our country, where the broadest masses are still politically unorganized, where the organized unity of the democratic mass movement around its natural and inevitable program is still to be achieved, the beginnings of the development of a real People's Front against reaction, fascism and war lie along the path of struggle for each and every point of such a program, the winning of the masses and their organizations to conscious adherence to the program as a whole, the development of the broadest collaboration and common action in face of the common enemy, and to secure that in the coming Congressional elections all progressive and democratic forces shall be united in support of a single candidate for each elective office, in order to guarantee the defeat of the candidates of reaction and monopoly capital. This elementary and fundamental unification of the democratic mass movement of the people, around such an elementary and fundamental program as we have outlined, is the task which we have called the *Building of the Democratic Front*. It is the sure road toward the next stage in which we will realize the solidly-organized People's Front for democracy and peace.

II. Organizing Victory for Progress in the 1938 Elections

ELECTIONS for Congress, the whole House of Representatives and more than one-third of the Senate, and many State administrations, occur next November. The primary elections within the major parties, already over in

a few states, continue through the next months up to the middle of September. These elections will be a major test of strength between the two main political camps in the country, of reaction moving toward fascism on the one side and of progress and democracy on the other. The two vital political camps cut across the old party lines, and therefore the struggle in the party primaries becomes equally important with the final elections. Already in 1936, the main body of the democratic mass movement had shifted to support of the Democratic Party in most places, and nationally; while the main camp of the reactionary forces formed around the Republican Party. There are still, however, some progressive groupings under the Republican flag, here and there; while, under the Democratic flag is a whole organized wing in alliance with reaction, and fighting for official control of the Democratic Party. Both these features must be kept in mind in the examination of the detailed problems of making the 1938 elections a victory for progress and democracy.

The outcome of the 1938 elections will determine the immediate direction of policy of the United States, on domestic and foreign policy, in conditions of national and world crisis. Clearly they will influence to a great degree the alignment for the Presidential election of 1940, and thereby the whole future of America and the world.

The reactionary forces, and especially their General Staff in Wall Street, are fully alive to the importance of the elections. They are calling up all their reserves, they are mobilizing every resource, to split the masses in the democratic front and, through maximum unity of the reactionary forces, to drive through to control of the national government.

If the camp of reaction is to be defeated, if victory is to be won by the people, the democratic camp must be equally united and mobilized. To secure this result is the major

historical task of the moment for the American people. It is the major task before the working class. It is therefore the central task of the Communist Party, which has no interests that contradict those of the American people, which has no interests apart from the class interests of the workers.

UNITY OF LABOR IN THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Our resolution declares: "The main objective of labor must be to secure at all costs the defeat of the candidates of reaction and fascism. For this purpose labor must strive in every way for the unification of all democratic forces behind a single progressive candidate for each office."

Considering the still primitive state of organization of the democratic camp, the struggle it is still conducting within the Democratic Party against the Right wing which seeks control, the presence of progressive groupings here and there in the Republican Party, the incompleteness of labor's own independent organizations, and so forth, this task calls for the utmost of flexibility in gathering together all forms of the democratic mass movement around such candidates as will most surely weld the majority together and most fully advance its common program.

Thus, within the democratic camp which is only in process of being brought together and organized, a decisive role will be played by the working class and its independent organizations. If the democratic front is to be built successfully, then the working class must itself display a maximum of organization, activity, and mass influence. This is the best guarantee for welding the unity of the democratic bloc of workers, farmers, and middle classes and all their various organizations.

To the degree that labor is moving forward unitedly as a powerful force, to that degree will the unity of the broadest masses of the democratic front be consolidated and sealed

against all the disruptive forces acting for the reactionary camp.

The unity of labor in the 1938 elections is absolutely necessary for the unity of the masses of the people to defeat Wall Street, the economic royalists, the reactionaries who would destroy our democracy and peace.

Unity of labor in the elections is also the most promising channel at this moment to prepare for the more fundamental unity of all trade unions into a single, united, powerful American labor movement. It is the most deeply felt need of all organized workers, A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods, and all their various political organizations.

What labor unity can achieve in the elections, and how necessary it is, was well illustrated in Congress by the course of the Wages and Hours Bill. While labor forces were squabbling among themselves about the particular form of the Bill, the reactionaries were able to scatter the support for the principles of the Bill on which all progressives were agreed. But as soon as labor united, even behind an imperfect Bill, the chances of its adoption in this session immediately became bright. The same situation will exist in hundreds of electoral districts for the Congressional elections. If labor is split, then the whole democratic camp will be demoralized, and reaction will march over us to a cheap and easy victory. If labor is united, then the whole democratic camp will gather all its forces, and victory will be on the side of the people.

That is why our resolution emphasizes :

"It is therefore the most urgent common task and duty of the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the railroad unions to make certain that labor acts unitedly in these crucial elections. In this way it will ensure the common action of the democratic camp as a whole for the defeat of reaction and fascism."

DEVELOPING THE CONGRESSIONAL PLATFORM

We have already dealt at some length with the fundamental program which is growing out of the democratic mass movement, and which needs to be knit together into a rounded whole, generally accepted by all sections of the democratic front. In examining the specific problems of the 1938 elections, it will be necessary to set all possible forces into motion to crystallize that program as much as possible in a concrete Congressional platform within each electoral district and State. It will be necessary to express that platform in slogans, which can reach and be adopted by the widest masses, as the true expression of their own demands and understanding. It will be necessary to identify these slogans, as much as possible, with specific Bills and legislative projects, which propose to apply them in one form or another.

The slogan "For Jobs, Security, Democracy and Peace," is the general slogan which sums up the whole platform which we propose for the democratic front in the elections. A whole series of more specific slogans are required to express this program in its various aspects, to bring it closer to the daily needs of life of the people. Our resolution lists some 17 such concrete slogans, and doubtless the thousand delegates to this Convention, from their rich and varied experiences in the mass movements of our 48 States, can add another hundred slogans to the list even more detailed and comprehensive. The slogans we have presented should be considered only as examples of the most central and general aspects of the democratic platform, expressed in slogan form for the broad masses.

Slogans which express in a popular but concrete form the essence of a political program are the very life blood of a democratic mass movement. They are the sharp edges of the weapon of political organization and struggle. They

are the guarantee of popular control of the movement, its organizations, and its leaders. They are the battle cries that rouse the masses from their apathy, and fill them with courage and fighting spirit. They are the flags under which the armies of the people are rallied to fight against and defeat the reactionary camp.

Consider for a moment the first slogan cited in our resolution: "Break the sit-down strike of big capital!" Consider the important role this slogan has already played. Last fall, when the new economic crisis was beginning to spread its catastrophic effects among millions of the population, the reactionary camp launched its campaign among the masses to make them believe that the crisis was the work of Roosevelt and the progressive policies enacted under his leadership, and of John L. Lewis and the industrial union movement of the C.I.O. They hoped, with the blows of the crisis, to drive away the masses from a progressive program, to break their unity, to drag them back to a bankrupt and discredited Hooverism. They summed up the essence of their political offensive with their slogan: "It is a Roosevelt-C.I.O. crisis." And it must be confessed that in the confusion of the first weeks of acute crisis that followed, the reactionaries made headway; that was the secret of their successes in defeating the program of the special session of Congress in November, and later in the regular session in getting the undistributed-profits and capital-gains taxes largely repealed. Their offensive registered for a few weeks dangerously among the masses.

How did we meet this offensive? Of course we explained that it was precisely the policies of Hoover, to which the reactionaries wanted the country to return, that produced the deepest crisis of history; that the capitalists, by their own sabotage of recovery, had brought back the crisis upon us; that the work of the C.I.O. and the progressive legislation was the only buffer that prevented the crisis from

bringing back all the miseries of Hoover's regime. But the reactionary offensive was only fully met and defeated among the masses, when we found the slogan that expressed all this in its sharpest form, a slogan that everyone could understand at once, remember, and repeat to all his fellows. That slogan was: "The big capitalists have gone on a sit-down strike; break the sit-down strike of big capital."

It is important to note that the Communists did not invent this slogan. We captured it, ready made, from the big capitalists themselves. They urged the slogan to organize the strike; we used it to break the strike. At the very moment they were broadcasting to the masses that it was a "Roosevelt crisis," among themselves they were openly saying that "Capital must defeat the trade unions and the New Deal by going on a sit-down strike." They were so incautious as to allow some of these remarks to appear in their financial journals, and on the financial pages of the newspapers, which the masses are not supposed to read. But we seized upon these remarks, spread them broadcast, and turned them into the slogan of the masses for the fight against the crisis and its effects. And the masses understood. They took up the slogan so effectively, that in a few more weeks all the spokesmen of the democratic camp were calling for struggle against the "sit-down strike of capital." From the mouths of the capitalists themselves we received the slogan for the mass struggle against them.

Or consider another slogan: "Quarantine the War-makers." President Roosevelt coined this slogan in his famous Chicago speech last October. It made history, probably beyond his expectations, because in this phrase was caught up and crystallized the rising aspirations of the masses of the people to find some alternative to the obviously bankrupt policy which, under the name of "neutrality," was actually making America a partner-in-crime of

the warmakers. The masses had been deeply pondering the question, they were ready for a great decision to find a new way; this phrase struck home, and fixed the decision in the popular mind. From that moment the swing of the masses away from the old isolationism was decisive. Here was an excellent example of the power of the right slogan, felicitously phrased, when broadcast at the psychological moment.

The other slogans in the resolution before you are more sober, and reflect more directly, without imagery, the programmatic ideas to be expressed. We have not yet found, for all the people's demands, the "winged word" which carries them immediately to every corner of the land. But they are good, substantial slogans, for all that, and have been doing good service. They will probably have to work for some time yet, before they are superseded.

"Jobs or adequate relief for every worker," is a concise expression of the demand that the government assume full responsibility for those conditions of life which are outside the control of the individual, the family, and the voluntary associations of the people. That responsibility is now established, it is accepted by the government in principle. But it is not, by any means, adequately applied in life, in the practical work of the Administration. The present Recovery Bill, now winning its way through Congress, is a *belated and partial* recognition of this slogan. Even this unsatisfactory measure, however, required the stirring up of the whole country to prevent its sabotage and dismemberment at the hands of the reactionary Tory coalition.

