

ISSUED
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COMMUNIST
PARTY
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OUR PARTY

**PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION BULLETIN
NUMBER 1**

**The Communist Party
Welds Working-class Unity
and a People's Coalition
for Peace, Liberty
and Security**

**Draft Resolution for the Fifteenth National
Convention of the Communist Party, USA
December 28-29-30 [1950]**

**Unanimously adopted
by the National Committee**

1. The Growing War Danger and the Fight for Peace

Following is the text of the pre-convention Draft resolution unanimously adopted by the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. This resolution will serve as the basis for the discussion in the Party until the National Convention which will take place in New York City on December 28-29-30.

1. The events of the past two years have borne out the general analysis made by the historic 1945 Emergency Convention, as well as the estimate of the 14th National Convention in 1948 that the "decisive issues confronting the American people" are those of "peace or war, democracy or fascism."

Two main lines of development characterize the period since then:

a) a tremendous speeding up of Wall Street's drive toward war, and a consequent growing acuteness of the war danger, and

b) a great strengthening of the world peace forces, headed by the Soviet Union, with a corresponding weakening of the world capitalist system.

The frenzied imperialist drive toward war and fascism has now entered a new stage. This stage began with U. S. imperialist armed intervention in Korea, and is now passing over into threats to invade the People's Republic of China. It represents the going over from propaganda and preparations for war to armed aggressions against other nations.

2. In the period since our last convention, Wall Street imperialism has further consolidated its domination over the rest of the capitalist world. However, this has solved neither the economic problems of Western European capitalism, nor those of U. S. capitalism. On the contrary, the general crisis of the world capitalist system has been greatly deepened. This period has been one of maturing economic crisis in the United States as well as in the rest of the capitalist world.

The sharp decline in production which took place in this country in October, 1948, and continued until the latter part of 1949, was but the first cold blast of the approaching economic storm. This sharp decline was coupled with a severe drop in farm income and multiplying signs of a growing agricultural crisis. Thus the analysis made by our 14th National Convention of a maturing economic crisis was borne out.

However, a number of factors reversed the economic decline and distorted the "normal" development of the cyclical economic crisis. The upswing which followed surpassed the post-war high point of 1948. This resulted mainly from the cumulative effects of large-scale government spending for war, through the armament program and the Marshall Plan, plus the inflationary credit expansion that stimulated the building and durable goods industries. It represents the application of Keynesian concepts by Wall Street to present day conditions. But, during the spring of 1950, this upswing from the low level of the 1948-49 sharp drop was already showing more and more signs of instability, and the probability of a new, early and even sharper decline was indicated.

This decline was halted by the catapulting of the United States into the new stage of the war drive, into actual armed aggression against the people of Korea and a more frenzied preparation for all-out war, including the going over to a partial but growing war economy. Thus, the present "war boom" was created. But this "boom" has not eliminated the fac-

tors making for economic crisis. The crisis has only been postponed, and when it breaks forth it will have even more catastrophic consequences.

3. Wall Street is confronted with the growing contradictions between its immense productive facilities and its limited and shrinking market possibilities. It fears the consequences of a new economic crisis, the growing strength, solidity and prosperity of the socialist part of the world, and the prospect of the collapse of world capitalism. Hence it sees no "answer" but the further intensification of its drive for complete world domination through war.

But just at the time in world history when one single imperialist state, the United States, has the overwhelming preponderance of economic and military strength in the capitalist world, and its dominance cannot be challenged by any other single imperialist power or combination of such powers—a new world force has arisen which blocks the drive of Wall Street imperialism toward complete world mastery. This force is the world democratic movement, the camp of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, at whose head stands that great anti-imperialist, socialist state, the Soviet Union.

It is this which explains the imperialists' hatred for the Soviet Union. They view war against the Soviet Union as "inevitable," because its peace policy stands in the way of their mad dream to conquer and subjugate the entire world.

4. The magnitude of present preparations for all-out world war can be seen in the following recent developments: The growing war economy, with its stockpiling of A-bombs; the North Atlantic war alliance; the proposed rearmament of Western Germany and Japan; the brazen alliance with fascist Franco Spain; the drive to transform the UN from an organization that can serve world peace into an instrument for Wall Street's aggressive war designs; the sinister growth of militarism, and the increasing destruction of civil and

constitutional liberties, as part of a growing fascist menace. For it is through fascist measures that the ruling class intends to "prepare the rear" for the unpopular war of aggression and world conquest which it is feverishly hastening to launch.

5. The extent to which the camp of peace and socialism has grown in the past two years can be seen in the following salient developments:

a) The historic achievements of the Soviet Union, which is marching with giant strides confidently forward from Socialism to Communism under the leadership of the great Stalin.

b) The irrevocable victory of the Chinese people and the formation of the great Chinese People's Republic. This has radically altered the world relationship of forces in favor of the camp of peace and democracy, while deepening the whole general crisis of world capitalism.

c) The phenomenal rise of the great colonial liberation movement which is shaking the camp of world imperialism to its very foundations, and thereby enormously strengthening the camp of peace.

d) The consolidation and growth of the economic and political strength of the East European People's Democracies.

e) The end of the A-bomb monopoly by U. S. imperialism and the consequent bursting of the myth of a successful A-bomb blitz war.

f) The organized formation of a world peace movement which speaks for the majority of mankind.

g) The formation of the German People's Democratic Republic.

6. The world relationship of forces does not favor imperialism. World capitalism cannot overcome its general crisis. These facts on the one hand indicate the realistic possibilities for preventing a third world war, and on the other hand explain the mood of recklessness and desperation in the camp of imperialism and the growing acuteness of the war danger.



WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The perspective ahead is for a still further strengthening of the peace forces. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are bound to grow ever stronger. In Korea, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Puerto Rico, and in all Asia, Africa and Latin America, the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for complete national liberation cannot be crushed. The contradictions within the imperialist camp will also grow as the suicidal character of the war policy become more apparent, and as U. S. imperialism seeks completely to destroy the national independence of its allies. The Anglo-American contradiction, the contradictions arising in Western Europe due to the Wall Street de-

mand for a West German army and total war mobilization, are bound to sharpen all imperialist contradictions as well as internal class contradictions. And last but not least, it is only now that the American working class and the American people as a whole will begin to realize that the Wall Street program does not spell prosperity for them. It spells fabulous war profits for the class of idle rich. It spells lower and lower living standards for the bulk of the American people.

7. What the drive towards war is already costing the American people in living standards becomes increasingly evident. In 1938, military expenditures cost an average of \$8 for each person in this

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Better Mass Work--Aim of Discussion

By GUS HALL
National Secretary

The American ruling class is trying to behead the American working class by outlawing and destroying our Communist Party.

We do not intend at this late date to help our enemies achieve their pro-fascist objective. On the contrary, we open this pre-convention discussion conscious that this is a crucial year in the life of our Party and our country. We are more than ever determined to equip our Party for better leadership of our class and people in the big struggles that lie ahead, the struggles for peace and the Bill of Rights, economic security and equality for the Negro people, for progress and for socialism.

A pre-convention discussion is a very important feature of our Party's work. It is made necessary by the organizational principle of the Communist Party—democratic centralism. Such a discussion flows from the basic concept and method of our Communist practice of criticism and self-criticism. Public criticism and self-criticism are a feature characteristic of a Party which is of, as well as for, the masses—which gives political leadership to the working class and at the same time accepts and makes its own the wealth of experience accumulated by the working class and the democratic masses of the people in their daily struggles. In American life, this feature is, of course, peculiar to our Party. For the Communist Party, unlike the capitalist parties, is sincere in its aims, honest and devoted in its practices, and a stranger to fakery, corruption and demagoguery. The Communist Party, in contradiction to the capitalist parties, does not fear the masses, but makes confidence in the working class its permanent principle of guidance. Hence, the Communist Party does not hesitate to discuss its theoretical fundamentals, its policies, its strategy and tactic, and its methods of work with the working masses; it does not hesitate to admit errors in order to learn and to teach in the course of doing so.

