

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

*A magazine devoted
to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism*

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Contents

MARCH, 1946

Lessons of the Strike Struggles	<i>Jack Stachel</i>	195
U. S. Relations With Latin America	<i>William Z. Foster</i>	209
On the Expulsion of Earl Browder from the Communist Party		215
The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism	<i>V. I. Lenin</i>	219
For a Mass Marxist Party of the Working Class!	<i>John Williamson</i>	224
The Housing Crisis	<i>Henry Schubart</i>	240
What the South Faces Today	<i>Nat Ross</i>	254
The Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Palestine		
	<i>Resolution of the IX Congress of the C.P. of Palestine</i>	266
The Trusteeship Question	<i>E. Zhukov</i>	282

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LESSONS OF THE STRIKE STRUGGLES

By JACK STACHEL

AT NO TIME in the history of the United States have so many workers been on strike at the same time as at the beginning of this year. At one point, the number reached close to two million. The workers involved included entire industries, as in the case of the steel and the packing-house workers, the majority of the workers employed by the giant electrical manufacturing corporations, all employees of General Motors, and the farm equipment workers. Outstanding local strikes during this period included A. F. of L. machinists, the Western Union employees in New York, the Western Electric workers in New Jersey, the A. F. of L. tugboatmen in New York, and numerous strikes of the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent union workers in diverse industries in all parts of the country. In addition to those millions actually engaged in strikes, workers comprising additional millions, such as railroad workers, maritime workers, shipbuilding workers, rubber workers, metal miners, building trades workers, garment workers, and many others were pressing for their wage demands, in many cases preparing for strike action. Prior to this high point in the wage and strike movement, other workers had already gained a rise in wages either through strikes, as in the case of the oil workers and the New York

longshoremen, or through direct collective bargaining negotiations, as in the case of the men's clothing workers, textile workers, leather workers, etc.

Thus it can be said that the wage movement in the immediate post-war period, not only became nationwide, but actually embraced the majority of the organized workers. And while the C.I.O. unions were in the forefront of both the wage and strike struggles, the wage demands and the strikes embraced large sections of the A. F. of L. workers, the independent unions, and in some cases unorganized workers as well. An outstanding feature of these struggles is the large number of utility workers and white collar workers, largely unorganized, or organized into independent unions, which entered the struggle for the first time.

THE STRIKES AND THE LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE

There can be no doubt that a favorable outcome in the strikes of the workers in the major industries now led by the C.I.O. unions will further accelerate the wage movement and lay the basis for a new upsurge in the organization of the unorganized.

The breadth, depth, and momentum of the wage and strike movements, the solidarity and resoluteness

of the strikers, and the strong solidarity of all workers with the strikers are due, not only to the growing maturity of the labor movement, but also to the serious drop in take-home pay resulting from a cut in the hours of employment, abolition of premium pay, downgrading, etc. The C.I.O. proved conclusively that during the war the basic wage rates had increased only 16 per cent, while the increase in the cost of living amounted to a minimum of 45 per cent. With workers going back to a 40-hour-week at the mere basic rates, and with the cost of living threatened even further as price control was increasingly being undermined, it was inevitable that the workers, now organized 14 million-strong into their trade unions, would not accept this deterioration of their living standards. Another factor playing a role in the development of this struggle was the growing realization that the monopolists were out to weaken and undermine the trade unions preparatory to a more frontal attack both on the living standards of the workers and the trade unions, once they succeeded in weakening the unions.

The more progressive of the labor organizations were fully aware of the relationship of the struggle for full employment to the struggle for wage increases. The mass lay-offs following V-J Day, involving many millions and hitting hardest at the Negro and women workers, resulted in a renewed demand on the part of the workers for the passage of the

Murray Full Employment Bill, for the raising of unemployment benefits uniformly throughout the country to a maximum of \$25 a week for 26 weeks, and for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. Big Business, on the other hand, bent upon reducing the workers' living standards, anxious for a large reserve army of unemployed, seeking to promote division between the white and Negro workers—all for the purpose of taking the offensive against the workers and the trade unions—unloosed the most vicious campaign against these legislative proposals. Thus far, in this fight, the labor and people's movement has been unable to rally its forces to the maximum extent. With the growing wage and strike struggles there has even been a weakening of this fight and an insufficient realization of the inter-relationship of the struggle on these questions with those of the wage demands and the defense of the trade unions. The full employment bill has in fact been turned into almost its opposite. The increased unemployment compensation bill has been pigeonholed, and the FEPC legislation has again been shelved through the shameful filibuster of the poll-tax Senators in connivance with the reactionary Republicans and the passive acquiescence of the Truman Administration.

The relationship of the legislative struggle to that on the picket lines is now being brought home to the workers by the attempt to force through Congress vicious anti-labor

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legislation for curbing the unions, while the courts are being used in increasing cases in an attempt to lay the basis for breaking the strikes through the infamous injunctions. What is also being brought home to all the common people is the fact that the workers' struggle for wages, for the protection of their unions, and for progressive legislation, is a people's fight, that the struggle carried on by the trade unions is in reality a struggle in behalf of all the common people against the conspiracy of the trusts.

It would be the most serious mistake, either to underestimate the reactionary character and consequences of the Case Bill, just passed by the House, or to rely on either the Senate to defeat or the President to veto this bill or similar legislation without the development of a broad and consistent fight of labor and its allies.

LABOR'S FIGHT

THE PEOPLE'S FIGHT

The workers' fight for increased wages had, from the beginning, the sympathy of large sections of the people as a whole. This support was won by the workers through the realization on the part of most Americans of the justice of the workers' demands, the huge profits amassed by the trusts in the course of the war, and the prospect for a continuation of high profits in the postwar period. It resulted from the profiteering by the monopolies which hit at all the people, from their drive against all price controls with the object of in-

creasing their colossal profits. This support also came to labor because the American people were able to see that labor placed the national interests uppermost throughout the war against Nazism and fascism, while the trusts held up conversion to war production until they forced the government to accept their terms. The people saw in the sabotage by the trusts of postwar reconversion, the same disregard for the people's interests.

But especially did the sabotage of the trusts become clear to the masses of the American people when the monopolists arrogantly turned down even the compromise 19½-cents-an-hour wage increase recommendations of the Government Fact Finding Board, as in the case of the General Motors Corporation, and when the steel trust turned down even a further compromise of 18½ cents for the steel workers recommended by President Truman. It became obvious to all clear-thinking average Americans that the fight of labor was a fight of all the people against what C.I.O. President Murray called the "evil conspiracy of the trusts."

This conspiracy represents an assault upon the great mass of the people. Able to pay more than the full \$2-a-day wage increase demanded by most of the workers, the trusts refused to pay even a \$1.44 increase unless they received price increases which would not only cover this increase but be much in excess of it. At the same time, the

monopolists, by putting forward their so-called company security demands, coupled their fight for price increases with an attempt to rob the unions of the protection they had gained for the workers in the form of union security. This demand on their part is, in substance, an effort to do away with the closed shop, maintenance of membership clauses, etc., and in fact lays the basis for the return of the open shop and unrestricted company dictatorship over the workers' right to work and their working conditions.

But not all the plans of Big Business, in its assault on the workers' living standards and the trade unions, have materialized. One of their most important aims was to utilize the returning war veterans against labor, as they had done with such success after the First World War. They were able to poison the minds of many servicemen during World War II by magnifying, exaggerating, and distorting the strikes that they themselves had provoked. But thus far their attempts to use the veterans against labor have failed miserably. The returning veterans have quickly learned the true facts and can now see for themselves the responsibility of the arrogant and profit-soaked trusts for the present strikes. They can see that in these attacks on the labor movement there is also an attack against their own living standards and against their families. The result is that the returning veterans are almost everywhere among the most active strikers

and in many cases are among the leading forces on the picket lines, in the strike committee, and in other phases of the activity in winning the workers' demands. The veterans could play an even greater role if the unions would in all cases realize the great contribution they have to make and take measures to bring about their full support and activity. The unions also must take up a more active struggle for the special demands of the veterans on such issues as demobilization, housing, job protection, job training and education, etc.

Despite the failure of a number of trade unions to take up the fight for the Negroes' right to work and the generally insufficient struggle on the part of the unions against the mass layoffs of Negro workers following V-J Day, the Negro workers are, in the present strike struggles, displaying the same militancy and maturity that they have already displayed in the course of a number of years in the economic and political struggles of labor and the people as a whole. With the great strike of the packinghouse workers as the outstanding example, Negro workers are to be found in the forefront of the struggle everywhere. These same workers who, in the period following the First World War, were brought North by the capitalists in an attempt to crush the workers' struggle, are today among the most progressive and militant trade unionists. At this point it must be stated, however, that most of the

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trade unions, including some of the more progressive, have not yet drawn the Negro workers to any large degree into the leading bodies of the unions, and that this narrow and dangerous course is also reflected in the setting up of the strike machinery. In addition, the labor movement cannot continue to neglect the necessary fight for the right of the Negro workers to all jobs without discrimination.

NO RELIANCE ON THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION

The present strike struggles have already dispelled many illusions among large sections of the American workers, chief among these being the illusion that the present Truman Administration can be relied upon to fight on their side. From the very beginning the Truman Administration has been pursuing a vacillating course which in substance has usually ended in making concessions to Big Business at the expense of labor and the rest of the common people. Immediately following V-J Day, when the workers were confronted with mass layoffs, the Administration failed to come forward with a program to aid these laid-off workers through "dismissal pay" or to speed reconversion. If, after some hesitation, it did give lip-service to the workers' demands for the enactment of legislation for increasing unemployment compensation and for a full employment bill, not only was nothing done to mobilize the people to bring pres-

sure on Congress for its enactment, but spokesmen for the President were allowed to wink to Congress that this is not "must" legislation and that the President was always willing to accept a "good" compromise. The result is, no legislation along these lines. And even now nothing is being done by the Administration except an occasional speech paying lip-service to the proposals originally embodied in President Roosevelt's new Bill of Rights, and rendered concrete by labor and pro-labor members of Congress in legislative proposals.

Nor is the record any better when it comes to the fight to maintain take-home pay. In his very first speech on this question the President took the position that the workers will have to take some cut in take-home pay. Thus, he gave direct encouragement to the assault of Big Business on the living standards of the workers. He thereby also failed to keep one of the promises made by President Roosevelt to labor during the war. By centering attention on questions of procedure in settling labor-management disputes, and ruling out consideration of the wage question at the Labor-Management Conference, the President again aided the employers against labor. This he followed up almost immediately with his "cooling off" proposal to Congress, which was instantly condemned by all sections of the labor movement. It is now obvious that this anti-labor proposal was a direct encouragement to the employ-

ers to resist the workers' wage demands and has opened the door to the more vicious Case anti-labor bill.

The big trusts in the steel, electrical, and auto industries defied, not only labor and the people, but even the President's own compromise proposal. They did this even when the steel workers had first delayed their strike for one week, after having been "cooled off" for many months, and then accepted the President's 18½ cents proposal so arrogantly turned down by the steel barons. One can only imagine what might have happened, had the union turned down a proposal by the President while the trusts accepted it. Yet what course did the President take? In this instance the President took no measures against the trusts that had forced the strike upon the steel workers and disrupted the whole of the nation's economy. He did not denounce the greedy monopolists. He did not go before Congress demanding a change in the tax laws which, through rebates, made it profitable for the companies to defy the people. He did not ask for measures to investigate the evident conspiracy of all of Big Business against the people, their violation of the anti-trust laws and the Wagner Act. Instead he entered into negotiation with them as to what price they would consider adequate.

Government seizure of plants and ordering of strikers back to work under the old conditions, carried through by President Truman, as in the case of the oil workers, have

benefitted the monopolists and not labor. Unlike wartime seizures, which were directed against the trusts and were in the interests of the war effort, the seizures now have actually aided the employers in their attacks on labor by curbing the right to strike. The packinghouse workers set a new pattern of how to prevent government intervention and seizure from being used against the workers. They did this by their insistence on guarantees that the government would immediately put into effect the recommendations of the fact-finding board; by their demand that the wage increases be retroactive; and by their declaration that they were returning to work under a truce, without calling off the strike against the employers, until such time as the workers received a satisfactory agreement.

There can be no doubt that, as a result of the policies of the Truman Administration, whatever gains the workers will win in their wage demands—as a result of their struggle, their sacrifices, and the support of the people—will be at least partially lost through the price concessions that the trusts are about to receive.

To be sure, the course of the Truman Administration is not at the present time identical with that of the open strike-breaking course followed by Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover after the First World War. The whole world situation is today quite different. The American people, fresh from having won a war to crush Nazism and fascism, are

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not the same. The labor movement, 14,000,000 strong, with the workers having learned many lessons in the great crisis of 1929 and during the war, moving more and more towards independent political action in alliance with the farmers and the middle classes in the cities, is not the same. But neither is the Truman Administration the same as that of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The present administration, in its policies, in the men now surrounding the President, is an administration which, while still sensitive to the pressure of the people in the fields both of foreign and domestic policy, is constantly making concessions to, and is more and more bending to the will of, the big trusts and their reactionary spokesmen in Congress.

As a consequence of this policy of the Truman Administration, the workers and other strata of the common people are learning the necessity of relying on their own strength, which must be better organized and exercised more independently so as to press both Congress and the Administration to heed their demands. In the case of our military intervention in China and elsewhere, the people have learned that only through their organized efforts could they check the administration policy conducted in the interests of the imperialists, who wish to break up the Big Three Unity and replace it with the Big Stick in their quest for world domination. Similarly, on the domestic field, the people are drawing the same lesson.

Labor is learning, in the course of the present wage and strike struggles, that, in the main, the two old parties do the bidding of Big Business. It is learning that the poll-tax Democrats and the reactionary Republican Party have a stranglehold on Congress which both the Administration and most of the Northern Democrats in and out of Congress are unwilling or unable to break. There are, of course, some notable exceptions, of progressive forces both in the Congress and in the Cabinet, but they too have not come forward with sufficient aggressiveness and clarity in this struggle. The lesson for labor and its allies is therefore being driven home more and more. This lesson is that the labor and progressive forces must organize themselves politically as an independent force. They will continue to press upon the Administration, upon Congress, and they will not remain neutral when any issue in which their interests are at all involved is being fought out between the Administration and its followers on the one side and its more reactionary opponents on the other (and this holds for the Congressional elections as well). But only as a politically independent force can they make their pressure effective today and not allow themselves to be trapped into a situation in the 1948 elections where, in the absence of an alternative, they will be confronted with the "lesser evil" plea which, when responded to, brings only defeat. This means that the la-

bor and progressive force, while guarding against sectarianism, premature organizational steps, or indifference to the developments within either of the old parties, should boldly promote the building of local and state third parties where the conditions are favorable and should aim towards the formation of the national anti-fascist people's third party in time for it to be a factor in the 1948 elections.

A. F. OF L. COUNCIL DOES NOT SPEAK FOR LABOR

A major responsibility for the adamant stand of Big Business against the demands of labor must be placed upon the shoulders of the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. Council which has now added to its ranks the most reactionary of all so-called labor leaders—John L. Lewis. The A. F. of L. Council has spurned every effort to establish unity of action on the part of the labor movement either in defense of the wages and working conditions of labor or on the legislative front. One of the postwar objectives of the Hutchesons and Lewises, ably assisted by the Social-Democrat, Dubinsky, has been to destroy the powerful C.I.O. They placed great hopes on the C.I.O. disintegrating under the impact of difficulties in the postwar period. And now they are doing more than this, they are giving direct aid to the employers in their attack on labor, with the hope that they will thus defeat the C.I.O. That such a defeat, if actually

accomplished, would, at the same time, be a blow against the A. F. of L. workers, little concerns these misleaders of labor. Most of them, undoubtedly, would welcome this as they find it increasingly difficult to prevent the mass of the A. F. of L. workers from entering into struggle and carrying on joint struggles with the C.I.O. unions. After the First World War and the growth of the A. F. of L. unions to over four million, they in fact consciously pursued policies which reduced the A. F. of L. to a mere two million members, mostly in the skilled trades. And, until the formation of the C.I.O., they did nothing to organize the unorganized whom they labeled "unorganizable."

The A. F. of L. Council showed its hand on the side of the employers at the Labor-Management Conference. These die-hards, too, were opposed to Philip Murray's demand that the conference take up the wage issue as the only means of preventing the coming strikes. Now, at the height of the strike struggles, they give open encouragement to the employers by calling the workers \$2-a-day wage demand "excessive" and they try to pin the responsibility for the strikes upon the C.I.O. by their empty boasts that the A. F. of L. has won wage increases for two million workers without strikes. At a moment when the whole labor movement is confronted with the direct attack of the Big Trusts, when the reactionaries in Congress are pressing for anti-labor legislation,

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the A. F. of L. Council dramatically takes sides with the open shoppers and labor-baiters against the C.I.O. It is at this moment that they choose to bring Lewis into the A. F. of L. Council, providing further encouragement to the employers in their war against all labor.

This brazen, strike-breaking role of the A. F. of L. Council, with Lewis spearheading the fight against the C.I.O. exposes more than ever the true role of the top leaders of the A. F. of L. Disappointed by the shattering of their hopes that the C.I.O. would disintegrate after the war, fearful of the growing radicalization of the A. F. of L. membership, they now declare war on the labor movement. But their policy also exposes their growing bankruptcy. The A. F. of L. workers are not following their course. The A. F. of L. workers, in increasing numbers, are fighting for wage demands no less "excessive" than those of the C.I.O. as measured by the A. F. of L. Council yardstick. And even such arch-reactionaries as Joseph P. Ryan, "life" president of the International Longshoremen's Association, dares not openly attack the demand of New York tugboatmen striking for more than a two-dollar-a-day wage increase only a week after the A. F. of L. Council's stab in the back of labor. Millions of A. F. of L. workers have already raised demands similar to those of the C.I.O. Countless tens of thousands of A. F. of L. workers have been on strike, are on strike now, or are preparing to strike. And more

and more the A. F. of L. organizations are giving their pennies and dollars to help their C.I.O. brothers on strike.

Conditions exist today within the A. F. of L. for a big advance of the progressive forces against the reactionaries. Not only the rank and file, but leaders of local, city, state and, in many cases, even national organizations, cannot, or dare not, go along with this policy being pursued by the A. F. of L. Council. What is now needed is for the progressive forces in the A. F. of L. to effect better organization of their forces, and to unify their struggle against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. Council. They must lead the fight for a repudiation of the Council's anti-labor policies. They must provide leadership to the struggle of the A. F. of L. workers for wage increases. The progressive forces should increase their actions in solidarity with the C.I.O. workers and take up a serious fight for united action and labor unity. Greater initiative on the part of the C.I.O. unions in the struggle for labor unity would also aid in further exposing the Hutchesons, Lewises and Dubinskys, and promote the fight for labor unity within the A. F. of L.

C.I.O. LEADS THE FIGHT OF ALL LABOR

The C.I.O. is emerging from the wage and strike struggles with greater prestige and authority, not only among all sections of the labor movement, but also among the broad

masses of the people. This is so because, under President Murray's able leadership, the C.I.O. is not only defending the economic and political interests of its own members, of the entire working class, but has through its policies demonstrated that it is at the same time leading the peoples' fight against the trusts, that it stands in the forefront of the struggle for greater economic security for the people, against reaction and fascism, and for the carrying forward of President Roosevelt's policy of Big Three unity as the cornerstone of world peace.

Immediately after V-J Day, the C.I.O. converted the fight for the revision of the "little steel" formula into what has become the present nationwide fight for the maintenance of take-home pay. At the same time the C.I.O. made its voice felt in the halls of Congress for the enactment of the full employment bill, for increased compensation to the unemployed, for a permanent FEPC and other progressive legislation. President Murray correctly utilized the Labor-Management Conference to dramatize the wage fight, thus exposing, from the beginning, the aims of Big Business and the sabotage of the Lewises and the Hutchesons. Of special significance, and a milestone in labor's fight for progress, was Murray's famous Pittsburgh speech denouncing President Truman's "cooling off" proposal. This speech became the battlecry of the entire labor movement and did more than any other single act to help mobilize for the fight against the reactionary at-

tempt to curb the trade unions.

By all these measures, the C.I.O. laid the basis for the present strike struggles, demonstrating the true character of this fight as issuing from the attack of the monopolies against the people and exposing the full responsibility of Big Business for these strikes. The C.I.O. also, even before the beginning of the General Motors strike, convened a conference of the Big Three in the C.I.O.—steel, electrical and auto—for the purpose of achieving the beginnings of a coordinated fight of the major C.I.O. unions. It was at this conference that the recommendation was made for a uniform demand of a \$2 wage increase. This proposal was adopted by the steel and electrical unions, while the auto workers union adopted a 30 per cent proposal, part of which was to be used for adjustment of inequalities, so that the actual wage demand amounted to about 23 or 24 per cent.

But, unfortunately, some of the leaders of the United Automobile Workers of America, led by Vice-President, Reuther, basing themselves on the erroneous conception that they could win their demands through a policy of dividing the Big Three in the auto industry, struck the General Motors plants on November 21st. Whatever other motives may have entered into Reuther's consideration, it is now clear that this was a great disservice to the entire labor movement. This question is no longer in the realm of debate. It is obvious to everyone that it failed. It should have

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been obvious from the beginning that it could not succeed. Events have demonstrated that not only the big corporations in the auto industry, but all of Big Business, were acting unitedly in their drive on the workers' living standards, and in their attack on the trade unions. The only successful policy to meet this situation should have been a united strategy on the part of labor.

Reuther's policy, which was supported by the die-hard Social-Democratic elements in both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., while it may have appeared as very militant to some, was actually one of right opportunism because it underestimated the true aims of the monopolies, was based on illusions regarding their role. In actual practice it was a direct aid to the employers because it tended to disrupt the common strategy aimed at by the C.I.O. and its major affiliates, and threw one section of labor into battle at a time when it was inopportune to test the strength of labor as a whole. The General Motors workers will win their demands for wage increases, not because of Reuther's tactics, but in spite of them. They will undoubtedly receive increases similar to those already granted to the Ford and Chrysler workers because of the united struggle being conducted by the steel workers, the electrical workers, the packinghouse workers, as well as the great sacrifices and remarkable unity on the part of the General Motors workers, who will have been on strike eight weeks longer than any

of the other workers.