The unity of program expressed by our slogans, and the interdependence of its various parts, need to be explained in our electoral agitation, and the full meaning of this brought to light. Thus, consider these two "Break the profiteering monopolies which rob the people's food basket," and "Guarantee to the farmers possession of their

land and prices corresponding to cost of production." What are the facts behind these two slogans? That the mass of the people are paying high, monopolistic prices for their foodstuffs, while at the same time the producer of food upon the farms is receiving less than it costs him to operate, and thus is in danger of even losing his farm, his means of production. The explanation of both facts lies in monopoly capital, controlling the marketing and processing industries, driving down prices to the producer and driving up prices to the consumer. This same monopoly capital explains to the city population that the farmer is the cause of high prices (and taxes also, with his demands for relief), and to the farmers that it is the city population (especially the workers, with their trade unions, high wages, short hours, etc.) who are responsible for his troubles. All reactionary politicians, agents of monopoly capital, sing this contradictory duet out of their double-dealing political songbook. With these two slogans as text, we of the democratic camp can give the same explanation of their problems to farmers and workers, together with a common program whereby, through unity, they can find the solution.

And so we could go on, down the list of slogans, to illustrate their relation to the needs of the people, and to a fundamental and rounded-out program which can meet the national and international situation for America, and solve our most immediate problems. With these examples, we must pass on to our next questions, for our time is limited. Let every one of us master the democratic program, and the slogans that express it, in order to become master-agitators among the people.

Much of this electoral platform, and many of the slogans expressing it, are already acceptable to all the progressive and democratic sections of the population, and their various organizations. The election campaign provides the best opportunity to implant the whole program deeply among

the masses, to make them conscious of the program as a whole, to make them see in each particular demand one of the roots which itself only lives and grows as it feeds the whole tree, the program as a whole which is the instrument of achieving serious political power on a national scale. Further concretization of the slogans in terms of the particular problems of various regions and localities, and of special problems, and in the form of detailed legislative demands and draft bills, must be carried out, always with a view to relating each item to the program as a whole.

State conferences for organizing the democratic forces, looking to the elections, and hammering out program, are already being held in many States, and should be pushed with all energy everywhere. Out of such conferences a new leadership is arising, new permanent committees are being set up. All these State movements need to be united on a national scale. A National People's Legislative Conference is becoming ripe, and should be discussed everywhere, with the idea of convening it at the earliest possible date which promises a representative gathering.

Ways must be found to break through the Tory blockade of the channels of public information. In 1936 it was revealed that the vast majority of American newspapers take their political direction from Wall Street. We must not be lulled to sleep in face of this menace, by the thought that this newspaper monopoly failed so miserably two years ago. The press is a sinister force, capable of doing terrific damage to the unity of the democratic front, especially in a national and international situation so explosive, and with the reactionaries so desperate. The power of the press on the reactionary side must be offset by more systematic and concerted efforts to build the democratic press; by more serious use of the radio; by nationwide and statewide distribution of well-prepared leaflets, by public meetings, debates, and all forms of dramatic presentations. We must

learn how to reach the whole population with our message of the democratic front.

ORGANIZING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN THE ELECTIONS

Our resolution points out that "the organizational expressions and forms of the democratic front will have to be flexibly adjusted to the concrete situation in each State and congressional district." There is no organizational scheme or blueprint that can be applied everywhere to bring about the desired end—unity of all democratic forces behind a single candidate for each office. There are differences in the maturity of the wide variety of people and organizations that must be brought together; there are differences in the class relations; there are different historical backgrounds; and there are different electoral laws both for primaries and final elections. All these differences must be carefully taken into account in searching for the organizational forms which promise the maximum of democratic unity against the camp of reaction and monopoly capital.

Out of the experience of the mass movement there have arisen four main types of mass organization, in or around which it has proved possible to rally the majority of the voters. These are:

(1) The type of Minnesota and Wisconsin, of entirely independent parties, the Farmer-Labor Party and the Progressive Party. These are already established as majority parties, in power in the State government. Here the task is to root the parties more firmly among the population, by extending their organizational foundations among the masses, particularly in the trade union movement; by clarifying their programs and mobilizing the masses in their support.

(2) The type of the American Labor Party of New York, in which the independent party organization works in alli-

ance with progressive groups in and around the old parties, and against their reactionary wings.

(3) The type of the Commonwealth Federation of Washington State, which gathers all the mass organizations, not into a new party structure, but into a federation that operates through the Democratic Party primaries. In many places this type tends to merge with Labor's Non-Partisan League, under special state names of various sorts.

(4) The type of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which unites primarily the trade union forces, and then works through the Democratic Party primaries (sometimes also the Republican) in alliance with various other progressive groupings, and when unsuccessful in the primaries sometimes puts forward independent labor-progressive tickets.

The very heart of all these various types of organizational forms is the effort to secure united action of the unions of the C.I.O., A. F. of L., and Railroad Brotherhoods, and around the united forces of labor to gather all other progressives, in support of a single candidate for each office.

Communists must give their firm support to whichever form of organization promises the broadest and firmest unity. We must actively participate by our advice and counsel in securing a united opinion in support of the form adopted. We always find it possible to subordinate our own opinions to the majority when our views are not accepted.

The Communist Party also participates, through its members and also directly if the opportunity presents, in the democratic choice of candidates to represent the democratic front. Communists may also be considered for such candidacies, wherever such action will contribute to the necessary unity and electoral success of the whole democratic front. We consider that it would be to the best interests of the whole democratic movement, for the development of the working class as well as for our own Party,

if among the candidates elected to the State legislatures and to Congress there should be also Communists.

In most States the Communist Party will nominate its own ticket, in order to be able, where the reactionary candidates squeeze out all progressives on other tickets, to guarantee that the field will not be monopolized by the reactionary camp, that under all conditions there will be a candidate and ticket representing the democratic front. Wherever the progressive forces unite around another candidate, the Communist Party candidates will be withdrawn.

Our resolution gives a clear lead for all our electoral work in 1938 when it says:

“The Communist Party will not raise as an ultimative condition its official and formal recognition and admittance into the democratic front. The Party will work energetically to establish the precondition of such official recognition by its democratic allies at the earliest moment, through winning their confidence and respect by means of effective work of Party members in the trade unions and other mass organizations, participating in Labor’s Non-Partisan League, etc., and by the direct work of the Party in independently advancing the common cause.”

III. Winning America for a Positive Peace Policy

IT IS impossible to deal properly with a single issue of our domestic life in America, except in the light of the immediate menace of a new world war, a war which would surely be a hundredfold more destructive than the last, a

war in which civilization itself is threatened with destruction. The fight for peace is, therefore, of such transcendent importance that this report would be incomplete without a fundamental re-examination of the issue. World peace is a national interest of the United States.

The United States occupies a unique position in world affairs. It possesses approximately half of the effective economy of the world—accumulated wealth and machinery of production. It occupies a privileged position, in that it is not immediately threatened with aggression from without its own borders, and therefore has much more freedom of action than any other country. It has the ear of all peoples, and, by bold and clear declaration of policy, has the possibility of rallying millions and tens of millions to its support throughout the world.

It is doubtful that world war can be avoided, that its fires can be fully extinguished in Spain and China and Ethiopia, that world peace can be maintained, without the effective participation of our own country in performing that task, a common task of all progressive, democratic, and peace-seeking peoples.

The people of the United States are faced with a terrible responsibility—and a tremendous opportunity. But our government in Washington hesitates and fumbles the problem. Openly recognizing its responsibilities, and the clear path along which alone they can be met, in practice it goes from one ineptitude and cowardly blunder to another, and continues a false and hypocritical “neutrality,” the bankruptcy of which it has itself proclaimed.

No longer is it possible to complain that the issue is not clear, that the path ahead has not been mapped, or that the masses of the people do not understand and would not support a positive policy for peace.

The fundamental features of such a peace policy have been clearly formulated by President Roosevelt in his slogan

"Quarantine the Warmakers," and by Congressman O'Connell in his Peace Act now before Congress (H.R. 527), which puts that slogan into the detailed and legal terms of a legislative enactment. This slogan and the principle of this Act have already won the support of large masses of the people.

The foundation of such a positive peace policy is the Kellogg Peace Pact, whereby, under the leadership of the United States, all the governments of the world have solemnly pledged themselves to abstain from war as an instrument of national policy. What is required is simply the implementation of that Pact, by establishing the identity of those who violate it, cutting them off from all access to the American economy until they cease their violation, and offering moral and economic cooperation to all who maintain their pledged word, and especially to the victims of war aggression. Such a policy, and only such, can truly "take the profit out of war" and thereby maintain world peace. Only such a policy can preserve democracy within the United States.

Around these simple, easily-understood, and incontrovertible principles, a great mass movement is already arising. It is our task to organize this movement with such breadth and power that it will be impossible longer for the Administration in Washington to hesitate and fumble with the fate of the world. The American League for Peace and Democracy represents the best-organized mass center for this movement toward a positive peace policy, and must receive full support.

The United States must take the lead. This is our responsibility and our opportunity.

We have put all the arguments of the "neutrality" advocates under the microscope and analyzed them. They all sum up in surrender to fascism at home and abroad, and complicity with fascism in the destruction of civilization.

There is no need for me to repeat this work in the present report. It is all in your hands, in the pamphlet *Concerted Action or Isolation: Which Is the Road to Peace?* and in the record of the debate with Frederick J. Libby on May 4th, published by the *New Masses*. These documents are the basis of this section of my report to the Convention, and your acceptance of this report will constitute your approval of them.

All the opponents of our peace policy, as their final argument, resort to the words of Cain: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Faced with the mutilated bodies of millions of victims of the warmakers of fascism, they propose we shall follow the example of the Pharisee, described by Jesus in the parables, who "averted his eyes and passed by on the other side of the road."

We can declare with a calm confidence that our country and our people will never adopt these examples as our guide in intercourse with the other countries and peoples of the world.