We Communists don't carry on a discussion for argument's sake. We don't try to suck debatable issues out of our thumbs.

Our discussion has real meaning because it is based on an examination of our policies and political line, which we submit to the acid test of our experience and problems in giving daily leadership to mass struggles.

For this reason, the period of pre-convention discussion is not time taken out from mass work. It is never an inner Party affair—and least of all can it become so this year. On the contrary, this is a time for taking the workers and all progressives into our confidence—drawing the non-Party masses into our discussion, and expanding our mass activities while discussing how they can be improved.

Our discussion must serve to sharpen up our policies, correct our weaknesses, and enrich and deepen our theoretical understanding. It must result in improvement of our work as leaders. It should prepare us to meet more effectively the many new and complicated problems and tasks we now face. Therefore, our discussion must be more closely than ever linked with activity, and the unity of theory and practice be made the essence of this pre-convention period.

We take a critical view of our work, but always in a responsible Communist spirit. Destructive criticism is not Communist criticism. We criticize ourselves and each other in order to help correct mistakes and overcome weaknesses in our collective work. Pre-convention discussion is not only a criticism of our weaknesses but also an evaluation of the practical experiences of our class and Party.

One or another of us may have a point of view about whose correctness he is not completely certain. That is no reason for refraining from advancing this viewpoint in our discussion, and submitting it for acceptance or rejection.

The National Committee of our Party, and the Party as a whole, want to hear the views of all the membership. All of us will benefit from a free and democratic exchange of opinion and experience. All of us should participate in this vital pre-convention discussion.

I. The Growing War Danger and the Fight for Peace

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country. In 1950 this amount will skyrocket to \$147 per person, while it is estimated that in 1951 it will reach the staggering height of \$307. The so-called "pay-as-you-go" policy means that the American people must immediately pay for these armaments out of their own pockets by increased taxation, direct and indirect. In October, payroll deductions were increased by 20 percent and will go up more in the future, as will the more concealed forms of taxation.

Side by side with this, there is an inflationary rise in prices—15 percent since June 1—and it is still climbing. The meager housing program of the government has already been curtailed by one-third. Together with credit curbs, this means that the low income groups—the workers and particularly the Negro people—are doomed to remain in overcrowded, slum houses, and that this situation will deteriorate. It means the building of fewer schools for our children, despite the tremendous increase in the school-age population. It means the building of fewer hospitals despite the dangerous shortage of these facilities today. For old folks on pensions, it means starvation or dependence on children. For young men, it means to be torn for years from home, school or job, and death on far-flung battlefields. For sweethearts and mothers, it means the gnawing fear of a white cross and a gold star.

What is the outlook for the farm poor? Rural America's first demand is that there shall be peace. Disaster worse than the Hoover Depression threatens all working farmers if total war comes, for total war demands the total mobilization of manpower. Total war will tear the poor farmers from their homes, open the way for big capitalist farming to absorb their land, and thus permanently eliminate a big section of America's family farm population.

Already the farmers' basic demands for reaching parity with the rest of the population have been blasted by present war mobilization. The Brannan Plan for attaining 100 percent parity prices for farmers, with protection for the consumer public from the profiteering of the food trust, has been condemned and buried by both old parties. Projects for river developments, bringing power, irrigation, and a better life to vast areas, have been abandoned in favor of guns.

The farm outlook is one of high taxes, and the drafting of masses of farm youth into the armed forces—while food profiteers operate uncurbed.

The several million agricultural workers are under increasing pressure to man the peak loads of the factory farms under the worst conditions and lowest pay of any section of the American workingclass. Recent congressional legislation excluded from social security all migratory and the great bulk of other part time farm labor. The minimum demand must be full social security for all workers, and a legal minimum base pay of \$1 an hour.

All farm workers and small farmers who want efficient farms should be provided with government credit for the necessary land, buildings, livestock and machinery. Repayment of such credit must be keyed to the farm's production.

For the class of idle rich, for the multi-millionaire monopolists, the drive to war means exorbitant war profiteering. It also means that in the name of "preparedness" and "national defense" the government will undertake to regulate more and more of the nation's economy. Thus the trend towards state monopoly capitalism, in which the government controls the economy and the industrialists control the government, has been given a new impetus by the intensified war drive.



EUGENE DENNIS

8. It would be criminal folly for any American to believe that the peace of the world will be automatically preserved because the world camp of peace and democracy is stronger than the camp of imperialism and war. Only the greatest vigilance, the most resolute action, the broadest front of unity, can guarantee that the hands of the war incendiaries will be stayed. A powerful movement for peace in the United States is an absolute pre-requisite for such a guarantee.

How dangerous the present situation is can be seen by the events in Korea. We have witnessed not only the brazen armed intervention against the Korean people and the grabbing of Formosa as a military base for future war; but also repeated provocative violations of the frontiers of China and the USSR by American military aircraft. The United States imperialists have now made it clear that their aims in Korea are not only to subjugate the Korean people, but the Chinese and all Asian peoples as well.

9. From all of the above it can be seen that the struggle for peace is the central, all-embracing task for the whole present historic period. The future of our nation, the welfare of our people depend on the outcome of this struggle. The war course of Wall Street and Washington has placed America in dire peril. It is the sacred duty of our Party, of every worker, of every person who loves his home and country, to prevent a third world war with all its ghastly consequences. Such a war would only spell death, destruction, untold misery and starvation, not only for other people throughout the world, but for our own people. There is no greater patriotic duty than to prevent a third world war, for to save the peace is to save America from its own destruction.

10. In the recent period we have seen a number of beginnings in the development of an American peace movement. The formation of the Labor Conference for Peace marked an important step forward, as did the formation of the Peace Information Center and the launching of the Stockholm Pledge campaign. The more than two million signatures for this pledge obtained despite the conditions of mass intimidation in this country (arrests, physical assaults and loss of jobs), was a tremendous and significant achievement. It must also be noted that many broader movements for peace are developing around the Quaker proposals for peaceful co-existence, in support of the International Red Cross Appeal to Ban

the A-Bomb, in the form of various national, state and local peace committees.

11. The most important fact that must, however, be noted by the 15th National Convention of our Party is that despite the great fear of war and the great sentiment for peace, there has not yet been crystallized in our country a broad organized peace movement. In this respect, America lags behind most other countries, even though the American working class and the American people have a major responsibility for curbing the war drive of the American ruling class.