Another weakness in the General Motors strike resulting from Reuther's tactics, was the manner in which he coupled the fight for wages with that against price increases. It is absolutely correct and essential for the entire labor movement and all the people to fight against price increases, for price control, and to emphasize the ability of the capitalists to grant the workers' full wage demands without price increases. We must oppose such policies, as practiced by Lewis and Dubinsky, of entering into collusion with the employers, where the labor leaders advocate price increases to compensate for wage increases. But it is another thing to do as Reuther did, so to couple wages and prices in one industry as to play into the hands of the employers and endanger the strike. Reuther, in fact, continually stated that the auto workers want no increases in wages if it can be demonstrated that they cannot be granted without price increase. We are certain he did not reflect the opinions of the GM workers in such a stand. The correct policy on this question—which essentially is being followed by the C.I.O. under Murray's leadership—is to fight for the maximum wage demands on the basis of the workers' needs, to expose the exploitation of the workers in the industry and the big profits of the trusts, while at the same time developing a broad, popular fight against the pressure of the trusts for price increases.

Another danger that developed in the course of the negotiations in the auto industry involved the attempts of the employers to emasculate the unions, to introduce the crassest class collaboration and elements of company unionism into the agreements and the practices of the trade unions. Thus we see that the GM corporation is demanding the abolition of the present maintenance of membership clause in the contract, while the Ford company has demanded a so-called "company security" clause which, if adopted, would convert the unions into an instrument for speeding up the workers, curbing their militancy, and giving the company an unrestricted right to dismiss workers on the slightest pretense. Unfortunately, some of the union leaders, instead of denouncing this plot, made counter-proposals which were no less dangerous. In fact, the only difference in the proposals was that while the company wanted to impose fines on the unions as such, the union representative, in the negotiations, proposed that fines be levied directly upon the workers. The overwhelming majority of the Ford workers have already declared their unconditional opposition to all such proposals. Even in the agreement signed by the U.A.W.A. with Kaiser, an agreement which on the whole is a big gain for the union, the bonus clause opens the road to speed-up and the dampening of the workers' militancy, while at the same time creating false illusions about labor-management partnership. Especially now

—when we know that the capitalists, unable to destroy the unions as they would like to, are out to gain concessions which would open the unions later to attack from without and within—it is necessary for the entire labor movement to guard against bonus systems, fine systems, etc., all of which are intended to curb the unions through agreements, while anti-labor legislation is counted upon to do the rest.

The strike struggles have everywhere exposed all the strong and weak sides of the labor movement. These gigantic strikes showed for the first time that those unions that had made good advances in building progressive and democratic organizations, had prepared the workers ideologically, had brought about a greater participation of the membership in the inner life of the unions, and had taken up the fight against anti-Negro discrimination, were able to develop the maximum strike activity, involvement in mass picketing, etc. Because of the failure of many national and local organizations, they faced great difficulty in activating their membership. Partly, this was also due to the widespread illusions that the strikes would be of only short duration and that the employers would not attempt to reopen their plants. This was often aggravated by orders from the top leaders or regional officials counselling against policies designed fully to activate the membership or develop wide solidarity actions on the part of the entire labor movement in a given locality in support of the

strikes. The danger of the existence of passivity in a number of areas or industries has become more evident every day as the employers resort to the use of injunctions and, through other provocative means, attempt to disrupt the strikes. This latter development, while emphasizing the need to overcome quickly the existing weaknesses, also creates a firmer basis for the rapid solution of these questions.

THE ROLE AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

The Communist are almost everywhere playing an important role in helping to forge victory for the striking workers, a victory in which the future of the whole labor movement and of all progressive America is involved. Those Communists belonging to unions directly involved in the strike struggles are, as was to be expected, in the forefront of the struggle on the picket lines, in helping to unify the workers, in relief activity, in the mobilization of mass support to their unions. In those areas and industries where the Communists are more numerous among the workers, or even if few in numbers have established themselves among the workers on the basis of their union activity, it is almost universally true that the strike struggles are better organized and a greater section of the workers is being involved. In such cases, mass picketing is more quickly developed and company provocations more easily met. Unfortunately, as a result of the whole of our previous period

of revisionism and the liquidation of our activity in many of the basic industries, there are far too many areas where Communists are either nonexistent or have been separated from the Party for a long time.

The Communist organizations, in these strikes, have taken the first steps in support of the strikes as organizations. They have not only helped mobilize support among other workers and in the community generally for the strikers, but have given direct aid on the picket lines; in the collection of relief, which is being turned over to the strikers in the name of the local Party organizations; in establishing canteens on wheels for the pickets; and in many other ways. While there have been cases where union leaders, because of the pressure of the reactionary forces in the community, have been hesitant to accept such cooperation, it is being greeted by most workers and an increasing number of local strike committees.

The Communist organizations have made some efforts to bring the *Worker*, the *Daily Worker*, and the left and progressive foreign language press to the strikers. While the actual number of papers sold or distributed is small in comparison with the number of workers involved in the strike struggles, these papers are having, in many cases, a significant influence on the strikes because they reach key workers active in the strike struggle, and influence the thinking of many others. One of the great contributions made by the Communists and the

Communist press is the exposure of the provocative activities of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites who, camouflaging themselves in the mantle of militancy, are trying to disrupt the unity of the workers and the strategy of the C.I.O., led by Murray.

Some beginnings have been made in the speeches of Comrade Foster, in articles and editorials in the *Daily Worker*, in the activity of individual Communists and local Communist organizations, to give a more fundamental explanation of the great strike struggles, their relationship to the struggle against the reactionary drive of the monopolists for world domination, the fight to curb the trusts, the fight for nationalization of key industries and the inevitable final outcome of the workers' struggle—Socialism. At the same time, it must be said that this phase of our activity thus far remains the weakest front in the work of the Communists. This may also explain why, with some notable exceptions, the building of the Party in the course of the strike struggles does not keep pace with the heightened activity of the Communists in the service of labor.

Without being boastful or self-satisfied, the Communists of the United States, under the leadership of Comrade Foster, can be proud of the contributions they are making to labor's victory. They are able to do this only because they have corrected, in time, the situation which existed in the Communist movement until last May. Had Browderism con-

tinued to dominate our movement, the Communists would today be isolated from these great struggles. Once before, prior to the great economic crisis of 1929, the Communist movement was in a crisis. At that time the right opportunist and adventurer, Lovestone, stood at the head of the Party. By expelling Lovestone, by a correct struggle against Lovestoneism, the Party was able to play an important role in the struggles of that day which led to the establishment of social security and the organization of the unorganized. By expelling Browder and rooting out of our Party all vestiges of Browder's policies of dependence upon the Big Bourgeoisie instead of upon the working class, our Party, which is already playing an important role in the labor and progressive movements, will now be able to make even greater contributions to labor, to all the people. In the struggle to forge a broad anti-fascist people's coalition in the struggle for peace, for greater economic security, and for the defense and extension of the people's democratic liberties, our Party will grow in numbers and maturity. It will help the workers understand the nature of the struggle and the ultimate solution of the pressing problems of today. It will, by always being part of the broadest movement of the people, and yet never forgetting its principles and its independent role, make the greatest contributions to the struggles of today and educate and prepare the people in the struggle for Socialism.

U.S. RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(Address delivered in Havana on January 28, 1946, at the government-owned Sports Arena, before a capacity gathering of 15,000 people, with some 35,000 more in the great overflow meeting. The enormous gathering was held under the auspices of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, at the conclusion of its Third National Assembly.—The Editors.)

THE COLLABORATION, politically, economically, and culturally, of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere is indispensable for the well-being of these peoples. It is also one of the basic conditions for a powerful United Nations and for maintaining world peace. In order that such all-American cooperation may exist to the fullest extent, each of the nations of North, Central, and South America must enjoy full national independence, become broadly industrialized, and exercise the right to develop its internal democracy entirely without reactionary outside interference. However, the powerful imperialist interests of the United States reject these necessary bases of all-American cooperation. These exploiters of the peoples consider the Latin-American countries as their

special imperialist preserve, and they are following policies which seriously infringe upon the national freedom, industrialization, and democracy of the Latin American peoples.

This interference by United States imperialism in the lives of the 140,000,000 Latin Americans must cease. It is a grave injury to the peoples south of the Rio Grande. Moreover, it works serious harm to the people of the United States by hampering the development of friendly economic and political relations with the many Latin American republics, and it is also a menace to world peace. Among the many changes in the policies of the United States toward Latin America that the Communist Party of the United States fights for, and in these matters it undoubtedly expresses the will of millions of our citizens, are the following.

First, a drastic change is necessary in the attitude of the United States towards the national independence of Latin American countries. To begin with, the United States must concede the full right of self-determination to Puerto Rico, without any "ifs," "ands," or "buts." In doing this, the United States must also grant the necessary funds to the Puerto Rican people as indemnification for their long colonial status, as well as make trade agreements of such a character that Puerto Rico may prosper economically. To do this is an obligation which the United States cannot evade, and which all of Latin America and the progres-

sive movement in the United States should insist upon.

The United States should also turn over to the Latin American governments the various military bases it now holds in their respective countries, and promptly repatriate all the American soldiers, sailors, and marines now in these lands. The war has long been over, and the continued holding of these bases can only serve to intimidate the various Latin American peoples. It is ridiculous to try to justify our maintaining these bases on the ground that they are necessary for the military security of the United States.

The United States must also refrain from interfering militarily in the life of Latin American peoples, either on its own initiative, as in the Hoover days, or jointly with Latin American governments, as proposed recently by Uruguay. Such military intervention could only result in United States domination of the country invaded. Should it become necessary to restrain by armed force any aggressor nation in the Western Hemisphere, this should be the responsibility of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, not of the United States or of any group of Latin American countries under United States leadership.

Another important necessity for strengthening Latin American independence is that in the General Assembly of the UNO there must be no pressure exerted by the United States upon the Latin American

nations to compel them to form a bloc under control of the United States, as is now the case. The preservation of world peace and the stability of the UNO, as well as international collaboration throughout the Western Hemisphere, demand that in the UNO the Latin American nations should act as free and independent nations, and not as subordinate parts of an imperialist bloc under the domination of the United States.

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Secondly, we must develop a helpful role on the part of the United States in the industrialization of Latin America. It is an undeniable fact that the United States policy has long worked against the growth of a diversified industry in the Latin American countries. This policy harms every American nation, including the United States. For at least fifty years our economic policy in Latin America has been basically colonial. It has been directed, on the one hand, at monopolizing the markets for the United States, and, on the other hand, at preventing the development of Latin American industries competitive with those in the United States. This policy was essentially continued with some modifications, under the liberal Roosevelt regime, and is even more emphasized under President Truman. To change these reactionary policies and to facilitate the industrialization of Latin America, a number of major measures are necessary.

For one thing, the United States should at once extend large loans to the democratic nations of Latin America, where such loans have the sanction of the trade unions and other peoples' organizations in the Latin American countries concerned. These loans should be for long terms and should bear low interest rates, if any. The loans should also be free of reactionary political conditions and should be available for the broadest and most varied industrialization.

The Latin American nations must also be recognized as having the fullest freedom to trade among themselves and abroad, by barter and otherwise, without United States interference. At present, however, the United States is treading heavily upon the right of the Latin American nations to trade with one another. Moreover, the young, new industries of Latin America should be protected through the necessary devices in trade agreements against what would otherwise be the fatal competition of the highly developed industries of the United States. The so-called "Economic Charter," adopted not long ago at Chapultepec, is an imperialist document which unduly favors United States trade and capital investment. It should, therefore, be radically amended to meet the needs of the Latin American peoples.

That the industrialization of Latin America will benefit the United States greatly, by considerably in-

creasing United States foreign trade with the countries to the south of us, is evidenced by the case of Canada. Canada, which is a highly industrialized country, has more trade with the United States than all of the Latin American countries combined, although it has less than one-tenth of their population.

In the United States, we Communists will do everything in our power to make our whole nation understand that in the interest of its own liberty and well-being it must bring our government to follow a policy of treating Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Panama and all of the Latin American countries as countries equal in independence and rights with the United States, and that the United States must aid them in their economic development.

We Communists of the United States will not limit ourselves to general declarations. We will support the aspirations of Cuba to have guarantees for her sugar crop, corresponding to the help Cuba gives to the United States by selling it almost her entire production of sugar at a reduced price. We will support militantly every progressive demand of every Latin American country that advances the welfare and economy of its people.

It is important, in working for Latin American trade and industrialization, that every Latin American nation should concern itself with all the economic agreements entered into between the United States and

individual Latin American countries. They should do this both with and without the Pan-American Union. This collaboration is necessary because the Latin American peoples are not strong enough to bargain individually on an equal basis with the much more powerful United States. Experience has long demonstrated that, when they engage in such individual bargaining, as they now practice, they fall easy victims to imperialist-minded United States monopolists. The more the Latin American countries cooperate together in economic and political affairs, the more favorable terms they will arrive at with the United States, and the better it will be for all the peoples concerned.

In the postwar period, with peace prevailing, the most potent imperialist weapon possessed by the United States is not its Army, Navy, or Air Force, and, likewise, not its atom bomb; it is its vast financial and economic power. With huge resources at its command, it can and does compel borrowing nations to grant it important political concessions. The United States, therefore, cannot expect to be permitted, in a world wrecked by war, to use recklessly this powerful economic strength on an international scale, any more than it would be permitted to employ its military force as it sees fit. Therefore, all the Latin American countries must especially concern themselves with the character of their general economic re-

lations with the United States. The regulation of the way in which the United States uses its economic power is a major question that should also interest the UNO itself. It will be difficult for the people of the United States to understand the need for such regulation, but it is one of the lessons we must learn in the difficult international situation now confronting us.

* * *

Thirdly, it is vital to fight for a change in the attitude of the United States towards democracy in Latin American countries. The rapidly growing democratic forces of Latin America have many enemies to fight—among others, landowners, big capitalists, fascists and reactionary clericals. And not the least of their enemies are the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, exploiters who are uniformly to be found on the side of reaction. Have we not recently seen Berle's insolent interference in the Brazilian elections, the importation of arms into Mexico from the United States by Sinarquistas, and similar reactionary incidents throughout Latin America? And just now Carlos Prestes has warned us that reactionary forces in the United States, to save their own interests, are trying to provoke a war between Brazil and Argentina. While taking advantage of all contradictions between rival imperialist powers, the Argentine peoples must understand that

the present hostile attitude of the United States Department of State toward the notoriously reactionary and pro-fascist Peron government of Argentina is primarily designed to break the power of its strong rival in that country, British imperialism. The United States is not fighting for Argentinian democracy as such, but for its own reactionary imperialist interests.

Obviously, United States opposition to Latin American democracy, and its reactionary interference in the life of the various countries, constitute a danger to all the peoples of this hemisphere. The Latin American nations are quite qualified to establish their own democracy without the more than dubious interference of United States imperialism, and to this end they should be supported by the labor movement, and by the progressives generally, in the United States.

An especially dangerous form of imperialist attack against Latin American democracy is the persistent attempt of the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor to split the Latin American trade union movement. During the past dozen years the workers of Latin America, in the face of fascist terror and extreme reaction, have built splendid trade union organizations, in many countries, totalling several millions of members. These unions, in their mutual interest, have combined themselves into the Latin American Confederation of Labor,

headed by Lombardo Toledano. But the leaders of the A. F. of L. are arrogantly trying to wreck this great new labor movement. The workers of Latin America, therefore, should understand and deal with such disrupting efforts for what they are—maneuvers of United States imperialism. Men like Matthew Woll, the A. F. of L. specialist on Latin America, are as much imperialist in their outlook as the big monopolists themselves, and they should be treated as such. The project of the A. F. of L. leaders to split the labor movement of Latin America is the labor phase of the attempt by the imperialists of the United States to strengthen their grip on Latin America. In this sense, the A. F. of L.'s splitting program should be fought both by the workers of Latin America and of the United States.

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The above-mentioned measures are some of the major changes in the policy of the United States, which must be fought for to eliminate interference with the national independence, industrialization, and democratization of the countries of Latin America. For the most part, changes in the policy of the United States along the lines here suggested would have the general support of millions of workers and other progressive forces in the United States, and they would also have the backing of the peoples of Latin America.

They would help to create sound relations in general between the United States and Latin America. A free, industrialized, democratic Latin America will benefit the people of the United States, as well as the Latin American nations themselves.

One of the most progressive and hopeful developments in the world today is the growing struggle of the Latin American peoples for the complete national independence of their countries, for the development of an expanded industrialization that will radically improve their living standards, and for an advanced democracy that will guarantee the civil liberties of their nations. In this great progressive struggle the Communist Parties throughout Latin America are playing a vital, leading role. The tremendous surge for-

ward of the many Latin American nations, of which Brazil is at present such a striking example, also has the good wishes and the support of progressive-minded forces all over the world, including the vast majority of the people of the United States. This great advance of the Latin American peoples is invincible. It cannot be defeated by Latin American reactionaries, nor by the imperialists of the United States and their labor lackeys of the Matthew Woll type. Latin America is fast travelling the path of progress. The road upward is hard, but the victory will be yours. Irresistibly, Latin America is on the way to becoming one of the freest, most prosperous, and most democratic areas in the world, and, therewith, it will also become one of the basic foundations of world progress and peace.

ON THE EXPULSION OF EARL BROWDER FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL BOARD, C.P.U.S.A., RECOMMENDING THE EXPULSION OF EARL BROWDER

On February 5, 1946, the National Board unanimously recommended to the National Committee the expulsion of Earl Browder from the Communist Party.

The National Board, by unanimous action, has decided to recommend to the National Committee the expulsion of Earl Browder from the ranks of the Communist Party.

In the six months since the National Convention, which repudiated Browder's revisionism and reconstituted our Party on Marxist-Leninist foundations, Earl Browder has continuously resisted the program and decisions of the Convention and has steadily turned from obstructive passivity to active opposition to the political line and leadership of the Party. He has violated his pledge to the National Convention to place himself at the disposal of the Party and, by refusing to accept any assignment from the Party, has violated Party discipline and deserted Communist duties and responsibilities. He has carried on factional activity and a campaign of unprincipled attacks against the leadership of our Party and of our brother French Party. Finally, in violation of elementary discipline and responsibility consonant with membership in the Party, he has established a journal

of "economic analyses" which serves him as a political organ to expound his revisionist policy and combat the general line of the Party.

The decision of the National Board to recommend the expulsion of Browder is based on the following considerations:

1. Earl Browder's conduct from the time of the Convention to the National Committee meeting of November. At that meeting, in the report of the National Board submitted by Comrade Eugene Dennis, Browder's conduct was thus characterized:

Unfortunately, after the Convention, Comrade Browder repudiated his pledge to the National Convention; he did not and does not accept the program or decisions of the Convention; he remains aloof from all or any Party responsibility; and, further, at the hearings of the House un-American Committee, Browder adopted an equivocal attitude, assumed the role of a "private citizen" and failed to utilize various opportunities actively to defend the policies and the line of the Party. Browder's position compromises the Party; it acts as a millstone on the Party; it has fostered passivity, has confused and demobilized certain comrades and has impaired the unity of our Party. It is clear that Browder's persistence in this position will be incompatible

with his further membership in our Party.

2. Browder's anti-Party conduct from the National Committee meeting to date.

In the space of these three months Browder refused to heed the repeated warnings of the National Board and National Committee. Instead he has passed over from being a passive oppositionist to an active opponent of the Party. This is evident, among other things, by the following facts:

(a) After the National Committee meeting in November, 1945, and without the Party's approval, Browder embarked on a "business" undertaking, the publication of *Distributors Guide, Inc.* This is an organ of expression in which he acts as an advisor to Big Business, along a political line that coincides with the interests of the employers and of American imperialism. In this publication, Browder presents a political platform in which he has developed his revisionism of Marxism to an open defense of American imperialism and unreserved support for the entire policy of the Truman Administration, including its imperialist course in foreign affairs. Through this publication, which is a weapon of struggle with which he opposes and attacks the political line of the Party, Browder is working to establish contact, not only with various members, in the Party and with trade union leaders in this country, but also with leaders of brother Parties in this hemisphere.

(b) During the past two weeks it has been called to the attention of the National Board that Browder has further violated Party principles and discipline. He has endeavored to broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers of the Party; and in these conversations Browder arrogantly defends his anti-Marxist position and views, attacks the political line and decisions of the Party, slanders Comrade Foster and the entire national leadership, and attempts to involve certain comrades in his anti-Party conspiracy.

(c) Browder refused to meet with the National Secretariat on January 29 to answer questions of fact relevant to the above. However, he did meet subsequently with the executive committee of the Yonkers Communist Club and submitted a letter addressed to all members of the Communist Party. In this letter he again slanders and misrepresents the line and actions of the Party and advances a new document as a basis for waging a factional struggle within the Party.

(d) Further, at the meeting of the National Board on February 5, where Browder was given a hearing to reply to the specific charges preferred against him for his expulsion—Browder cynically refused to reply to the charges or to answer any questions. He challenged the authority of the Board to ask him oral questions. Indifferent to his membership in the Party, and confronted

with concrete evidence of his disloyalty to the Party, of his violation of Party principles and discipline—Browder resorted to the cheap trick of a pettifogging lawyer. He tried to stall for time and stated that he would only reply to questions which were submitted to him in writing and after he had extended time to prepare a written document that obviously would be used to serve his factional and anti-Party purposes. Browder did not have the forthrightness and honesty to answer the questions concerning irrefutable and damaging facts which were directed to him.

For these and related acts detrimental to the interests and welfare of the Party. Browder has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist Party and the working class movement. He has forsaken the right to belong to the Party and must be expelled forthwith.

All members of our Party will understand that the struggle against Browder and Browderism has entered a new stage. It is no longer a struggle against a member of, or a trend in the Party and in the labor movement. It is now a struggle against an active opponent of the Party, against an enemy-class ideology and platform. Browder's desertion and his political warfare against our Party, against Marxism-Leninism, will be answered by the unity of the entire Party and of all advanced workers to drive his ideology and influence out of the working-class movement.

Our Party and its leadership have resolutely and honestly worked to rectify our previous mistakes and our former erroneous political line. Our Party has been reorganized and strengthened by the action of the National Convention and by the subsequent development of the Party's political line in the November meeting of the National Committee. It is today in the process of consolidation after passing through the great crisis precipitated under the leadership of Browder. In breaking with Browder's revisionist and liquidationist policies which were destroying the moral-political fibre of our Communist organization, the Party, revitalized with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is today increasingly coming forward with deepened power and clarity to bring the principles of Marxism-Leninism to guide the working class in the course of the epic struggles it is now waging.

By carrying on with strengthened determination an uncompromising fight against Browderism, against opportunism as well as Left sectarianism, and all traces of enemy-class ideology, the Communist Party as well as the entire working-class movement will equip itself to meet the great tasks of today and tomorrow.

NATIONAL BOARD, C.P.U.S.A.

William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, Robert Thompson, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Josh Lawrence, Steve Nelson, Irving Potash, Jack Stachel, Louis Weinstock.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, C.P.U.S.A., ON THE EXPULSION OF EARL BROWDER

On February 13, 1946, after hearing and discussing a report by Robert Thompson on behalf of the National Board recommending the expulsion of Browder, the National Committee of 54 members unanimously adopted the following resolution:

1. The National Committee has considered and approves the recommendation of the National Board, and the demand from the ranks of our Party organizations, that Earl Browder be expelled from the Communist Party for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy—American monopoly capital.