Against the shameful slogan of "neutrality" between the fascist warmakers and their victims, we raise high as the guide for America and her people the immortal words of Karl Marx:

"To vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations."

For this policy we will win the majority of the American people, in ever greater numbers and determination, until it is fully carried into life by the government of the United States.

There is no need to restate here in detail our immediate practical tasks in the struggle for peace. What must be emphasized, however, is that the more effective struggle

for this program is the road to winning the masses for a positive peace policy.

And in the first line: more aid to the Republican government of Spain—political, material and moral. The mobilization of wider support and assistance to China against the Japanese invaders and oppressors. Wide and intensive agitation among the American people in favor of the Ethiopian people and against the fascist oppressors and despoilers. The rallying of the most active support of the Mexican people in their historic endeavors for national freedom and for the extension of democracy. And with it all, the further consolidation of the masses of the American people in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

IV. We Extend the Hand of Brotherly Cooperation to the Catholics

WITHIN the camp of democracy are included the great majority of the members of the Catholic Church. We Communists extend the hand of brotherly cooperation to them, and express our pleasure to find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with them for the same economic and social aims. The Catholic community, comprising about one-sixth of the American population, shares fully all the hardships and aspirations for a better life of our whole people. This community, because of its exceptional social organization, raises certain special questions for the democratic front, and therefore for the Communists also. Let us briefly consider the most important of them.

First, let us look at the relations between Communists and Catholics. It must be admitted that they are many and we are few, that as compared with over twenty million Catholics there are less than 10 per cent of that number of Communists and their sympathizers. Thus, if there were any social conflict of interest between the two groups as a whole, Catholics would outnumber us ten to one, and we would be in a very unfavorable position. And the point is, that certain persons are working very hard to create a conflict between Catholics and Communists, a conflict which is not of our choosing at all, and which, insofar as it exists, is founded on misunderstanding or misrepresentation. We want to clear away all misunderstanding, and refute all misrepresentation, in the interests of brotherly social relationships.

Questions of religious belief have nothing to do with this problem. True, most Communists are not Catholics, although a growing number of the latter are joining our Party. But this is true of five-sixths of Americans, who are also non-Catholic. True, also, that most Communists profess no religion at all, and subscribe to a philosophy which finds no room for the supernatural element in solving social and economic problems, although in this matter there is no dogmatic obligation in Party membership and we have a growing number who retain their church affiliations. But this also is no cause for conflict between us, for Communists scrupulously respect all religious beliefs and avoid all offense against them, firmly upholding complete religious freedom and toleration. If our views contain error, according to the standards of Catholic doctrine, such error can differ only in degree from that of five-sixths of all Americans, who are also in error according to those doctrinal standards.

Questions of ethical standards are no foundation for any practical differences between Catholics and Communists.

True, Catholics as a whole turn to the doctrines and dogmas of their Church for formulation and justification of ethical and moral standards, while Communists base their standards wholly on the needs of society, but in practical life, among the masses, it all comes to the same thing, justice, truth and fair-dealing between man and man.

Questions of family and social morality furnish no practical division between Catholics and Communists, except in the same degree that they may divide Catholics and all non-Catholics, as in the question of the social permissibility of divorce, and so on. Contrary to much slander distributed by reactionary politicians in Catholic circles, the Communists are staunch upholders of the family. We consider sexual immorality, looseness, and aberrations, as the harmful product of bad social organization, and their increase in America today as largely products of the crisis of the capitalist system, of the demoralization among the upper classes which affects the masses by contagion, and we combat them as we combat all other harmful social manifestations.

Putting aside, then, matters of religious belief, ethics, and family morality, which have been the subject of the broadest misunderstandings, as matters on which there can be no more differences between us than exist between Catholics and all non-Catholics, at least insofar as concerns the establishment of normal brotherly relations that should exist between all members of social groups, there remains the whole field of *political questions*, of political relationships and programs.

According to our understanding of Catholic doctrine—Catholic authorities may correct us if we are wrong—the Church as a religious community cannot be committed to any specific political party, and political program, nor even any specific economic and social system. Whatever may have been the case in the past, or in other countries, at

least in modern times and in America, as we understand it the Church as such, as a religious body, leaves political affiliations of its members to their free choice as citizens. We know, of course, that in the past this was not the case; that the Church hierarchy fought as a body with honorable exceptions, against the rise of the bourgeois-democratic system under capitalism, and condemned as mortal sin any democratic political affiliations; we know that in certain backward and undeveloped countries this has extended even into modern times, as in Spain; but in the advanced countries, as in France and the United States, for example, we understand that the free political choice of Catholics among all parties and programs is not hampered by the imposing of any religious doctrinal restrictions. We understand that no Catholic can be refused the consolations of his Church on account of affiliation with the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Progressive Party, the American Labor Party, or the Socialist Party. We understand that this applies also to the Communist Party.

If this understanding is correct, it would be a public service for Catholics to make it clear to everyone. We have drawn these conclusions from our study of the issues as they arose in the United States during the 1928 election campaign, when Al Smith, a prominent lay Catholic, was candidate for President, and was subject to much unfair and unAmerican attack on account of his religious affiliation. If we have misinterpreted the relations of the Catholic Church to American politics, we ask our Catholic neighbors, in the most friendly spirit, to offer us precise and detailed correction in the spirit of brotherhood.

Quite another matter is the question of how Catholics, as individuals or as members of social organizations, align themselves on political questions. We understand that most wealthy Catholics side with the reactionary camp in poli-

tics; we see that they exercise a disproportionate political influence among the clergy; and we have witnessed in the 1936 election campaign quite a serious conflict of loyalties among the Catholic masses as between Roosevelt and most of their lay and clerical national leaders. But when we witnessed the overwhelming majority follow their loyalty to the President, we were confirmed in our belief that at least in the United States the Catholic Church is not operating as a political unit, that Catholics retain their political freedom of choice. And when we saw how Catholic workers were quite free to disregard the pressure of many priests, who tried to keep them from joining the trade unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization, we were further confirmed in our opinion.

Some Catholic spokesmen attack the Communist Party because it supports the government of Republican Spain against the fascist uprising which operates chiefly with Moorish troops and Italian and German armies of invasion. They say the Spanish Republic is anti-Catholic, and that by supporting it we are attacking the Catholic Church and religion everywhere. But the Spanish Republic is not anti-Catholic—that is even more of a lie than the story that it is a Communist government, for there are a few Communists in the government of the Republic, but there is no anti-Catholicism. The Spanish Catholics divided in that struggle; the rich and with them most of the higher clergy, went over to the fascists, and betrayed their country, while the poor went with the Republic. I know Franco's apologists claim that the poor people in his territory support him, but I also know that if this were true he would not find it necessary to sell his country to Hitler and Mussolini in return for armies—the poor are always ready to fight their own battles, and the poor exist in immense numbers throughout Spain. No, the Communists are not against the Catholics in Spain; we support them, the great majority who are the

poor people, against their disloyal shepherds and their exploiters and oppressors.

Some attack the Communists because, they say, in the Soviet Union the Communists destroyed Catholic freedom of worship. But the Roman Catholic Church never had freedom or equality in the old Russia; under the Czar there ruled the Greek Orthodox Church, a part of the Czarist State, a thoroughly corrupt and reactionary institution and a political machine throughout its organization. I am sure there must exist a great deal of Roman Catholic literature, of pre-1917 origin, explaining in detail what a monstrous corruption of mankind the Greek-Orthodox Czarist Church was. Only as a result of the rise of Soviet Power were Roman Catholics given equality and freedom of worship in Moscow. Surely, there is little for Catholics to complain of against the Russian Communists.

Speaking in Baltimore a few weeks ago, I took the occasion, while discussing some of these questions, to criticize a certain book, *Facts About Communism*, written by Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the Catholic Truth Society. I pointed out that this book was not only permeated with falsehoods, but was also dangerous to the sexual morality of the younger generation, by its printing of lascivious writings, falsely attributed to the Communists. I have been reading Socialist and Communist literature systematically and assiduously for 32 years; I think I can claim to be something of an authority on the subject; but never in my years of reading have I ever found anything in that literature remotely resembling the indecent document which Father Curran reproduced most shamelessly in his book as characteristic of Communist views on sexual morals. The only things approaching it I have seen in print were the apocryphal tales about "nationalization of women," printed in the Hearst and similar papers in the early days of the Russian revolution, and thoroughly dis-

credited among all intellectually honest people. The publication of such documents, backed up by the assurance that millions of people believe and practice such indecencies, will surely do more harm to youthful morals than Father Curran can remedy by his implied disapproval of the things he printed. I seriously question the propriety of discussing Communism in such fashion, especially if it is done by a priest. It is not in the interests either of truth or of Christianity.

Father Curran sent me a telegram of protest against the published notices of my speech, which telegram he released to the newspapers. But in it, he did not mention my criticisms of his book, either to defend it or to correct himself. If Father Curran wishes to pursue this matter further, I will be glad to submit his book and my criticism of it to an impartial jury, composed of churchmen, half to be named by himself and half by me, for a verdict as to which of us is correct from the viewpoint of public morals. If the verdict is against me I will publicly apologize to Father Curran, while if it is in my favor I will expect a similar public apology from him. If he refuses this offer, I will consider he has decided discretion is the better part of valor, and that he lets my criticism stand by default.

In pursuing this question, I am interested only in eliminating falsehood and bitterness from all discussions between Catholics and Communists, and placing such discussions on the plane of that Christian brotherhood and charity which we of no religion appreciate as social virtues.

Many Catholics have joined their voices to the anti-Communist campaign charge that we are un-American because of our affiliation with the Communists of other lands. That sort of argument will not carry much weight among Catholics, who are quite accustomed to thinking of themselves as members of a community that transcends all national boundaries, and who at the same time consider themselves

just as good Americans as any one. But it is unfortunate that some of the Catholic clergy try to wield this double-edged sword against the Communists, oblivious of its danger to the Catholic community in America, as well as to the health of our public life generally. Surely we in America have had enough of the A.P.A., of know-nothingism, of the Ku Klux Klan, of all those obscurantist ideologies which set Protestant against Catholic, Christian against Jew, white against Negro, nationality against nationality, and race against race. We of the Communist Party fight against every manifestation of such reactionary and anti-social ideologies, from which Catholics have been among the chief sufferers in America, and we offer our cooperation to the Catholics to scotch them wherever they show themselves.