What explains this lag?

a) If America has been swept so far down the road to war, it is not because the American people want war. They do not. They abhor war as do all other peoples. The very proof of this is contained in the demagoguery of the Truman Administration and the bi-partisan war coalition, which cloaks its aggressive pro-war policies with a peace mantle. Thus the U. S. armed aggression in Korea was presented to the people as a great "peace" move against the so-called aggression of the North Koreans. The huge military arms program is portrayed as a "defense" program. At the same time, every medium of propaganda—press, radio, television, movies, schools and pulpit—is concentrated on a campaign of lying vilification of the Soviet Union and what it stands for. But even this is not sufficient. Repeated crises are instigated to produce the hysteria and panic necessary to frighten the people into going along. Now, the monopolists and their politicians in Washington are worried lest the recent hysteria wears off. They are therefore brewing new crises.

b) Many people who want peace hesitate to come into open clash with "their own government's policy," fearing to be branded falsely as "unpatriotic," etc.

c) Another major reason for the lag is the paralyzing effect upon the people of the imperialist propaganda that war between the USSR and the U.S.A. is inevitable. This is the main line of American imperialist propaganda uniting both the "preventive war now" advocates and the "let's prepare for future war" wing of the ruling class. This insidious view of "inevitable war" finds its echo among advanced progressive workers, and even some Communists, in an over-estimation of the strength of American imperialism and a lack of confidence in the ability of the people to build an effective peace movement powerful enough to prevent a world

Commission Named

The formation of a Pre-Convention Discussion Committee was announced by the National Committee of the Communist Party. The Committee, consisting of Henry Winston, Michael Russo, Betty Cannett and Ben Davis, will seek to develop the discussion on the broadest possible basis. All Party members are urged to participate in the discussion and to send their pre-convention discussion articles to Henry Winston, 35 E. 12 St., New York 3, N. Y.

OUR PARTY will be published once a week, on Wednesday. All articles should be kept to a maximum of 1,000 words. Articles intended for publication must be in on Mondays before publication dates.

war. This tendency, together with the opposite one of complacent under-estimation of the war danger, leads to passivity in the struggle, and therefore objectively gives aid to the warmongers.

d) The major barrier to the development of the peace movement among the workers has been and is the insidious role of the Social Democrats and labor bureaucrats.

Despite the poisonous lying propaganda which has left its mark on the masses of people, despite misunderstanding and confusion in their ranks, there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people do not want war. The war against Korea is not popular and much less so is any idea of spreading that war.

12. The big task ahead is to unite all forces in our land that stand for peace. We declare our readiness to work together with anyone, regardless of his political views, so long as he truly desires peace. In time, all who desire peace must make up one great peace front. For the present, however, we must work for the achievement of the broadest united action and parallel action on one or more immediate issues. Some of these issues are: for a peaceful settlement of the Korean war based on the withdrawal of American troops, and a united, independent, democratic Korea; for Hands Off China; the banning of the A-bomb and the general reduction in armaments; the seating of People's China in the UN and its recognition by the U. S. for a top-level U. S.-Soviet meeting to negotiate differences and secure peace; against the seating of Franco Spain in the UN and its recognition by the U. S.; against the re-creation of an imperialist German or Japanese army under any guise; and for silencing all "preventive war" advocates.

In order to achieve this, the united front from below is key, requiring the setting up of peace committees in shops, unions, mass organizations, towns and neighborhoods. It requires the unity in action of all conscious and advanced

peace forces and their cooperation with the world peace movement.

The Party must sharply combat all tendencies in its own ranks towards inconsistent, sporadic work on the peace front, whether flowing from moods of fatalism or complacency. It must truly place the peace issue in the center of all its work, particularly paying attention to the winning of the working class and the Negro people for this struggle.

Special attention must also be given to the winning of the youth and the women who are each affected in special ways by the war drive and who have demonstrated the greatest initiative and mass response to the fight for peace.

The Party leadership must take steps to overcome the general weakness in the mass popularization of the peace policy and socialist character and achievements of the USSR. The idea of inevitable war must be countered with the fact of the possibility and desirability of the co-existence of the two social systems and their peaceful competition.

Of supreme importance is the struggle against all forms of national prejudice—white chauvinism; Anglo-Saxon supremacy; anti-Semitism; attacks against the foreign born, etc. Our Party must bring to the people the great principles of working class and people's internationalism. The responsibility of the American working class to the direct victims of Wall Street aggression and oppression, especially the peoples of Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and all of Latin America, is particularly great.

The American people cannot evade, anymore than the German people have been able to evade, the responsibility for the fiendish Lidices perpetrated by American hands, the barbaric inhuman bombardments that are obliterating Korean cities and villages, destroying industries and means of livelihood and annihilating masses of men, women and children.



GUS HALL

2. Menace of Fascism and the Struggle for Democracy

1. The struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle for democracy; from the struggle against the growing danger of fascism. War and fascism both find their source in the rule of monopoly capital, and in the decay of the capitalist system. U. S. imperialism is the most reactionary force in the world today, seeking to fascize not only America but every other capitalist country.

While spurred on by the mad drive towards war, the process of fascization is also a major factor, hastening the war drive, especially as it succeeds in intimidating and silencing the growing doubt, discontent and opposition in the ranks of the people. Thus, the fight for peace must of necessity include the broadest, most consistent and many-sided struggle for democratic liberties and the rights of the Negro people. Without this it cannot be won.

The labor misleaders and Social Democrats bear a special historic responsibility for the growth of fascist reaction in the U. S. By their splitting of the working class, by their support of the pro-war, anti-Communist drive and their dependence on the Democratic Party they have so far been able to prevent the labor movement from exercising its full united strength to defeat such pro-fascist measures as the Taft-Hartley and McCarran laws.

The outrageous imprisonment of the Party's General Secretary, Gene Dennis; the vicious jailings of Carl Marzani, the Hollywood Ten and the leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party under the nefarious Smith Act; the sentences meted out to the courageous attorneys in the Foley Square and Bridges frameups; the conviction of Harry Bridges; the constant arrests and harassment of foreign-born working-class leaders; the growing list of contempt citations handed down by the House Un-American Committee; the attempts to revoke the traditional right to bail; and finally, the passage of the McCarran Act, all indicate how menacing is the danger of a police state and fascism in this country.

2. The process of political rot and decay is seen also in the special measures taken by the ruling class to pollute all channels of cultural expression, attempting to ter-

rorize, intimidate or corrupt all workers in this field. The greatest of all people's artists, Paul Robeson; the gifted people's writer, Howard Fast; the progressive Hollywood writers; all are victims of this attempt to crush all progressive people's culture.

Likewise the growing legal and extra-legal terror directed against the Negro people takes on a qualitatively new significance in the light of the drive towards war and fascism. It aims to destroy the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the Negro people, and even further to poison the minds of white Americans with the fascist racial theory of white supremacy.

The fact that for the first time in American history our country has taken the path towards militarism, with a huge standing army of millions and with a larger and larger military caste, represents an exceedingly great danger, in the first place for our youth, but also for the whole nation. This influence of militarism can already be seen in the key positions occupied by military men in governmental posts and in the attempts to idolize brass hats like Eisenhower and MacArthur and to boom them for President.

3. The McCarran Act, when considered together with the Taft-Hartley Act and the Smith Act, constitutes a major advance toward the establishment of a pseudo-legal frame-work for fascism. For unlike prewar Germany, the fascist danger in the U. S. does not come with slogans of "Down with Legality" and "Down with the Constitution." It is dressed up in legal and constitutional garb. In fact, the very process by which the Constitution and its Bill of Rights are being nullified, is presented to the people as the "only way" by which these historic documents and rights can be defended!

4. It is our task ruthlessly to unmask all liberal sounding demagoguery and hypocrisy; to warn the people against legalistic illusions which are particularly strong in respect to the Courts. At the same time, and just as vigorously, we must combat tendencies in our own ranks towards fatalism, towards underestimating the democratic will of the people and the possibility of organizing a much more effective mass defense of democratic liberties.

In the final analysis both tendencies, that of legalistic illusions as well as that of fatalism, lead to the same net result: opportunist passivity in the face of enemy attack. Both tendencies have found expression in our work these past two years, in the top leadership of our party as well as in the ranks. The cause of this is a failure to make a balanced and rounded estimate of the situation, without ever underestimating the fascist designs of the ruling class, but never conceding to it battles which it has not yet won and which it can be prevented from winning.