2. The National Committee categorically rejects the document presented today by Earl Browder, in which he appeals to the National Committee against his expulsion. Browder's appeal in itself confirms the correctness of the charges preferred against him by the Board. Moreover, Browder's appeal is nothing more or less than an anti-Marxist platform of struggle submitted by a social-imperialist who aims to wage political-ideological warfare against the Communist Party, against Marxism. Therefore, the National Com-

mittee hereby does expell Earl Browder from the Communist Party.

3. The struggle against Browder and Browderism now enters a new stage. The struggle against Browder and Browderism is no longer a struggle against a trend in the Communist and labor movements. It is now a struggle against a deserter from Communism, against an alien ideology and influence.

The entire Party must be on guard against the factional activity which Browder is now trying to organize through such means as personal contacts, the circulation of the letter addressed to "All Party Members," and the *Distributors Guide, Inc.*

The Party must be vigilant to preserve and strengthen the unity of the Party. It must root out all vestiges of revisionism and all rotten liberal attitudes towards Browder and the conciliators of Browderism. It must wage an uncompromising political-ideological struggle against Browderism which is an enemy class ideology.

In this way our Party can and will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It will equip itself rapidly to become a mass party, and more effectively perform its vanguard role today and in the great economic and political struggles which lie ahead.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
C.P.U.S.A.

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THE THREE SOURCES AND THREE COM- PONENT PARTS OF MARXISM

By V. I. LENIN

*Republished on the occasion of the sixty-third anniversary of Karl Marx's death, March 14, 1883.**

THE TEACHING OF MARX evokes throughout the civilized world the greatest hostility and hatred on the part of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal) which regards Marxism as something in the nature of a "pernicious sect." No other attitude is to be expected, since there can be no "impartial" social science in a society which is built up on the class struggle. All official and liberal science *defends* wage-slavery in one way or another, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on that slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a society of wage-slavery is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from employers on the question as to whether the workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

* This notable essay was first published in March, 1913, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Marx.—*The Editors.*

However, this is not all. The history of philosophy and that of social science shows with perfect clearness that there is nothing in Marxism resembling "sectarianism" in the sense of a secluded, fossilized doctrine originating somewhere away from the high road of development of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx manifested itself in that he provided the answers to questions which had already been put by the advanced brains of humanity.

His teaching came as a direct and immediate *continuation* of the teaching of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy, and socialism.

The teaching of Marx is all-powerful because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, providing men with a consistent view of the universe, which cannot be reconciled with any superstition, any reaction, any defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the lawful successor of the best that has been created by humanity in the nineteenth century—German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

It is these three sources, which are also the three component parts of Marxism, that we will briefly dwell upon.

I.

The philosophy of Marxism is *materialism*. Throughout the recent history of Europe, and particularly at the end of the eighteenth century in France, which was the scene of the

decisive battle against every kind of mediaeval rubbish, against serfdom in institutions and ideas, materialism proved to be the only consistent philosophy, true to all the teachings of natural science, hostile to superstitions, cant, etc. The enemies of democracy tried therefore, with all their energy, to "overthrow," undermine and defame materialism, and defended various forms of philosophic idealism, which always leads, in one way or another, to the defense and support of religion.

Marx and Engels always defended philosophic materialism in the most determined manner, and repeatedly explained the profound error of every deviation from this basis. Their views are more clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels' *Ludwig Feuerbach* and *Anti-Dühring*, which, like the *Communist Manifesto*, are household books for every conscious worker.

However, Marx did not stop at the materialism of the eighteenth century but moved philosophy forward. He enriched it by the achievements of German classical philosophy especially by Hegel's system, which in its turn had led to the materialism of Feuerbach. Of these the main achievement is *dialectics*, *i.e.*, the doctrine of development in its fuller, deeper form, free from one-sidedness—the doctrine, also, of the relativity of human knowledge that provides us with a reflection of eternally developing mater. The latest discoveries of natural science—radium, elec-

trons, the transmutation of elements—are a remarkable confirmation of the dialectical materialism of Marx, despite the doctrines of bourgeois philosophers with their "new" returns to old and rotten idealism.

While deepening and developing philosophic materialism, Marx carried it to its conclusion; he extended its perception of nature to the perception of *human society*. The *historical materialism* of Marx represented the greatest conquest of scientific thought. Chaos and arbitrariness, which reigned until then in the views on history and politics, were replaced by a strikingly consistent and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how out of one order of social life another and higher order develops, in consequence of the growth of the productive forces—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of serfdom.

Just as the cognition of man reflects nature (*i.e.*, developing matter) which exists independently of him, so also the *social cognition* of man (*i.e.*, the various views and doctrines—philosophic, religious, political, etc.) reflects the *economic order* of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of modern European states serve the purpose of strengthening the domination of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

The philosophy of Marx completes in itself philosophic materialism

which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with a powerful instrument of knowledge.

II.

Having recognized that the economic order is the foundation upon which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted all the greater attention to the study of that economic order. The principal work of Marx, *Capital*, is devoted to a study of the economic order of modern, *i.e.*, capitalist society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, was built up in England, the most developed capitalist country. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, in their investigations of the economic order, laid the foundations of the *labor theory of value*. Marx continued their work. He strictly proved and consistently developed this theory. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially-necessary labor time spent in its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation of things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a *relation between men*. The exchange of commodities expresses the connection between individual producers by means of the market. *Money* signifies that this connection is becoming closer and closer, inseparably combining the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. *Capital* signifies a further develop-

ment of this connection: the labor power of man becomes a commodity. The wage laborer sells his labor power to the owner of land, of factories and instruments of labor. The worker uses one part of the labor day to cover the expenditure for the maintenance of himself and his family (wages), and the other part of the day he toils without remuneration and creates *surplus value* for the capitalist, which is the source of profit, the source of wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of the economic theory of Marx.

Capital, created by the labor of the worker, presses upon the workers, ruins the petty owners and creates an army of unemployed. In industry the victory of large-scale production may be seen at once, but we also see the same phenomenon in agriculture: the superiority of big capitalist agriculture becomes greater, the application of machinery grows, peasant economy is caught in the noose of money-capital, it declines and becomes ruined under the burden of a backward technique. In agriculture, the forms of decline of petty production are different, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By beating petty production, capital leads to the increase of the productivity of labor and to the establishment of a monopoly position for associations of the biggest capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social; hundreds of thousands

and millions of workers are linked up in a systematic economic organization, but the product of the collective labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. Anarchy of production, crises, a furious hunt after markets, and the insecurity of existence for the masses of population, are on the increase.

While increasing the dependence of the workers upon capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of combined labor.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy and simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all countries, whether old or new, clearly shows year after year, to an ever greater number of workers, the truth of Marx's teaching.

Capitalism has been victorious all over the world, but this victory is only the eve of the victory of labor over capital.

III.

After the overthrow of serfdom, when a "free" capitalist society appeared, it was at once discovered that this freedom signified a new system of oppression and exploitation of the toilers. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to arise as a reflection of this oppression and protest against it. But socialism in its first origin was *utopian*. It criticized the capitalist society, it condemned it and damned it, it dreamed

of its destruction, it drew fantastic pictures of a better order and endeavored to convince the rich of the wickedness of exploitation.

But utopian socialism was unable to show a real way out. It could not explain either the essence of wage-slavery under capitalism, or discover the laws of its development, or find the *social force* which was capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

In the meantime, the stormy revolution which accompanied the fall of feudalism and serfdom everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, revealed ever more clearly the *struggle of classes* as the basis of the whole development and its motive force.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the class of feudal lords was won without desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country was established on a more or less free and democratic basis without a life and death struggle between the different classes of capitalist society.

Marx was a genius because he was able before anyone else to draw from these facts and consistently elaborate the conclusion which world history teaches. This conclusion is the doctrine of the *class struggle*.

People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics, as long as they have not learned to discover the *interests* of one or another of the classes behind any moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters

of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old, as long as they will not realize that every old institution, however absurd and rotten it may appear, is kept in being by the forces of one or the other of the ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of breaking the resistance of these classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can and, by their social position, *must* form the power capable of sweeping away the old and of establishing the new.

Only the philosophic materialism of Marx showed the proletariat the

way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have languished up to the present. Only the economic theory of Marx explained the real position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

The independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying throughout the world from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is being enlightened and educated in waging the class struggle, it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society, consolidating itself ever more closely and learning to take the measure of its successes; it is hardening its forces and growing irresistibly.

FOR A MASS MARXIST PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

Report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., held on February 12-15, 1946.

IN THE IMPORTANT mass struggles, involving millions of American workers, which have developed so rapidly in the country, our Party had to demonstrate its ability to fulfill its leading role and provide immediate answers to the numerous problems confronting labor and the nation as a whole. This was a crucial test for the Party. It was clear that only to the extent that the Party merged itself with these mass actions could it truly become a Party of action and struggle. For a genuine Communist Party cannot passively reflect the struggles of the workers, it must actively participate in them and work to strengthen the understanding, unity, and determination of the working class.

With an uneven tempo, and still hindered by some of the scars of the revisionist past, the Party did make serious efforts to fulfill its responsibilities. The active participation of the Party in these struggles helped to instill greater firmness and

unity in the ranks of the workers, helped them to understand that their struggles were not against one employer alone, but against the trusts as a whole.

The present wage-strike movement served as a means of arousing and activating the largest number of Party members in consistent day-to-day activity. All our Party members in the struck industries, including many who had not attended Club meetings for months and some who had not been registered, were active in the unions, shops, and industries involved in the strikes. Many of them were in posts of leadership, where they could help to activate the strikers, maintain morale, and give leadership by example. Wherever there was a functioning Party—and this meant particularly where the shop clubs had been established and the District and County Committees followed a concentration policy—one invariably saw the best results. For instance, in Indiana Harbor, where we had a live and active mill branch, the vote for the strike was 18 to 1. In South Chicago, in the big mill where we have long had influence and today have a branch that functions fairly well, the vote was 12 to 1. In Gary, however, where we were slow in organizing mill branches and in developing Party work, the strike vote was only 5 to 1.

In the organization of the strikes themselves, including the picket lines and other activities, a similar picture was revealed. In the packing industry in Chicago, where Communists are active in the union leadership

and where there are functioning shop clubs in a number of the big shops, there was splendid strike organization, with large sections of the membership active, with unity of Negro and white on the picket line. There we also saw the carrying through of a tactical line that defended the interests both of the packing strikers and labor as a whole, and successfully met and overcame some grave dangers during the course of the strike. One could give other examples, for instance, the Homestead Mill, the Cleveland Fisher Body plant, the G. M. plant in Linden, N. J., and several important G. E. shops. However, in some steel mills, or in the G. M. plants in Detroit, where we had no members or had such small Party clubs that they could not influence the situation decisively, we saw "stay-at-home" picket lines, or passive acceptance of injunctions limiting picketing.

Another splendid example of the positive results of a functioning shop organization was in the Ford Motor Corporation, where the entire trade union movement was threatened by the acceptance of a Company Security clause in the contract under negotiation. The work of our Party, the first beginnings of a splendid organization with eight shop clubs united in their own Party section, contributed greatly to enlightening the workers as to the dangers involved and helped influence the workers to reject the entire "security" proposal.

Particularly important were the immediate efforts of most Party organizations to develop their own work on the front line of battle in conjunction with their support of broad community movements for various forms of strike relief and other solidarity actions. While slow at first, many Party clubs and large sections of our membership were aroused to activity in and around these struggles.

INDEPENDENT ACTIVITIES

To describe the over-all picture of our Party activity in the strike situation is beyond the scope of this report.

We have numerous rich examples of independent Party activities in the strike struggles which have resulted in the establishment of close ties between the Party and the strikers, the sale and distribution of thousands of copies of the *Daily Worker*, the combatting of Red-baiting by some misguided union officials, and recruiting of basic workers.

As is known, we attempted to increase the national circulation of the *Daily Worker* by 10,000. We succeeded in distributing 6,500 extra copies daily. Throughout the nation, and first of all in New York City, our community clubs played an active role in the collection of food-stuffs and finances for the strikers. Many issued leaflets and organized meetings. A new spirit permeated those of our clubs that responded to and participated in the struggles.

Without minimizing what has so far been done by the Party, on failing to appreciate the real change in the Party stimulated by the strike struggles, we must not, however, overlook a certain slowness to react to and involve the Party in the strikes. In Ohio, no preparatory meetings of our steel workers were held in either Cleveland, Youngstown, or Warren although the situation has considerably improved in recent weeks. In Gary, no adequate preparatory work was done commensurate with the character of the struggles that confronted the steel workers. The fact that, after two weeks of the steel strike, only 80 members out of 280 had been registered is indicative of the situation in Gary. In East Pittsburgh, where our Party now has the situation well in hand and the club in the largest U.E. plant is meeting twice a week, it is a fact that the Party failed to meet during the first five or six days of the strike. And in the community clubs, wherever we have failed to gear their activity to these strike struggles, we have made little or no headway in overcoming passivity and dull inner life.

In the period since our last National Committee meeting, prior to the turn in our work already described, we had a "long hard pull" to transform our clubs and sections into organizations that react to issues and organize their own activities around the main problems facing the people. At the last Plenum we decided upon a national campaign against American intervention in China, but

in only a few districts could we speak of anything resembling a campaign, while in many of the most important districts there were no serious organizational efforts on this issue. However, we can say that the China campaign stimulated a series of scattered activities that involved some of the clubs and sections; many state and club leaflets were issued; signatures and petitions addressed to Truman were collected; and some beginnings were made in neighborhood activity. Our work did help to set in motion other forces beyond the immediate influence of the Party.

Nearly everywhere our Party helped to stimulate and organize the national campaign in support of the F.E.P.C. bill in Congress and against the Senate filibuster. In St. Louis, our Party set an example of independent Communist activity that won the support of nearly all organizations involved in the general movement behind F.E.P.C. Our Party initiated a local F.E.P. Ordinance in the City Council, organized a conference around it, won support for it from the general mass movement, thereby helping greatly to strengthen the whole fight for F.E.P.C. in the city.

Another example of independent initiative, in response to an issue of immediate importance, was in New Jersey. The leadership of the labor movement, for its own reasons, did not itself develop a campaign to rescind the state laws that deny unemployment insurance to strikers. Here the Party took the initiative. It

organized a demonstration at the state capitol several hundred strong, which included delegations from every strike in the state. The Party initiated a petition campaign for 100,000 signatures to rescind this law. These isolated examples of independent Party activity in no way came into conflict with the mass movement but, on the contrary, helped to cement relations with it.

FULFILLING OUR VANGUARD ROLE

In the course of these various mass struggles, our Party has started to relearn how to function as a vanguard political party of the working class. In these struggles, our members were confronted with the need of finding answers to problems of a complicated tactical nature and to many questions that disturbed the workers. It is precisely by helping the workers to understand and solve all problems, and particularly those that transcend the elementary experience and practice of the trade unions, that our Party will re-establish itself among the workers, and gain their confidence and support. We must avoid tactics that separate the Left and progressive forces and organizations from the mass of the labor movement. We must learn to outline only such tactical measures which will enable us to take the masses along with us—not such measures which, though correct in general, will separate us from the masses and result in loss of prestige on our part.

We know that it is precisely during

periods of struggle that the working class learns most rapidly, that its understanding of its own class position grows by leaps and bounds. Lenin never tired of emphasizing this.

"The real education of the masses," he said, "can never be separated from the independent, the political, and particularly from the revolutionary, struggle of the masses themselves. Only the struggle educates the exploited class. Only the struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will. . . ."^{*}

But the struggle will accomplish this only if the Party fulfills, in the completest sense, its vanguard role—helping to overcome division and confusion in the ranks of the workers, overcoming all illusions, vacillations and hesitations, undermining and defeating all the bourgeois and Social-Democratic influences which constantly penetrate the working class. We must influence, not only the action, but the thinking of the workers.

The Party has begun to perform this role, particularly through the *Daily Worker*, correctly reacting on time to many issues and systematically exposing the strategy and tactics of the employers and their agents. But we must admit that much more has to be done in this regard.

Let us take some examples. The question has arisen many times as to whether Truman's action, recom-

^{*} V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. III, p. 6.

mending an 18½¢ increase for the steel workers meant that a basic change had taken place and a new evaluation had to be made of Truman. The fact that such a question could arise in our own ranks demonstrated clearly that there must be many illusions and much confusion in the ranks of the workers. Of course, this only shows that many Party members have not understood, far less studied, the report of Comrade Dennis at the last Plenum. Comrade Dennis, in his report today, reiterated our evaluation of the Truman Administration and outlined the tactical line to be followed. But in the course of these strike struggles, the existence of such unclarity in our own ranks—among those who thought that Truman had changed his basic course, or those who consider it a matter of principle to attack everything Truman proposes—could only make our role less effective. Certainly, this could not help us to explain to the workers that the character of the Truman administration is basically imperialist, even though it is not identified with the open fascist forces of Big Business. Nor could it help us to show that the Administration is still subject to mass pressure, and that labor must utilize even such moderately progressive proposals as were made by Truman. We must recognize that there are many illusions about Truman. Our role is to undermine these illusions, concretely and not by name-calling, emphasizing that there can be no reliance by

labor on the Truman administration. At the same time labor must take full advantage of every concession won in the midst of struggles.

Another tactical question that can stand re-emphasis has to do with the achievement of collaboration and a joint command of all unions on strike. From the very beginning we emphasized the importance of this tactic. On top, it was achieved in a very limited and unsatisfactory way. Too often, at decisive moments, one great union would take unilateral action. There were at times dangers of serious rifts in the ranks of these unions that had to be avoided. Whatever the problems on top, such joint action, operating through strategy boards in the strike areas, was urgently needed. Resistance to this was met on the part of full-time organizers in one union or another. The Party through its statements and then through the Daily Worker, gave leadership on these questions. But if there had been effective educational work over a long period of time among the workers now on strike; if functioning shop clubs had existed which discussed these questions with the workers and recruited new members to the Party, no union leader could have successfully withstood the pressure for such elementary and common sense proposals.

There are numerous other questions which the workers are everywhere asking that demand clear and unequivocal answers. They want to know the relationship between their struggle for wages and the question

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of prices; why the Reuther policy is out of step with correct strike strategy; why monopoly capitalism will not voluntarily grant the demands of the workers; why they must fight at regular intervals to preserve their gains; why Communists say that only Socialism will finally solve their problems. In this connection, many letters have come to us asking whether we are going to be satisfied with "tipping our hat" to Socialism. Generally the comrades are correct. Here it is not a question of abstract propaganda for Socialism. Fundamental questions are once again stirring the workers. While we must become the best fighters for the everyday demands of the workers, we must learn how to explain simultaneously in our propaganda, both oral and written, throughout the year, the limitations of these immediate struggles. We need more articles, leaflets, and pamphlets of the type written by Max Gordon, recently printed in the *Daily Worker*. We must constantly explain how the workers are robbed and exploited by the employers. Marxian economics can be made easily comprehensible to the workers if it is related to each factory or industry. Socialism must not appear as something set aside mechanically because the workers are not yet ready for it, but as something real and vital, intimately connected with the everyday experiences of the American workers. If we deal with the question of Socialism in that way the workers will learn why their most basic needs

cannot be satisfied under capitalism and they will turn to the leadership of our Party and to the struggle for Socialism. Such workers, organized into the Communist Party, will help us achieve the most determined leadership on behalf of all the economic and political demands of the working class.

NEED FOR A MASS PARTY

In evaluating our entire participation in these great struggles we must definitely emphasize that despite the weaknesses noted, our Party has made important steps forward in transforming itself into a real Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. The first real dent has been made in the passivity that characterized our membership in the period of Browder's revisionism. But we must stress that we are not yet adequately determining the general course of the struggles of the workers as a class, because:

a) Our Party is not yet rooted in the shops and industries that can be decisive in determining this main course.

b) Our Party has not yet developed the art of consistently influencing the thinking of the workers, helping them to connect their immediate demands with a general struggle against the trusts and capitalism, and raising the level of their working class political understanding.

c) Our Party has not yet fully recognized that the building of our Party, through the recruiting of thousands of new members from the

shops and basic industries, is a political task whose accomplishment will make it possible for us to fulfill our major responsibilities more effectively to the working class and the nation.

Precisely because of these reasons, so sharply re-emphasized by our present experiences, the National Board recommends the launching of a Party Building Campaign. It is eight months since our Convention. We knew then that the decisions of that historic convention—the reconstitution of the Communist Party, the adoption of a Marxist-Leninist preamble and correct Communist organization, the adoption of a real Marxist policy, and the election of a refreshed leadership—would be only the first, although prerequisite, steps. Ever since then, we have been fighting, step by step, and clarifying ourselves further in the process, to transform the Party, in its thinking, activities, forms of organization, leadership, press, and theoretical work, into a real, functioning, Marxist-Leninist Party, in fact as well as in name. Important progress has been made, although the task is far from complete.

We must never forget that our aim is not just to reconstitute the Party in the image of the past. We do want to take into account the past, from which we can learn much. But above all, we want to learn from the present when we are witnessing such great struggles and new advances of the working class, here and abroad.

This, of course, means that we must build a Communist Party different from that of the past, which will nevertheless retain all the proud traditions and experiences of our 27 years history.

PROBLEMS OF PARTY BUILDING

Some doubts and hesitations have been expressed concerning the projected recruiting campaign. These doubts would only be valid if we thought in old terms—in terms of quotas, of prizes, of recruiting in a vacuum, of high pressure for any kind of recruit instead of advanced workers from the struggles, ready for our Party. But precisely these methods and concepts must be excluded from our present campaign.

For example, it is said that only a handful of our members participated in recruiting in the past, and that a few comrades were and will continue to be burdened with a task far beyond their capacity. If we take advantage of the present experience of our members in the strike struggles and make them fully conscious of the responsibilities of the Party, we are confident that we can involve the majority of our members in some phase of this campaign. The emphasis should be on the involvement of the individual members, under the direction of the club. They should specifically recruit from among those with whom they work, whether it be in a shop or an organization.

We sometimes hear arguments that since we are not adequately

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armed ideologically we should now consider a recruiting campaign. If this were to be taken literally, then we cannot be prepared to involve the Party in any phase of mass work, because political maturity of the Communists is more necessary today than ever before. It is true that we must raise the ideological level of our Party membership. In fact, in its general aspects, this is a first condition both for the success of the Recruiting Campaign and for more effective participation in all the struggles and activities of the masses. But raising the ideological level of our Party cannot be achieved if we stand on the sidelines of history. We would not want to do it that way, and we could not do so, even if we tried.