Fascist reaction is the only camp that gains from the spread of these obscurantist ideologies. Catholics, whose hearts are bleeding for their fellows in Nazi Germany and Austria, should remember that Hitler rose to power on the wave of that same "crusade against communism" to which they so lightly give their support or toleration in America.

Fascism threatens not only the labor movement and the Communists. It threatens everything progressive and decent in human life. It threatens to destroy freedom of religion and the church, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish. Surely in the face of this terrible menace, which hovers over America as well as Europe, we should all rise above differences to join hands for our common salvation, just as we would to meet some terrible natural calamity.

Every word that I address to the Catholics applies more or less to the other religious communities in America. We speak these words in deadly seriousness, with a full sense of our responsibilities in the hour of deepest crisis the world has ever passed through. We extend the hand of brotherly cooperation to the great mass of democratic Catholics.

V. Building the Mass Communist Party

THE problems under consideration by this Convention are the problems of the entire American working class, and of the whole American people. The tasks we are tackling are gigantic. The most essential instrument for performing these tasks, the one without which we cannot make even the smallest beginnings, is our Communist Party. But our Party, despite its political and organizational growth, is still far from adequate to the historic tasks before us.

This fact places squarely before us, with all urgency, the question of building our Party into a truly mass party trained in Marxism-Leninism. All the necessary conditions are present, if we know how to use them properly, for accomplishing this task.

We have a working class, awakened to consciousness and growing in organization and experience. We have a situation of sharpening class relations and class struggles. We witness a rapid expansion of the influence of our Party among the masses. We have recently tested our recruiting power in a special campaign, during which, in the course of a few months, we increased our membership by 50 percent. We have, with the assistance of our friends and allies, established two new daily newspapers in the English language, as our special contribution to the democratic front. The National Party Builders Congress in February disclosed a great wealth of new active workers and leaders of great capacity. All these things have proved that in the past we underestimated our resources, and the possibilities they provide for the building of a truly mass Party.

It may be of value to establish a background for this question

by reviewing a few key figures of our Party growth. Let us look at the figures of Party membership in 1929, the first year of the crisis, at the Eighth and Ninth Conventions, and today at the Tenth Convention.

In 1929, we had about 7,500 members; the Young Communist League about 2,500; or a combined strength of some 10,000 members.

At the Eighth Convention, in 1934, we had approximately 25,000 members; the Young Communist League about 5,000; or a combined strength of some 30,000 members.

At the Ninth Convention, in 1936, we had approximately 40,000 members; the Young Communist League something over 10,000; or a combined strength of some 50,000 members.

Today, at the Tenth Convention, we have approximately 75,000 members; the Young Communist League something over 20,000; or a combined strength of more than 95,000 members.

These figures testify to a healthy growth, to vitality, to a substantial progress. I am sure that we are all happy and proud of our Party. But the worst thing that could happen to us would be to yield to an attitude and mood of self-satisfaction and complacency.

We must face the harsh fact that the present tempo of our Party's political and organizational growth is still far too slow if we expect to meet the needs of the working class, to play our proper role in solving the problems of America and the historic tasks we have assumed.

History is rushing ahead with the speed of those modern seven-league boots, the automobile, the airplane, the radio. The forces of reaction are gathering for the attack with all the speed of modern technique. The time factor is now decisive. We are engaged in a race against time.

It is in this sense that we must approach all the problems of Party building. We must completely abandon all the old standards that had their origin in the days of small groups, the days of "handicraft" and make-shift. We must establish new stan-

dards, open up new horizons. We must embrace millions in the scope of our work, and that means we must quickly embrace hundreds of thousands in the scope of our Party organization. All our energy and attention must be centered on the political and organizational consolidation and strengthening of our Party. This is an organic and key part of the task of building the democratic front, of defeating reaction, of making our country into a stronghold of democracy and peace.

INCREASING THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The special recruiting campaign had the object, not only to bring a certain number of new members into the Party, but also and especially to reveal our unused potentiality for recruitment and to establish recruiting as a continuous process and activity, inseparable from every phase of the Party's mass work. We are not announcing a new "campaign" of recruitment because we want this to be permanent, not a "campaign," activity.

We are entering a national election campaign. This must at the same time be a recruiting campaign from beginning to end. It must be extended through the big industrial centers, and from them to all the smaller cities and towns, and into the countryside, and wherever the campaign goes, Party organizations must be established and strengthened.

Recruitment must aim not merely at number but, above all, at quality, being directed primarily to bring into the Party the best elements of the working class, those closest to and most trusted by the masses, the most capable, loyal, and energetic, those most tested in the practical struggles of building the mass movement. Special attention is required to recruiting among the workers of the basic and mass-production industries. Without neglecting in any way the important task of strengthening the Party among all workers, among white-collar and professional groups, and city middle class elements, the Party must always and everywhere keep in the center of attention the workers in the most important industries.

Most of our State organizations are especially weak among the farmers. Yet the agricultural population plays an important role in every State without exception. From this Tenth Convention we insist that every State Committee take up in systematic and sustained fashion the recruitment among the farmers, and consistent direction of their political activities, drawing the farmers into ever closer relations with the workers and the whole democratic front.

Recruiting activities must be combined not only with the daily political campaigns, but must be accompanied by education and training of new members, of fitting them permanently into the Party life, of engaging them in Party work without overburdening them with heavy and unsuitable assignments.

The full unfolding of inner-Party democracy, and its political enrichment by close connection with mass work and systematic education, with the application of American methods of work with which the masses are most familiar—these are the preconditions for keeping our recruits, for doing away with the losses among new members, who drop away because they do not find their proper place in our ranks.

FOR A HIGHER QUALITY OF WORK

Constant improvement in the political effectiveness of our work, steadily rising *quality*, is demanded by the growth of our Party into a truly mass party which can influence millions. The key to all progress is the constant struggle for improvement in the quality of our work.

We are learning, but must learn better and more quickly, how to organize and extend the independent mass agitation of the Party, together with the deeper education of the masses in the teachings of our great guides, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

We have begun seriously to popularize among the masses our rich inheritance of American revolutionary and democratic traditions, linking it up fundamentally with our full Party program. We have begun to infuse real vitality into our slogan:

"Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism." But we must emphasize that this is only a beginning, that a tremendous work is still to be done, that the whole movement must be permeated with it, that from top to bottom our Party must not only repeat our slogan, but must reflect its spirit in every word and act. We must not only *claim*, but we must prove ourselves *worthy* of the claim, to be the best representatives at once of *international socialism and of Americanism*.

We have made progress in unmasking the true character of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite groups, as agents of reaction and fascism, on the basis of their activities abroad as well as in America. But much more needs to be done, in order to completely isolate them and destroy their disruptive influence in all working class and progressive organizations. Vigilance to detect every manifestation of their influence is called for, with the ability skillfully to expose its true nature as splitting and disruption, with persistence to carry each struggle through to a favorable conclusion.

It is not enough merely to repeat, what is absolutely true, that Trotskyism and Lovestoneism are agencies of fascism. It is necessary to discover and expose these agents of fascism in the daily work and struggle for the democratic front and for building the Party. He who confines himself only to repeating the formula but does not practice alertness and vigilance in discovering and exposing the enemy is not protecting the interests of the masses, the interests of their organizations, the interests of the Party.

Among the methods practiced by Lovestoneism and Trotskyism, when trying to penetrate other organizations, including our Party organizations, is the method of disguise and camouflage. These agents of the enemy do not as a rule parade as Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. On the contrary, they try to hide their real face by all kinds of stratagems. They simulate and pretend. They endeavor to stimulate disruption from under cover. They will lie quiet for a long time waiting for the oppor-

tunity to deliver the blow when in the judgement of their fascist masters it will count most.

The method of work of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite disrupters was long ago described in the words of the classical couplet, which runs:

“Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer;
And without sneering, others teach to sneer.”

We would be guilty of the most serious negligence, of criminal negligence, if we were to ignore all these things. Especially after all the experiences that the labor and progressive movements here have already had with the disruptive machinations of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, after all the experiences of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of Spain, of France, and of Mexico.

Vigilance and alertness must not be allowed to become a phrase with which even the enemy can cover himself. It must become an ingrained attitude, displayed in practice, in the practice of identifying the Trotsky-Lovestoneite enemies through all their disguises and camouflages, of exposing these enemies before the people, thus accelerating the consolidation of the democratic forces against the offensive of reaction and fascism.

We cannot permit ourselves to be easy-going in this matter on pain of serious losses to the masses and their progressive movements. And the first condition for a serious fight against Trotskyism and Lovestoneism on the part of every Party member is the wholehearted application of the Party's line in the life and struggle of the masses, good and successful work in the progressive organizations of the masses, the winning of the confidence of the masses and the building of the Party.

Mass circulation of our newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books, is the infallible measure of the consolidation of our growing mass influence. In spite of some improvements, notably in the establishment of the two new daily papers, in the steady growth of pamphlet circulation, in the rise of circulation of *The*

Communist and *The Communist International*, it yet remains a fact that *mass circulation of the printed word* lags considerably behind the growing role and influence of our Party. This is one of the weakest sectors of the front of Party work. It must be remedied if we are to move forward consistently.

Constant attention to improving the contents of the Party press needs to be accompanied now, above all, with serious expansion of its circulation. This is an especially acute problem with the press of the national groups, as with all their work generally, which has received far too little attention in the past.

It is in the circulation of our most important newspapers, however, that we are alarmingly backward. The *Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker*, *Daily Record* and *People's World* are already of a quality sufficiently high, notwithstanding all needed improvements, to justify a circulation ten times that which they now have. All the conditions are present to justify us in demanding from every State organization the rapid expansion of the circulation of these papers. It will not come spontaneously. It must be organized and achieved. This must be done by our Party organizations. A really mass circulation is the indispensable instrument for realizing our immediate aims, as well as the historic tasks facing the working class movement.