5. More than any other development, the shameful adoption of the McCarran Act, and the cynical performance of the Truman Democrats in proposing the concentration camp measure as a substitute, has opened the eyes of many people to the haunting realization that America is not immune from the fascist virus, and that it "can happen here."

The numerous victories won by progressive forces throughout the country against various pro-fascist and anti-Communist local ordinances point the way to the possibility of checking and defeating the drive to outlaw our Party and to establish fascism in our country. In the fight against the Calhoun Act in Michigan, the Feinberg law in New York, the Ober Act in Maryland, the Broyles Bills in Illinois, or the Los Angeles, Birmingham, Florida type of local ordinances, experience has shown that it is possible to weld the broadest unity movements, including even forces that are anti-Communist.

6. The fact that the case of the eleven Party leaders is now before the Supreme Court, which will pass on the constitutionality of the Smith Act, makes it imperative that the mass campaign to expose the Smith Act be intensified manifold. If the Supreme Court upholds the unconstitutional Smith Act, this will represent a grave new undermining of constitutional liberties, resulting not merely in the long term imprisonment of the Eleven, but in the arrest and prosecution of thousands of others, and in a further attempt to illegalize our Party. The fight for the eleven members of our National Committee, for the immediate release of Comrade Dennis, must continue until complete freedom is won.



HENRY WINSTON

7. At this particular moment the fight for the nullification and repeal of the McCarran and Smith Acts must receive top priority. The breadth of the opposition to the McCarran Act makes possible and urgent the widest organized movement for its nullification and repeal. The Party must guard against any sectarian tendencies to narrow its scope or organizational form. At the same time the Party warns against the attempt of certain Social Democratic and Administration forces to seize the leadership of this movement in order to compromise and betray it.

The fact that the AFL and CIO top leadership has taken a position against the McCarran Act and for its repeal, is of course of considerable importance. But it is not enough, for these leaders will not rouse their ranks and organize a mass fight for repeal. Thus prime importance attaches to the task of reaching the local trade unions, and of enlisting their support through resolutions, petitions, wires and demonstrative actions.

8. While the perspective of our Party must be to work for the

nullification and repeal of the McCarran Act, it must not permit wishful thinking to conjure away the fact that as of now this Act is on the statute books. Nor can we have any illusions that the Administration will interpret and apply the law with liberality. We must be on guard against new attacks aimed not alone against our Party but against all those who oppose the suicidal war course.

9. As part of the fight against the fascist danger, our Party must also stand in the forefront of the defense of working class, progressive and Negro people's culture. Our country needs, not the stifling of culture through censorship and blacklisting, but its expansion in the service of peace and all the democratic aspirations of the people. This will be assisted by the further growth and activity of progressive organizations of the cultural workers, by a struggle against opportunism and corruption in the cultural field, and by the creation of a conscious mass audience and support for all art and culture at the service of the people.

3. For a Fighting United Working Class

1. The key to changing the relationship of forces within the country in favor of peace, democracy, and economic security, is to change the relationship of forces within the working class and its organized labor movement. Only to the extent that the working class begins to find the path towards class policies and labor unity, can progress be made in the progressive solution of both the short and long-term problems of the American people.

2. The betraying policies of the top AFL and CIO officials are aimed at tying the main sections

of the labor movement to the war chariot of Wall Street, Truman and the Democratic Party. Today there is a growing merger of right-wing bourgeois labor leaders (Green, Murray, Tobin) and the Social-Democratic type of labor leaders (Reuther, Dubinsky, Rieve, etc) Together they function as and fulfill the role of an American variety of Social-Democracy in the trade unions, although they do not yet find it necessary to masquerade with "socialist" phrases, but provide "welfare state" and "fair deal" window-dressing for the Truman Administration's reactionary poli-

cies at home and abroad.

Collaborating with the monopolists, the Murrays, Reuthers and Careys and their European Social Democratic brethren, have split the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Latin-American Confederation of Labor (CTAL) and set up their own Wall Street-sponsored world labor front. At home, they have ruthlessly split the ranks of the CIO, expelling every union which refused to go along with their sell-out policies, or assisted on its autonomous rights to determine its own union policies and leadership. Giving up even the pretense

of organizing the South, abandoning the organizing of the unemployed altogether, the CIO high command instituted a policy of rule or ruin, of wrecking and raiding the unions that stand for militant progressive policies.

3. Since the Korean war, the CIO and AFL misleaders, confronted with a rising rank and file pressure, were forced to make a gesture in the direction of a fight for higher wages while collaborating with the employers to put over five-year no-strike contracts and no-strike pledges. These in effect freeze wages while giving the corporations the green light to in-

tensify speed-up, lengthen hours, and raise prices. The only real "grievance" nursed by these corrupt bureaucrats against Wall Street and Washington is that they are not given lucrative governmental posts, from which they can even more energetically carry forward the dictation of their masters.

Thus these labor misleaders are the main enemies within the ranks of the working class. Labor unity, essential for a successful fight against the employers, can only be achieved to the degree that is

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3. For a Fighting United Working Class

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4. We must face the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the organized workers in the country are in the AFL, CIO and independent right-led unions. It is this which must determine the main direction of all of the Party's work, and especially its trade union and concentration policy.

5. This does not mean that work in the left-progressive-led unions is less important. On the contrary there must be a strengthening of these unions.

Despite the unprecedented attacks by employers, government and top CIO leadership the left progressive-led unions that were expelled from the CIO although suffering losses, have demonstrated an ability to fight back successfully and have defeated efforts to smash them.

It is important that these unions should not appear to the American working class as just another faction in the labor movement. They must always and above all be seen by the workers as principled militant spokesmen, champions of the class as a whole, and thus the best fighters for the interests of the nation. This has not always been the case in the past.

The left-progressive-led unions are beginning to see that their most immediate need is for the closest unity and cooperation of the expelled unions, nationally and locally, in order to strengthen each other and to speak in unison. The formation by these unions of unity committees in various parts of the country must be greeted as an important step forward.

The work of the left-progressive-led unions at the time of the miners' strike was in the finest tradition of labor solidarity. Wherever and whenever workers are engaged in struggle, whether under right-wing or any other leadership, it is the task of the advanced workers to come to their assistance; on the picket line, by mutual aid, strike relief, demonstrations, etc. This consistent struggle for labor solidarity and united labor action can help heal the breach in the ranks of the workers and teach the working class its greatest and most important lesson, the need for labor unity in the fight against the monopolies.

The left-progressive-led unions

will become an example to the rest of the labor movement if they raise the class understanding of their members; if they practice real trade union democracy and struggle against all bureaucratic methods of leadership. They will become examples to the extent that they develop a class struggle approach to the settling of grievances, work towards international trade union unity; struggle militantly for the abolition of Negro discrimination on the job, in all aspects of union life, and give full support to the general fight for Negro rights. They should further become examples in the concern shown for women workers and youth—for their economic rights as well as for their full integration in the life and leadership of the union; and lastly, in the kind of independent labor political action program which rejects the bureaucratic approach of the right-led unions, but aims in the first place at raising the workers' level of understanding through the most thorough discussion and debate over political issues and the establishment of a living link between their daily economic needs and the fight for peace and democracy. By their own forthright policies and actions the Left-Progressive led unions will help to stimulate class struggle policies in the entire labor movement.

6. While doing all it can to help consolidate and strengthen the Left-Progressive unions, the Party rejects the point of view that the present Left-Progressive led unions represent the sole base of Party and progressive activity and influence in the working class. It categorically rejects the point of view that it is impossible to work and to achieve success in the present Right-led unions because of the un-democratic entrenched machines and expulsion policy of the leadership.