We cannot separate our organizational situation, or its correction in a most fundamental sense, from the entire question of our educational work. We cannot possibly advance the organization of the Party to the higher stage demanded by the mass movement unless we fundamentally improve the work of the entire Party, from top to bottom, on the theoretical front. This is not a problem to be relegated to a department or an individual. It must become integrated into the work of the entire Party, with the full weight of the National leadership thrown behind a well-organized and well-planned program of activities on the theoretical front.

The editorial from the *Bolshevik*, published in the February issue of *Political Affairs*, should be studied to learn the technique of combining the

ideological work of the Party with its mass tasks. Clearly, the system of work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to outline the tasks on the ideological front that flow from the general political tasks of the Party at any given moment. The editorial stresses:

Communist consciousness is not born spontaneously: it is forged in the struggle with hostile ideology and is spread among the masses by means of the ideological work of the Party. But in order to fulfill their role as the advanced and conscious detachment of the toilers, in order to be the educators of the masses, Communists must have perfect mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory. Only theoretically grounded cadres, capable of easily orienting themselves in given circumstances can successfully fulfill their role of political guide to the masses. The ideological-theoretical preparation of Communists, and above all of leading cadres, has always been one of the Party's principal tasks. (P. 117.)

This is not yet the system of work in our Party. Until the educational and propaganda tasks flow out of, and become an integral part of, the program of action of the Party, we cannot succeed in raising the ideological level of our membership.

Not only must we satisfy the desire for Marxist-Leninist study, which now exists in our organization, by more and better educational material, through a whole system of Party classes and schools, by means of larger numbers of forums, and by other educational mediums, but we must develop the Marxist training of

our membership on the basis of the fundamental questions which arise in the day-to-day struggle, which will help to deepen the understanding of our membership and, in turn, of the workers.

It is said that we are so busy in mass work that we cannot divert enough of our energy to do a good job in a Party Building Campaign. Of course we feel that we could not even think of recruiting large numbers at this time if it were not for our Party's increasingly active participation in the mass struggles. We must teach our Party that our mass work will be superficial and insubstantial if it is not accompanied by Party recruiting. But Party mass work and struggle is accomplishing little if it does not result in helping the masses to draw lessons from their struggles, to see their own class interests and to separate them ideologically from the bourgeoisie. That, however, will not take place spontaneously. It has to be fought for. Without a Communist Party—and it must be remembered that the Communist Party is not simply the vanguard of the working class, it is the *conscious* vanguard—the working class will not be able to draw lessons from these big battles, far less fight them with the greatest possible success. Since the outlook ahead is one of more and greater class battles, the building of our Party in the course of these struggles is an imperative necessity.

It has also been said that we are not organizationally ready for a recruiting campaign. Of course, there are still serious weaknesses in our clubs and club leadership. But the very process of recruiting and activating the new members gained in the midst of our Party's active participation in the mass struggles of today, will be the best condition for activating our clubs and, overcoming passivity among those members not yet active in the struggle.

Lastly, the question has been raised that a recruiting campaign will divert us from our concentration tasks. We cannot conceive of this Party Building Campaign separate and apart from our concentration tasks. We have correctly emphasized that "the successes of the campaign in any district will be judged in the first place upon the realization of the concentration goals, aimed at improving and changing the industrial composition of the Party."

ROOTING THE PARTY IN INDUSTRY

The first registration reports signalize how necessary this is. They reveal another serious decline in the industrial composition of the Party. For instance, in New York the percentage of industrial workers has declined from 34 per cent to 29 per cent. This means that 71 per cent of the Party in New York City consists of white collar workers, professionals, and housewives. Michigan, which always had the highest industrial composition, has also declined from

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66 per cent to 58 per cent. California, which like Philadelphia and New York agreed to fight to reach a 50 per cent industrial composition this year, also declined from 41 per cent to 38 per cent.

As a result of our decisions on the need of carrying through undeviatingly a policy of concentration, nearly every district has adopted plans of concentration. Shop and industrial clubs are being organized—although in most places still too slowly—and they have yet to develop a rounded-out activity and leadership among the workers where they are located. In too few places, however, are community clubs carrying through systematic and sustained supporting activity and developing their own program of concentration.

It is too early to make a serious estimate of concentration work on a national scale. It would appear that the most consistent approach so far is to be found in Chicago, in some spots in upstate New York, in individual areas within districts like Youngstown, Flint and Homestead and, partially, in New Jersey and Michigan. In New York, California, and Eastern Pennsylvania, all of whom must fight to achieve an industrial composition of at least 50 per cent during 1946, the most sustained work of a concentration character will have to be fought for. California has a well-considered plan that can achieve this if they stick to it with bulldog tenacity. In other districts we have nice plans on paper;

unfortunately they seem to stop there.

How urgently necessary it is to follow through a plan of industrial concentration everywhere can be seen in the case of General Motors, where, in plant after plant in the main cities we have little or no organization. For instance, in plants totaling 20,000 workers we have only 122 members.

It is clear that this weak Party position amongst G.M. workers is immediately responsible for the undisputed position of leadership that Reuther holds in the G.M. Division. It also helps to explain Reuther's freedom of action to do what he pleases, even if it is contrary to U.A.W. or C.I.O. policy. Any thought of changing this situation will be mere chatter if we do not sink our roots among the auto workers in the G.M. shops scattered throughout the country.

It would take too long to paint the entire picture in the steel industry. There are individual steel mills in which we have a small base and have developed some activity, but when the industry as a whole is considered, we are extremely weak.

There are many big mills—some of the biggest in the country—in which we have no Party members at all, or a handful who are not yet even organized in a shop club. I have in mind such places as the Irwin Works, Aliquippa, Johnstown, Y. S. & T. in Youngstown, the Otis Steel Co., American Steel & Wire in Cleveland,

as well as Weirton Steel. The majority of these plant each employ more than 10,000 steel workers. When it comes to a strike struggle such as the present one, our weak base in the entire industry is an obstacle to effective and sustained Party influence and leadership.

Another dramatic example is the city of Toledo, where a most serious situation exists. Toledo is an industrial city with a great tradition of labor struggles. If there ever was a C.I.O. town, it was Toledo. Yet, in Toledo, we have a reactionary, Red-baiting, Negro-hating, U.A.W. regional director who can compare with the worst A. F. of L. reactionaries anywhere. Toledo is also a center of Trotskyite concentration, so much so that only recently—and after procrastinating too long—we expelled the Party chairman, who was a Trotskyite inside our own ranks. The fact that this had to be debated in our County Committee demonstrates the impermissible ideological situation that was permitted to develop. If we are to change this situation, our Party must be rooted overwhelmingly in the shops of Toledo.

What is the situation today in Toledo? Out of 252 Party members there are only 24 auto workers scattered in five or six plants, and in some major plants we have no members at all. Clearly, a policy of concentration, based on a correct program and tactical line is indispensable in bringing about a change

in this situation.

It is clear that wherever there is a cesspool of Trotskyism, such as exists in Toledo, or wherever there exists a factional situation among the Party members within a trade union or in any Party organization, unless the sharpest measures are taken to clean out such cesspools or to liquidate such unprincipled factionalism and re-establish Party unity, there can be neither a policy of concentration nor successful Party recruiting.

OUR CONCENTRATION POLICY

It must be noted that, while some serious beginnings have been made in concentration work in C.I.O. industries, no such beginnings can yet be registered in either the A. F. of L. as a whole or in the U.M.W.A. While New York and Seattle have fairly good ties with A. F. of L. workers, by no stretch of the imagination can we associate this with a concentration policy of the entire Party, which must bring about a decisive change in the work of all progressives in the A. F. of L. With the latest developments at the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the re-entry of Lewis, it is imperative that we make decisions which will give us some assurance of the application of a real concentration policy in the A. F. of L. The partial analysis we have made so far shows less A. F. of L. members registered this year than last.

As we direct our recruiting campaign to the selected concentration shops, industries and areas, we must fight for a deeper understanding of what is involved in our concentration policy:

1. We must make clear that it is not just a question of better trade union work. It is a question of raising the level of working class political consciousness of the workers in these key shops and local unions in the course of doing good trade union work. This, of course, cannot be achieved on the basis of Communists who work in unions, denying the fact that they are Communists to other workers. It can only be done on the basis of a concentrated effort inside the shops by the Communists working there, and outside the shops with the help of community clubs and other forms of activity, to win an ever larger number of workers to understand and support the Party and its policies. It is as a result of such type of work that we will recruit shop workers and strengthen our Party. We have so far witnessed only the start of this, as in Detroit, where in the course of reconstituting the shop clubs, 91 auto workers were recruited. There have been some results in recruiting in the course of the strike struggles such as over 100 packing workers in Chicago; 30 steel workers in Buffalo; 7 U.E. workers in Schenectady; 11 G.M. workers in Tarrytown. This represents, however, merely a beginning, but the entire Party, including the scores of full-time trade union

organizers are not yet "in there pitching" as far as building the Party in the course of the strike struggles is concerned.

In the auto industry, on a national scale, our concentration work must be aimed at sinking strong and healthy Party roots among the workers and thus being able to influence, and count on sustained influence, from the auto workers, in two such key spots as Flint and the Ford Motor Co. Hundreds of Party members and thousands of readers of *The Worker* and of our literature are required, for a real change to take place. Of course, this does not mean that the only concentration in the auto industry is to be Flint and Ford, but a base here would influence the work elsewhere. We need a similar approach in the steel industry, with the main centers of concentration to be in Western Pennsylvania, Mahoning Valley, and Calumet. Our Party building activities should be organized accordingly.

For example, although the Party has traditions it can be proud of in Passaic, New Bedford, Fall River, and Gastonia, for years we have allowed complete and utter neglect to characterize our work in the textile industry. Among the 150,000 textile workers in New England, we have a total of 69 Party members. In Lawrence, the largest textile center, we have 5 Party members, and in Fall River we have 4 members. Passivity characterizes our membership. Yet in New Bedford, as a result of the beginning of concentration work

—and New Bedford has no better tradition than Lawrence—we see that the progressives, including the Communists, are able to help influence the work of the membership and are a part of the elected leadership of the U.T.W. This experience in New Bedford must spur on the development of Party activity among textile workers in the rest of New England, as well as in New Jersey, Maryland, the South, and especially in Philadelphia, where we have absolutely no Party strength or a shadow of activity among the thousands of textile workers there.

2. Another point, on which fuller understanding is necessary in connection with the relation of our Party Building Campaign to our concentration policy, is the work in selected industrial communities. A good example is Brooklyn. The majority of the people in Brooklyn are workers. Today our Party in Brooklyn, with 8,000 members, has its main base in the Brownsville, Williamsburg, Coney Island and Bath Beach-Bensonhurst areas. These are primarily Jewish-American communities, combining workers and non-workers. However, there are certain areas that are almost exclusively and distinctly proletarian and non-Jewish in composition, as, for instance, Greenpoint, Red Hook, Bay Ridge, Sheepshead Bay, and Ridgewood. These areas comprise the main industrial areas, including shipbuilding, the waterfront, longshore, rapid transit shops, utility, etc. In these same areas live the bulk of

the workers employed in these industries. Yet, upon examination, we see that in all of these five areas our Party has only 201 members. Clearly, a concentration policy means centering attention in such areas. We must not think in terms of tens and twenties, but in terms of hundreds of members in each of these areas. This can only be achieved if we assign forces, leadership, money, literature, press, and schooling facilities to each of these areas. A Communist Party such as we have in Brooklyn, which can make it possible for Pete Cacchione to get the highest vote of any Councilman in the borough, cannot neglect this task. While it must be conducted differently than the election campaign for Cacchione, it must have the same intensity, the same assignment of forces, the same check-up of day-to-day work. Our Party in Brooklyn is challenged to understand and master this task.

NEGRO WORK AND RECRUITING

As part of our concentration work, we should take note of a very serious situation that the Party registration discloses—the uniformly low registration of Negro comrades. We face the danger of registering the lowest number of Negro comrades in the last decade. Although it is a national phenomenon, the situation is most serious in Harlem. We will, it seems, complete the registration with about 50 per cent of our Negro membership. To understand this situation we must first reject the easy ex-

planation that we engaged in bad methods of recruiting among the Negro people. While there were some examples of incorrect individual recruiting methods among Negro as well as white workers, this is not the answer to this problem. The Negro workers, in larger numbers than ever before, supported the re-election of Ben Davis and Peter V. Cacchione. In Boston and Cleveland, Comrades Hood and Johnson carried, by a majority, many precincts and some wards in the Negro communities. This demonstrates, as do many other things, the continued confidence of the Negro people in the Communist Party. This support, however, came on the basis of our excellent past record plus an inherent confidence in the Communists because of our program, and not sufficiently on our present fighting leadership in the struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Today, our influence among the Negro people is being disputed. Trotskyites, Social Democrats, and the A.C.T.U. are active among the Negro people. With our present critical organizational situation, the support that has continued to come to us can easily be weakened.

We must recognize that one of the most disastrous effects of the Browderite policies was in the weakening of our traditional fighting bond with the Negro people. We can only overcome this serious situation today if we adopt a broad mass policy, as outlined in our recent memorandum on Negro work; if the Party

dramatizes its fighting leadership by taking up locally and nationally, with a hundredfold more energy, the struggle for Negro rights. To achieve this we must develop general vigilance against the concealed forms of white chauvinism which have penetrated our ranks, and do this both by reinstating intensive ideological work, and also by portraying dramatically how the Communists deal with this "stench" of the slave market. And, we must pay more attention to the task of involving a larger number of Negro comrades in all phases of the operative leadership of the Party. In those areas where the bulk of the Negro people live, our Party must depart from the too-prevalent practice of one-man leadership and broaden out the leadership through the training of additional Negro cadres. Such steps will make it possible to register many more Negro comrades and guarantee that we recruit larger numbers of Negro-Americans during the coming months.

In this connection, first and major attention must be given to recruiting Negro industrial workers. We must not forget that during the war over a million and a half Negro workers were drawn into basic industries and it is precisely from among these workers that we must recruit the greatest number. This must become a key part of our concentration program.

In addition, we must give special attention to young shop workers, young Negroes, young veterans, and

young women. The generally high age level of our Party must be drastically lowered by recruiting young workers into our ranks.

Our work among the youth will be discussed separately. While emphasizing our full support to the building of the A.Y.D. as the most consistently anti-fascist youth organization—and we feel that with the proper orientation adopted by the A.Y.D. it can be built into an organization several times its present size—this is not a substitute for recruiting young people into our Party. The Communist Party program should particularly attract the militant youth—especially the veteran—who is not satisfied with a capitalist world, but yearns and strives for a better world—a Socialist world.

PARTY BUILDING OF A NEW TYPE

These are only a few of the aspects of concentration work that must be in the very center of our Party Building Campaign. To carry through this campaign we obviously cannot conduct it like previous campaigns. What we need is a different kind of recruiting campaign, and we must learn to work differently along the lines indicated in this report.

What are some of the things that must be emphasized?

1. We must arouse and inspire the membership to a full understanding of the campaign. While we here think in terms of 20,000 new

members, we do not propose any quotas for districts, counties, sections, or clubs. The effectiveness, clarity, and direction of our appeal—once discussed and understood by the State and club leaders and the membership—will no doubt result in realizable and correct goals being established.

2. We must lay special stress on the recruiting of shop workers and trade unionists, with special attention given to Negro, veteran, and youth. We must increase the number and, especially, the size of our shop and industrial branches. We must see another thousand Communists recruited in the South. We must overcome the critical organizational status of the Party among the Negro people. We must build new clubs and open up dozens of new cities and towns to the Party. We must see to it that the Party doubles and triples its membership in such concentration cities as Lynn, Schenectady, Lawrence, Chester, Youngstown, Gary, McKeesport, Flint, Akron, Toledo and Kansas City, and in the anthracite region.

Under no circumstances must we permit a single club, much less a single district, to be diverted from these main orientations. The success of the recruiting campaign in every district will be judged in the first place upon how our concentration goals are realized, goals which are aimed at improving and changing the industrial composition of the Party, and thereby making it pos-

sible effectively to influence the masses into taking a correct political course.

3. We must make it clear that the advanced workers must be recruited into our Party. How advanced they are shall not be judged by their ability to make speeches or their general articulateness. Those who are fighting for the interests of the workers, those who are shop stewards, those who show an ability to understand the need of working class political action, those returned veterans who saw and understood the contribution of the European Communists to the rising democratic Europe, those who display an interest in our press and literature, those who hate capitalist exploitation and are looking for a Socialist world—those are the workers we must, above all, recruit.

4. We must recognize that the expulsion of Browder and the liquidation of all remnants of Browderism in the thinking and practice of our Party is a prerequisite for the kind of recruiting we anticipate, and will actually attract to our ranks many militant workers who were previously repelled by our revisionism.

5. We must emphasize the need for the political integration of the new members from the moment we approach them to join. Our press and literature must be put to full use,

and the new member should be helped to develop an attitude that reading the *Daily Worker* each day is indispensable for him. He should be given selected literature, including Marxist classics, and helped to read and study them. Attendance of all new members at some form of class is vitally necessary.

6. We must facilitate the mobilization of the entire membership and to that end we recommend the convening of representative national conferences of key Communist leaders in the following industries: electrical, maritime, fur and leather, packing, transport, steel, auto, white collar, etc. These conferences should work out recruiting objectives and activities and select a Party Committee of responsible Party trade union leaders who will supervise, and be responsible for, the campaign in each industry. In the course of the recruiting campaign we must undertake to recruit publicly trade union leaders, from shop stewards to national board members.

We feel the workers are ready to join our Party. We are confident that our membership will enthusiastically respond to this call. We shall aim to present the entire campaign so convincingly that our members themselves will undertake to increase our membership.

THE HOUSING CRISIS

By HENRY SCHUBART

The struggle for better housing is merely another symbol of the age-old battle for human dignity. It has all the characteristics of the struggle for minimum wages and maximum hours; of the valiant battle of the man who works to bargain collectively; of the determined fight to protect women and children from indecent impositions; and of the bitter struggle to destroy and blot out the sweatshops. (Commissioner Klutznick of Federal Public Housing Authority, 1944.)

TO DEPRIVE A MAN of food or shelter is to rob him of his most elemental necessities. Together, they constitute the minimum security. Today, after a bitter war, Americans, working men and women, and battle veterans newly home, are not receiving even this minimum. Today we must squarely face the fact that Americans do not have homes!

So simple, so basic a demand as that for a home is one that the mass of the people can understand and will fight for. That fight for housing has two vital aspects, both interwoven—the immediate emergency and the longer-range problem. The demand for housing, even as the demand for wages and jobs, involves many millions, is desperate in its nature, and has potentialities explo-

sive perhaps beyond our present realization. Basic, detailed, concrete understanding of both phases of the problem is therefore necessary for the trade unions, the progressive movement as a whole, and especially the Communists, if the programs now being developed, the actions now being organized are to take hold among the workers and the American people as a whole, especially the veterans and the Negro people.

It is almost inconceivable, in spite of the contradictions and vagaries of a capitalist economy, that we should have to admit that Americans do not have homes, do not have shelter; that after years of stupendous production and development of industrial technique during the war, they must turn to a struggle for homes along with security and jobs at decent wages. As a result, housing has now become a major economic and political issue in the United States, ranking in importance with jobs, and an integral part of the overall need for an economy of full production.

Housing has achieved this status because of an immediate and desperate shortage of places to live in; a shortage which has assumed the nature of a national catastrophe and touches every family in every city in the country. It is even making the headlines, for, as Engels wrote during an earlier housing shortage in Germany, "it does not limit itself to the working class, but has affected the petty bourgeoisie also."

The most crying need for veterans' homes reflects the general housing

need of the masses in a most shameful and aggravated form. Reduced to tramping streets, sleeping in make-shift quarters, or doubling up in already overcrowded family homes, the veteran is bearing the brunt of the shortage. He has had enough of barracks; he must have, for security for his family, a base from which to organize a new civilian life. After a long absence, with his family broken up or spread over the country, or perhaps with his family life just starting, the veteran has returned to find himself the chief sufferer from this disillusioning aspect of reconversion. The Negro veteran, particularly, has been most severely affected because of discriminatory practices. Nothing has done more in so short a time to dishearten the veteran and at the same time expose to him the ruthless disregard of a predatory economy.

Many promises were made by the Administration; but even the limited housing provisions of the GI Bill of Rights have been meaningless. Veterans should not have to rush to buy a house; they need time for adjustment. Over 70 per cent have shown a preference for renting rather than purchasing a home. And yet, with no rental homes available, veterans are being forced to invest in new homes at inflationary prices, forced to mortgage their future because they cannot rent apartments for their families. As some have done already, millions of veterans, both those in the veterans' organizations and those in the ranks of the trade

unions, are going to find it necessary to raise their voices for housing. Above and beyond the immediate problem of shelter, for permanent housing reform they will have to join in a broad mass movement, which alone can exert the necessary pressure to solve problems they cannot solve by themselves. Emergency action alone is not sufficient.

This present shortage is not a new phenomenon. Although it would not have been admitted generally, there has actually been a spectacular shortage of housing for generations, with acute crises in postwar periods. It is true that, except for short intervals, there has been some kind of shelter for everyone, at least a roof; but 19th century slums, wood and tin shacks, and old stores do not constitute "housing" for a nation that boasts of its high standard of living. Negroes especially have lived continuously in the most degrading slum areas; forced to crowd into restricted communities by *illegal* clauses in land transfers (restrictive covenants); paying high rentals for homes unfit for human habitation; overcrowded to the point where almost 4,000 people live in one Harlem block. (As pointed out in the January, 1946, issue of *The Architectural Forum*, this population density would correspond to housing the whole population of the United States in an area one half the size of New York City.) It must be made clear that when we say housing today we mean comfortable, healthy homes with room for privacy, and provisions for recreation; with

plentiful air and sunlight. We mean "home" in the larger sense of community life, of neighborhood facilities, schools, playgrounds, garages, parks and adequate transportation.

The time has come when we must organize immediate political action on the part of the workers for housing. They will find ample support from an aroused middle class. Major sections of the population are now ready to fight for housing along with wage increases and job security. They desperately need education and leadership in this field, which they will get only from an organized labor movement conscious of the importance of housing. In his report to the C.I.O. Housing Committee last year, R. J. Thomas said:

The problem of building better cities and providing a healthy life for every American family is Labor's fight. . . . As producer and consumer, labor has most to lose if plans are inadequate, and most to gain if the sights are raised as high as the continually expanding horizon of national productivity will permit. Labor cannot afford merely to accept, but we must take the initiative in organizing our activities and developing the leadership nationally and locally to bring together all groups in the community interested in clearing slums and blighted areas, in redevelopment of worn-out decayed cities, and in the building of new and more desirable communities. It is my conviction that we of Labor have the power and the talent in our own ranks to lead in this great effort.