LEADERSHIP—ITS SELECTION, PROMOTION, EDUCATION, AND VERIFICATION.

Communist Party policy depends for effectiveness upon the leading personnel which must translate it into life. Our policy can never rise above the political level of the Party leading committees. Our resolution, therefore, very emphatically "places before the Central Committee and the whole Party the problem of selecting, promoting, educating and carefully verifying the leading personnel of the entire Party."

Comrade Dimitroff gave us basic guidance in the selection of leading personnel at the Seventh Congress, which we should again repeat here. He set four standards which should guide all

selection of leadership, of those who must assume the main responsibility for detailed guidance of the Party and the working class. These four standards are:

1. Absolute devotion to the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in struggle and under the enemy's persecution.
2. Closest possible contact with the masses, with the modesty of all real mass leaders, for only if the masses accept a person as a leader can the Party do so.
3. Ability to make decisions, to find the correct course independently, to take responsibility and initiative.
4. Discipline and steadfastness in the struggle against the class enemy, as well as against all deviations from the Party line; immunity to moods of panic and pessimism; the ability to work collectively and weld the Party forces into a monolithic unity.

In these four basic standards for selection of leadership, you will note there is no mention of individual brilliance, or technical qualifications such as the ability to write and speak well. That is because without these four basic qualifications, all individual abilities may be transformed into dangers and liabilities; but given these four characteristics, all needed technical abilities can be developed through guidance and education.

Promotion of leading people, selected on this basis, needs to be carefully adjusted to the degree of maturity of these four characteristics, and to the practical experience of exercising them, plus all the technical abilities required to give them full effectiveness. Upon the basis of such careful consideration, we now need a policy of bold promotion of new and fresh leading people in our Party.

We propose to make the education of our leading people, their Marxist-Leninist training, a central task of the whole Party. This shall not be confined to the members of the Central Committee, and the State leaders, but extended to a broad new circle of leaders for the States and sections, and for Party leaders in the mass organizations, trade unions, peace, youth, Negro, farm,

cultural, women's, religious, national groups, and other organizations.

The channels for such education and training are varied. We must extend and improve our system of schools, from the National Training School, which has just finished its second six-month full-time course for sixty students, through the State Training Schools, to local week-end and night schools for leading people, down to the Workers Schools, open to all comers. We must develop and publish our own American text books for these schools. We must raise the standards of curriculum and instruction.

On a broader scale, this work can be carried out through special and periodical conferences of leading people, for discussion of special problems and fields of work, carefully prepared and led by the National, State, and local leading committees. Every membership and committee meeting should be planned to introduce some feature of political education.

Finally, systematic self-education must be made a habit among all leading people of our Party. Planned reading and study by each individual, supplemented by individual consultations and help among his associates, is the universal form of education which we need to establish throughout our Party. The basic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, should become familiar to all of us, as necessary to our daily life as the air we breathe. The writings of the founders of American democracy should be at our command, and we Communists should make Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, and Abraham Lincoln live again in America. We should become experts in American history, and understand and explain it better than anyone else. We should constantly study our own Party documents, and never leave them to gather dust on our shelves. We are the bearers of American culture and civilization, and must use every hour to qualify ourselves for that noble and historic role.

All those who assume the responsibility of leadership within our movement thereby submit themselves to the constant inspec-

tion, criticism, and verification, of the whole movement. No one, having gained a leading post, can rest on his laurels and drift. Above all, no one can be allowed to degenerate, to grow slack and indifferent, and to fall victim to corruption or the influence of ideas from the enemy camp. Now, when our Party has emerged from its old isolation, when it is fully in the stream of a great mass movement of the American people, when it is exposed every day to the impact of open and masked enemy influences—now, more than ever before, our Party needs constant vigilance, constant re-examination of its leading people, constant verification of their fundamental political health and soundness.

A Communist leader must be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. He must be an example to his fellows, and to the masses, of the best qualities of the working class and the American people. He must inspire and maintain confidence among the masses. He must be the steel link that binds our Party immutably with the toiling people.

PARTY WORK IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The tasks of building the democratic front, and promoting its program, are found most concretely and pressingly in the mass organizations, embracing many millions of members. Each of these organizations has its own special tasks, for the more effective performance of which Communists must strive. Therefore, it is especially the work of the Communists within these mass organizations that must be re-examined and improved, politically and organizationally.

Our Party members are to be found in the widest variety of mass organizations. In the trade unions of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, they are at work; in the American League for Peace and Democracy; the Workers Alliance; the American Youth Congress; the National Negro Congress; in the farm, cultural, fraternal, religious, professional, and other organizations, and in those of the national groups.

We set as the aim of all Communists in the mass organizations to contribute more effectively to their work, to building and consolidating them and preserving their unity against all disruptive elements. We set as our aim to win the complete trust and confidence of the progressive leaders and all members of these organizations. We call upon the Communists to assume more consistently their share of all the responsibilities involved in building and promoting these organizations. Upon the basis of such modest and energetic work, we expect all Communists to broaden their connections among the members, to win them to support of the program and organization of the democratic front of the majority of the people, and to win their most advanced representatives to membership in the Communist Party.

All our work must be directed to these broad aims. Anything that interferes with their accomplishment must be revised. Experience has shown that for the Communists to work in the mass organizations on the basis of *closed fractions*, whose decisions are binding upon its members, often creates suspicions among some members that the Communists have some separate interests of their own; such suspicions are cultivated by reactionaries and enemies of the Communist Party. At the same time, experience has also shown that such fractions are not needed to accomplish the aims of our work in the mass organizations, which is never directed toward a "Communist control" which we do not want, and which is in harmony with the aims of the mass of the membership without distinction of political opinions. Therefore, we have for some time been directing our members in the mass organizations to disband any fraction organizations which may have existed in the past, to cooperate freely with the great majority of progressive members therein, to avoid and discourage all artificial groupings, or caucuses, or fractions of any kind among the members, and to find unity in their work through the normal channels of the organization. I am sure that this Convention will fully approve such a course.

From its inception our Communist Party has been guided by the words of Karl Marx: "Labor with a white skin can never be free, while labor with a black skin is branded." For many years we labored, giving our utmost cooperation to the most advanced Negroes in their efforts to arouse a new liberation movement among them, giving our energies to winning the white workers and democratic masses to alliance with the Negroes to fight for that equal citizenship so vital to white and black alike.

At our Ninth Convention we could note hopefully the foundation, a few months before, of the National Negro Congress, which assumed the task of gathering together such a liberation movement. Today, at our Tenth Convention, we can declare that the National Negro Congress is beginning to realize its tasks in a serious way. It has become the recognized spokesman for the Negro masses, and the instrument of their unity with the white masses. It was largely instrumental in achieving a broad organization of Negroes into the industrial unions of the C.I.O., and permanently influencing that body toward a correct attitude to the Negro workers. It has formulated the demands of the Negro people in such clear but restrained form as to win the attention and respect of the broadest masses of the population.

We must continue to give the National Negro Congress our heartiest support. We should help it to solve its organizational problems, of linking up closely together in practical cooperation all the multitude of organizations of the Negroes, pressing ever more stubbornly among the general labor and democratic organizations the full recognition of the Negro and his problems, as the condition for the advance of all.

Recruitment of Negroes into our Party, and their training for leadership, have made some advances in the past two years, but we can by no means be satisfied with what we have accomplished. Constant attention to this question is necessary, constant self-critical examination of our work. Let the outstanding con-

tributions to our Party of Comrade James Ford be a constant reminder to every one of us of the great resources waiting for our Party among the Negro masses. We have been called "the Negro Party" by our enemies in the South; we repeat again that we claim this title as a badge of honor. But let us deserve it by serious recruitment of Negro members.

THE NATIONAL GROUPS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

President Roosevelt recently reminded a gathering of the Daughters of the American Revolution that in America we are all descended from revolutionaries and immigrants. Our differences are only in the number of generations that separate us from our immigrant ancestors. America is the great Melting Pot, into which has been poured the people of all races and lands, to produce what we call the American people and create a new nation.

A large portion of our population, perhaps as much as one-third, have combined their Americanization with the maintenance of a community life and consciousness based upon their national origins. They have maintained their original languages, in addition to mastering the common language of the country, because it carries for them so much of their cultural inheritance which they would preserve, and is the medium for their revolutionary and democratic national traditions which they treasure. These national communities or groups are an integral and established part of American life, which has been enriched by them. Every political party in America must, and traditionally did, give the most serious attention to these national groups. After a period in which our Party has tended to neglect them, this Tenth Convention must sharply call the attention of the whole Party to the national groups and the problems of work among them.

The most numerous and important of these groups are the Italians, Germans, Poles, Jews, South Slavs, and the Spanish-

speaking peoples. They account for many millions, and include especially a large proportion of the workers in the basic industries, and the largest industrial centers.

Our Party has organization and a press among most of these national groups. But with few exceptions, it must be admitted that they do not work well, they tend to lag behind the Party as a whole. They are still afflicted more or less with sectarian outlook and methods of work. They are poorly integrated with their national groups as a whole, and especially poorly linked with the life of the whole American people.

It is necessary to bring new life into this field. The national bureaus directing this work, together with the language press, must be carefully examined, renewed, strengthened, and brought more closely into the life of the whole movement, and under the guidance of the Central Committee. They must become powerful forces in the life of their communities, must revive their progressive and national revolutionary traditions, and especially through the trade unions and fraternal organizations draw their national groups fully into the broad movement of the democratic front. The Central Committee is determined to establish more effective guidance of the work of the national groups. The same task faces every State Committee of the Party. In the great American melting pot the national groups contribute, and will continue to do so, an important part of the composite American democracy, which can and must be brought into the democratic front, and their most advanced sections into our Party. This is a task of the entire Party.

PROBLEMS OF THE FARMERS

One of our most cherished ambitions saw the beginnings of its realization a few months ago, when the Farmers' Union, Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the C.I.O. represented by the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, signed a compact for consultation and joint work on all issues affecting all groups.