Unless such tendencies are met head on and completely wiped out, they can only lead to the complete isolation of the Party from the main and most decisive sections of the American working class, and, in the name of Left-sounding phrases, to the surrender of the majority of workers to the tender mercies of the labor fakers.

It is precisely tendencies of this kind toward the AFL that have cost our Party and the American workers dear since the formation

of the CIO. Now that the split has occurred in the CIO, we face a new danger of continuing to work only where it is "easiest" and isolating ourselves from those workers without whom any real headway is impossible. This weakness has been further aggravated and made more difficult to correct because of the continuation of the wrong method of working in the main with top trade union officials, and not sufficiently through Party shop clubs basing our work on the rank and file. We must especially put an end to the present criminal neglect and total absence of work in the AFL Central Trades and Labor bodies and the CIO Industrial Union Councils.

7. The workers in the trustified mass production industries of the country—in steel, auto, mining, packing, textile, railroad, maritime, rubber, etc. are militant workers, ready to struggle. Even though often confused in their thinking, they are nonetheless anxious to receive practical assistance in their fight for more bread and butter, for Negro and white unity, for progressive legislation, for independent labor political action, for greater union democracy, etc.

Where we have confidence in the workers and their class instinct; where we work in a broad way, basing ourselves on the united front starting from the department, shop or local; where our

opposition to the officialdom's policies can never be distorted into opposition to the union; there headway is possible and labor unity can be forged from the bottom up. The forms of rank and file unity movements will vary from industry to industry and will crystallize through a number of channels.

Experience has proven conclusively that where a firm base is established by the progressive forces among the workers; where the tactic of the united front is jealously guarded and zealously fought for, there the officialdom cannot so easily dislodge or destroy this base, as is seen in a number of auto, packing and steel plants. Moreover, these experiences open a perspective for the eventual victory of the rank and file in these unions.

8. The Party National Committee calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major attention is given to the workers in the strongholds of trustified capital, which happen also to be the strongholds of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in these industries we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement.

A thorough shaking up is required in the Party on this score. The base of the Party is not yet sufficiently among factory workers. Also the fact that the Party is not yet predominantly composed of industrial workers becomes in itself a factor tending to pull the Party away from its concentration plans, year after year.

Only a more determined struggle on the part of the leadership against being swayed by pressures of one kind or another, only closer ties with our industrial workers, and a policy of training and promoting them, can in time bring about the radical change called for in our work by the period in which we live.

9. The possibilities for effecting a change in the ranks of the labor movement are good. The rank and file movement for wage increases during the past months has been a preview of developments to come. More and more the capitalist class places the full burden of the high war costs on the backs of the working class. Con-

sequently, the rank and file of labor and the masses of the people generally are faced with a great historic task. It is to defend and protect the living standards of the masses of the American people from reduction and destruction by the monopolies' economic war policies which are carried out by the two major parties, their government and their labor lieutenants. This calls for the broadest unity of action in the shops, factories and industries generally, in the cities, and on the farms, and on the political front. This unity of action, and labor unity of the masses of workers, has to be directed to the struggle for wage increases and against wage freezing, for shorter hours without reduction in pay, against speed-up, for the rollback of prices, for price and rent controls administered by the democratic organizations of the people, against the monopolistic war profiteers, against war taxation upon the masses of the people.

For the repeal of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, against outlawing the right to strike under the guise of a no-strike pledge, against turning the unions into adjuncts of Wall Street's war machine, for the repeal and nullification of the McCarran fascist monstrosity, against all pro-fascist and fascist legislation of the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon-McCarran-Kilgore-Truman type, against outlawing the Communist Party.

For full equality of rights of the Negro workers in industry and of the Negro people in all fields—economic, political and social.

For the abolition of all indirect taxes and taxes upon the lower incomes.

For the linking up of the struggle for all of these partial economic and democratic demands with the central task of winning the labor movement for active participation in, and leadership of the people's movement for peace.

10. Today more than ever the labor movement must be cognizant of its responsibility to its two great allies, the Negro people and the working farmers. Only to the extent that Negro-white unity and farmer-labor unity is forged, can the foundation be laid for the great anti-monopoly people's coalition for peace and democracy.



BENJAMIN DAVIS

4. The New Stage of the Negro Liberation Movement

1. The Negro people, determined to win complete emancipation for themselves, have emerged as an ever-more powerful and increasingly conscious force in American political life.

Because U. S. imperialism is compelled to cloak with demagogic phrases about democracy and equality its drive for world conquest, particularly its military assault against the colonial liberation movement in Asia, the Negro question tears the mask off of Wall Street's real face and assumes the greatest international significance.

U. S. imperialism, driving toward war and fascism, fosters national jingoism and white chauvinism against oppressed colored peoples all over the world. Hence, the danger to the Negro people here at home is enormously increased. White chauvinism today emerges with the imperialist trend toward fascism. The mounting terror against the Negro people, not only by the Ku Klux Klan in the South, but also by local police in the northern cities, takes on today a new and more sinister

meaning in the context of growing fascization of all aspects of American life.

This growing terror is coupled with a more subtle line of attack. The objective of Wall Street is to split the ranks of the Negro people and to behead their liberation movement, while at the same time fostering the fiction that the Negro people are slowly being given their freedom. This they are trying to accomplish by using a section of the Negro bourgeoisie and a handful of Negro professionals and intellectuals. The aim is especially to prevent the Negro workers who are coming forward more and more from playing the leading role in the Negro liberation struggle.

2. The anti-imperialist national liberation movement of the Negro people is entering a new stage which coincides with the rising liberation struggles in the colonial world. Historic struggles have taken place in the last two years—the great people's demonstration at Peekskill led by Paul Robeson in the face of fascist violence; the

campaigns to free Mrs. Ingram, the Trenton Six, William McGee, the Martinsville Seven and Haywood Patterson; the movement against jimcrow in the armed forces and in defense of Lieut. Gilbert; the fight for FEPC, the right to vote and for anti-lynching legislation, the entrance of Negroes into southern white universities (even though on a severely restricted scale as yet), the victory in Stuyvesant Town, etc., are only the highlights of the increasing breadth, scope and militancy of the Negro people's movement.

The most important factor in this upsurge is the increasingly more militant, organized and conscious role of the Negro workers, especially in the basic industries, as shown by their leading part in practically every strike struggle and by the rise of Negro-Labor Councils.

3. Our Party must greatly intensify its struggle to break down every jimcrow barrier, on every level of American life. The fight for Negro freedom and equality is an indispensable part of the

struggle against war and fascism and a source of tremendous strength to the anti-imperialist people's struggle. This must in the first place be accomplished by mobilizing the white progressive masses who can be won for the fight because it is in their own self-interest.

In the trade union movement it is necessary in the first place to fight the white misleaders of labor who are mainly responsible for the weakening and betrayal of the struggle for Negro rights, as exemplified by the failure and abandonment of the CIO southern organizing drive and the virtually complete halting of the upgrading of Negro workers. Without such a struggle against opportunism in the labor movement, it will be impossible to combat successfully the splitting policies of the Negro bourgeois reformists who cultivate the illusion that the Negro people will win their full rights by dependence on the war program of the white ruling class, the Truman administra-

tion and the rightwing labor leaders.

The fact that Wall Street imperialism is on the defensive on the Negro question, must maneuver and make concessions to the Negro people, indicates how much could really be gained if a vigorous united struggle of Negro and white masses were conducted for the rights of the Negro people, not tomorrow, or next year, but today.

Such real gains are possible because of another important fact—that alongside of the growth of chauvinism and mob violence among certain sections of the white masses, there is also developing especially among white workers an appreciation and respect for the Negro people, and a growing realization that Negro and white unity is indispensable for all workers, even though the level of this understanding is still relatively low and tainted with continued white-chauvinist prejudice.