In order to stimulate activity for decent shelter, the first, and most ur-

gent, need is for greater knowledge of housing. The basic housing objectives must be made clear with practical, and attainable, goals set and a well defined route charted by which to press for action. The question of housing must be simplified. It has rested too long in the hands of solicitous but timid reformers and philanthropists, technicians and economists, all of whom have tended to make it complex, thereby obscuring the important economic objectives. Out of respect for the status quo, they have always rejected the active support of labor and the people and have surrounded the subject with abstractions and excessive scientific terminology. Every effort has been and is still being made to appease the banks, insurance companies and real estate speculators. This state of affairs must be brought to an end.

There must be only one aim now, good housing, quickly, in large quantity, for all income groups, without discrimination because of race, creed or color. The "right of every man to a decent home" must be realized in spite of reactionary opposition. The American people will not have it otherwise. Housing must become a "public utility," won through the pressure of the people themselves, and guaranteed to every individual by the political and economic weight of the community. *The right to a home is as basic as the right to a job.*

THE IMMEDIATE SHORTAGE

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uppermost in our minds. It is the direct result of added loads to the already overburdened housing structure. The returning veterans who need new homes, an increase in the marriage and birth rates, a complete absence of home construction during the war years, and the cumulative obsolescence of existing structures, have all contributed their share to a condition which now finds six and one-half million families doubled up and thousands of veterans already sleeping in garages, schools, tents, railroad stations, and other makeshift shelters. Entirely apart from the full program needs of housing, we need immediately, and on an emergency basis, at least three million dwelling units (family living quarters), and many estimates run as high as six million. In any case, the exact figure is so much higher than any estimates of ability to provide these emergency homes that no limitations must be placed on measures to provide them in any fashion, and as quickly as possible. To understand fully the seriousness and scope of the problem, we must bear in mind that never in our history have we as a nation produced much more than 900,000 dwelling units in a year, our yearly average since the last war being less than 275,000. The "impossible" must be accomplished for the emergency. We have a precedent. The American Institute of Architects has estimated that we spent as high as 16 billion dollars a year for building during the peak of wartime construction. It is this magnitude of operation which

must be transformed into peacetime construction.

Bad housing is a chronic disease of capitalism, under which the "ill housed" are a concomitant of the "ill fed" and the "ill clad." Certainly, this social evil cannot be "cured" by temporary expedients or palliatives. Nevertheless, the people demand relief from the acute housing shortage, and nothing less than a program for complete and continuous rehousing of the masses will meet the issue. It will require bold and widespread activity on the part of the people themselves to accomplish it. Time is an important factor; for as the worst of the present emergency is overcome, the pressure for this program will subside, good housing will again become an ideal and we shall, as a nation, return to our previous status of tolerating slums, and talking a great deal about the "future."

Implementation of an emergency program, without a more far-reaching goal for great strides forward, will mean that our present agitation for homes will become a plea for temporary action to provide mere shelter. Without integrating it with a long-range program, the pressure for housing today will be sidetracked and used to build a core of slums for the next generation, as well as to perpetuate existing ones. The visible after effects of the last postwar housing crisis are proof enough. As always, when under pressure for reform, the most obvious eyesores and the most unprofitable slums were

removed and new ones put in their place to remain as our present heritage.

FOR THE EMERGENCY

Along with new, permanent buildings, all types of temporary structures must be built wherever possible without breaking down existing safety and sanitation regulations. Senator Mead (Dem., N. Y.) has just introduced a bill to appropriate \$250,000,000 for the purpose of providing 100,000 veterans' dwellings. This sum, along with a previously authorized \$160,000,000, is designed to be used to finance reconversion of war housing and Army encampments to meet the most urgent needs of veterans' housing.

The Greater New York Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.), has gone on record for all measures to provide emergency shelter: demountable war housing, prefabricated frame structures, and even Navy Quonset huts. That labor body has also proposed that the municipality or other appropriate agencies should commandeer vacant housing and hotels, as was so easily accomplished during wartime, and declared for a tax on vacant rooms. It has also urged that the city immediately declare a state of health emergency and billet veterans in over-size apartments and empty mansions. Such measures would be, in effect, rationing as a corollary to rent control.

Since every possible means must be used, we cannot evade the nec-

essity to rehabilitate and reconvert boarded up dwellings and other forms of outmoded buildings (even old business buildings and lofts). This point has met with considerable opposition from well-wishing, but cautious, liberal housing circles.

They fear that renovating slums may prevent their early removal and thereby block long-term housing progress. We must agree with them that pouring public monies, through special tax exemptions, into these old structures appears to be an investment in permanent blight. However, these objections could easily be overcome by the prompt purchase and renovation of large blocks of blighted buildings by the cities themselves. When the worst of the emergency has been deemed over, they could then be demolished, and the land, already in the hands of the city, could be leased for the construction of large blocks of new housing. In this way the city could take possession of them at the lowest possible cost and prevent the need to pay highly inflated prices for them at a later date under a slum clearance program. *Essentially, the only way that any emergency program can be assured of prompt execution, is for the Federal Government, the States, and the cities to enter directly into the construction field themselves and become builders on a large scale.* Private capital will not do the job, and any further delay in understanding this fact will seriously hamper efforts to get house building under way.

As corollaries to this direct building activity it is absolutely essential that national rent control be continued. The war saw the selling prices of new and old homes increase by 50 per cent, resulting from the Administration's failure to extend price control to this field. Housing prices will continue to rise at an accelerated rate unless government control is exercised through the immediate enactment of the Patman Bill (H.R. 4761).

Also of immediate concern, and subject to quick pressure, should be a scaling down of price ceilings on building materials and insistence on immediate channeling of all scarce materials into the low-cost housing field, so that as many units as possible may be built while materials are still scarce.

As this article goes to press, the Emergency Housing Program of the Truman Administration has been released. This program, outlined in a report to the President by Wilson W. Wyatt, housing expediter, has the support of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as farm groups, veterans, and a number of civic organizations.

The program takes full cognizance of the immediate need. It calls for 2,700,000 housing units in the next two years. Though the program is long overdue, coming as it does after months of hesitation and retreat before the building interests and their reactionary henchmen in Congress, it is a program which the people can endorse and support.

The chief weakness of the program is that it relies too much on "private enterprise." There is no doubt that the building lobby will attack price controls and building materials subsidies which are essential parts of the program. The people must insist that the Administration does not permit this kind of blocking. Since this is emergency legislation, the government must have the power and respond to the people's will to put the plan through.

Previous Administration housing measures have not taken into account the basic need for low-cost homes. To date, priorities and allocation of materials have channeled scarce building supplies into houses that were far too expensive for the average worker. But this new program, planned for the veterans especially, will limit the cost of the homes to \$6,000 and the rentals to \$50 per month. To make the program economically feasible, Wyatt has urged widespread use of modern construction methods, as well as development of an adequate new force of skilled labor, and has placed specific emphasis on the use of prefabricated materials.

As an integral and important section of the program, Wyatt has asked for legislation to continue price controls on building materials and to establish price control for new and existing housing, as well as on land and building sites. This section of the report has already been endangered by the action of the

House Banking Committee when it reported out the Patman Bill with the important parts, calling for these controls, deleted. Also the National Association of Real Estate Boards has issued a statement opposing this part of the program; its lobby will do everything to hamstring it. Without real support from the masses it will have rough going. The greatest danger to final enactment of the over-all plan lies in the fact that it depends for passage on a reactionary Congress. However, with public opinion and labor support fully mobilized, the program can be achieved. If immediate legislative action is not forthcoming, the people will have the right to demand that President Truman take drastic action by the use of War Powers and Executive decree. The Wyatt Report itself places the level of housing activity on the plane of a war emergency; any delays, for any reasons, are now completely indefensible.

Unfortunately, and in line with Truman's general policies, the program will continue into the peacetime economy the practice of enticing private industry into large-scale production upon which social needs depend, by guaranteeing profits, by the payment of premiums, subsidies, and by allowing 'strategic' price increases. But let it be clear that the government itself could have undertaken this program, from its inception, using large stocks of surplus materials now held in Army

and Navy warehouses, and making available to veterans the huge tracts of land acquired during the war years. Even though it goes to the heart of the problem of housing veterans, this new program does not take into consideration the tremendous land acquisition that will be necessary, nor does it deal with the secondary, but nonetheless important, obstacles of providing all the facilities to service this new housing. Hundreds of new schools, stores, roads, sewers, and municipal services will have to be provided, or else we shall be creating potential slum communities.

In the final analysis, no program in itself will solve the housing crisis. It will require the utmost activity on the part of the masses politically to assure prompt enactment of this veterans' emergency program. The Administration cannot be counted on to provide leadership in exposing the willful attempts of reactionary interests to prevent housing progress, to break the price structure, and hold up reconversion.

THE HOUSING NEED

We must not lose sight of the fact that anything accomplished on an emergency basis will not do the job of providing permanent homes for all the people. The National Housing Agency estimates that a minimum of 1,500,000 dwelling units a year must be built for the next ten years in order to get the population into standard housing, clear the

slums, and build modern neighborhoods and cities. The fact that this is a minimum program may be seen by studying figures taken from the 1940 census. They show that 7,000,000 city dwellings need immediate replacement and that 37,000,000 homes have a major defect that would remove them from the classification of standard housing. 17,000,000 need private baths, over 15,000,000 use primitive toilets, 3,000,000 are overcrowded.

Of nine million families who earn \$2,000 to \$4,000 a year, 2,100,000 now live in substandard housing of which 960,000 families live without baths and toilets. This is the group which up to now has not been provided with any kind of low rent housing and which has been left entirely to the mercy of private capital.

The foregoing is but a small picture of the grave situation which the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Bankers Association with self-satisfaction consider "the highest standard of living in the world." The situation is becoming increasingly bad, since sound estimates from responsible groups hold that no more than 425,000 dwelling units will be built this year—a figure that will drop us a million units behind a minimum program in this one year alone.

The bulk of the problem lies in providing homes for two major economic groups. Emphasis must be placed on homes for those families that can afford rentals of \$20 or less per month; and those in the \$20-

\$40 rental group. The latter is not now covered by public housing. These two groups together constitute the major part of the population living in substandard homes, and 66 per cent of all new housing must fall within this limit. However, the size of these groups is not static, and, in terms of housing, is increasing rapidly. Building costs have gone up enormously since 1940 (estimated at between 50 per cent and 70 per cent); land values are becoming more inflated; and tenants' real wages, especially since the end of the war, have decreased appreciably. By far the largest part of the population cannot afford to pay rents that would return to builders of new housing, and banking institutions, the kind of profits on which they insist before they undertake major home construction.

Should inflationary trends continue, they will increase and aggravate this condition as more people lose their purchasing power, as land values and the cost of building increase. If we add to this a complete unwillingness on the part of the building industry to cut its profits, we can see the reason for the stalemate that exists.

The lowest income group, faced with the alternative of living in slums, must have low-cost public housing built by the government. The need in this field alone is so great that applications from 355 cities have already been filed with the Federal Public Housing Authority for more units than will be provided

by the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill (S. 1592), still under consideration by Congress.

CONTRADICTIONS

Until now low-rent public housing has been treated as a form of charitable expedient to house only the poorest section of the population. It must be accepted as a right of all who work.

Although they have exerted tremendous pressure against it, the banking and real estate interests have had to admit that they cannot afford to build for the workers. But in spite of even this admission, they have placed every possible obstruction in the way of construction of public housing. As outlined recently by former U. S. Housing Authority Chairman Nathan Straus, writing in the *Nation*, they have organized an extensive lobby in Congress to block passage of all progressive housing legislation. These interests cannot even approach the field of the low-rent home. Even the Federal Government with the benefits of mass purchasing, low-interest rates, and long-range planning, must also pay outright part of the monthly rentals in the form of subsidies in order to retire the bond issues, pay current costs, etc. Low-wage industries make it impossible for a worker to pay an economic rent even where no landlord profits are involved. Today, if government provided housing in the non-subsidized rental group (\$20-\$40), it would not be in competi-

tion with private building interests. Today, private capital cannot build housing in metropolitan areas to rent for less than \$50 a month without hidden subsidy in the form of tax exemption. Any objection on its part to government housing in this bracket is inexcusable on any grounds.

Absolutely no provision has been made heretofore for the "middle" income group. It lies between the very lowest income group, to an extent provided for in subsidized dwellings, and the group that can afford the \$50 rental required for accommodation by private capital. They earn "too much" to benefit from public housing, since strict income limits are placed on all tenancies; and they earn too little to afford houses built and operated by private capital. This group has been commonly known as the "no man's land" of housing. In the guise of efforts to protect themselves, real estate interests have persisted in demanding that an arbitrary twenty per cent gap be maintained between the lowest rental home they can provide and the highest rental home provided by the government. It is merely another method of blocking all housing for this group. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, as it now stands, contains a provision for the arbitrary maintenance of this gap, which is one of the basic weaknesses of the bill. Every effort must be made to remove it before final consideration by the Senate. Unless successful, the major part of the working class in urban

centers which falls in this general group, will continue to live in slums.

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

From the economic point of view, what is now preventing the large-scale construction of homes is the high unit cost of a home in relation to wages. This condition prevails at all levels. One of the chief contributing factors to high costs is the existence of the shortage itself. In spite of price controls (which were temporarily relaxed), the inflationary cost of home rentals and building materials will affect the housing field for some time.

Consideration must be given to the more fundamental actual cost of building the worker's home in relation to the national economy. Measured with the rest of our mass production methods, the housing industry is still not far from the handicraft stage. It has not expanded and become industrialized with the speed and concentration of basic industries. The building industry must be reorganized so as to make full use of its economic weight in a program of full employment and expanded creation of national wealth. It has been estimated that for every dollar spent on construction four dollars of national wealth are produced. This one industry will employ over three million men, and many more through feeder industries and related trades. But instead of being organized on this scale, corresponding to its importance, it is dominated by thousands of small, profit-hungry,

speculators, builders, and contractors. The only organizational concentration has taken place in the controlling financing banks and insurance companies, along with monopoly control in the basic building material industries. The benefits of mass production and mass purchasing that would accrue to large building organizations might reverse the present picture where many more workers' families live with refrigerators and washing machines than have private toilets, bathtubs, sun and air. Lopsided mass production and high pressure advertising have created a national anomaly.

In spite of this low level of organization, the grip of monopoly capital is firmly fastened on this industry. Cement, steel, gypsum, copper, asbestos and other companies exact their toll long before the material arrives at the building site. The railroads take a major portion of the building dollar, and all kinds of devious means have been utilized in order to pass on to the consumer the costs of transporting building materials. There is no industry in which the path is longer between the raw material and the consumer. To each nut, bolt, piece of pipe, and stick of wood is added a profit and handling cost as it passes through the hands of the manufacturer, shipper, jobber, retailer, contractor, sub-contractor, architect and financing institution. In a 1935 census of the construction industry (made by the U. S. Department of Commerce) it was found that more than one quarter

of the cost of a building went into profit and overhead.

Not including small town carpenters and bricklayers, who are responsible for a large part of rural and farm housing, it has been estimated that there are over 150,000 contractors in the United States; and over fifty per cent of them average less than \$9,000 a year in gross revenue. As further evidence of dispersal, the field organization for the construction of the Knickerbocker Houses in New York included thirty-two separate contracts. This is about the speed that the wagon industry was in when Henry Ford brought out the Model T.

It is thereby economically essential to urge greater centralization in order to bring a backward industry up to the level of the overall economy. From a long-term point of view this must result in complete nationalization of all housing activities and will be the inevitable outcome of efforts to secure housing on the scale required.

In order to permit concentrated building activity by large aggregations of private capital or by public agencies, large tracts of city land must be made available. New York State has legislation making this possible. However, as part of the program for slum clearance and urban re-development, this land should be amassed by the municipalities and *leased*, not sold, to the building interest involved. New York re-development companies are making use of existing legislation permitting tax ex-

emptions and are forming large construction units such as that of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. Only a company of this size could undertake to build a Stuyvesant Town with its provision for 8,000 families. And even that is just a small beginning.

But here, as in other industries, a concentration of capital will bring in its wake attendant violations of sound human principles; constant vigilance will be required to direct this activity into channels that will benefit the common welfare. As was the case with Stuyvesant Town, it will necessitate struggle to assure maintenance of proper zoning restrictions, and non-discriminatory rental policies. The social disabilities to which Negroes are subjected in housing must be ended and an equal-rights policy in the rental and buying of homes must be established. As a guarantee that the municipalities retain control over these matters, as well as the final established rentals, it must be reasserted that leasing and not selling land to the re-development companies is the only sure method. Revocable leases will assure compliance with good standards and democratic methods. Even so, pressure by the people will be required to assure democratic tenant selection and provision of community facilities. There is a great danger otherwise that these projects may become high-class "company towns."

These corporations will also wield enormous political power in the man-

agement of fiscal and political activities of the municipalities. If they coordinate their political weight, based on their tax payments, with pressure already exerted by existing huge landholders such as the Astor Estate and Trinity Church Corp., in New York City, reactionary interests will be able to "take over" cities. Greater activity will be required of the people to overcome this possibility. We must be cognizant of the danger that life insurance companies are already invested with great power through ownership of over a billion dollars' worth of land and control, through mortgages, of real estate valued at over \$6,650,000,000.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

Individual municipalities cannot cope with the problem. Although some have done spadework in city planning and redevelopment, the realization of their programs must be woven into a national plan that takes cognizance of a shortage of materials and skilled labor, and can dispose intelligently of large sums of Federal aid money with proper safeguards.

State governments, with their unlimited taxing power, should not be allowed to be remiss in their duty to provide funds for state-wide public housing projects. In New York State, the Communist Party has projected a \$500,000,000 bond issue for housing.

However, the much needed national program must rely on the Federal Government for finances.

The projected National Housing Act, known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, although in need of being strengthened, will serve as a valuable bridge to future programs. It is essential that pressure be brought to bear politically to assure its quick passage. It will aid in lowering building costs by providing for the development of new construction methods; it will develop standards and improve means of home financing. A sum of \$25,000,000 is to be turned over to the communities to aid in their plans for redevelopment and slum clearance. The Act will also provide means for the communities to write down excessive land costs for these programs.

The measure contains provisions to initiate a program for low-rent public housing by authorizing the construction of 125,000 units a year for five years.

It will require only 5 per cent down payment on cooperative and mutual ownership projects with loans at 3½ per cent interest, guaranteed by the government over an amortization (paying off) period of forty years.

It will allow the individual to purchase a house (up to \$5,000) with an initial payment of only five per cent (\$250), the balance to be repaid within thirty-two years. These Federal Housing Administration insured loans will bear a statutory 4 per cent interest. One of the important new factors contained in this section of the Bill is a moratorium on interest and amortization pay-

ments which may be allowed to lapse up to three years if the home owner can prove hardships and inability to pay. This will prevent many quick foreclosures which plagued the small homeowner during the economic crisis.

When passed, the law will also function for the benefit of large rental housing corporations by governmental insurance of loans for forty years at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, with a requirement of an original 10 per cent investment. To assure the fact that these loans will not become a form of subsidy used to exploit the future tenants, the law requires strict rental limitations and at the same time guarantees a profit of at least 2 per cent to the builder by providing a yield insurance. This part of the Act is intended as an inducement to the big banks and insurance companies to enter the housing field on a large scale.

Federal aid to farm housing and rural development is contained in the Bill with plans to spend up to \$25,000,000 in low-rent rural low-cost housing subsidies to be administered through the Department of Agriculture. Research will also be carried out to develop specific new techniques in farm building to help the farmer.

As an intrinsic part of putting this program into effect, the Act will establish a central National Housing Agency with full powers in all matters pertaining to housing. This Agency will be directed to take a yearly inventory of housing.

The failings of the Bill are due in large part to its timid approach to the general housing problem and its constant reiteration of the intention not to step on the toes of private industry. This is in line with general directives laid down in President Truman's original housing program, contained in his Message to Congress, and will do much to hamstring the effectiveness of the Bill.

The important positive aspects of the Bill, as above outlined, make it essential that the full weight of the labor-progressive forces be rallied to its support.

ACTION

The immediate task for labor, for all progressive organizations, is immediately to organize support for the Wagner - Ellender - Taft Bill, the Wyatt program, and continuation of rent control. Labor is united for housing; full endorsement has come from the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., the National Farmers Union, and other labor groups. The A. F. of L., at its recent Executive Council meeting in Miami, pledged its full cooperation. Close cooperation by the respective housing committees of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. has been largely instrumental in framing, and bringing to the floor of Congress, this progressive housing legislation. Continuing joint action is essential to mobilize the rank-and-file of the local unions and win their active participation in the struggle for housing.

Practically speaking, the trade unions and all people's organizations should organize local outdoor demonstrations and meeting for housing.

For the purpose of developing this local political action, and also for protection of existing living standards, resurgent organization of tenant unions should be given special attention immediately. As the crisis deepens, landlord pressure for reduction in services and for evictions will increase; the present complete dependency on O.P.A. surveillance will leave many tenants unprotected and without an organizational structure for quick action when and if it becomes necessary. Such tenant unions, either as independent groups or as tenant committees of existing progressive neighborhood organizations, can and should concern themselves with legislative and educational housing activities on a house-by-house scale as an adjunct to serving the immediate needs of the tenants in preserving their present living standards. Groups of tenants on a house or block basis should be developed to meet with their Congressman whenever he returns to his constituency. Every incumbent in the 1946 election will have to answer for the part he has played in the passage of the National Housing Act.

Labor and progressive representation must be secured on all city planning and housing boards. This has long been sought by the

A. F. of L. and C.I.O. and attained only in a limited degree. Democratic participation is essential to carrying out the housing program. It will help to do away with restrictive covenants that perpetuate our ghettos and Harlems.

* * *

Housing is a large problem and a vital responsibility which the people must assume. The initiative must be taken from the hands of the banks and real estate spokesmen for Big Business, and must remain firmly vested in the people. The right to a home must become a reality in fact. Around this slogan the most widespread mass support can be rallied. Communists can mobilize and give leadership to community struggles, both through the Party organizations and through individual activity. In their trade unions, Communists must help promote, through all existing channels, political action on this matter. Whether it be a question of drawing up a letter to be sent to the O.P.A. or the organization of a delegation to a legislator, Communists must come forward with initiative among the people. They can thus contribute in this struggle, as in others, their Marxist understanding and organizational experience. This struggle for the satisfaction of the housing needs of the people is an imperative activity of the Communist Party.

WHAT THE SOUTH FACES TODAY

By NAT ROSS

ONE OF THE MOST challenging facts in the United States after V-J Day is the magnitude of the economic blitz carried out by Big Business against the white and Negro workers of the South. This economic assault has served as the impetus for the simultaneous political offensive against the Negro people and the labor movement in the South. It is the springboard for the more energetic role of the Southern poll taxers in Congress as pace-makers for fascism in the United States.