Such cooperative connections must be extended down below

on a local and district scale throughout the country, and embrace all the organizations of the workers and farmers. The working class needs to understand more sharply that the fight for the needs of the farmers is one of the planks in their own platform, and that it must be carried on in unity with the farmers. It is the task of our Party to educate the labor movement on this issue.

The big majority of farmers, the ones who till the soil by their own labor, not by the hired labor of others, are faced with increasing difficulties. A growing number are tenants, already dispossessed of ownership of the land; another large part are deeply mortgaged, and pay tribute to the capitalists beyond their strength; all of them suffer from the market monopolies, which keep prices low in the countryside and high in the cities; most of them are unable to realize from their produce an amount equal to their cost of production.

In supporting the farmers' demands for measures of relief and solution of their difficulties,—the struggle to democratize the existing agrarian legislation and its administration—we need to reach and become acquainted with a much wider range of the farmers' organizations. Most of the farmers are organized in one form or another. Not only is there the National Grange, the Farmers Union, and similar bodies, but also and more important there is a broad network of Farm Bureaus and their agents, and specialized organizations of farmers dealing in a single crop. Most of these have been neglected by labor and the democratic organizations in the cities. There should be constant study and work at this problem, to tie up the city and the countryside in the close bonds of a common struggle to build the democratic front.

WORK AMONG WOMEN

We have often reminded ourselves that women constitute one-half the population, in order to spur our still lagging work of winning them for our Party and the labor and progressive

movement. We must begin to be more concrete now, and recognize that the masses of women are becoming active, organizing themselves both in the general bodies of men and women, as in the trade unions, and in their own women's organizations. Among the millions of politically awake and active women we need to make much more progress than has been the case up to now.

Allow me to cite one example of the political maturity of the women. The Young Women's Christian Association recently held a national convention in Columbus, Ohio. This is the U. S. section of an international organization, with branches in 50 countries, almost as many as we have in the international Communist movement. Their Convention expressed a definite progressive and democratic program, for social and labor legislation, for cooperation in building the trade unions, and so on. It went on record for U. S. cooperation with the peace forces of the world, to apply economic sanctions against warmaking governments, and to lift the embargo from Loyalist Spain. Only two voices were raised in the Convention against this peace policy, which corresponds so closely with that which we advocate, and one of these opponents was a "socialist" and the other an open reactionary. The convention resolved to initiate and support efforts to secure equality and opportunity for the Negro people, to support the struggle for their civil rights, and support legislation against lynching. Clearly, in this organization there is already a great gathering of progressive women and a capable and clear-headed leadership. Here is a most important sector of the women's movement. We must pay much more attention to it.

A promising movement is developing around what is called the "Women's Charter," a systematic formulation of the special needs and demands of the women. Arising primarily from the trade unions, and the Women's Trade Union League circles, it is seeking to associate all women's organizations on the basis of a generally-accepted progressive platform. With the proper

assistance and promotion, much good could come from such a movement.

Recruitment of women into active membership in our Party has advanced in some districts since our Ninth Convention. New York is perhaps the leader in this respect, for I understand that some 39 percent of its members are women, a higher proportion than two years ago, when our membership was half as big. Every State needs to look to this question. Just as nations are judged as to their degree of civilization by the standing they accord to women, so will our State Party organizations be judged as to their political maturity by, among other things, the number of women brought into active membership in our Party. Included in this task is the accompanying necessity for selection, promotion, education, and verification of leading personnel among the women, in the most serious fashion.

THE PARTY AND THE YOUTH

Nowhere has the rising democratic mass movement been felt more deeply than among the youth. In fact the young people have been in the vanguard in achieving a fundamental unity on a national scale, with the rise of the American Youth Congress, now in its fifth year and already embracing the large majority of the organized youth of the land. By its fight for the Youth Act, the American Youth Congress paved the way for the Youth Administration in the New Deal, which, inadequate as it has been, has been a tremendously important protection for hundreds of thousands of young people from the worst disasters of the crisis. It succeeded in eliminating most of the reactionary features from the C.C.C. camps, and helped maintain them against the attacks of the reactionaries. It has given the broad masses of youth a fundamental education and training in democracy and progress. It has prevented the crisis from shattering the morale of the young people, has immunized them against the poison of fascist ideology and moods, and made of the

younger generation a force for democracy and peace.

We can be very proud of our Young Communist League that it has from the beginning, small as it is, been a living force in the broad youth movement, and the decisive factor in protecting its unity from all attempts that have been made to divide and scatter it.

The Young Communist League is growing, but still too slowly. It presents most of the problems of Party building, and some of them more sharply than does the Party. It needs much more help and guidance from the Party, to become in truth a mass League, educating the youth of America in Marxism-Leninism, and in the program and spirit of our Party. This Convention should mark a decisive improvement in the Party's work among the youth.

FOR A WORKERS' HEALTH PROGRAM

There is arising a great movement for a public health program, and especially for a workers' health program. Our Party must pay increasing attention to this field. Various government reports expose a shocking state of unnecessary sickness and premature death among the unemployed, the lower-paid workers, and poor farmers. Among relief workers the rate of disabling sickness is 47 percent higher in acute cases and 87 percent higher in chronic sickness than among families with incomes over \$3,000 per year. Infant mortality is appallingly higher in the slum areas. Occupational diseases spread needless havoc among the workers. Over half the American people lack proper medical and dental care, and conditions are growing worse with the deepening economic crisis.

The people's health question is a political issue of major importance. Trade unions, fraternal societies, women's clubs, youth organizations, as well as the progressive wing of the American Medical Association and the Roosevelt Administration, are increasingly becoming interested in it. In various cities and states

there are pending dozens of legislative bills dealing with the question.

We must participate in all these progressive movements and fight for better mass health conditions, especially for city and rural health centers to furnish free and adequate medical care, and also to have the government include health insurance in the social security legislation. The people's health movement provides an important means for building the democratic front.

OUR DUTIES TO LATIN-AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

In the field of special international responsibilities of our Party, we have already spoken of our major tasks on behalf of the people of Spain and China, which continue and grow greater. We continue our International Solidarity Fund, with which we develop more and more international connections, exchange information, furnish literature, and give some small financial help to ten brother parties which suffer from special oppression.

The sharpening of the struggle against fascism and war, and the rise of a mass democratic movement, in the countries of Latin-America and in the Philippine Islands, place our brother parties of these lands before a multitude of complex problems, in a situation in which their practical difficulties increase simultaneously with their greatly widened opportunity for advance. Our resolution proposes that our Party shall assume responsibility for expanding considerably, and more systematically, its practical and political assistance to them. This will require more regular exchange of delegations, publications, political correspondence, conducted by our Central Committee, and on the part of our whole Party more deep and systematic attention to and action upon the issues affecting these countries, the mobilization of the forces of the democratic front in conscious solidarity with our brothers in Latin-America and the Philippines in their struggle against reaction, fascism, and war. The events of the last weeks in Mexico are enough to fully emphasize the tremen-

dous importance of these tasks. Similar events are maturing in Chile, upon which we must keep our eyes.

THE NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

This Convention is presented with a new and revised Party Constitution. We have been operating for over nine years with an "unwritten constitution." Our Sixth Convention, early in 1929, had adopted a draft constitution, but because that was at the height of the factional disruption created by the renegade Lovestone, it received no serious consideration, never reached the Party, and was lost. We are now at a point in our development when it has become necessary to dispel all vagueness and uncertainty about the Party, its fundamental program, its structure, and its relation to our country and the world. That is the significance of the Constitution presented to you.

There is nothing new in principle in the new Constitution. It is the codification of our existing organizational practice, and presents our fundamental program in the terms of modern America, and in the light of the Seventh World Congress of the international Communist movement.

At our Ninth Convention we adopted a special resolution in refutation of all our enemies who wanted to outlaw our Party or isolate it with the charge that we are a conspiratorial party of violent overthrow of American democracy. Our enemies ignored our action, and continued and intensified their slanders against us. We have, therefore, proposed to write our answer to the reactionaries into our Constitution, in such full and complete terms that even a capitalist newspaper editor cannot evade or distort it.

We think that we have written a good Constitution, one that will stand up under the years to come, and that expresses concisely the immediate and long-term aims of our Party, and the Party organizational structure.

Of course, we do not expect to satisfy everyone. We notice

that Mr. Charney Vladeck rushed into the newspapers last week with some adverse comment on it. Mr. Vladeck's views have some importance because he occupies the position of a Councilor of the City of New York, representing the Labor Party. His election to that office was by virtue of the *combined Labor and Communist Party votes*. Because we thus are responsible, to a certain degree, for his official position, we cannot ignore his criticisms. He says our Constitution is a "complete reversal" of our previous position, contrary to Communist doctrine, "dictated by the needs of the Soviet Foreign Office," and therefore not to be trusted as permanent or in good faith. But Mr. Vladeck, isn't your discovery of "complete reversal" a little late, in view of the fact that some ten to twenty million Americans listened to my radio broadcasts, as Communist Party candidate for President, two years ago, defending "Democracy against Fascism?" Why didn't you discover the "complete reversal" then? As to "orthodox Communist doctrine," it is too much to expect you to know what that really is, but if you are interested I will send you (free, of course!) a copy of my book, *The People's Front*, which is rich in quotations from such "orthodox Communists" as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, organically relating their democratic teachings with the American democratic tradition—a book, by the way, from which you might learn some things about American democracy that have escaped your attention. As to the needs of the Soviet Foreign Office, those are primarily summed up in the need to maintain world peace, which is equally a need of the American workers and the whole American people, and a permanent need, too—you needn't worry too much about that. As to our good faith in the defense of democracy, more than two thousand American Communists and Young Communist Leaguers among the 3,700 members of the Lincoln-Washington Brigade in Spain have sealed that with their blood—a fact which most decent Americans have recognized. And you, yourself, Mr. Vladeck, should be the first to welcome the final documentary proof, which your

fine legal mind appreciates, that the votes which put you into office did not come from seditious and conspiratorial enemies of democracy, but from its most forthright, courageous, and able defenders.