4. All this means that the struggle for Negro rights, for the

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4. The New Stage of the Negro Liberation Movement

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plete emancipation of the Negro people, has entered a new stage. It is this which is not yet fully understood by our whole Party. We cannot rest upon laurels won in the past, even though the whole history of our Party, especially since our analysis of the Negro question as a national question, is one of militant struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Under the new, more advanced conditions of Wall Street's drive toward war and fascism we must fight in a new way and raise to new heights the struggle for Negro liberation.

5. One of the most immediate and pressing tasks in the fight for Negro equality is the struggle against all vestiges of job discrimination, both in employment and upgrading. FEPC can and must be won. In the trade unions we must fight for inclusion of FEPC clauses in all contracts, along the lines of the model adopted at the recent important national Negro-Labor Conference. Likewise the fight for federal legislation against the polltax and lynching, as well as the demand that Truman live up to his civil rights program, must receive a new impetus.

6. In this new stage of the fight the Party must give its full support to all new organizations, channels, movements and publications which give expression and leadership to the militant anti-imperialist character of the Negro liberation movement.

7. The unprecedented struggle initiated by our Party in the past two years against the influences and remnants of white chauvinism represents a great and healthy step forward. However, it is necessary to state that this struggle has diminished recently. There are arising new tendencies and acts of white chauvinism, especially in more concealed forms, which are more difficult to detect and fight. This is a danger signal. The struggle against white chauvinism cannot be conducted in a sporadic fashion, for white chauvinism is the greatest single obstacle toward developing the united struggle for Negro rights as well as against Negro nationalism. It must have a permanent place in the life and struggle of our Party, and in the first place become the constant task of the white members of our Party.

8. Underestimation of the importance of the South is another

grave weakness in the Party's work which stems from the failure to understand the essence of the Negro question as a national question, with its roots in the system of semi-feudal peonage (the plantation system) that still dominates the life of the southern Black Belt. Without coming to grips with the problems of the Negro rural poor, the sharecroppers, tenant farmers and agricultural workers; without finding the specific forms of the struggle for the right of the Negro people to the land which they have tilled for generations; without finding the issues and forms around which to create the beginnings of Negro and white unity on the land, and against the plantation system, we are neglecting the most fundamental approach to the final emancipation of the Negro people. Indissolubly tied up with the solution of the land question is the organization of the Negro proletariat in the Black Belt and South, which will inevitably play a leading role in the national liberation fight, and the winning of the southern white workers for Negro-white unity.

The defeat of war and fascism is impossible unless the American working class, especially up North,

begins to understand how important to its own progress is the strengthening of the democratic

forces in the South and accordingly acts in militant defense of the Negro people.



JOHN WILLIAMSON

5. The Need for Independent Action

1. In the last analysis, any decisive alteration of the nation's foreign and domestic policy must come through a political realignment and the formation of a people's peace and anti-fascist coalition. This has not yet taken shape. In fact, the 14th National Convention's estimate of the tempo with which such a political realignment was taking place has not been borne out by events. While the formation of the Progressive Party in 1948 was an important and necessary step forward, it did not emerge as a major national political force. In fact, at this date, there are no visible signs of an imminent mass break-away from the two old parties, although there are ample signs of a growing disgust with both major parties.

The reasons for this are to be found in the extensive peace, Welfare State, civil rights and pro-labor demagoguery of the Truman Administration. But if the masses have not been able to see through this demagoguery; if the working class and Negro people are still tied to the Democratic Party and still believe that it is a "lesser evil" to the Republican Party, the main reason for this is the betraying role of the Right-wing labor and reformist Negro leaders. The Social-Democratic Reuthers, Dubinsky's and Randolphs, united with the ACTU and reformist trade union leaders and with bourgeois liberals, represent the main force which keeps the masses shackled to the two old capitalist parties.

2. This is shown by the results of the 1950 elections. The victory



JOHN GATES



JACK STACHEL



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

of reaction was possible because the labor bureaucrats and Social Democrats disoriented and disintegrated the independent political strength of the working class by chaining it to the corrupt political machines and war policy of the Democratic Party. Because in most cases the workers were not presented by their leaders with any real alternative to Wall Street's drive towards war, many showed their discontent by shifting from the ins to the outs. Even where a genuine alternative was presented as in the New York ALP, the effect of war-mongering, red-baiting, fear and confusion spread by the press and radio, resulted in a decline of its vote.

This state of affairs is only temporary. The growing struggle against the increased war drive and militarization program and the onslaught on the living standards of the workers, farmers and lower middle classes, will unmask the liberal and welfare demagoguery of the Truman Administration.

3. In this situation the Party must avoid two dangers: one, the Right-opportunist tendency of giving up the fight for a basic political realignment and a third party in the face of momentary difficulties and obstacles; and two, the sectarian view that the Progressive Party is already an adequate base for a mass third party.

The tactical course called for today is: a) intense and skillful exposure of the two old parties, their corrupt big business and un-

derworld ties, and the consequent need for a new party of the common-people; b) the building and extension of the Progressive Party in those states and localities where it exists and has independent strength; c) the flexible seeking out of concrete issues, the development of mass movements around them, and the finding of those independent political forms that will encourage mass breakaways from the old parties; d) the establishment of close ties with the masses who still follow and support the two old parties particularly in the labor movement and among the Negro people. It is our task to work with these masses and to exert influence on the trade unions and their political action committees (especially CIO-PAC and AFL-LEPL) to put forward progressive candidates from the ranks of the workers and the Negro people, including in those cases where the workers are not yet ready to express themselves outside of the old parties. The objective of our work must be to win the workers for truly independent labor political action as against the policy of the Murrays, Dubinskys and Greens which is one of chaining labor to the Democratic Party. We must endeavor to achieve united action around specific legislative issues and common action behind certain agreed-upon candidates based upon program. The 1951 municipal elections, taking place in many cities, offer an excellent opportunity for advancing the

cause of independent political action and broader electoral united fronts looking towards the strengthening of the whole third party movement. All these activities should have as their objective the placing of a united front peace ticket in the field in 1952.

4. The Party perspective must definitely be geared to the possibility of a more rapid political realignment in the period ahead. For the struggle over the peace issue will affect every phase of American political, economic and social life. More than ever, the question of wages, hours of work, speed-up, taxes, prices, housing, civil liberties, Negro rights, the future of youth, the role of women, will all be closely linked to the issue of war or peace. Thus the struggle for the maintenance of living standards, for democratic constitutional liberties, for civil rights, will in time become meshed with the struggle to prevent a third world war. This will not be an automatic process. To the extent that we link the fight for peace with the daily needs of the people, and the fight for the people's daily needs and rights, to the issue of peace, to that extent the struggle of the masses will be deepened and they will achieve greater political clarity and understanding.

5. As it becomes clear that the people are against war, and that the camp of peace and socialism continues to grow ever stronger, there may be individuals and even segments of the non-monopoly section of the bourgeoisie that will recoil from the decision for war, will assume a neutral position, or even oppose war as suicidal folly. However, the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie will be able to resolve these differences unless there is a powerful peace camp that can make use of them in the interests of world peace.

6. The working class and particularly the organized labor movement is the decisive force that will decide the issue of whether a political regrouping takes place, and how swiftly it becomes a major force in the country. The main reason the Wallace movement of 1948 made no deep inroads, and achieved no lasting stability or permanence, was the lack of a firm working class base, due to the betraying policy of the Right-wing and Social-Democratic labor officials, and the inability of the Left to expose and unmask these propagators of the lesser evil theory.