WARTIME ECONOMIC CHANGES

The necessities of war brought about a number of important economic changes in the South. As a result of the war boom, new war industries were built on an enormous scale, the Government itself spending seven billion dollars in the South. Non-agricultural employment rose about two million—from 5.8 million in 1940 to 7.7 million in 1944. Starting in most cases almost from scratch, wartime employment skyrocketed in shipbuilding to 300,000, in the aircraft industry to 160,000, in ordnance plants to 97,000, in Federal war employment (modifica-

tion centers, military bases, P.O.E. and war agencies) to 572,000. In Alabama, Texas, and Tennessee wartime employment increased by over 40 per cent. A number of new industrial centers were developed in the South, and certain cities had a tremendous growth in employment and population. Wartime employment rose by almost 50 per cent in New Orleans, San Antonio, and Jacksonville; by 105 per cent in Hattiesburg, Mississippi; by 132 per cent in Mobile; and by 313 per cent in Panama City, Florida. In the twin city area of Dallas-Fort Worth (Texas), employment in the war-built aircraft plants rose to 85,000.

For many decades industrial activity in the South was summed up in the extraction of raw materials and minerals from the earth and their manufacture into semifinished products. The South did not produce machine tools and machinery. It did not manufacture the means of production or consumer (metal) goods. In World War II the South became, for the first time, a producer of the most complicated machines of heavy industry. In the most modern and large-scale factories in the world, Southern workers produced heavy machines and equipment, and the most complicated instruments and weapons of war, including atom bombs at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

The war proved beyond question that the Southern states had the resources and the equipment—raw materials, minerals, fuel, power, plants—for the most advanced large-

scale production. Above all, it proved that the South had the labor "know-how"—a qualified working class, white and Negro, working together in basic industry. It is also a fact of major significance that hundreds of thousands of these white and Negro workers joined labor unions for the first time. This brought about a new sense of working class strength, political awareness, and solidarity with the entire labor movement.

One of the most far-reaching wartime developments was the shift of Negroes from the cotton fields, domestic service, and common labor to skilled and semi-skilled work in war plants, in industrial centers of the South. Despite various restrictions and obstacles aimed at preventing Negroes from leaving the agrarian Black Belt, the percentage of Negro men in industry, from 1940 to 1944, rose from 17 per cent to 29.7 per cent and of Negro women from 6 per cent to 18 per cent.

During the war the people of the South were solemnly promised the democratic fruits of victory over the fascist Axis. They were told that the South was leaving behind forever its backward economic past which was based on its semi-feudal oppression of the Negro people. They were told by government officials and by leaders in all walks of life that the South was headed toward a new era of industrial expansion and diversified modern farming, that the giant war plants

would be converted to basic peacetime production.

THE ECONOMIC BLITZ AFTER V-J DAY

But, as is well known, the rosy economic perspectives soon became drab before the bitter facts of life after V-J Day. With lightning rapidity, the main war industries were closed after military victory. In most cases, the shipyards, the aircraft industry and the munitions plants were not closed temporarily for reconversion, but were shut down with no plans whatsoever to reopen them. Hundreds of thousands of workers were unceremoniously fired. The South was faced with the tragedy of modern and magnificent—but idle—plants.

Nevertheless, will not the expansion of certain existing industry in the South and the building of new industries absorb the laid-off workers and keep unemployment at a minimum? It is not at all true that this will follow. It is true that, as a part of the temporary and partial post-war boom in the U. S., certain Southern industries will expand, such as textile, synthetic fibers, wood and paper products. There will be considerable activity in the building and construction industries. Undoubtedly, new plants will be opened in chemicals, plastics, synthetic rubber, etc., including, in many cases, the establishment of branches of large Northern corporations. The reasons that

expansion will take place along these lines, in addition to the temporary postwar boom in certain industries, are the accessibility to raw materials and the availability, in some cases, of cheap non-union labor. Another reason is the activity of certain local capitalists and business interests, and such of their spokesmen as Governor Arnall of Georgia, who would like to see some form of limited industrial expansion. *However, the real and decisive fact is that the program of Big Business is against converting the big industrial war plants of the South into producers of heavy machinery and the means of production.*

In the program of Big Business, the South, by and large, is not to produce autos, planes, tractors, frigidaires, radios, transportation equipment, electrical equipment, or machine tools, for peacetime needs. It is this underlying fact that explains the vigorous fight of America's dominant monopolists in the East against the effort to do away with the South-North freight rate differential. Furthermore, the over-all plants of Big Business as shown by its sabotage of the national interests in connection with the big strikes in the heavy industries, is not for a general expansion of industry in the United States, but for certain restrictions in order to maintain monopoly prices and other monopolistic advantages. In these plans of the Morgans, Duponts, and Rockefellers, the South is to remain something of an economic hinterland, and the oppressed Negro

nation in the Black Belt is to be the anvil on which the hammer of Wall Street will drive down the workers' living conditions nationally.

As a result of expansion in certain industries, as noted above, some increase in employment will take place. However, the increased labor productivity attained during the war, and the new forms of speed-up and efficiency schemes introduced since V-J Day, mean that the increase in employment will be slight. In some cases, there will actually be a considerable expansion of production, with no increase in employment as compared with the prewar period.

The general picture already shows large-scale mass unemployment in the South, and the perspective is one of a growth of mass unemployment of immense proportions. In Texas, for example, official estimates optimistically estimate the immediate postwar employment level to be considerably above the prewar level. At the same time, the Regional Director of the U.S.E.S. in Texas declares that 800,000 people—one-fifth of the adult population of Texas—will be looking for work in that state this summer.

However, our analysis of unemployment cannot end here. It is necessary to pursue this matter somewhat further. It requires an examination of the situation in cotton farming, upon which half of the Southern farmers depend for a livelihood. There is a widespread propaganda in the South, today, urging the laid-off war workers to go back to the cotton

farms where, it is claimed, they are needed. But what are the facts?

There is no question that cotton agriculture is faced with a crisis whose magnitude will be far greater and deeper than even the recurring cotton crises of the past two decades. This is due to both political and economic factors. First of all, the recent parity price of cotton has been 5 to 8 cents above the world price, which means eventual loss of markets, while the cotton control program has meant the use of inefficient methods and farms, even while cotton acreage has been cut in half in the two decades and yield per acre has drastically increased. On the economic side (except for certain temporary opportunities for cotton exports to devastated countries, etc.) the cotton market is threatened by the growth in world production of cotton and the ever-increasing competition from synthetic fibers, and paper, which can be produced much more cheaply. A few figures will indicate how seriously this affects Southern cotton. From the long-range view, America's proportion of world cotton production has declined from about 80 per cent in 1880 to 55 per cent in 1924 and 43 per cent in 1944. The drop in exports in the years before World War II is indicated by the fact that between 1932 and 1938 consumption of American cotton outside this country declined 46 per cent, whereas consumption of foreign-grown cotton increased 69 per cent. These basic trends will be intensified

in the period ahead, while the U. S. has a carry-over of cotton today of about 11 million bales, which is three times normal. Furthermore, the cotton picker and other machines will be used more extensively, especially in the Southwest and new cotton areas (thereby intensifying the exploitation of the sharecroppers in the Black Belt of the Deep South).

These are some of the basic factors that have to be considered in estimating the situation and the immediate perspectives in cotton. Secretary of Agriculture Anderson estimates that 3 million fewer people will be needed in cotton in the next 5 to 10 years. While one may not agree with the accuracy of this forecast, the fact is that when the full impact of the maturing cotton crisis strikes in the next few years it will have the profoundest repercussions on the economy of the South and the nation. It will recall the days of 6-cent cotton in 1932 and it will mean the utter impoverishment and dislodging of large numbers of cotton farmers.

If we sum up the basic factors in industry and cotton agriculture, outlined above, and the fact that 2 million were unemployed in the South on the eve of the war and that there are 4 million southern G's, we are forced to conclude that, not only is there large-scale unemployment in the South today, but that the South is faced with a tremendous increase of unemployment in the immediate years ahead.

The economic blitz of Big Business

against the Southern workers has, further, been directed at wages. This has been an attack on the take-home pay through the lessening of work-hours, as well as in a peculiar but nevertheless direct way, on the hourly wage rate itself. It was in the main war industries that the wage differential between the South and the North, especially in skilled and semi-skilled work, was somewhat narrowed. For example, in skilled machinists work in shipbuilding, the hourly rate was about \$1.20, which was a new high point for the South—at least so far as money wages were concerned. It is, however, precisely those industries requiring considerable numbers of skilled and semi-skilled workers that have shut down. It is not unusual for men who have been earning over a dollar an hour to be offered work in the low-paying industries at 50 cents an hour. According to government figures, the average wage offered to men in Atlanta in October, 1945, was 57 cents an hour, as compared with \$1.10 on their previous job, while that offered to women was 46 cents an hour, as compared with the previous rate of 95 cents an hour. In this connection, Negro workers have been hit the hardest and most direct blows by the economic attack of the capitalists. For example, in the Alabama Dry Docks in Mobile two of the ship ways were manned exclusively by Negroes, from the unskilled worker to the supervisor. Many of the skilled workers were earning well over \$1.00

an hour. These dry docks are closed down and thousands of Negroes are not only unable to find work in their own trades, but in some cases are unable to find work of any kind.

There is a concerted drive to bring the wages down to the "typical" Southern prewar wage level. How serious this is, can be shown by the fact that even in 1943, the hourly rates for common labor were 39 cents in the food industry, 40 cents in the leather and lumber industries, and 41 cents in the furniture industry. Furthermore, an idea of how low the reactionaries would like to drive the wage level can be seen from the fact that even according to the Report to the President on Economic Conditions in the South (1938), the income of some sharecroppers averaged only a little more than 10 cents a day!

In October, 1945, 60 per cent of the job openings in the Southeastern states were for unskilled work. While some skilled war workers did take these jobs, the Bulletin of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta stated that "Skilled workers were unwilling to take unskilled jobs while they were getting unemployment compensation." However, C.I.O. Regional Director Charles Gilman, in Atlanta, estimated that about 70 per cent of the war workers in the C.I.O. were being disqualified for unemployment benefits for refusing to accept unskilled work at half the pay they had been making in war industries.

A number of additional factors make the living conditions of large

numbers of Southern workers pregnant with poverty and tragedy. Even when wartime employment was at its height, the steep rise in the cost of living prevented much saving on a broad scale. A dramatic example of this is seen in Birmingham where the median liquid assets (bonds, bank accounts, and currency) of those earning less than \$25 weekly were \$140, and of those making between \$35 and \$54 a week were \$310. Purchasing power is further affected by the fact that, according to the Social Security Board, 62 per cent of the Southern workers are not covered by social security laws, and by the increasing discontinuance of servicemen's allotments as demobilization rises. These are some of the factors that serve to cut Southern purchasing power still further and help to shorten the postwar boom that will develop in some Southern industries.

These economic facts are not accidental, nor is the dismal economic perspective an "act of God." This is how the absentee Wall Street owners and their servile Bourbon allies in the South have planned it. They have prepared for the South a program of lower wages, lack of opportunity for skilled workers, and large-scale unemployment, with the heaviest economic blows being leveled against the wartime gains of the Negro people. It tells the Negro men to go back to the cotton fields and the Negro women to return to domestic service. It urges white women war workers to forget about productive employ-

ment and to become housewives again. While reaction is energetically striving to win the veterans to its side by demagogy and occasional favors, the fact is that large numbers of returning GIs in the South cannot find work. In New Orleans, in October, 1945, only 36 per cent of the veterans who applied to U.S.E.S. could find employment, and the situation has grown worse since then.

THE REACTIONARY POLITICAL OFFENSIVE IN THE SOUTH

The reactionary political offensive in the South since V-J Day is the twin brother of the economic blitz. Just as the economic assault in the South has disastrous consequences for the entire country (recall Pres. Roosevelt's statement in 1938: "The South is the nation's number one economic problem"), so the political offensive of the southern Bourbons is full of fascist menace for the entire nation. While the roots of this Bourbon policy is found in the semi-slave exploitation of the oppressed Negro nation in the Black Belt, its present ramifications threaten the democratic rights of the working people of the entire nation. That is why the Southern poll-taxers in Washington—willingly aided by the reactionary Republicans—have become the pace-makers for fascism in the nation. Reminiscent of Hitlerism, these Bourbons symbolize the collaboration between the American "magnates of the Ruhr" and the Southern "Junkers." They are a powerful force

within the Truman Administration, egg it forward on its imperialist course in foreign affairs, and sabotage the progressive domestic program of labor and the people.

In the South, this reactionary drive assumes the form of an effort to weaken and smash the trade unions. But, in the first place, the reactionary drive has manifested itself in an unprecedented attack on the Negro people, in a rise of lynchings, and in widespread violence, beating, and shootings of Negroes and *especially of Negro GIs*. A most determined effort is being made even where the poll tax has been abolished or where poll tax payments are being made, to keep the Negroes from voting. This is being done through white primaries, registration trickery, interpretation clauses, etc. The past few months have also witnessed the increased activity of fascist and vigilante organizations. Most menacing is the renewed vigor of the KKK, which seems to be heavily financed. The KKK is centering its drive around the question of jobs, demagogically appealing to white Protestant veterans and is preparing violent attacks on the labor movement, the Negro people, and the Communist Party.

This political offensive is reaction's answer to the magnificent contributions to military victory, made by the 4 million Southern veterans, white and Negro, and their millions of relatives in the factories and fields of the South. Its political aim is to wipe

out the wartime gains of the Southern toilers. It is directed against the political advances and new production skills of the Negro people, and, *above all*, against the anti-fascist consciousness and militancy of the Negro servicemen. This political drive is aimed at breaking up the advance in Negro and white solidarity that developed before and during the war in the pro-Roosevelt coalition of labor, the Negro people, and the progressive middle class, and especially in the labor movement.

THE PEOPLE'S ANSWER

Unquestionably, Big Business has, in general, had its own way with its reconversion plans in the South since V-J Day, in spite of the strengthening of the position of the labor movement during the war. One of the main reasons that the lightning-quick economic blows of Big Business were successful, was its ability to divert the Southern labor movement temporarily from unitedly meeting this direct economic attack on it. This diversion was affected by unleashing a reactionary offensive against the Negro people. This is seen, not only in the renewed violence against the Negroes in the South after V-J Day, but also in the more aggressive activity of the Poll Taxers in Congress, especially against the FEPC and against the abolition of the poll tax. However, it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that the labor and Negro people's movements have been

passive in meeting the general offensive of reaction in the South. The fact is that large numbers of white and Negro workers are in a militant mood. They want to fight back and, in many cases, are fighting back.

It was the oil workers' strike, early last fall, centered in the South, that helped to stimulate the current unprecedented wage and strike struggles throughout the country. Southern workers have been participating splendidly in the nation-wide steel and meat-packing strikes. A. F. of L. workers also have participated in a number of important struggles in the South in recent months. A number of mass actions were developed (Winston-Salem, Miami) against mass lay-offs, and quite a few unions in the South have been active in supporting the nation-wide campaign for progressive legislation in Congress. The one-day stoppage on December 3 in over a dozen Southern ports, in which the National Maritime Union called for speedy return of the GIs from China, resulted in militant demonstrations, with widespread solidarity expressed by organized labor and veterans.

In the preparations for the vital 1946 elections, in the struggle for the right to vote, in the fight against the anti-FEPC filibuster, there is an increasing trend toward united front activity of labor, the Negro people, veterans, and other progressive forces. In these broad activities, a vigorous role is being played by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, by

the C.I.O.-P.A.C., the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and, in some respects, by the N.A.A.C.P. in the South. One of the most encouraging developments is the organization of Negro GIs and their fighting mood. The militant demonstrations of Negro veterans in Birmingham at the end of January for the right to vote is symptomatic and has far-reaching significance for the maturing struggles in the South. The expected registration of 250,000 Negroes to vote in Texas in the 1946 elections is another sign of the new moods and trends in the South towards greater organization and struggle.

WHAT THE SOUTH NEEDS

It will not be easy to stop the drive toward poverty and reaction, national oppression and the rise of warmongering in the South. But it must be stopped in the interests of all the common people in the South and the nation.

The answer to the American monopolists and their servile allies, the Southern oligarchy, lies in the hands of the white and Negro toilers. *Only the working class and the Negro people can save the South from ruin.* Only by raising their banners in a crusade to organize the people for struggle, by a campaign to unite labor and the Negro people and all anti-fascist forces behind a people's economic and political program—only in this way can the welfare of the Southern people be advanced. Such a program must be a clear-cut

answer to the reactionary program which wants to drag the South back to even worse conditions than prevailed in the prewar days. What these conditions were was revealed sharply in the McCarran Senate Committee Report on Centralization of Heavy Industry which showed that in 1940, 10 Southern states, with 20 per cent of the U.S. population, had 10 per cent of the manufacturing, 11 per cent of the U.S. income, 39 per cent of the U.S. farm population and 20 per cent of the U.S. farm income.

Such a fighting economic and political program must center around the fight for jobs, for drastic agrarian reform and for full equality and freedom of the Negro people.

In general, such a program should include the following points:

1. Jobs for all at decent wages. Government responsibility for full employment. Government operation of all shut-down war plants in the South which private industry refuses to operate, for the production of peace-time goods.

2. A drastic rise in the living standards of all sections of the working population. Support to the strike struggles and wage demands of labor. The fight for progressive legislation in Congress, including the 65 cents minimum, FEPC, and the full employment bill without crippling amendments.

3. Public ownership under democratic control of the utilities, munitions, power, and oil industries, mines, and the railroads.

4. Adequate and liberal government credit to aid small business.

5. The launching by the Federal, State, and local governments of a widespread public works program, including the Missouri Valley Authority and other river-valley, power, flood-control, and irrigation projects, urban and rural housing, rural electrification, highways, schools, hospitals, etc.

6. The break-up of the feudal plantation system which is the source of the oppression of the Negro people and is heading the South toward economic ruin. The expansion of F.S.A. so that the oppressed tillers of the soil become farm owners. The inclusion of Negroes in the county farm boards and in all authoritative bodies. Written contracts between landlord and tenants. The provision of two acres for food-raising crops for all sharecroppers.

7. Support of a full farm production program, including a program for the diversification of Southern agriculture, especially in livestock and dairying, fruits and vegetables and new industrial crops. The support of an effective farm price support program.

8. Development of the farm cooperative movement, especially among small farmers and croppers, with government assistance for the purchase of tractors and farm equipment and their co-operative use.

9. Full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people. Defense of the wartime gains of the

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Negro people, their jobs, skills, etc. Equal pay, equal job rights, and upgrading of Negroes and against arbitrary mass lay-offs.

10. An end to the differentials. Equal freight rates for the South. Equal wages for Southern workers, equal rights for white and Negro veterans in the South, equal unemployment compensation and social security for Southern toilers.

11. Abolition of the poll tax and other voting restrictions designed to keep Negroes, as well as masses of white workers, from the polls. Defeat of the reactionary poll tax Congressmen in the 1946 elections.

The people's economic and political program for the welfare of the South, which the Communist must take the initiative in advancing, must emphasize the fact that reaction cannot be fought effectively in the South unless a broad united front is developed, including, in some instances, entire communities, which will demand that the shut-down war plants be opened for peacetime production. Such a program, however, cannot achieve success without the mass organization of the various strata of the toiling population, and their readiness to fight for the needs of a democratic and progressive South.

What must be done to organize large masses of Southern toilers to help strengthen the struggle for such a program as a whole or its various parts? What is required, above all is a drive to organize the millions of

unorganized in the textile, wood and paper, food and tobacco, and meat-packing industries, in warehousing and transportation, in machine shops and foundries, and in the service and retail trades as well as the white collar workers. Such a drive calls for the energetic support of the organized labor movement throughout the country, and, if properly pursued, can be a tremendous aid to the labor movement in the South and the nation. Together with this, there is the task of organizing the masses of unemployed workers, especially in the large industrial centers. Vital too, is the organization of the sharecroppers and laborers, particularly in the agrarian cotton belt. Here too, for example, the rise of the C.I.O. in Montgomery, the heart of the Alabama Black Belt, makes it possible for organized labor to lend a helping hand in the organization of the sharecroppers in Alabama. Of prime importance is the building of a progressive, mass, veterans organization, which will embrace the numerous local and state Negro veteran organizations in the South which have recently been formed as well as large numbers of unorganized Negro veterans. The militancy of the Negro veterans in the South is a sign that this pressing problem can be solved successfully and that the Negro veterans can play a leading role in the Negro liberation movement and in strengthening the relations between the Negro and white veterans and the labor movement.

Another important organizational task is the building of the Southern Negro Youth Congress as the direct organizational spokesmen of tens of thousands of young Negro men and women in the factories, farms, and schools of the South. The establishment of the National Negro Congress in industrial centers in the South can also give a big impetus to the struggle for Negro liberation.

In this organizational work, the Communists in the South bear a heavy responsibility to fight for a correct policy and against all reactionary and Social-Democratic tendencies. While working within the existing mass organizations, *Southern Communists must help develop a real organizing crusade and become dynamic organizers of the masses on all fronts of struggle.*

BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE SOUTH

In order to carry out these great political and organizational tasks in the South today, it is necessary, above all, to strengthen and build the reconstituted Party in the South. The South needs a militant Communist Party more than anything else. It is not the slightest exaggeration to say that the building of a fighting Communist Party, intimately connected with the labor movement and the Negro people, is the only way to prevent the South from taking the road to fascism and economic ruin.

Fortunately, the basis for a success-

ful campaign to build our Party has been laid in the past six months by the reconstitution of the Party in every Southern District. The Party in the South has at present, a membership already equal to that at the time of its liquidation a few years ago. This was achieved because the struggle against revisionism in reconstituting the Party corresponded to political realities and the fighting mood of the Southern toilers. In reconstituting the Party, the main necessity was to establish the most elementary clarity on the Negro question and to carry on a struggle against the white chauvinism that had penetrated our ranks throughout the South in the revisionist period. It was necessary to overcome a liberal and paternalistic approach to the fight for equal rights for Negroes, which was regarded as a question of "helping the Negroes." This approach almost completely ignored the *national* character of the oppression of the Negro people and gave a false emphasis to the Negro question as being primarily either a "race question" or a "labor question." Our movement had to rid itself of this liberal and Social-Democratic poison, and the historical social-economic roots of Negro oppression in the Black Belt had to be re-emphasized as of central importance.