Another gentleman who is dissatisfied with our Constitution is Mr. Boake Carter, the reactionary columnist. We listen carefully to every voice, and are not too proud to learn even from our enemies. Perhaps we can do something to meet Mr. Carter's objections. He complains that our new Constitution does not specify an obligation to "be loyal to the Constitution of the United States." When we remind ourselves that the only serious menace of overthrow of the Constitution of the United States comes from Mr. Carter's paymasters, the reactionaries and economic royalists, it seems well that we should specifically register this fact in our political resolution, and declare our determination to defend the Constitution of the United States, embodying many of the important achievements of American democracy, from these attacks by the reactionaries. We hope Mr. Carter will be as pleased by this as will be the workers.

Mr. Carter has also called our attention to a little technical error. Where we indicate certain undesirable elements which must be ruthlessly swept from our ranks, our Draft Constitution says they "shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled, and exposed before the general public." Mr. Carter notes with glee that after the word "expelled" we failed to write "from the party," and thereupon assumes that we will "expose before the public" such culprits but keep them in Party membership. Mr. Carter is obviously wrong; the word "expelled" means "from the party," and probably our Commission here will remedy the error. Our thanks again to Mr. Carter for his assistance in making our Constitution letter-perfect.

When the reactionaries launch a "Red hunt," and turn loose their journalistic dogs against us, one of the loudest yelps is always the voice of Mr. Eastman. That authority on "proletar-

ian and socialist ideals" complains that our Constitution, by its provision for expulsion of spies and "betrayers of party confidence," proves that we are "not a genuine political party." But the workers, and the American people generally, will fully understand, when we remind them that, to our shame, we must admit that some fourteen years ago, due to our lack of vigilance, none other than Mr. Eastman himself became for a brief period a member of our Party, and by his conduct proved the necessity of precisely such an article in our Constitution. Because we cleansed ourselves of the Eastmans, Lovestones, and all such trash, that is why we have become "a genuine political party."

The New York *World-Telegram* in the last five months has devoted more editorial space to prove that Communism is "violent overthrow of democracy" than it has to the wars in Spain and China and the economic crisis combined, more space than to anything else except to denunciation of Roosevelt's Recovery Bill. Evidently the editor has great faith in his persuasive powers, for on May 18 he expressed the opinion and the hope that "the hard Lenin core" of the Communist Party (meaning, of course, those who accept his interpretation of Communism) will come to this Tenth Convention in order to "roundly denounce" this Constitution as "weak-kneed opportunism," and reject it or split the Communist Party wide open.

It may be unkind on our part to disappoint Mr. Roy Howard so sorely. He needs a conspiratorial party of violence in his business, and if we refuse to oblige him, there may even be danger that he will organize one himself. His efforts to bore from within the Communist Party produced only one convert in our ranks, and that was a poor fellow who had lost his mind under the strain of unemployment and waiting for relief. Perhaps Mr. Howard should apply to Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party, who boast that their party is "all inclusive," and prove it by including in their five thousand members every opinion under the sun.

No, we cannot satisfy everybody. But we believe that our

new Constitution will prove very satisfactory to the Tenth Convention, to the whole Communist Party, to the working class, and to American democracy generally.

THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Our enemies will be sorely disappointed that this Tenth Convention refutes so dramatically their confident predictions of a split in our ranks. They have speculated in this wise: The Communist Party is emphasizing that it is American; political parties in America are in confusion and splitting everywhere; therefore the Convention of the Communist Party should produce a split. They are ready to denounce us as "*un-American*" if we refuse to present them with a "typical American" split.

These gentlemen cannot understand the unity of the Communist Party. That is only a reflection of their general political ignorance. They cannot conceive of the unity of a political party except in terms of a "political boss," a petty dictator who imposes his personal will by intimidation, trickery, and compromise of principle. We violate every one of their standards, by unfolding the freest inner-party democracy ever witnessed in the political life of our country, by frankly placing our entire strategy and tactics before the broadest masses, and by hewing strictly to the line of our principles. And the result, that which for the reactionary politicians is the miracle of miracles, instead of strife and confusion, is the most complete and enthusiastic unity in our growing ranks that has ever been witnessed.

Our enemies also take pleasure in reminding us that in the past the Communist Party was also subject to inner strife and splits. That is true, and we are the last ones to forget this fact. But since 1928, when we drove the Trotskyites out of our ranks, and 1929 when we cleaned our house of the Bukharin-Lovestone wreckers, the history of our Party has been one of unbroken growth and constantly more solid unity. We know these wreckers and disruptionists try to send their agents into our Party, but they are more and more blocked by the vigilance and unity

of our members. It is a unity based upon understanding and science, the science of history, founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and developed, in the present era of imperialism and the rise of socialism as a world power, by Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

Our enemies have agreed among themselves to call us "Stalinists." With the deepest pride we accept the name of our most beloved teacher and guide. We are indeed Stalinists, and we hope to become ever more worthy of such a glorious name. We remember how, in a previous period, the name of "Leninist" was also invented by the wretched Trotsky as a term of "derision" but rose to isolate and defeat him and all his tribe, to become the most honorable name known among the oppressed of all lands. So today the name of Stalin sums up the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, represents the highest level of Marxism achieved in the unshakable foundation of a socialist society on one-sixth of the earth, symbolizes the unshakable fortress of peace and socialism in the Soviet Union, the hope and inspiration and protection of the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world. Truly it is a proud name, Stalinist, and we must bear it with all modesty, for it carries with it a tremendous responsibility.

We have emphasized here that our Communist Party stands fully on its own feet, makes its own decisions, and is in every sense an American party. Our enemies have cried out in glee that this means we are separating ourselves from other Communist Parties of the world, from the Soviet Union, and from the Communist International. Again they are woefully mistaken. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Not only is it true that the unity of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is more solid than ever, but it is equally true that the *international unity of all Communists of the world*, associated together in our Communist International, has become, under the guidance of our beloved George Dimitroff, who symbolizes in his own person the power that is smashing fascism, more complete and uncon-

ditional than ever before in history. At the center of the growing unity of all Communists, and all workers and oppressed, is the glorious inspiration of the Soviet Union under the leadership of its Communist Party and Joseph Stalin. We proclaim this fact to all the world. It is our most powerful shield and weapon.

Even our enemies must pay unwilling tribute to this fact. A few days ago, one of the ablest propagandists of the reactionary camp contributed a significant bit of testimony. I refer to Miss Dorothy Thompson, the well-known columnist and political commentator, who has been promoted as the reactionary candidate for President of the U. S. It might be said, in passing, that the political level of this candidate for reactionary honors is far higher than that of any other that has been named, whether it be Hoover, Landon, or Vandenberg. Miss Thompson wrote the following words in her column published May 20:

"It it becomes clear that Russia is the only country on earth that will defend small democracies while great democracies are prepared to bargain them away, then heaven help the great democracies!"

But it has already become clear that Russia, the Soviet Union, "is the only country on earth" that *is* helping the small democracies and oppressed peoples generally! It is clear that at least one of the "great democracies," Britain, is not only "prepared to bargain them away" but is bargaining and delivering to the extent of her ability! It is clear that France and the United States, despite the best of intentions well expressed, are allowing themselves to be dragged into the "bargaining!" Miss Thompson may well feel it necessary to appeal to heaven, for her paymasters and associates will never help her out of this difficulty. But we who rely upon the Soviet Union and appeal to the democratic masses for unity and action have a sounder foundation. We can be more sure and confident of the future.

And that is the basis for the unexampled unity of the Communist Party. That is why our resolution can speak so soberly,

so concretely, of the tasks of raising this unity and its leadership to a higher level. That is why we charge all leading committees of our Party to strengthen their collective work and leadership, improve their Bolshevik self-criticism, overcome all remnants of sectarianism in the application of our Party's correct policies. That is why we warn against all tendencies to keep our Party at the tail-end of the mass movement, to avoid all moods of self-satisfaction, to weld still more firmly the unity and discipline of the Party, to develop alertness and vigilance on all problems affecting the life of the Party and the mass movements. That is why we emphasize the absolute necessity to ensure collective and friendly discussion of all differences that may arise on political or tactical problems, in order rapidly to overcome them. And that is why we set as the task of all leading bodies of our Party to more consciously assimilate and master the lessons of Comrade Stalin's leadership, so gloriously exemplified in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its world-historic achievement of building the socialist society.

VI. The American Tradition and Socialism

THE Communist Party of the U.S.A. is based upon the fundamental program of the revolutionary socialist reorganization of our country, that is, the assumption of ownership and operation of the national economy by all the people, acting through their State organization, for the benefit of all the people.

Because the majority of the American people are not convinced of the necessity of this socialist reorganization, this program being accepted as yet only by a relatively small minority, and because the main enemy today is fascism, the Communist Party finds it necessary to dedicate

all its forces to realizing the program of the democratic front, and building the organizations of the democratic front, as the only guarantee against the victory of reaction and fascism, which threatens to destroy democracy and all its past achievements, to destroy civilization itself.

The program of the democratic front is not a socialist program. It is the minimum of those measures necessary, under capitalism, to preserve and extend democracy, all those things which have been the heart of the American tradition in the past, ever since the revolutionary foundation of the United States. The program of the democratic front is squarely based upon traditional Americanism.

Of course, the reactionary camp denies this. Everything which in the slightest comes into collision with the profits of monopoly capital they give the all-embracing label of "Communism." Even the middle-of-the-road New Deal of Roosevelt, which insists upon some concessions from monopoly capital to the demands of the people precisely for the purpose of saving the present system from shipwreck and collapse, these blind reactionaries denounce as "red" and "revolutionary" with a bitterness even surpassing for the moment that which they heap upon the real revolutionaries, the Communist Party. But we do not need to waste much time in this Convention in polemic with these "Red baiters," who proved in the elections of 1936 and 1937 that they are largely out of touch with the American masses. By their wild denunciations they have succeeded only in immunizing the great public against the most obvious forms of "Red baiting." In this way Senator Copeland and State Senator McNaboe, for example, by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, have even unwittingly performed a public service—for which, however, there is no need to thank them, for they know not what they do. All the best minds of the democratic camp are now awake to the strategy of the Hitler-Mussolini-Mikado "Anti-Communist Alli-

ance," they recognize the application of that strategy in America's domestic life by the camp of reaction, and they are already armed against it. We must extend this understanding to the broadest masses of the democratic movement, and to all its sincere leading people.