IRVING POTASH

It was this that made it more difficult to win the bulk of the Negro people, sections of the poor farmers, etc.

It is impossible to conceive of a stable, consistent struggle against monopoly capital, without the working class providing the main force. Without this, the petty-bourgeois leadership of a Wallace was bound to vacillate, to feel the pressure only of American imperialism, and finally to capitulate to the war camp. This is the big lesson that must be learned by our Party. We must aim to unite the broadest forces, rallying all sections of the intellectuals and middle classes that can be reached. But unless this movement is grounded on a stable and growing influence, activity, and base in the ranks of the working class, particularly the industrial workers in the large monopoly industries, it will tend to founder and fall apart at the first gale.



GIL GREEN

6. The Party

1—The period of the past two years has been one of great trial for our Party. Never in our whole history have we been under such concentrated and continuous attack. Throughout this period the Party has had to fight for its legal existence, and for nine months eleven of the thirteen members of the National Committee fought ably and well to defend our Party in the Foley Square courtroom.

It was also in this same period that the outstanding leader of our Party, Comrade Foster, was taken ill, the Party thereby temporarily losing the great benefit of his daily active participation in the work. Despite this fact, Comrade Foster made vital and outstanding contributions to the work of our Party thru his writings and his guidance of the Party's general line. Furthermore, for the past six months, the imprisonment of Comrade Dennis has also deprived the Party of the active leadership and outstanding contributions of its General Secretary.

The Party can feel justifiably proud of the way in which its ranks stood up and fought back. The way in which the breaches in the ranks of the leadership were filled with other capable and qualified leaders, is further proof of the soundness of our Party and of its ability to provide leadership under any and all conditions. If the enemy thought that it could demoralize and disintegrate our Party by its incessant attacks it certainly miscalculated, for the very opposite has been the case.

The correct political line and policies set forth by the emergency convention in 1945, reaffirmed by the 14th Convention in 1948, have been further developed, sharpened and tested in the fires of intensified class struggle during these last few years.

This pride in the work and fighting character of our Party must not, however, be used to conceal or cover up its many weaknesses and shortcomings. Any such tendency could only lead to self-adulation and complacency. This must be vigorously fought against, for only the most penetrating criticism and self-criticism can prepare the Party for the even sharper attacks ahead.

2—The period in which we live creates a host of new problems for our Party, while placing many of the old ones in a new light and in an even more aggravated form. The most serious of these have been and are the very marked tendencies toward liquidating the Party. This weakness is present in views which deny in practice the need for an advanced theory and a vanguard party to bring class and socialist consciousness to the working class. It is present in our historic tendency to veer away from consistently carrying out our main policy of concentration on the workers in basic industry. It is present in the sectarian tendencies to retreat into our own shell and to do less mass work. It is present in cases where attempts are made to replace the Party and its responsibilities by non-Party committees. It is present in the lack of sufficient attention and leadership to the proper functioning of our clubs. It was present in the one-sided approach given by the National leadership to the 1950 registration. It is present in the low dues payments as well as the impermissible low sale of literature. Basically these liquidationist tendencies rise from retreat before the many new difficulties placed in our way by the enemy.

3—Because of the new difficulties, and the failure to fight for correct standards of Party membership in the past, there have developed certain erroneous concepts of Party membership. These set up mechanically high standards for "ideal" membership and then dropped those who did not measure up to such artificial standards. This reflects an abstract academic approach to the problems of the building of a Leninist party, a fail-

ure to recognize that steadfastness and ideological firmness are built in the process of struggle. Though this tendency is dressed up in Left phrases, it is in effect a retreat from the task of building our Party in the ranks of the workers under the more difficult conditions of the class struggle, and is a cover-up for a self-critical examination of the role of leadership.

4—The fact that over the years the Party has tended to be divided into two mechanical groupings, one of "inner-party workers" and the other of "mass workers" creates real dangers for the Party under the new conditions. The Party must strengthen its ideological and organizational ties with its mass workers, combating all opportunist tendencies to underestimate the leading rôle of the Party as an organization, while at the same time firmly directing its so-called inner Party workers and lower organizations into mass work and leadership of the daily struggle.

5—Likewise the low ideological level of the Party, the general tendency to separate theory from practice, create new dangers at a time when the ideological tie is paramount, because without it the organizational one can easily be torn asunder. Therefore the struggle on the ideological front assumes major importance, especially the struggle against tendencies towards economism and spontaneity in our trade union and mass work.

6—Our Party has shown a growing ability to give leadership to mass struggles and movements. This has been true in the growing number of economic struggles, in the development of the peace movement, in the struggle for equal rights for the Negro people, the broad movement in defense of the Bill of Rights, the fight against high prices and rents, etc. This is a very welcome improvement. However, it is still true that our single greatest weakness is in the initiating, organizing and leading of mass movements and struggles. We have not yet mastered in practice the tactics of the united front from below. Fear and underestimation of the masses are expressed in the right opportunist tailing behind the readiness of the non-Party masses to struggle, as well as in the "left" sectarian tendency to set pre-conceived conditions for the united front, which are obstacles to its realization and separate us from the masses.

We must admit that our own Party has not sufficiently differentiated between its own full anti-imperialist peace position and the partial slogans and forms of ac-



CARL WINTER

tion that would enlist the participation of the wide masses. But precisely this is central to a correct and effective united front policy. Understanding that the united front is the determining factor in putting masses into motion jointly with ourselves is not yet firmly or consistently grasped throughout the ranks of the Party.

In the present situation the main danger confronting the working class and our Party remains the Right danger. This is characterized by surrendering to or being intimidated by the warmongers. This right danger has been crassly expressed by such renegades as Quill, Curran, McMahan, Rubin, Obermier, Merrill and various others. Outside of our Party the Right danger is illustrated by the treacherous and cowardly surrenders of such elements as Murray and Wallace. At the same time, we must keenly realize the menace of the "Left" danger, especially within our Party. This danger is expressed by tendencies to overestimate the power of imperialist reaction, to belittle the possibilities for open mass work by tending to abandon the struggle for legality under cover of radical phrases, by sectarian refusal to work in the right-controlled trade unions, and by trying to reduce our Party membership solely to "pure" Communists. We must be on guard against both the right and "left" deviations, which tend to paralyze the struggle of the masses and our Party.

7. During the two years under review, the Party conducted a sharp, mounting and successful struggle against the influence of right opportunism which had es-

pecially imbedded itself among some sections of our trade unionists. The sharpened class relationships dictated the need to eradicate completely this alien class influence from our ranks. This battle must continue without letup.

8. The Party's traditional weakness in respect to the circulation of the working class press now confronts the Party with a qualitatively new significance. This is so because with the increased intimidation of news vendors and mail subscribers, a circulation problem of such magnitude has been created that it can only be met by the Party members being won and mobilized in a new way for the defense and circulation of the Daily Worker, The Worker and the progressive nationality press. Thus, under the new conditions, any continued underestimation of the press, any failure of the Party organization to assume full and complete responsibility for organizing and guaranteeing circulation, can objectively only mean liquidationism towards the working-class press. The whole Party must guarantee a new approach to the circulation of press and literature. Whatever its size, a party club that does not read and circulate the press and literature is not yet a Party organization in the fullest sense of the word.

9. The new conditions under which the Party must work require that the Party leadership on all levels give much greater attention to problems of Party organization. The ability of the Party organization to improve its mass work, circulate press and literature, collect dues and finances, organize the consistent study of Marxism and the building of the Party, requires new and urgent attention in view of the problems of Party security. These can no longer be treated as routine problems. They must be regarded as first rate political problems to which the entire leadership must give constant and daily attention. Above all, we must eradicate all ideas that our Party cannot be built in periods of repression. The Party can and must be built today, but by methods which fit the new conditions.