It was necessary, furthermore, to hammer away at the fact that the fight for equal rights and full freedom for the Negro people was the *only way* that the labor movement

and democracy in the South could advance. It still remains a fact that at present, in all our mass education and mass activity in the South there is nothing more important than the need for constantly explaining, on the basis of numerous examples from the day-to-day struggle, that the defense of the Negro people and the fight for Negro rights is in the direct interest of the working class and of the democratic movement as a whole. The reconstituted Communist Party is working along this line, both in mass education and in action. This must be pursued without let-up, and above all, the Communist must help the labor movement, in its everyday activity, make the correct fight for equal rights for Negroes its own. This is the surest way to strengthen the solidarity between the white and Negro toilers in the South, to overcome white chauvinism, as well as Negro nationalism.

Working on the basis of a modest policy of concentration in the main industrial centers and of developing its own independent role in the struggles ahead, the Communist Party in the South is prepared to double its membership in the present national recruiting drive. To build the Party in the South means to fight

for the immediate welfare of the people of the South. It means strengthening the fight to defeat the reactionary poll-taxers in the 1946 elections, developing independent political action, and strengthening the united front of labor, the Negro people, and all progressive forces. To build the Party in the South means to oppose the imperialist policy of the Truman administration and to stop the drift toward World War III. It means to educate the working class and the Negro people in the South in the spirit of internationalism and socialism, to bring forward the leasons of the present-day, world-wide movement for self-determination and national independence of the colonies and its relation to the struggle for the freedom of the oppressed Negro nation in the Black Belt.

The South is the Achilles heel of American imperialism.

Our Party has the supreme responsibility and the golden opportunity to help give leadership to the struggle against reaction in the South. In the fight for the realization of a people's economic and political program, for the welfare of a democratic South, the Party is also fighting for the present and the future of the working people of our nation.

THE ANTI-IMPERIAL- IST STRUGGLE IN PALESTINE

RESOLUTION OF THE IX CON-
GRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF PALESTINE (September
6-8, 1945)

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

1. *The new international situation.*

The defeat of Hitlerite Germany and imperialist Japan came about as a result of the fight of the anti-fascist alliance of the peoples—at the head of which stood the Soviet Union. For this great victory all freedom-loving mankind has to feel gratitude and appreciation above all towards the Red Army and the Soviet State, which for three years stood almost alone in the fight against the entire weight of the mighty war machine of Nazi Germany and its satellites.

The Soviet Union mobilized around itself all the anti-fascist forces within the United Nations and the underground movements in Europe and encouraged them by its wonderful stand.

This great victory over fascism—the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of monopoly capital—has been possible thanks to the unity of the freedom-loving peoples and all the democratic forces throughout the world.

The military victory raises before humanity the problem of the political and moral annihilation of fascism in order to ensure a strong and lasting peace. The consolidation of victory demands the economic and military disarmament of Germany and Japan; the extermination of fascism and its influence in all spheres of life; full and quick punishment of the war criminals; and retribution for the damage done to countries and peoples.

The forces of peace, democracy, and socialism are at present much stronger than at any time before. The Socialist Soviet Union, the stronghold of peace and freedom, which proved to all during the war its mighty military, economic, and political power, is today one of the great powers which exercise a decisive influence in the international arena.

In the course of the anti-fascist war of liberation, in a large number of countries, a new type of democracy was created and strengthened turning these countries from a stronghold of feudal reaction and financial monopoly, into a reserve of economic, social, and political progress.

The Communist and Socialist Parties, fighting at the head of the working class and the broad masses of the people against fascism outside and within, have grown and strengthened; and they are today at the head of the people's fight for the consolidation of peace and democracy, for the ending of monopoly domination, and the eradication of the social and political roots of war.

These forces are at the head of the

struggle of the peoples against the remnants of fascism and against the pro-fascist forces which are endeavoring to maintain the rule of reaction, the rule of the landlords and monopoly capital.

In the great democratic countries too, in the United States and especially in Britain, the anti-fascist consciousness of the working class and the broad masses of the people has increased. One of the important expressions thereof is the defeat of the Tories and the rise to power of "Labour" in Britain.

The guarantee for the safeguarding of lasting peace lies in:

1. The strengthening of the unity of the United Nations, politically as well as economically.

2. The strengthening and unification of the international working class movement and all the progressive forces, within each country and on an international scale.

3. The most resolute fight against the anti-Soviet endeavors and maneuvers of international reaction, which endanger peace.

4. The promotion of the independence and free development of the colonial peoples.

2. *The Colonial problem in the present stage.*

The fight for the liberation of the colonial countries is an inseparable part of the fight to safeguard the peace. The fight for the safeguarding of lasting peace—for the promotion and establishment of democracy; for

the removal of the economic and political sources which nourish fascism, and for its complete eradication; for economic and political cooperation between the peoples and their countries, instead of international competition—will not be complete if it by-passes the colonies, if it does not receive encouragement from all the freedom-loving forces in the world.

The resolution on the colonial question adopted by the United Nations at the San Francisco Conference, which states that the colonies must be encouraged "toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided in the terms of the trusteeship agreement" is able to assist the colonies in their fight against colonial oppression, even though this resolution does not express in full degree the demands of the colonial countries for self-determination—as was demanded by the Soviet Union. The colonial peoples must mobilize all the democratic forces in their countries while maintaining connection with, and seeking support among, the forces of freedom in the world for the fight to further their independence, their liberation from monopoly domination, and for raising the standard of living of the masses, together with the demand for carrying out the resolution of the United Nations Organization in a consistent manner.

3. *The Middle East*

The fight for the freedom of Palestine is part of the general fight of the Middle East people and all colonial people for their political and economic liberation from the imperialist yoke.

The unity of the Arab countries, economically, culturally, and politically, has always been an important perspective of the peoples of the Middle East; since their political independence can be realized only if it will become impossible to play off the different Arab states against one another, and only if a united front of the countries of the Middle East will be able to stand up against the economic and political forces of imperialism.

The establishment of the Arab League reflects in some degree these political and economic necessities. At the same time, the League today reflects the pressure brought about within its ranks by groups of vested interests and reactionary feudal elements, whose policy against fascism in the past was not of the best.

This state of affairs within the Arab National Movement makes it possible for imperialist intriguers and oil interests to attempt to use the League, and the aspirations for an Arab Federation, for their own purposes and in their imperialist competitive struggle among themselves—and against the interests of the peoples of the Middle East.

Therefore, the task of the peoples of the Middle East is to fight for the

strengthening of the progressive forces, in order to bring about a more democratic leadership of the Arab countries, their unity, and their joining in the framework of the United Nations organization for safeguarding the peace in the Middle East, including Palestine.

Under such conditions the Arab League would be able to assist in the solution of many problems of the Middle East.

4. *The Jewish People and the Yishuv.**

Tens of millions of individuals of all peoples have been murdered by the fascist cannibals. But there exists no other people whose blood has been shed to such an extent by the Hitlerite bandits as the Jewish people. At Maidanek and Treblinka, at Oswiecim and all the other death-camps, in the gas-chambers and furnaces, six million Jews have been massacred, a third of world Jewry.

The war has proved by the blood of millions of our brethren and sisters, who have been murdered innocently, that fascism and reaction are a mortal poison for the Jewish people.

The war has shown that the forces of democracy and socialism, with the Soviet Union and the working class at their head, are the natural allies of the Jewish people. They have been the saviors and encouragers,

* *Yishuv*: "Settlement"; here meaning the Jewish community of Palestine. All terms in this Resolution footnoted by the Editors, unless otherwise indicated, are Hebrew.

and, thanks to them above all, there still survive Jews in Europe.

The Jewish people have not only been a victim of the Second World War. They proved to be a fighting people and a heroic people as well. More than a million of their sons served in the Red Army and in the armies of the United Nations, and still more millions worked in the rear for the war effort.

The Jewish Yishuv in Palestine has also fulfilled with honor its task in the war, by sending its sons into the army and the Jewish Brigade, as well as by the part it played in industry and agriculture.

The Yishuv is obliged for its rescue to the Red Army and the allied armies, who prevented fascism from reaching our country.

In the course of the war a worldwide Jewish unity developed which had not existed before. Soviet Jewry, which played the leading role in the war effort of the Jewish people, was also the first to issue the call for anti-fascist Jewish unity, for the rescue of the people, and for revenge against the fascist butchers.

Although the transition period in Europe, with all its economic and political difficulties, has not yet come to an end, and though reactionary and anti-Semitic elements still try to raise their head, developments are nevertheless promoting the consolidation and the strengthening of the democratic forces, *i.e.*, the consolidation of the true allies of the Jewish people.

The popular democracy, which has arisen and developed in liberated Europe, is creating new and free living conditions for surviving Jewry. Anti-Semitism, the age-old curse of the Jewish people, is being prosecuted by law, and is being exterminated, together with its roots. Anti-Semitic organizations are being dissolved. War criminals and Jew-baiters are being put on just trial before people's courts. All racial and national discrimination is being abolished. The new governments are granting special material aid to the Jewish communities. Jewish schools are being maintained at government cost. Jewish refugees enjoy special treatment and special care by the democratic authorities. The cultural life of the Jewish communities is being given the possibility of free and full development.

But even though the fascist fiend has been disarmed, Nazi ideology, racial theory, and anti-Semitism have not yet been completely destroyed, *i.e.*, the full moral-political victory over Nazism has not yet been achieved. And, as long as this is so, the Jewish people, together with all progressive forces among the other peoples, have the task of taking full part in the fight against anti-Semitism and its propagators, against the propaganda and incitement which lead to the furnaces of Maidanek. A strongly united representative body of the whole Jewish people is required in the fight on the following issues:

1. Exposing anti-Semitism as a

criminal act in the legislation of all countries and states.

2. The presentation of the Bill of Indictment by the Jewish people against Nazi Germany and of our insistent demand for full and quick punishment of the murderers of our people.

3. Our obligation to wage a relentless struggle for the return of the robbed and stolen property and for full retribution to Jewish individuals and Jewish communities for the destruction and devastation.

4. The task of the Jewish people to fight for the protection of its democratic and national rights and for their establishment by law by the United Nations Organization in order to enable free national, economic, and cultural development for the Jewish communities in their respective countries.

5. Urgent planned help to the survivors of our people in all liberated countries in order to re-establish their life and reconstruct upon strong foundations what has been destroyed.

6. Immediate assistance in the housing and the establishment of those thousands of Jews who do not want—for various reasons—to return to their original countries, and who want to immigrate to other countries, including Palestine too.

7. Assistance to the Jewish Yishuv in its fight against the White Paper.

The ideology of "Abolition of the Galuth,"* of "Exodus from Europe," has its foundation in the reactionary

forces in Europe and is in opposition to the interests of the Jewish communities and contrary to the tasks mentioned above.

We see the *full* solution of the Jewish problem in the victory of socialism. It is not a problem of "majority" and "minority," as it is being represented by the Zionist ideologists, but a problem which can find its full solution in a democratic and socialist order.

II. THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINE

1. *Palestine and Imperialism.*

Palestine is subjugated by imperialist rule, economically and politically. Even after the victory over German and Japanese imperialism, the inhabitants of this country are living in a condition where they lack democratic liberties and self-government. Imperialist rule in Palestine leans upon the big capitalists and planters, the landlords and the big trading capitalists among the Jews and the Arabs.

The usual system of colonial rule consists in the policy of "divide and rule" and in the kindling of antagonisms between Jews and Arabs. In this policy, colonial rule is being assisted by its two main social and political props, those in the Jewish and Arab sectors.

The fight for a democratic system and for the independence of Palestine is in the interest of all the inhabitants of Palestine, Jews as well as Arabs. The interests of the Jewish and the Arab masses are identical.

* *Galuth*: "Exile"; "Diaspora."

The fight for Jewish-Arab collaboration and for national equality of rights in this country is one of the principal means of promoting the struggle for democracy and independence. The basis for the friendship of people is to be found in the independence and democratization of Palestine. The consequence thereof is that the fight for the friendship of peoples and for democracy intermingle and are not to be separated.

The success of the fight for a democratic and independent Palestine will be assured if it will be led as a common fight of the Jews and the Arabs alike.

2. *The National Question.*

The national question in Palestine was and remains the question of the deliverance of Palestine from the imperialist yoke. During the last period, and especially during the war, great changes occurred in the economy of Palestine and in its national character.

The Jewish Yishuv grew and developed as an important economic factor in this country and as a consolidated national community. Palestine is today a country of a bi-national character. This is the new aspect of the national problem in Palestine.

The Jewish Yishuv in this country is different today from what it was in the first years of the British occupation. It occupies the central position in the industrial development of this country. As a result of this development the working class grew in num-

bers, class differentiation increased, and the points of contradiction between parts of the Yishuv and imperialism became more numerous.

During the war years, economic development took place in the Arab sector. The Arab working class grew considerably, the class differentiation in town and village increased, and the class conflict sharpened.

As a result of this economic and class development there developed a consolidated Arab trade union organization.

The Arab trade union organization is the most organized core of the Arab National Movement.

All these factors denote the changes which took place in this country.

3. *The Jewish Yishuv.*

The international development, the development in this country during the war, and the situation of the Jewish people—all this had its influence upon the political development in the Yishuv.

The progressive political development in the world, and the new democratic political conditions under which the Jewish communities which have survived in Europe are living, brought about, on the one hand, the program of desperation of the champions of the official Zionist policy, known as the "Biltmore Program."* This program is based upon an anti-

* *Biltmore Program*: The program adopted at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference held on May 11, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York. It calls for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

labor policy, upon national usurpation and hatred of peoples, upon the theory of the isolation of the Jewish people and dependence upon the forces of international reaction. This camp, which has as its slogan the turning of Palestine into a Jewish State, is being led, ideologically and organizationally, by the organizations of the big bourgeoisie, the clerical-political organizations and, among the working population, by the Mapai.*

The fascist terrorist organizations are an extreme expression of the Biltmore ideology. During the war the terrorist organizations had connections with the fascist enemy and hampered the war effort of the Yishuv.

In opposition to this camp, other political forces were formed which deem it essential to adapt their policy to the new conditions which exist internationally and in this country. These forces, which comprise the oppositional parties in the Histadruth** and circles of the middle class and the intelligentsia, emphasize, in opposition to the Biltmore forces, the necessity for a more realistic policy, which takes into account to a certain degree—though not in a consistent manner—the bi-national arena of Palestine and in the Middle

East. Among these anti-Biltmore forces in the Yishuv one must count the "Hashomer Hazair,"* the Socialist League, parts of the "Tnuva l'achduth Avoda,"*** and the "Aliya Hadasha,"**** the "Left Poale Zion,"***** the circles of "Ichud," (Dr. Magnes).*****

The Communist Party of Palestine is the most consistent force in the fight against the theory and the practice of the policy of the official Zionist leadership and the only one which fights for a positive and democratic program for the solution of the problems of the Yishuv and the country.

The Communist Party fights to permeate the Yishuv with the perception and understanding of the right of self-determination of this country, the guaranteeing of full equality of national rights to the Jews and the Arabs; and the necessity of including Palestine into the agreement of the Atlantic Charter and the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea, and San Francisco.

* *Hashomer Hazair*: "Young Guardian." A Left-wing Zionist organization; it engages in agricultural settlement through cooperative units, and also owns industrial enterprises. It calls for unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine, but stands for a bi-national Palestinian State. Its platform calls for cooperation with the Soviet Union.

** *Tnuva l'achduth Avoda*: "Movement for the Unity of Labor." It is an opposition group within the Mapai, being opposed to the Biltmore program.

*** *Aliya Hadasha*: "New Immigration." An organization consisting in the main of German Jewish refugees, which has appeared as a new political grouping in Palestine.

**** *Left Poale Zion*: Left Labor Zionists.

***** *Ichud*: "Unity" (Union Society); founded by Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It calls for "political and numerical parity of the Jews and Arabs in a bi-national Palestine which is to be a part of a larger union consisting of four autonomous parts—Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon." It proposes that Jewish immigration continue until Jews and Arabs reach numerical parity.

* *Mapai*: Palestine Jewish Labor Party. (Initials of "Mifletet Poale Erez Israel.") It is not a unified group, but is split into groups having various positions on major political problems. The dominant leadership is unreservedly for the Biltmore program—the maximum Zionist program.

** *Histadruth*: "Organization"—General Federation of Labor in Palestine; Zionist- and reformist-led trade union center of Jewish workers (including Jewish agricultural workers). It owns large industrial enterprises and agricultural settlements (the building cooperative it controls being the largest building trade enterprise in Palestine).

To sum up: There is a social and political stirring within the Yishuv, and especially within the working class. The increased exploitation of the masses of the proletariat, the continuously repeated endeavors of the bourgeoisie, assisted by the Government, to lower their standard of life and to curtail their rights, a process which will assume a more acute character with the aggravation of the problem of competition between industry in this country and in the neighboring countries—all this together is pushing the proletariat to a sharpening of the class conflict, is bringing it into collision with the dominant political line of the Zionist movement (which expresses the interest of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie) and with the policy of imperialist rule. Through this development, the Jewish proletariat and masses of the people will have to turn into an anti-imperialist, democratic force, and thus become an ally of the Arab toiling masses and of the common fight for the democratization of this country.

4. *The Arab National Movement.*

The changes which took place in the international situation and in this country left their mark on the Arabs. Compared with the political stagnation characteristic of the first years of the war, during the recent period a great enlightenment has taken place.

Among the fellaheen* a social fermentation is to be observed, despite

the fact that a stable organization for the defense of their interests has not yet sprung up.

The most organized force is the trade union organization of the workers. In this organization, with its different branches, a struggle is going on between the influence of reactionary forces, on the one hand, and that of the adherents of "The League of National Liberation," on the other.

In "The League of National Liberation" Communist workers, intelligentsia, and progressive workers are active. Its organ is the weekly *Al-Itihad*. The League is spreading positive enlightenment on the Soviet Union and repulses attacks on the Soviet Union. The League is fighting for the improvement of the conditions of the Arab workers and the fellaheen. It takes up a positive position on the Jewish Yishuv. The League leads a campaign of enlightenment on the necessity for the democratization of this country. It is the sole Arab body which expresses the necessity for Jewish-Arab cooperation. This positive aspiration particularly revealed itself after the World Trade Union Congress in London. Notwithstanding some lines of policy not sufficiently clear and consistent, these circles represent the most progressive forces among the Arab people.

The direct encounter with each other of tens of thousands of Jewish and Arab workers in the military and Government working camps, and their common fight in spite of

* *Fellaheen*: "Peasants" (Arabic).

interference on the part of the leaders of the Histadruth and the Jema'it, the partial successes these workers achieved precisely on the basis of this cooperation and solidarity, begin to make clear to the workers of both peoples their common economic and social interests. This is of historic importance for the workers' movement in Palestine, since it is the pivot around which revolve the promotion of the interests of the masses of the Arab people and the Jewish Yishuv in the direction of their determination of their life and their destiny in a free and democratic Palestine.

III. PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party calls upon the Jewish and the Arab masses to fight for:

1. *The immediate interests of the working masses.*

Workers—Safeguarding of full employment; raising the standard of living of the working class by ensuring proper wages and proper conditions of work; equal pay for equal work; social insurance by Government; progressive labor legislation and legislation to protect working youth and women; equal right to work for every worker, irrespective of race, people, and religion.

Peasants—Protection of the interests of the small peasants, as well as of the tenants in the form of special

legislation for their protection; government aid for the development of the peasants' farms, and provision of cheap credits; Government land for the landless, agricultural machinery, seeds, etc. Moratorium on debts; deliverance from the "Tithe" tax; reduction in taxes; deliverance from the usurers; the foundation of an agricultural bank by the Government which will issue loans to farmers at low rates of interest and on long terms; the setting up of irrigation undertakings for the intensification of agriculture; the building of schools, clinics, and hospitals.

Artisans—Protection of the interests of the artisans by tax relief; encouraging the cooperative movement, of the producers' and consumers' cooperatives; cheap prices for raw materials and working tools; cheap credits.

Intelligentsia—Protection of the interests of the working intelligentsia and the creation of proper living and working conditions for them.

2. *Taxation Policy.*

A policy of progressive taxation; the abolition of indirect taxes; the increase of the property tax and the income tax on the big bourgeoisie; the raising of the minimum income which is to be exempted from the income tax; increasing the tax rates on big land property; introduction of inheritance taxes; special taxes on war profiteers. Registration in Palestine of the monopoly capital companies and the imposing of special taxes upon them. Increase of ex-

penditure for social services, such as health and education, and for cultural and artistic needs. Control of the budget policy by representatives of the people.

3. *Free Economic Development*

Industry—Free economic development of this country, and the encouragement of industry without national discrimination. Supply of raw materials at non-exorbitant prices; supply of technical equipment; assistance in the training of skilled workers. Encouragement of research into the riches of this country and the setting up of a special Government budget to this end. Exploitation of the riches of this country in the interests of its inhabitants. Full use within this country of its raw materials. Control over prices. Economic collaboration between Jews and Arabs in this country, and between them and the neighboring countries, in order to safeguard the arrangements for marketing the goods produced.

Transport—Development of railways, roads and ports. Ensuring a supply of tires and auto parts. The sale of trucks out of the military stores in this country, at cheap prices, with preference to demobilized soldiers.

4. *Municipal Democracy*

General and democratic elections to the local authoritative bodies and enlargement of their local autonomy. Restriction of the powers of the High

Commissioner and the District Commissioners, as they refer to the local authoritative bodies. Removal of the Electoral Census. To include the dwelling quarters near towns and colonies in the respective Court Districts and District municipalities. Removal of the "community" restrictions. General active and passive suffrage to all inhabitants of this country.

5. *Culture.*

Freedom of development for all national cultures. Recognition in reality of the rights of the Hebrew and Arab languages. (At the same time all violence against any other language, especially the Yiddish language, is to be fought against.)

Encouragement of the development of cultural institutions in both the national sectors, public elementary schools, secondary schools, seminars (colleges), universities, theatres, and other artistic establishments. Free and compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14.

6. *Democratization of this country.*

(a) Full and equal democratic rights for all inhabitants of this country, irrespective of race, people, religion, and sex.

(b) Legal guarantee of equality of national rights and opportunities and for prevention of the domination of one people over the other. Abrogation of the White Paper, the foundation of which is anti-democratic and racial in character.

(c) Legal guarantee of freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, organization and press (fascists to be excluded).

(d) Representation and cooperation of the inhabitants of this country in the Governmental Departments of Labor, Reconstruction, Public Courts, and District Administration.

(e) Restriction of the powers of the High Commissioner by the establishment of elected country-wide, democratic institutions, legislative as well as executive (which will express the bi-national character of this country and will be based upon the unshakeable principles of equality of civil and national rights for all peoples in this country. These principles have to guarantee the impossibility of the domination of one people over the other and to prevent all possibility of national discrimination.

(f) The Communist Party is fighting for the acknowledgement of the right of self-determination for this country, which will safeguard the full equality of national rights for the two national sectors and the inclusion of this country into the agreements of the Atlantic Charter, the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea and San Francisco, and the International Trusteeship system.