We must address ourselves, however, to those friends and potential allies within the democratic camp, who in a different form entirely see a contradiction between the Communist support of the democratic program today and our aspirations for socialism tomorrow, who see in socialism itself—actual socialism, not the reactionary bogey-man—something alien to the democratic tradition of Americanism. We need to make clear to them, and to ourselves, the true relation between the preservation of democracy today and the achievement of socialism tomorrow.

For the avoidance of all misunderstanding, now and in the future, let us make clear beyond the slightest doubt that the Communist Party is in no way weakening or abandoning its goal of the complete realization of socialism for America at the earliest possible moment, which means as soon as socialism gains the support of the majority. *Because* of this fact, and not, as some seem to think, *despite* it or *refuting* it, we are the most consistent and loyal sector in the democratic front. In our loyalty to socialism lies the key to our loyalty to the democratic front.

Our slogan, which we take directly from Lenin, is: "Through democracy to socialism; through socialism to the highest and complete realization of democracy."

Our program for socialism is organically linked up with, is a necessary outgrowth from, the traditional American democracy as founded by Thomas Jefferson, whose political descendants we are. Let those who try to set off Jefferson against Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, who see in socialism something "imported from abroad," as "alien," be reminded that, in the same sense, Jefferson was also

"importing" the theories of democracy from Europe to America, where they found their first and best realization in that period. Jefferson's greatness arose directly from his all-embracing search through the entire world of thought for the *best from everywhere*, from all lands. Just as America's people became strong and great because it was compounded of the most vigorous and dynamic vanguard drawn from all countries of the Old World, so American democratic philosophy and program was fed by the best thinkers of all the world, and was able to give leadership to the whole world because of that fact. We are following closely in Jefferson's footsteps, therefore, when we reject all narrow nationalism of thought and program, when we range the whole world to find the best from everywhere. Like Jefferson, we believe that America is entitled to the best of everything, whatever its point of origin.

What was the essence of Jefferson's democratic ideas, which formed the fundamental American tradition? It can be summed up in a few propositions:

1. There can be no social health and progress in a society where the selfish private interests of a minority are imposed upon the masses of the people through governmental coercion; government must, therefore, be based upon the will of the majority, democratically expressed.

2. Governmental power, political power, can be built only upon a foundation of economic power, that is, ownership, control, and operation of the basic economy of the country, which is the foundation of social life; the America of the late 18th and early 19th centuries was able to achieve such a foundation by breaking up the great colonial land monopolies and opening up the great territories to the West, and by the widespread distribution of free or cheap lands. Democracy was, therefore, primarily agrarian, supplemented by the city democracy of the handicraftsmen who owned and worked with their own tools.

3. The supreme power, the State, must be endowed with sufficient powers to perform its function to guarantee the social order which erects it, from attacks by selfish minority interests within and from aggression from without, and no more. Therefore, in the democracy based upon widespread distribution of the national economy in the hands of individual producers, there must be a maximum of local self-government, and all government—a necessary evil at best—must be confined to those fields where its operations are indispensable to the solution of the problems of the people.

We Communists unconditionally approve of the Jeffersonian principles thus expressed, and we consider Jefferson's concrete application of them produced the highest, most progressive, society that history had ever seen up to that time. We consider Jefferson's principles equally valid today, when adjusted to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the last 150 years.

What are these changes? They are the changes of the economic revolution, the rise of large-scale power and machine production in industry, the disappearance of individual production, the emergence of giant trusts and monopolies, the subordination of the farm to the city, and the domination of monopoly capital over even the remnants of individual agrarian production. In Jefferson's day, the national economy was overwhelmingly in the hands of the masses of the people. Jefferson's main pre-occupation was with the problem of how to keep it there. He succeeded in raising a superstructure of democratic government, and in establishing a powerful democratic tradition—but his aspiration for a self-perpetuating agrarian democracy was wrecked on the rise of machinery and mechanical power, on the industrial revolution, which he could not foresee. Today, in 1938, the national economy has passed out of the hands of the people; more than 90 per cent of it is directly owned by the great corporations representing a

minute fraction of the population; the whole national economic life is dominated by this minority—the economic royalists—subject to the limitation *only* of the degree of governmental intervention under the influence of the democratic masses. The economic foundations of Jefferson's democracy have disappeared; the superstructure of democratic government and the self-organization of the people this makes possible remain as the sole instruments whereby the masses can influence or control their economy. That is why democracy is threatened today by the economic royalists, by monopoly capital.

The whole democratic mass movement arising today in America is directed toward finding some means to restore the lost economic foundations of Jeffersonian democracy. If it is to remain true to Jefferson's principles, it must find a new and quite different practical program. The old individualistic economy is gone beyond recall; whereas Jefferson could bolster up democracy by the protection of individual private property in production, today all measures to strengthen private property only strengthen the hold of monopoly capital, the rich minority, over the masses of the people. The very existence of democratic self-government is threatened. There is no road leading back to the past. We are forced to abandon Jefferson's dream of an agrarian democracy, if we are to preserve Jefferson's democratic principles.

All the progressive measures of Roosevelt's New Deal are incomplete and fragmentary efforts to apply Jefferson's democratic principles to the new conditions of the twentieth century. They are incomplete and fragmentary because they avoid their logical consequences of a fundamental collision with monopoly capital.

The program for the democratic front which we have elaborated here is a further, and more systematic, effort to apply Jefferson's principles within the limits of the capi-

talist system of production and distribution.

But a full and complete application of Jefferson's principles, the consistent application of democratic ideas to the conditions of today, will lead naturally and inevitably to the full program of the Communist Party, to the socialist reorganization of the United States, to the common ownership and operation of our economy for the benefit of all. To illustrate this, allow me to restate Jefferson's three central ideas in terms of the conditions of today. We then have the following:

1. The first, most basic, Jeffersonian proposition remains unchanged. We can repeat today: There can be no social health and progress in a society where the selfish private interests of a minority are imposed upon the masses of the people through governmental coercion; government must, therefore, be based upon the will of the majority, democratically expressed.

2. Political power can be built only upon a foundation of economic power, the ownership, control, and operation of the basic economy of the country, which is the foundation of social life; America of the twentieth century is a new world, in a deeper sense than the original America was a New World for Europe; it finds its basic and controlling economy in the form of giant enterprises, socially operated, interconnected and interdependent, which cannot be broken up without destruction of the power to produce, which can become the foundation for democratic self-government only if taken over entire through the organs of that democratic self-government. Democracy must become, therefore, an industrial democracy primarily, a democracy of socially-owned and operated industry, supplemented by the agrarian-democratic forces as allies; that is, a socialist democracy.

3. The supreme power, the State, must be endowed with sufficient powers to perform its function to guarantee

the social order which erects it, from attack by selfish minority interests within and from aggression from without, and no more. So far we repeat the original Jeffersonian principle unchanged. But in the conditions of twentieth century economy, which cannot be distributed among individual producers, which must be democratically owned, controlled, and operated, local self-government must be fitted into a national State with all the powers necessary to effectively operate the national economy and protect it from attack; all government—a necessary evil at best—must be directed toward creating a classless society, where exploitation of man by man has been entirely abolished, and where therefore government, the State power, will ultimately become unnecessary and will wither away and disappear.

In this restatement of Jefferson's fundamental democratic principles, we have the only possible solution for the final preservation of these principles. But at the same time we have thereby a complete amalgamation of Jefferson's teachings with those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have the full program of the Communist Party.

That is why, in the work of the Communist Party we realize the program of the democratic front, as well as our fight for the full Communist program, for socialism, we declare that we are continuing the great American tradition, we are carrying on the work of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson, and Lincoln. We express this fusion of the American tradition with socialism when we sing "The Star Spangled Banner" and "The International" together, when we decorate our platform today with the flag of our democratic revolution of the eighteenth century and the red flag of the socialist revolution of the twentieth century. This is the meaning of our slogan:

"Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism."

Conclusion

COMRADES, in the program that we propose to this Convention, in the work we are already doing to realize it, we are creating the revolutionary party of the working class, of the socialist reorganization of America—the mass Communist Party of the U.S.A.

The Communist Party is the most conscious, the most active, the most loyal, the most courageous, the most disciplined army in the struggle for democracy and peace, and through democracy, to socialism.

Let us remind ourselves of the standards set up by our great teacher and guide, Lenin, for such a party. Lenin said:

“How is the discipline of a revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, by its devotion, by its firmness, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain degree, if you wish, *merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers*, primarily with the proletarians, *but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses*. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness *by their own experience*.”

Let us further check our course by the compass of the teachings of our beloved Stalin. Over thirteen years ago, Comrade Stalin uttered some words which are equally good as our guide today, when he said:

"It is necessary that the Party be able to combine in its work the greatest adhesion to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with a maximum of contacts and connections with the masses (not to be confused with 'tailism'!), without which it is not only impossible for the Party to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Party, but to listen to the voice of the masses and divine their sorest needs."

We are realizing the advice given us by our heroic and wise George Dimitroff, when at the Seventh World Congress he showed the way for all Communist Parties:

" . . . to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class*, to become in actual fact a *political factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times *an active Bolshevik mass policy and not confine themselves to propaganda and criticism, and bare appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship*. . . . We want them as quickly as possible *to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather!"

In the spirit of our greatest teachers, we are hammering out a program for the masses in their struggle for jobs, security, democracy, and peace. We are hammering out the unity of the democratic front, which will lead to the American People's Front, the solid guarantee that fascism will never come to power in our country. We are forging ever stronger the indispensable weapon for every stage in the struggle, which will finally carry us through democracy to socialism—the Communist Party.

Forward to victory in the next great battle, the defeat of reaction and fascism, the victory of the majority of the American people, the victory of the democratic front!