10. A weakness in the style of work of the Party leadership is its slowness to react to new developments. Thus many opportunities and important moments were lost, as for example was true to a certain extent at the time of the Nehru proposal on Korea, the Matthews "war now" speech, etc.

11. Another weakness in the work of the Party is the over dependence upon top levels of leadership, the lack of independent initiative at lower levels of the organiza-



ROBERT THOMPSON

tion. Often the Party nationally is attuned to campaigns annually conducted, but when these are over the lower Party organizations tend to drift and are slow in orienting independently on the concrete problems and issues confronted in a given local situation.

One of the major causes for this situation is the continued existence of bureaucratic methods of work in the leadership, and the failure to educate the whole Party in the practice of criticism and self-criticism as the inner law of Party development. Thus the whole Party does not often enough participate in evaluating major developments and struggles; does not sufficiently learn from mistakes committed.

This in turn leads to many "independent" estimates which are not resolved into one single Party estimate. It thereby tends to weaken Party discipline and the carrying out of Party decisions.

Another weakness has been and is the lack of sufficient vigilance against the penetration of enemy agents and ideology. There can be no real vigilance without a highly developed political and ideological life, in which criticism and self-criticism, based on inner democracy and democratic centralism, are continuously practised. Only then can all questions be resolved in a Party way, can the whole Party learn from experience, and opportunist and factional elements and class enemies be isolated and exposed. Certainly today there must be even greater vigilance than ever against every manifestation of Browderism, Titoism and Trotskyism. A la Tito, Browder pretends to represent a variety of "Marxism," but in reality he serves the most reactionary imperialism through vitriolic attacks against our Party and the Soviet Union. This is the inevitable development of all who abandon the path of Marxism and persist in their struggle against the Party.

Titoism, which originally tried to conceal its betrayal of socialism and peace by masking itself in the mantle of "Marxism," has now openly embraced its Wall Street master. Its further counter-revolutionary character is further revealed by its open alliance with Trotskyism in the United States. Nevertheless, Titoism still creates confusion, especially in petty bourgeois circles, and we must therefore increase our vigilance and struggle against it.

The failure to develop criticism and self-criticism as a daily feature of Party life tends to lead a certain one-sidedness and distorted understanding of this principle by certain comrades. Criticism and self-criticism are aimed at correcting, not destroying comrades. The leadership must encourage and be especially responsive to criticism coming from the ranks.

Tendencies towards factionalism are totally impermissible because they weaken the Party and make it possible for the enemy more easily to penetrate our ranks.

12. The establishment of the Labor Youth League has done much to restore to the youth scene



WINSTON, FOSTER, DENNIS

(Continued on Following Page)

THE SMITH ACT WILL BE ON TRIAL BEFORE U.S. SUPREME COURT ON DEC. 4

This means the Bill of Rights is before the Supreme Court. This means that all our rights which represent the rights of all Americans, Free Speech, Free Assembly and Free Press are on trial. For this is the nature of the Smith Act. This is the intent of this infamous piece of legislation. To teach and advocate has been adjudged a crime in the trial of our leaders at Foley Square. To teach and advocate has become a "subversive" act. Books and papers are "evidence."

This is how the high potentates of American finance capital seek to choke off all criticism of their ruinous policy of war and wanton murder of innocent Korean and Chinese peoples. This is the form by which they conspire to cut off any and all expression of opposition to high prices, wage freezes, and mounting legal murders and discrimination against the Negro people. The Smith Act, father of the infamous McCarran Act, must go!

This is the Challenge of this Half Century. YOU MUST HELP GIVE THE ANSWER. You must help in every way at your command. You must be one of the many who can look back upon this critical period with pride and satisfaction, and say that you were one of the many that made it possible to take up and defeat this challenge of Wall Street to preserve peace, democracy, security for the American people.

On Dec. 4 the appeal in the case of the 11 will be heard before the U.S. Supreme Court. Legal expenses, printing of the brief, extensive research work, these and the building of a mass protest movement, require many thousands of dollars. This is one way you can help. It is your duty to help. With your help we can be successful in preventing the destruction of the Bill of Rights. See your friends, your neighbors. Discuss this matter with them. Have them contribute and contribute yourself. The need for funds is most URGENT.

ACT NOW TO SAVE THE BILL OF RIGHTS

**RUSH ALL FUNDS TO:
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN**

Chairman of the Defense Committee

35 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

6. THE PARTY

(Continued from Previous Page) a fighting youth leadership organizing and uniting the youth against war and fascism and educating them in the spirit of Socialism. We must give every aid and support to this organization and must overcome the still-present neglect in practically all sections of our Party of this increasingly important section of the population. Any continuation of this neglect in these circumstances of acute war and fascist danger can only have disastrous consequences and cannot be tolerated. The Party must help build the broadest front of youth unity against the imperialist threat of a lifetime of militarism and insecurity.

13. There continues an underestimation of the role and importance of our women members who constitute a large and active core of our Party.

They have made signal contributions during the past period to the

struggle for peace, against fascist tendencies in the schools, against the militarization of our youth and to maintain the standards of living of the American family. There must be an increasing integration of our women membership in the leadership of the Party on all levels, particularly working-class and Negro women comrades, who can and do give able leadership in mass struggles. There must be an increasing awareness of the growth of the false and reactionary ideas of "male superiority" in this period of developing fascist reaction and a resistance to it in our Party in any form, with a determined struggle to place our Party in the forefront for the rights of women in unions, in shops, and in political life.

14. During the last period, the national leadership has increased its attention to the important field of national group work. It has emphasized that this must be the concern of the entire Party, that

it is closely tied up with our industrial concentration policy. We must raise to higher levels the role of the Party in this field, and apply more holdly the policy of the united front. We must not slacken the fight against Right opportunist avoidance of the struggle on peace and Negro rights, or "Left" sectarian isolation from the American scene, both of which have strong roots in this field. In the course of all of this work, we must heighten the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, white chauvinism, influences of Titoism, etc.

15. The present period requires a strengthening of the Party's understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and a constant study of the classics of Marxism, not in any abstract, doctrinaire fashion, but as a search-light for the greater illumination of the complicated problems of the class struggle in the United States. For only by a thorough mastery of Marxism-Leninism can we know

our own country better, its inner laws of development, its past traditions, and its inevitable future.

The national leadership of the Party corrected a number of theoretical errors with respect to the nature and development of Peoples Front governments and Peoples Democracies. These corrections were contained in the summary speech of Comrade Dennis at the March 1950 Plenum and in an article by Comrade Foster in Political Affairs. These errors dramatized the need for the Party to improve its work on the theoretical front. Comrade Foster especially has set a splendid example. His forthcoming book "An Outline History of the Americas" to be published soon and Comrade Foster's 70th Birthday in January 1951 will be landmarks in the Party's history.

16. The Party must do far more towards educating the masses in the meaning of Socialism, and how this social system alone can basically solve the problems con-

fronting the American people. For only Socialism can harness all the great productive forces and natural resources of our nation and together with the peaceful use of atomic energy give to the American people standards of living, prosperity, freedom and cultural development undreamt of before. It is our Party and no other, which carries forward the great democratic and cultural traditions of the American people, which defends the real security of this nation from the 60 ruling class families which would bring it to suicidal ruin through war and fascism. Only our Party, the Party of Socialism offers a way out for the American people; a way which can truly utilize their full creative genius; can build a people's culture in contrast to the shameful degradation of culture now taking place, and can find for America her rightful and honorable place in a peaceful world family of free nations.