(g) The Communist Party of Palestine is fighting for an independent, democratic, Arab-Jewish State.

7. *The Jewish National Home.*

The Communist Party of Palestine

is fighting for the free development of the National Home of the Jewish Yishuv on the basis of the principles contained in 6 (c), (f), and (g). In the course of the economic and social development of the Yishuv, there were laid the foundations of the National Home (industrial, cultural development, etc.). The development and advance of the Jewish National Home are dependent upon the degree in which the masses of the Yishuv will be harnessed to the fight for the liberation and democratization of this country, because a Jewish National Home cannot exist, and has no possibility of development, in a system of colonial oppression.

We are fighting for:

1. The creation of the conditions and possibilities for the Yishuv to develop freely—and without domination or being dominated—its economic, cultural, and national life on the foundations of self-government, of rejecting the domination of one people over the other, and of friendship among peoples.

2. The right of development of institutions of self-government and the enlargement of their powers, beginning with the cells of local authorities up to the Wead Loumi (Jewish National Council), in all inner questions of the Yishuv as an inseparable part of democratic rule in this country.

3. Abolition of national discrimination, including the abrogation of the discrimination contained in the "White Paper" against the Jews, as to immigration into this country and

settlement; and against any eviction of tenants and fellaheen.

4. The linking up of the democratic arrangements for Jewish settlement with the countrywide arrangements of the agrarian problem and agricultural development without national discrimination.

IV. PLAN FOR DEMOCRATIC UNITY

We consider it possible and necessary to achieve common action between different political organizations and sections of the people for the protection of the social and national interests of the masses of the Jewish Yishuv.

In the Histadruth—For cooperation between all opposition forces which oppose the prevailing trade union line. The basis for the common fight of all opposition forces should be:

1. Democratization of the trade union organizations and of the whole life of the Histadruth.

2. A struggle against the policy of "Conciliation" with the employers, and for a consistent trade union policy.

3. Against imposing the burden of the social services upon the workers and for its being imposed upon the Government, the bourgeoisie, and the municipalities.

4. For the alleviation of the tax burden.

5. A fight for full employment, for a job for every one who seeks work.

6. Jewish-Arab cooperation in

common working places and between the Histadruth and the Arab Trade Union.

7. Against chauvinistic incitement and anti-Soviet propaganda.

8. For the fulfillment of the resolution of the World Trade Union Congress in London on the consolidation of the unity of the labor movement, for the promotion of its social achievements, for progressive labor legislation; and for restriction of the exploitation by the monopolies.

In the Municipalities—The Congress decides to fight for cooperation with all parties in the Histadruth against the representatives of bourgeois reaction. The basis for this common fight is the struggle: for the democratization of the Municipal councils; for the abolition of the Census; for the suffrage for women, which does not exist in part of the municipalities; for a progressive system of taxes; for education and health services for the broad masses; against speculation; for enlargement of the powers of the municipalities; for measures to provide work for every one who asks for it; for public works; for re-settlement and help to the demobilized soldiers; and for housing and care for the refugees.

In the Assefath Haniwharim (The Representative Assembly) — The Congress decides to fight for cooperation among all anti-Biltmore forces: "Hashomer Hazair," the "Movement for the Unity of Labor," "Left Poale Zion," "Aliya Hadasha" for a "Democratic People's Group."

The basis for the common fight is:

1. Against the policy of domination on the part of the Biltmore parties.

2. For abrogation of the "White Paper."

3. For free development of the Jewish National Home.

4. Care for the refugees, including housing, health measures, and employment.

5. Enlargement of the education and health services.

6. A relentless fight against the ideology and practice of the fascist terrorist organizations.

7. A struggle for Jewish-Arab understanding on the basis of equality of national rights and the mutual recognition of each other's rights.

8. Assistance in the rehabilitation of the ravaged European Jews.

9. For relations of friendship with the Soviet Union and Soviet Jewry.

10. Enlargement of the powers of the Assefath Hanivcharim.

11. Jewish anti-fascist unity for uprooting anti-Semitism and national oppression and for the safeguarding of the equality of civil and national rights of the Jewish communities in their respective countries.

12. The fight for full employment.

The Arab National Movement—We fight to permeate the Arab masses with the perception and conviction that the success of the fight for democracy and independence is connected with the fight for equality of national rights and against national discrimination, including the abrogation of the "White Paper."

We consider as necessary the creation of a national democratic front on the following basis:

1. A fight for acknowledgement of the right of self-determination for this country which will guarantee full equality of national rights for both national sectors. The inclusion of Palestine in the system of agreements of the Atlantic Charter, the resolutions of Teheran, Crimea and San Francisco and the system of international trusteeship.

2. A fight for the democratic rights of the masses: urban and rural councils elected according to democratic principles; participation of the population in the bodies of control over supply and distribution, over production and import; freedom of press, including the abolition of censorship; freedom of assembly and political activity.

3. Encouragement of industrial development and growth of industrial production; the supply of machinery, raw materials, credits; and the education of skilled cadres.

4. Assistance to the farmers (fellahs) and the strengthening of agricultural production.

5. Safeguarding the rights of the workers (progressive labor legislation, social insurance) and full freedom for the trade union organization.

6. A fight for cooperation between Arabs and Jews and, in particular, between the workers of both peoples and their trade unions.

7. Cultural relations with the anti-fascist forces throughout the world

and, in particular, with the Soviet Union.

CONCLUSION

1. The Conference decides to increase its activity in spreading, among the workers and the broad masses, Marxist ideological enlightenment, especially concerning the national question, as opposed to the nationalistic Jewish ideology (the Zionist ideology) and the nationalistic Arab ideology.

2. The degree of progressiveness attained by the political forces in this country may be measured by the extent of their fight for the democratization and the independence of this country—which is being conducted in conformity with the general struggle of all freedom-loving forces throughout the world—and the extent of their fight for equality of national rights.

The Communist Party considers necessary the cooperation with Jewish and Arab political bodies which fight for democratization in the various segments of public life (in the trade unions, the municipalities, etc.)

3. The Conference considers it to be a foremost task of the Party to make every endeavor to bring about close cooperation between the Party and the Arab progressive forces, in particular the Arab League of National Liberation with the object in view of achieving political and organizational unity within a unified Communist Party.

4. In view of the increased activity

of the reactionary forces among the Jews and the Arabs, the Communist Party calls for intensified exertions in the fight for Jewish-Arab understanding, for peace and democracy.

V. THE PROFESSIONAL TRADE UNION FIGHT

1. The growth and consolidation of the proletariat during the war years under conditions of a lowering of the standard of living of the workers—as contrasted with the enrichment of the capitalists—and of the anti-labor policy of the Government—resulted in making the class conflicts in this country more acute.

2. The development of class consciousness finds its reflection in the wave of strikes which developed class foundation among the working class in such a way that these strikes, from a fight for cost-of-living alliances, turned into a fight for collective agreements, social demands, and recognition of the trade union organizations, and into a fight for strike pay.

Under these conditions the working class has to fight for:

(a) Progressive labor and social legislation.

(b) Abolition of the anti-labor laws.

(c) Country-wide collective agreements.

(d) Proper wages and working conditions.

(e) Recognition of the trade unions, the shop committees, and shop stewards as authoritative repre-

sentatives of the working class in dealings with the management, Government, and any other agency.

(f) Imposing the burden of social and insurance services upon the Government, the local authorities, and the employers.

(g) Strike pay, and the abolition of the "black list" system of the employers.

(h) Insurance in cases of accidents, with payment of wages in full.

(i) Progressive legislation for the protection of youth and working women, and for the implementing of existing laws.

(j) Guaranteeing work to everyone who seeks it and against the system of interchanges of work (Chalifin).

(k) The establishment of public works at the expense of the Government and municipalities.

(l) An 8-hour working day and the abolition of overtime.

(m) A shortened working day for women and youth.

(n) Strict observance of a weekly rest-day and a shortened working day on the eve of holidays and Saturdays.

(o) Increase of the yearly vacation with full pay, and of vacation with full pay for women workers before and after confinement.

(p) A transition from piece-work to daily and monthly wages, and for the abolition of the system of competition as to the norms.

(q) Cooperation between Jewish and Arab workers and their respec-

tive trade union organizations, against the "Conquest of Labor."*

IMMIGRATION

1. The Zionist ideology that sees in the emigration of the Jews to Palestine the solution of the Jewish problem is a utopian and reactionary ideology, particularly as regards the following aspects:

(a) It diverts the Jewish masses from the fight, in unity with the general population, for democracy and socialism;

(b) Its slogan, "Let the Jews Leave Europe," coincides with the propaganda of the reactionary and anti-Semitic forces of Europe against the new democratic regimes;

(c) It relies on the imperialist rule in Palestine;

(d) Therefore it is against the true interests of the Jewish masses in the various countries in which they live and also against the true interests of the Jewish masses in Palestine.

2. The way to uproot anti-Semitism and to make possible a free development of the Jewish people wherever they live, is to eradicate social roots that bring about anti-Semitism and fascism—to change the social structure of society that generates national subjection alongside social subjection.

The guarantee of a better future for the Jews lies in bringing about the political and social democratization of the countries in which they live.

* *Conquest of Labor*: The policy aimed at excluding Arab workers from employment in Jewish-owned agricultural or industrial enterprises.

The full and final solution of the Jewish problem will come about only in a socialist system of society. It is not a question of the majority or minority status of the Jews; but it is a question of a progressive or reactionary structure of society.

3. The Jews in Palestine were saved in this war, not because they migrated to Palestine but because the Red Army stopped the fascists at Stalingrad, and the forces of the Allies stopped them at El Alamein. If the fascist army had reached Palestine, the fate of the Jews there would not have been different from the fate of the Jews in Poland.

This is also the lesson for the future. Emigration to Palestine does not guarantee the future of the Jews. In case of a new rise of fascism and a third world war there would arise the danger of the extermination of the Jews in Palestine as well as the Jews in other countries. The safeguarding of the future of the Jewish people can only rest in the uprooting of the political and social roots of fascism and war, in the implementation of the decisions of Crimea and Potsdam.

This does not mean that we have to oppose emigration to Palestine, or

that Palestine cannot participate in helping to solve the problem of the displaced Jews in Europe. We have to see Palestine as one of the places where Jews of the camps who wish to migrate to new places, can do so. We have to take into account that a section of these Jews will return to their original countries, to the new democratic regimes in Europe.

We have to oppose the emigration laws of the White Paper, which is anti-democratic and based on racial discrimination, because it particularly prohibits Jewish immigration.

We have to oppose the White Paper in general because it is one of the instruments of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule," and is one of the reasons for the sharpening of the tension between the Jews and the Arabs.

The question of immigration must be settled in the interests of peace in Palestine, by means of an agreement between the Jews and Arabs. But in the present phase, when a Jewish-Arab agreement is absent, the problem of immigration, just as the problem of Palestine in general, should be arranged in a democratic manner in the framework of the trusteeship system of the United Nations.

THE TRUSTEESHIP QUESTION*

By E. ZHUKOV

THE TERMINATION of World War II has again brought up very acutely the question of the fate of the millions of inhabitants of colonial and dependent countries. The task of ensuring a durable and just peace, to which all mankind aspires, cannot be satisfactorily carried out if vast masses of people, inhabiting extensive territories in Asia, Africa, Oceania and America, remain destitute of elementary civil rights and the object of political and economic oppression.

The colonial question has been one of the permanent causes of international conflicts and wars for a long time past. Prompted by the desire to consolidate their victory over the dark forces of fascism and to prevent a repetition of aggression, the peoples of the United Nations are keenly interested in the liquidation of such an obvious source of likely international conflicts as the profoundly reactionary colonial system.

It was quite natural, therefore, that the question of the dependent and colonial countries should have been raised at the Conference of the

United Nations in San Francisco, which drew up the Charter of the international security organization. But although all the participants in this conference appreciated the importance of this question, substantial differences were immediately revealed in the way the various powers interpreted it.

There were three main conceptions, each represented at the conference. The proponents of the first, which reflected the policy of the old colonial powers, the holders of extensive colonial possessions, urged the necessity of all dependent peoples going through a successive series of stages on the way to self-government—from complete subordination to the controlling power to dominion status, which is regarded as the top rung of the "ladder," to use the figurative expression of the British delegate, Lord Cranborne.

This point of view, even in remote perspective, precluded the possibility and expediency of granting political independence to the colonial and dependent countries. It contemplated a policy of perpetuating existing colonial empires, which, however, were to undergo a slow process of internal perfection.

The second conception, represented by the United States of America, differed from the first primarily in that it recognized the possibility, under certain circumstances, of "levelling up" the colonial peoples to the stage in which they will be capable of becoming independent. The United States delegates frequently

* From *New Times*, Moscow, No. 14, December 15, 1945.

pointed to the example of the Philippines, which, during the course of nearly fifty years, have passed through different stage of dependence upon the United States until, at last, they acquired the qualities enabling them to achieve formal independence in the spring of 1946.

The sponsors of the American conception revealed no interest in the preservation of the long established colonial empires of the old type, such as the British Empire. If anything, the contrary was the case. They condemned such tendencies. It is common knowledge that United States policy has always preferred economic forms of expansion, which, in the long run, have always proved sufficiently effective in consolidating American influence in any given zone, within or without the sphere of the Monroe doctrine. The Philippines confirm the truth of this principle. The economic and, probably, the strategic position of the United States in the Philippines will remain unshaken even after the formal declaration of independence of the Philippines.

The third conception, most consistently advocated by the U.S.S.R. delegation, was that it was necessary from the standpoint of international security to take measures to enable the dependent countries to embark upon the road of genuine national independence as speedily as possible. The principle underlying this conception and its simplicity and clarity won it wide approval and support

among progressives all over the world. As the American press observed, the Soviet Union's position on the colonial question achieved for it the "moral leadership" of the conference.

The decision arrived at on this question at the San Francisco Conference was a compromise. The principle of recognizing independence for all peoples as one of the objects of the United Nations Organization was not formulated clearly enough in the Charter. Nevertheless, Chapter I of the Charter, which defines the objects and principles of the organization, contains a reference to the "principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" and also the demand for international cooperation in "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . . ."

After lengthy debates, the United Nations Conference included in the Charter three chapters specially devoted to policy towards dependent and colonial peoples. Article 73 of Chapter XI, which is entitled "Declaration Regarding Non-Self Governing Territories," lays it down that members of the United Nations Organization who are responsible or assume responsibility for the administration of territories the peoples of which have not yet achieved complete self-government, "accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost . . . the well-being of the

inhabitants of these territories. . . ." The same Article makes it incumbent upon them "to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment and their protection against abuses . . . to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions. . . ."

Article 73 also provides that the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization must be furnished with statistical and other information on economic and social conditions, and also on educational facilities, in the territories for which members of the United Nations Organization bear responsibility.

Chapters XI and XII deal with the trusteeship system of the United Nations Organization.

The idea of instituting such a system for dependent territories is not new. The Covenant of the League of Nations, which was formed after World War I, contained, as we know, a special article on the administration of what are known as Mandate Territories.

The principle of international trusteeship that was adopted in San Francisco, however, is a considerable step forward compared with the League of Nations' mandate system. The fundamental difference between trusteeship, as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations, and

the mandate system consists in this, that trusteeship is temporary, and its object is to promote the progressive development of the inhabitants of the trust territories "towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples, and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. . . ." The purpose of trusteeship is "to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . . ."

The League of Nations' mandate system had no such objects in view. Mandates for the government of dependent territories were divided into three categories, of which only the first (the mandates for the government of the Arabian countries which had seceded from Turkey) was temporary, thus leaving open the possibility of self-government or independence in the future. During World War II this possibility was taken advantage of, after a prolonged struggle, by Syria and Lebanon, which were formerly mandate territories of France. As to the second and third categories of mandates, there was nothing even to suggest that they were of a temporary character, while the third category expressly envisaged the incorporation of the mandate territory in the territory of the mandatory power.

In addition to this fundamental difference, the trusteeship system has a number of other advantages, of

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which the control to be exercised over the trustees by the United Nations Organization, as provided for in the Charter, is particularly noteworthy. Chapter XIII of the Charter of the United Nations provides for the setting up of a special organ—the Trusteeship Council—on which are to be represented, not only countries administering trust territories, but also a corresponding number of member countries that do not administer trust territories. It is also provided that all the members of the Security Council shall be members of the Trusteeship Council, in one capacity or another. The United Nations Organization has the right, not only to consider reports on the situation in the trust territories submitted to them by the administrators of the respective trust territories, but also to accept petitions from, and provide for periodical visits to, those territories.

This restricts the possibility of any one state, or group of states, utilizing its power in trust territories for selfish and egoistic purposes. The Charter of the United Nations allows for the singling out of special strategic areas in trust territory to be under the control of the Security Council. It also provides for the possibility of a given trust territory being administered not only by one but by several states, and even by the United Nations Organization as a whole. The territories that are to be put under trusteeship on the basis of corresponding agreements comprise present mandate territories, territories of

which enemy countries may be deprived as a result of the Second World War, and lastly, territories voluntarily placed under the trusteeship system by the states responsible for their administration.

There can be no doubt that the trusteeship system introduced by the Charter of the United Nations—provided the principles it proclaims are adhered to—will, unlike the League of Nations' mandate system, play an important and progressive role as an instrument promoting political, economic and cultural advancement of dependent peoples retarded in their development. As a member of the United Nations Organization, the Soviet Union is ready to bear its share of responsibility in running the mechanism of trusteeship precisely along this line.

* * *

Apparently, however, it is precisely these objectively existing progressive potentialities of the International Trusteeship System that are causing apprehensions in those quarters that are by no means interested in liquidating, or even in any way restricting, the colonial, or the old mandate system. As is evident from the reports published in the foreign press, this was revealed during the proceedings of the Committees of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations which are meeting in London. Committee No. 4, which is drafting the temporary rules of procedure for the Trusteeship Council, has encour-

tered a tendency on the part of the representatives of some of the powers to depart from the Charter of the United Nations. A proposal was made to set up a temporary Trusteeship Council, for which no provision is made in the Charter. Evidently, the object of this proposal is procrastination: putting off the formation of a permanent Trusteeship Council with the concrete functions with which it is to be vested, and thereby giving the members of the United Nations who hold League of Nations mandates grounds for postponing the placing of their mandate territories under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organization. A certain section of the American press has expressed the opinion that even the United States, which possesses no mandates, is at the present time deeply concerned with the question of how to prevent the extension of the trusteeship system to the former Japanese mandate islands in the Pacific. In certain American quarters even the recognition of these islands as strategic areas is regarded as undesirable, since this would involve control on the part of the Security Council. There is a tendency in American military quarters to insist that the mandate islands in the Pacific be made United States territory, with all the consequences that this would involve. According to the London correspondent of the Associated Press, the disputes in London over the question of setting up a temporary Trusteeship Council

. . . primarily concerned the question of how far the Soviet Union should participate in deciding the future of such islands. . . . It is reliably reported that the British and American delegates seek a formula according to which the Soviet Union, under a permanent system, would participate in some trusteeships but not in others.

It is doubtful, of course, whether such a formula can be found, that is, if the Charter of the United Nations is adhered to. It must be assumed that at its very first session the General Assembly will point out to the holders of League of Nations mandates that in conformity with the United Nations Charter they must as speedily as possible place their mandate territories under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organization and thereby make a start in carrying out in practice the terms of the Charter which they have voluntarily accepted.

It is characteristic that in his arguments in favour of setting up a temporary Trusteeship Council, the British delegate on Committee No. 4 referred to imperfections in the United Nations Charter which, he asserted, had already become evident, and which needed amendment in the shape of "some improvisation." The argument about the alleged imperfections of the Charter which has just been ratified by the United Nations has been very persistently pressed in the public utterances of certain foreign quarters for some time past. But this only testifies to the extra-

ordinary tenacity of those reactionary influences which manifested themselves at the San Francisco Conference. Already at that time, in the guise of criticism of the fundamental premises of the draft Charter, attempts were made to undermine co-operation among the United Nations and to prevent the fashioning of an effective instrument for the organization of peace and the security of nations.

Delay in introducing the system of international trusteeship or departure from the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter in the form of "improvisations" can only impair the prestige of the United Nations Organization. At all events, it will not facilitate the task of establishing durable and lasting peace.

It goes without saying that the international trusteeship system does not provide a complete solution of the now urgent colonial problem; but it does create certain possibilities which can and must be utilized. Their utilization is made essential by the strained situation that arose in the colonial and dependent countries immediately after the cessation of the Second World War.

The struggle for liberation which the peace-loving nations waged against fascism, and the leading part the Soviet Union played in this struggle, served to expose the reactionary ideology underlying national, racial and colonial oppression. The failure of the Germans' insane claims to world domination and the

collapse of the Italian and Japanese colonial empires stimulated the struggle for liberation of the peoples of the dependent and colonial countries.

The course of the Second World War clearly demonstrated that colonial regimes are by no means stable and by no means guarantee the security of the dependent peoples against foreign aggression. In the Near as well as in the Far East, the British, French and Dutch colonial administrations revealed their utter inability to organize effective resistance to the German and Japanese aggressors. The native populations were abandoned to their fate. The colonial powers were unable to rely on local initiative and secure the support of these dependent peoples. In Indo-China, the native population even witnessed the voluntary surrender of the French colonial authorities to the Japanese. Naturally, this could not serve to enhance the prestige of the colonial powers in the eyes of the people dependent upon them.

More than once during the Second World War the European metropolitan countries solemnly pledged themselves to grant self-government or dominion status after the war to those of their colonies which had been occupied by the troops of the aggressors, or were under the direct threat of occupation. But when the war ended no practical steps were taken to implement these promises. This could not fail to call forth a

corresponding reaction on the part of the inhabitants of colonial and dependent countries.

The peoples of these countries quite justifiably want to enjoy the fruits of the victories of the democratic coalition as participants in the common struggle against fascism. The cessation of hostilities in Europe brought up the demand of a number of Arabian states in the Near East for the abolition of their subordinate status and for the annulment of agreements with colonial powers which encroached upon their national sovereignty. Immediately after the defeat of Japanese imperialism, South-East Asia became the center of a struggle for national liberation. Millions of Annamites and Indonesians raised the demand for independence. This demand encountered unbending hostility. The colonial powers took the path of armed inter-

vention and of violent and bloody suppression of the peoples who are striving for political and economic independence. Not only British, French and Dutch troops, but even Japanese troops, not yet disarmed, have been sent against the popular movement for national liberation in South-East Asia.

Needless to say, this is entirely contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Organization and to the general principles which underlie its Charter.

Delay in putting into operation the provisions of the United Nations Charter governing trusteeship, which at one time were flatteringly described as a "charter of human freedoms," can only lead to profound disillusionment among the peoples of the dependent and colonial countries. This must be anticipated—and avoided.

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